

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1994

MAY,

304 a

South Africans pay R1bn to go to polls

By CHRIS BARRON

SOUTH AFRICANS have just paid about R1-billion for their first democratic elections, an estimated R300-million more than the R697-million budgeted for.

One bill for such a noble cause may not sound like much, but juggling a few comparative figures certainly gives one pause.

For instance, it took every cent

that every South African individual, company, corporation or conglomerate earned in any one day during the last year to pay for these elections. And Sol Kerzner would have been left with R150-million change after building the Lost City.

It costs R25 000 to build a basic three-room house, which means 40 000 new houses could have been built for the price of the elections.

On the other hand, we lost 16 times as much in money leaving the country last year alone because of our consistent failure to hold these elections, as we paid finally to go to the polls.

And, thanks to our R1-billion splurge at the voting booths we stand to gain an immediate R17,5-billion in foreign money just waiting to pour into the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

(304A)

Township poll stations delayed for hours, but voters go home happy

VUYO BAVUMA reported from the townships

THE voting process was not a smooth-sailing affair in some areas in the townships, but frustrated first-time voters remained calm and endured the queues.

At several polling stations the contending parties did not follow the Electoral Code to the letter, but there were no ugly incidents.

Activists from the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress openly canvassed within a stone's-throw of the polling stations.

On the first day of voting on Tuesday, most polling stations operated smoothly with thousands of people, including the disabled — some of whom were helped by their children — and pregnant women flocking to the polling stations.

Thousands of township residents went to vote at Mowbray, the Good Hope Centre and the northern suburbs to escape the long queues in their own areas.

But, on Wednesday, gremlins started surfacing.

The Independent Electoral Commission was responsible for countless administrative bungles, including the late delivery of voting material to stations and, in some cases, no delivery at all.

To rub salt into the wounds of the frustrated queuing voters — driving rain soaked them as they waited ... and waited.

In Khayelitsha, where the majority of Africans in the Peninsula live, the rush began at dusk. Voters started queuing hours before the polling station opened.

In Guguletu Uluntu Centre the mood was unmistakably festive. Most people wore coats to ward off the biting cold while others chatted merrily and cracked jokes.

Interestingly, most obeyed the Electoral Code by keeping their political allegiances close to their chests.

Just before 7am, Nobel Peace laureate Desmond Tutu arrived to cast his vote. Predictably, his arrival sparked off jubilation and cheers from the crowd.

Hordes of photographers and international television crews, pursued the diminutive Archbishop Tutu.

There was, however, a minor hiccup as the ballot papers arrived late — a problem that marred the first day of voting — forcing the Archbishop, with ever-present media officer John Allen to wait at the door while officials made frantic efforts to sort out the problem.

But, at least he had company — the Press and well-wishers including former New York mayor David Dinkins.

At 8.35am, the IEC monitors walked in with the ballot papers — and cheers went up. Within minutes, the voting officials were ready.

Doing a victory jig, a smiling Archbishop Tutu went to vote. After dropping his ballot paper into the box, Archbishop Tutu cheered loudly and clapped his head above his hands and proclaimed himself "happy".

Two hours later, Patricia de Lille, the PAC's regional premier candidate led her entourage into the Uluntu Centre. No one in the crowd protested as the group jumped the queue.

Once again, the IEC officials maintained the secrecy curtain as Mrs De Lille cast her vote for the "land to return to the African — the rightful owners".

Like the "Arch", the fiery trade unionist-turned-politician addressed the Press — and, in keeping with tradition, spoke her mind, casting doubts about the freeness and fairness of the system.

At Guguletu Civic Hall, the queue of thousands of voters snaked around the NY 50 shopping complex.

Several tired voters sat in chairs; others carried umbrellas.

Inside the yard, some relaxed on the lawn as they waited for their turn to enter the hall. Interprising vendors made brisk business and voting proceeded without a hitch.

In Khayelitsha, things did not run as smoothly.

At Matthew Goniwe High School, voting material failed to arrive on Wednesday.

For several hours, anxious election officers contacted the local IEC office, but in vain. Election monitors tried to pacify the crowd.

About noon the irate voters could not take it and vented their anger on IEC officials, blaming them for sabotaging their chances to vote for their leaders.

The crisis was averted by local ANC officials. Sensing that hundreds of their potential supporters would miss the boat, they organised buses and taxis to take the frustrated voters to other polling stations in Mitchell's Plain.

At Luhlaza, voters waited for eight hours before the relevant material arrived.

A similar problem hit the Nomsa Mapongwana polling station in Khayelitsha where the material also arrived eight hours late.

But on the second day, voting at the polling stations went on smoothly — and by noon the queues had virtually disappeared.

304A

30/04/94

Smile the beloved country — a day of hope and celebration

LIBBY PEACOCK reporting from Mitchell's Plain and the Bo-Kaap.

THE day was marked mostly by endless serpentine queues, stoic middle-aged couples with coffee flasks, an icy Cape winter wind and showers, a high profile of independent and peace monitors and a low profile of security force members.

Most voting stations in the area opened late, but voters had waited more than 40 years for their chance to be part of the political decision-making of their Fatherland.

They were prepared to wait, like voters elsewhere in the Cape — with subdued excitement, dignity and pride.

Westridge resident Donovan Daniels, who had been up since 3am and was

queueing with his wife, Patricia, and their son Duran, 2, summed it up: "I am excited. I can't explain it now. You can feel it in the air ..."

Much, much later, casting my own ballot at Schotsekloof Civic Centre in the Bo-Kaap, I found it hard to wipe the stupid grin off my face.

Here we all were, South Africans of all colours, creeds and political persuasions, making light banter, clutching ID documents of all shapes and sizes, making our mark on the most beautiful, colourful, ballot sheet I have ever seen.

On leaving the hall with icy rain stinging my face in the dark, a stranger offered me a share of her umbrella.

'I'm voting come hell or high water'

ESANN DE KOCK reporting from the northern suburbs

VOTERS in the northern areas of Cape Town drew their crosses in good spirits, in spite of a few election hiccups in the area.

A resident of the Marconi Beam squatter settlement remarked while standing in line in the pouring rain: "I've locked my shack. I've sent my family out to vote and I'm going to vote today — come hell or high water."

In Table View, people were proud to stand their ground in the long, long queues. Even on Thursday, when its neighbouring polling station of Bloubaarsdrand ran out of ballot boxes, Table View voting officials proudly accommodated the avalanche of voters from other areas.

They apparently had worked from early morning to make sure their station had enough of everything.

A despondent and tired-looking IEC official said: "I've really got better things to do. There's a whole stack of ironing waiting for me at home!"

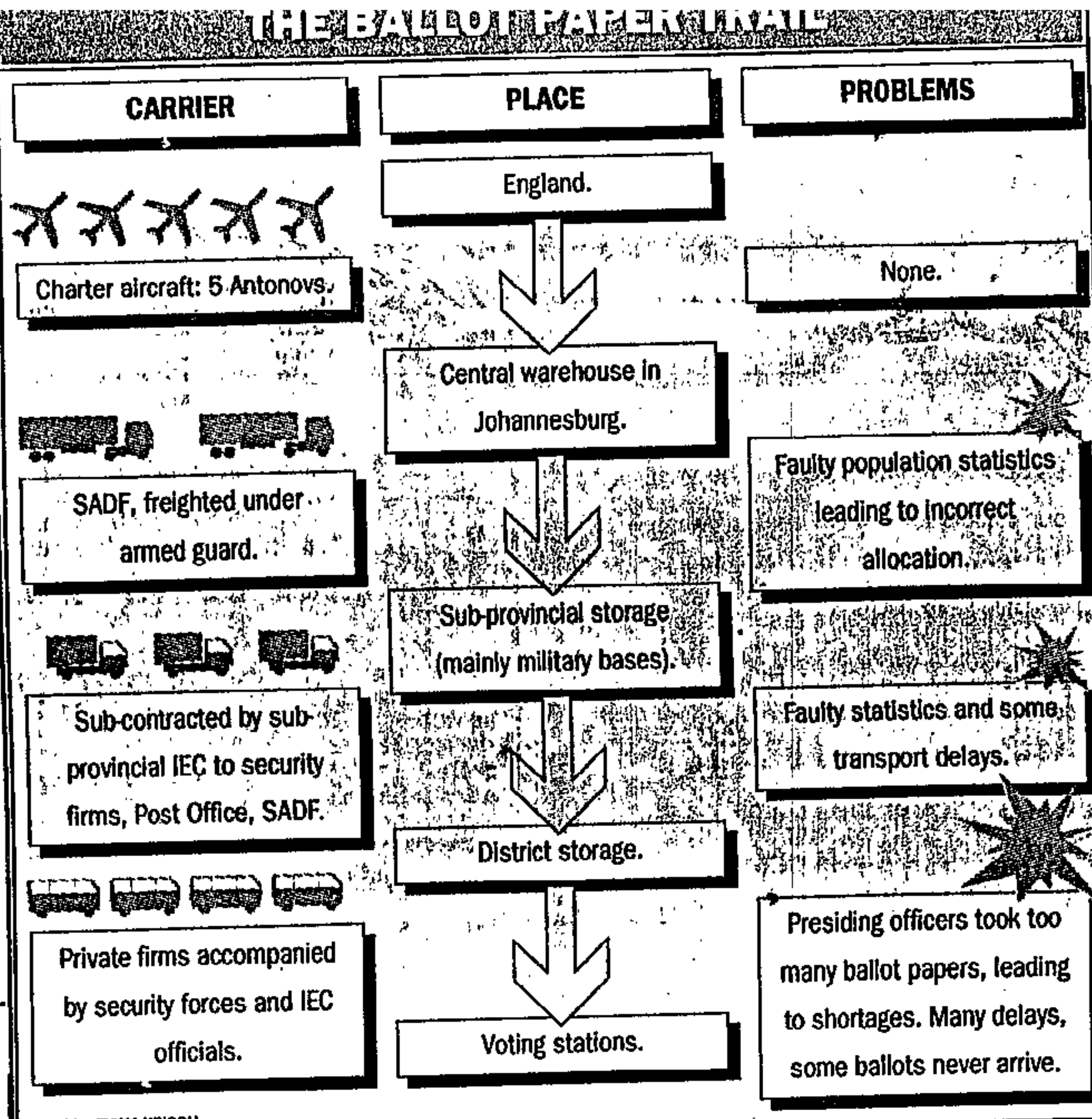
There was a bomb scare at Kraaifontein Community Centre and a persistent lay-preacher daily cajoled voters at Knuts River's Van Riebeeck Hall that people should follow God instead of taking the law into their own hands.

IEC officials at Brackenfell Civic Centre and Voortrekker Hall in Kraaifontein ran out of ballot papers on Wednesday evening.



Picture: ROY WIGLEY, Weekend Argus

☐ **READY AND WAITING:** Voters at Marconi Beam display their identity documents — and huge smiles — as they wait patiently for their turn to cast their votes. Many voters waited for hours to post their ballot papers, but said they'd waited for so many years that another few hours would not be a problem.



Complaints about poll foul-ups swamp IEC

STimes 11/5/94

By GAVIN EVANS and JOCELYN MAKER

THE multiple pressures of time, last-minute logistical changes and a faltering administration strained the credibility of this week's election, leading to cries of foul play from Cape Town to Beitbridge.

From the Northern Transvaal came Democratic Party claims of a million "missing" ballot papers and tens of thousands unable to vote as around 160 polling stations failed to open.

The logistical disarray led to an IEC decision to delay counting in the vast region until this morning.

Kwazulu Natal was the province where the greatest number of irregularities occurred — enough, perhaps, to raise serious doubts about whether the poll there was genuinely free and fair.

Among the most serious were the removal of ballot boxes and voting materials and the setting up of "pirate" voting stations, allegedly by IFP supporters and Kwazulu policemen.

The IEC acknowledged that by

Friday night ballot papers had still not reached the Jozini and Ingwavuma areas of northern Natal, leaving thousands disenfranchised.

The IFP also made several complaints against the ANC in Kwazulu Natal, most involving allegations of intimidation and irregularities. However, the main complaint from the IFP was the failure of IEC officials to attach Inkatha stickers to ballot papers.

The problems in Natal were exacerbated by the arrival of busloads of Transkeians who came to vote there after polling stations near the Transkei-Natal border failed to open. In addition, only one of the 54 voting stations in the Centane district in western Transkei had opened by Friday morning. Several failed to open at all.

Poor administration and a decision by the IEC in Transkei to open 600 extra polling stations less than a week before voting started seemed to have been the main cause of the problems in the area.

From a polling station in Mdantsane came a PAC com-

plaint that the presiding officer had arrived "extremely drunk and shouting at everybody" before he collapsed in "a drunken stupor". (304A)

In both the Khayalitsha township in the Western Cape and the East Rand there were serious shortages of ballot papers, equipment and in some cases IEC personnel on Tuesday and Wednesday. But by Thursday most of these problems had been resolved and voting went ahead without serious interruption.

On Friday afternoon the enumerators were sent home from the greater Johannesburg counting station at Nasrec. Although millions of ballot papers waited for the first stage of counting, there was nothing for them to do, IEC officials said.

"The IEC organisation is breathtakingly inefficient," said Democratic Party MP Douglas Gibson.

NP and DP officials said they were outraged at the lax security and disorganisation at the counting centre, but did not expect this to affect the result.

DP set for soul-searching and crisis over leadership

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Zach de Beer finally put his de facto withdrawal from public life in writing this week, following months of criticism of his lack of active leadership.

Citing the DP's poor election performance, Dr de Beer vacated his post just moments before the announcement that the DP had achieved only 1,73 percent of the national vote.

His withdrawal from the party has effectively paved the way for Houghton MP Tony Leon to ascend to the throne, sparking a new crisis within the party.

While Mr Leon appears to be the likely replacement for Dr de Beer — party chairman Ken Andrew is another contender — his penchant for political incorrectness could pull the party further away from the black voters it so desperately needs.

Already party officials have begun suggesting that a black leader be found before the 1999 election if the DP is to survive.

Dazed party officials spent the week searching for explanations and punching calculators to establish whether or not they would make it to Parliament.

By Friday, it became clear that the DP would have just seven seats in the National Assembly



END OF THE ROAD
Former DP leader Zach de Beer

and a smattering of places in provincial legislatures.

And it would play no role in the government of national unity, with no national or provincial cabinet posts and a handful of representatives in the senate.

For Mr Andrew the DP's demise was the result of "what you might call the basic forces of history" — the emergence of the ANC and the NP as the only two parties in the game.

"Our target constituency had a fear of the ANC and wanted something big to oppose it. On the black side, it was just a liberation election," he said.

Mr Leon appeared shell-

shocked: "We ran a reasonable campaign, but it never made any difference. The FW de Klerk-Nelson Mandela debate was the turning point. Suddenly it boiled down to a choice between the NP and the ANC." (304A)

Whatever party officials might say, a deeper malaise appears to have prevented the party from making the changes needed to make an impact on the electorate. An old guard leadership insisted on retaining the ailing Dr de Beer at the helm, even when opinion polls made it clear that he was half as popular as his party among voters.

While they succeeded in clutching on to the leadership, the old guard, represented by Mr Andrew, Mr Colin Eglin and former Houghton MP Helen Suzman, failed to develop the party's policy backbone. Voters were never told what the DP stood for. Instead they were fed a diet of anti-ANC Red-baiting.

Ironically, the once liberal DP and the Freedom Front ended up being the only white political parties in the election, with the National Party having shifted its focus to new constituencies.

For the moment, at least, Mr Leon has retained his sense of humour. "I'm re-reading Nixon — he knew about coming back when you're down," he said.

Northern Transvaal, ballots were delivered late, but it was not a reflection on the IEC itself. They did an impressive job.

Stability must surely be your main concern now. What threats to stability do you see?

Let me first clear up one report that I am going to raise taxes, that I am going to tax whites. I don't know where they picked up that statement. If there is anything I am conscious about it is not to frighten the minorities, especially the white minority. What I said is that everybody must pay a fair tax; secondly we want a low tax rate to attract investment, both locally and from abroad.

To establish stability in this country is not a great problem. The only people who can create

Sunday Times editor Ken Owen's interview with ANC president Nelson Mandela at his home in Houghton, Johannesburg, yesterday

instability are the leaders, ourselves. If we are committed to the ideal of a government of national unity, which will bring into government the leaders of every party, I think we shall be in a position to deal with any threat, certainly of violence, that comes.

In our economic policies — the reconstruction and development plan, for example — there is not a single reference to things like nationalisation, and this is not accidental. There is not a single slogan that will connect us with

LOOK DOWN UPON US... We are now planning a second meeting with them because we are concerned that we should put before the country a plan which embraces the concerns and the fears of all population groups, especially business. I have not taken a single extended visit abroad without coming back to report to business what I have been doing.

What I have done, Ken, is to see heads of states, the heads of governments, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, commercial banks and industrial organisations to say, 'We are building a new country, we want your assistance with resources.'

We can never get the support of business if we are going to have

do things which arise out of the fact that there is no contact between the government of national unity and Inkatha. We are going to press them to keep within the process, and to participate as far as possible.

There have been suggestions that Mr de Klerk will be assigned mainly a ceremonial role as deputy president. Is that true?

No, no, no. He will have the full powers of a deputy president except that he will be the second deputy president. We have had differences, as you know, but I still regard him as a man of integrity who has made a valuable contribution. I have hammered him only on one point — his lack of candour as far as the existence of a Third Force is concerned.

It's power to the people as democracy wins the day

From Page 1

around the country gave the elections a clean bill of health — just.

Delivering the verdict on behalf of the UN, Commonwealth, Organisation of African Unity and European Union, Mr Lakhdah Ibrahimi, former foreign minister of Algeria, said observers were satisfied "the people of South Africa were able to participate freely in the voting".

While noting "major administrative and logistical problems" — including problems in the provision of identity documents, the

Prison voting was a success

prisons went off "extremely well" despite a last minute decision by the government only to allow certain categories to vote.

Only awaiting trial prisoners, prisoners who had committed non-violent crimes and those who were given an option of a fine were able to vote.

Department of Correctional Services spokesman Lieutenant Rudi Potgieter said: "All over the country voting went off extremely well in prisons, despite the last minute decision."

late recruitment of polling staff, delayed and changing decisions on the siting of polling stations, difficulties with the supply of voting materials and confusion with administrative regulations — the observer missions put these down to the short time the IEC was given to organise the elections and the last-minute changes involved in adding the IFP to the ballot papers.

The head of the Commonwealth mission, former Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley, said that in signing the certificate declaring the process to be free and fair, he felt he would be "signing the death certificate of apartheid and colonialism, and new South Africa".

He said SA was on the "threshold of re-entry into the Commonwealth family".

Sir David Steele, former British Liberal Party leader and a member of the European parliamentary group Awepa, said he had observed the elections in Kwazulu Natal and came away convinced that people there had voted freely and fairly.

Awepa made a more detailed criticism of the shortcomings, focusing on

the lack of preparedness of the IEC's administration directorate, but said such "teething problems" were to be expected in first-time elections. (3044)

It noted there were "many opportunities for manipulation and fraud", but said these did not seem to have been exploited on "any significant scale" and concluded the elections were "held in a free and fair manner".

Both Awepa and the UN group went out of their way to praise the role played by the army and police force.

They stressed their conclusions applied only to the elections process, and that their brief did not involve judging the results.

Meanwhile, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday that "despite all the problems, we believe that the elections were run on a free and fair basis — we applaud the IEC, which has conducted mission impossible".

He added: "The ANC expects we will win a handsome victory and are confident we are going to achieve more than 60 percent of the poll."

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the elections offered hope for reconciliation. However, he warned that if there was proof of widespread elections malpractice, he would challenge the results.

Speaking after the first result had been announced, NP leader FW de Klerk said it was good to see the NP's name "up there and other parties down there", but added he wanted to refrain from interpreting one result.

Tough fi



ELECTION CLASH . . . Angry party agents with terday. In the centre is the deputy district elect agents clashed over allegations of IEC collusion

ANC and govern new amnesty agi

By EDYTH BULBRING Political Correspondent

ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk have agreed to grant an amnesty for political crimes committed before December 6 last year.

The agreement between the leaders was concluded with the security forces in mind and is aimed at ensuring stability during the transition. It will be an-

nounced within six weeks.

The interim constitution makes provision for an amnesty for political crimes committed between October 8, 1990, and December 6 last year. But the new amnesty agreement will have the effect of indemnifying members of the security forces for crimes committed in the 1980s.

The agreement between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela extends the 1990 indemnity arrangement to apply to members of security forces for crimes committed before the date. It also includes further legislation to deal with crimes committed between October 1990 and December 6 last year.

Government and ANC sources said amnesty would be granted to peo-

WEATHER

TRANSVAAL: Cloudy and mild, but cold on the Highveld and escarpment. Drizzle and fog expected over the escarpment and isolated showers in the south and south-west.

FREE STATE and LESOTHO: Cloudy and cold in the north-east. Otherwise partly cloudy and mild with scattered showers.

NATAL and SWAZILAND: Partly cloudy and mild but warm along the coast. Isolated thundershowers along the Drakensberg.

EASTERN CAPE and TRANSKEI: Partly cloudy and mild with scattered showers and thunder-

showers. Warm in the west.

WEST and CENTRAL CAPE: Fine and warm but partly cloudy over the eastern interior with isolated thundershowers.

NORTHERN CAPE: Partly cloudy and warm with showers.

	High/Low	High/Low
Cape Town	0726/0124	2011/1346
Mossel Bay	0732/0116	2016/1336
Kyness	0746/0129	2028/1346
Port Elizabeth	0731/0116	2014/1335
East London	0737/0118	2020/1337
Durban	0720/0106	1958/1326
Walvis Bay	0812/0130	2039/1404

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... security, finance, and so-
cial. Are you happy with that
formula?

I have not heard that rumour,
but I have said that I am interest-
ed in stability in this country and
it is going to be necessary for us
to ensure this stability by the
cabinet appointments we make,
but I have not yet discussed these
matters with my organisation.

**Would you keep Dr Stals at the
Reserve Bank?**

I would recommend that.

**What about amnesty? Will an
extended amnesty be secret? Will
we never know who committed
what crimes?**

You know that opponents of
apartheid were granted indemnity
provided they made applica-

we are looking
after disclosure.

Of course, there will be no
amnesty for crimes committed
after December 1993.

**After stability, when things set-
tle down, you will have to deal
with expectations. What are your
three top priorities?**

We have spelled out our priori-
ties: the creation of 2.5-million
jobs, the building of one million
homes, free and universal educa-
tion. These are the central issues,
in that order, but this does not
mean that we will ignore other
needs. There is, naturally, also
the question of peace.

Will you disarm the nation?
That is absolutely imperative.
We must devise a strategy of gun

message must go across very
clearly, and I hope that every
leader will realise how important
it is for us not only to preach but
to take some concrete steps to
ensure reconciliation.

The question of indemnity, for
example, is part of that concilia-
tion. The fact that we have avoid-
ed targeting any community,
even the white community, is an
attempt to avoid creating fear or
concern which may induce our
people to leave the country.

Whatever criticism we have of
the policy of racial discrimina-
tion, the reality is that the whites
in this country have had opportu-
nities which we have not had —
opportunities of education, of
acquiring knowledge, skill and

moral standards which are being
preached by religious groups so
as to keep the moral standards in
government very high.

**Does your appeal for support
in the process go to all the people
not just the media?**

It is addressed to all the people.
We want all population groups to
accept that South Africa is one
country, one people, whether we
are Africans, coloureds, Indians
or whites, and that it is our duty
to participate in the process of
promoting the spirit of recon-
ciliation and nation building.

This is the approach and the
appeal I am making, the election
is past. Now we should come
together with our political oppo-
nents, pick up the pieces and build
our country.

Light looms over cabinet

SITimes 115194

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

**ANC leader Nelson Man-
dela and the NP's FW de
Klerk will meet on Tuesday
to begin negotiations on
forming a cabinet of
national unity (3044)**

The negotiations are going to
be tough, with both leaders
attempting to secure the most
important portfolios for their
parties while trying to reach a
settlement which will ensure
stability and good government.

According to the Constitution,
parties with five percent of the
vote are entitled to a cabinet seat.

But the new president, likely to
be Mr Mandela, also has the final
say on the appointment of cabinet
ministers and which portfolios
the other parties receive.

Mr Mandela's priority will be
to ensure that the ANC controls
those portfolios that will enable
the new government to imple-
ment its reconstruction and de-
velopment programme.

He will also have to ensure his
cabinet ministers will have the
confidence and co-operation of
the business community, the se-
curity forces and the civil ser-
vice.

With this in mind, two minis-
ters in the present NP cabinet
who are assured of jobs are Mr
Kobie Coetsee, who is likely to
retain the defence portfolio, and

Mr Derek Keys, who will be given
the trade and industry portfolio.

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk,
Mr Chris Fisser, said yesterday
the key word in forming a cabinet
was negotiation.

He conceded that the new
president was constitutionally
entitled to choose his new cabinet
as he pleased, but said that this
attitude would have serious con-
sequences for the country.

The Constitution urged that the
formation of the cabinet be in
keeping with the spirit of con-
sultation.

Should this spirit be ignored,
the new government would not
last and the new president would
have to cope with angry parties in
a divided cabinet and a disrupted
Parliament, Mr Fisser said.

The civil service, the security
forces and the business commu-
nity would also lose confidence in
the new government.

Mr Fisser said the first task in
negotiating a new cabinet was to
divide the cabinet portfolios into
categories.

The NP saw these as:

● Security, which included
defence, law and order, and cor-
rectional services;

● Economic affairs, which
included finance and trade, and
industry; and

● Social affairs and admini-
stration, which included health,
education, and the commission
for administration.

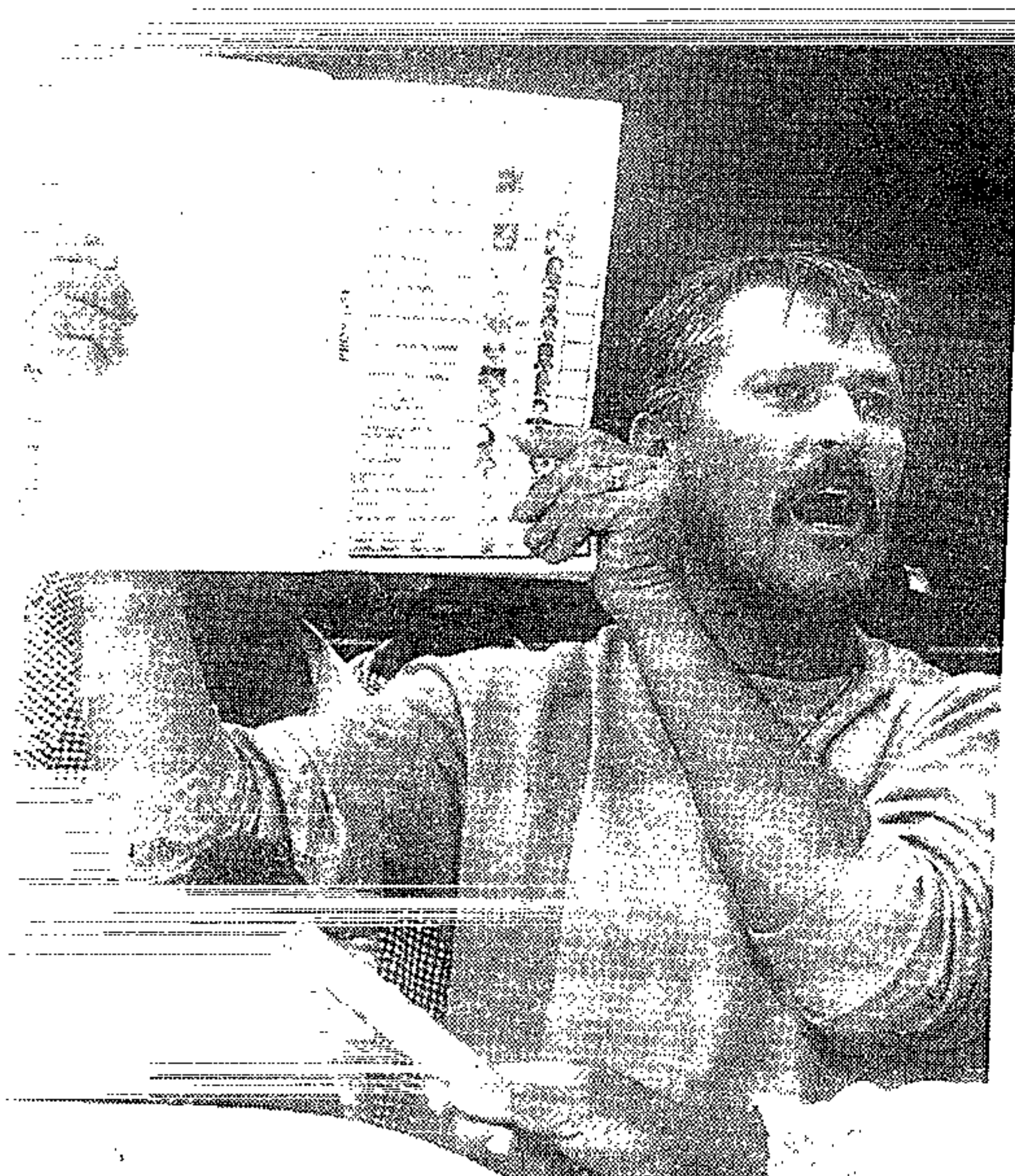
This division would help with
the assignment of portfo-
lios, and would also en-
courage ministers in each
category to work together
to gain consensus.

Mr Fisser said that if
Mr de Klerk had to form a
cabinet, he would make
sure there was an "element
of national unity" in each
of the three categories.

Once these portfolios
had been shared out be-
tween the parties, the indi-
viduals for these portfolios
would be chosen.

Mr Fisser said it was
the NP's view that the par-
ty leaders would make this
decision and make the
recommendation to the
president.

There would obviously
be further negotiation on
the people nominated.



of the unused ballots discovered in a parked car at Nasrec yes-
- officer Mr Mohamed Hussain. Fists flew as enraged IFP and ANC
An inquiry is to be held
Picture: JON HRUSA

ment in cement

who applied for it, and
would not be a blanket am-
nesty. Their names would
be published in the Govern-
ment Gazette. However,
the crimes for which they
were seeking indemnity
would not be publicly
linked to the applicants.

Details of the categories
of political offences have
not been completed, but
there is agreement be-
tween Mr Mandela and Mr
de Klerk that crimes such
as the assassination of
SACP secretary-general
Chris Hani will not qualify.

The sources said the
ANC had over the past two
months come to a keener
realisation that to ensure
the stability of a govern-
ment of national unity it
would need the co-opera-
tion of the security forces
and the public service.

Buthelezi says elections offer hope for the future

By PETER De IONNO

INKATHA Freedom Party
leader Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi said the elections
offered hope for reconcilia-
tion in South Africa.

However, he warned
that if there was proof of
widespread election mal-
practice he would chal-
lenge the results.

Chief Buthelezi, speak-
ing in Ulundi yesterday,
said peace at the polls had
been "a triumph for de-
mocracy" and had raised
his hopes for harmony in
the new South Africa.

"We have shown that
any problem can be solved
by sitting and working to-
gether," he said.

While he had severe res-
ervations about fairness in
the conducting of the elec-

tion, he had no complaints
about the freedom to vote.

His followers had never
been unwilling to partici-
pate in the election — only
the issue of the recognition
of King Goodwill Zwelithi
and the king's claims
for the Zulu nation had
stood in their way.

Chief Buthelezi said a
new government in South
Africa had an obligation to
make black poverty and
joblessness their first
priority. (264)

The chief, struggling to
fight off the effects of se-
vere flu, said Friday's addi-
tional day of voting in
Kwazulu had helped ease
pressures and disappoint-
ment after the confusion
that had marred the first
two days of voting.

He added the IFP was

still convinced many peo-
ple had missed their
chance to vote.

He warned that numer-
ous reports of irregulari-
ties threatened to under-
mine the result.

"If these things are wide-
spread then the result must
be challenged," he said.

"One or two things can
be overlooked for a first
election," he said.

"But I don't think South
Africa can tolerate a cul-
ture of fraudulent practice
in the name of having elec-
tions."

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Problems in the Transvaal and the Northern Transvaal, ballots were not a

THIS IS AN EDITED TEXT OF
Sunday Times editor
Ken Owen's interview with ANC

took down their criticisms, and accommodated them. We are do things which arise

Power to.1

STimes 1/5/94

Sunday Times Reporters

UNOFFICIAL election results last night indicated sweeping ANC victories of up to 80 percent in the Free State, Eastern Transvaal and North West provinces (2044)

With just over 100 000 votes counted, the ANC had 59 100 (58,5 percent), the NP 34 485 (34,5 percent), the Freedom Front 3 965 (four percent) and the DP 929 (0,9 percent).

The Independent Electoral Commission, hampered by poor communications and confusion in many counting stations, was unable to provide up-to-the-minute results. By 9pm, it had released Western Cape figures showing that the NP was well in the lead in the province.

After a full day of trying to reconcile the ballot boxes before counting, IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said the IEC was abandoning that procedure as being "of minimal value as it tells us nothing of consequence".

Still outstanding were results from ANC strongholds such as the Northern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal and PWV.

All that was available from the Eastern Transvaal was a limited provincial result which gave the ANC over 80 percent.

Preliminary results showed the ANC had won 76 percent of the vote in the Free State and 81 percent in the North West. The NP, the only other major contender in the race, captured 16 percent in the former and nine percent in the latter.

The PAC, Freedom Front, DP and Inkatha had negligible showings. Inkatha, however, has its main strength in Natal, and counting glitches in that province make it unlikely results will be out until later today or tomorrow.

As results dribbled out last night, it became apparent that the IEC, the body responsible for holding the elections, had badly

RESULTS GUIDE

ON Page 11 we publish a cut-out-and-keep election results guide. We will be updating the results throughout Saturday night and in our two special editions on Sunday morning

ly underestimated the task of polling upwards of 22-million people.

Problems which delayed ballot-counting at Nasrec near Johannesburg, Mitchells Plain near Cape Town and Queenstown and Umtata in the Eastern Cape were solved last night.

The IEC said counting at Nasrec started at 5pm after Mr Justice Kriegler, PWV commissioner Mrs Helen Suzman and political party representatives reached an agreement on procedures.

The IEC said counting was going ahead at Mitchells Plain after IEC officials had agreed to accept ballot boxes, and staff discontent about pay at Umtata and Queenstown had been settled.

Despite technical problems, counting was proceeding at Empangeni in Natal, the IEC said.

Counting in Kwazulu Natal had to be moved from Ulundi to Nongoma after political parties complained about the venue.

By 6pm yesterday, two of 12 counting stations in the region had begun counting. The remaining 10 were expected to start later in the evening.

Shortly after 5pm yesterday, a major counting station in the Eastern Cape, the East London City Hall, was evacuated after a bomb threat to the IEC's regional offices. However, counting resumed later in the evening.

Counting was taking place in Umtata last night, despite reports of a strike by IEC staff in the operation room.

In Durban, police were called in to restore calm after counters who were no longer needed refused to leave the grounds of the city's major counting centre, the Durban Expo. Counting was postponed until this morning.

Despite the continuing confusion in counting, international observers who have spent the last week visiting polling stations

□ To Page 2



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New flag goes to the end of the earth



SNOW ADVENTURE: Folke Kahmen of Cape Town prepares for his epic voyage later this year to the North Pole — where he plans to plant the first new South African flag. German-born Folke says he thinks of himself as a true African. He is sailing as a fee-paying passenger on the Russian icebreaker Yamal. "I am very proud of our new flag and I think it is fitting that I will be able to plant it in one of the most remote parts of the world," he said this week.

Picture: TERRY SHEAR

Fists fly in row over unused ballots

By HEATHER DUGMORE

A National Party agent had some choice words about security at the main counting station in Johannesburg yesterday.

"Boswell-Wilkie Circus — eat your heart out. Here comes the IEC and it is a hard act to follow," said the NP's Gavin Bitter.

He was reacting to the uproar caused when 12 boxes of unused ballot

papers were discovered in the back of an unguarded, unofficial car outside the Nasrec counting station near Soweto.

Angry party agents traded insults and soldiers were called in to calm the crowd. At one stage, Mrs Sheila Camerer of the NP even called for the driver to be arrested.

The vehicle was escorting ballot papers from Protea North, Soweto, to Nasrec, where votes from 125 polling

stations in Soweto and 93 polling stations in Johannesburg are being counted.

Fights broke out between agents after an IFP agent alleged that the incident was evidence of collusion between the IEC and ANC.

Deputy electoral officer Mahomed Hussain said the vehicle delivered the papers in accordance with procedure and had been used due to a transport shortage in Protea North.

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FACE TO FACE WITH A PRESIDENT-IN-WAITING

By KEN OWEN
Editor

MR NELSON MANDELA promised yesterday to eschew radical policies, and he appealed to all South Africans to join him in nation-building and reconciliation.

In the course of a 15-minute interview at his home in Houghton, Mr Mandela returned again to the theme of reconciliation, going out of his way to emphasise that great tasks ahead would require the help and participation of the skilled white community.

He disclosed that the motives behind his actions, ranging from the composition of his cabinet to amnesty for the police to taxation policy, stemmed in large part from his desire to stabilise society and bring previously warring communities closer to each other.

Mr Mandela said he hoped to find ways to bring the regions — Christian, Muslim and Jewish — into his administration to raise the moral tone of government.

Far from striking post-revolutionary postures, he pointed out that the ANC's plan for reconstruction and development contained "not a single reference to nationalisation" and "not a single slogan that will connect us with any Marxist ideology".

He dwelt on the need to reassure businessmen and investors, here and abroad, and said he would like to retain the services of Dr

QUOTE

"If there is anything I am conscious about, it is not to frighten the minorities, especially the white minority"

Chris Stals as Governor of the Reserve Bank.

He hoped for a government of national unity, which might include not only Mr F W de Klerk but also "(General Constand) Viljoen and Zach de Beer and (Chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and (Mr Clarence) Makwetu — people who don't share at all in radical left policies". As an afterthought, he added, "with the exception perhaps of the PAC".

He spoke appreciatively of Mr de Klerk's contribution to change and of the value of his experience in government, saying their only serious clash had arisen from the question of a "Third Force" that had caused the death of many of his people.

He disclosed, too, that the ANC's economic programme had been discussed with Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former chairman of Anglo American, and with other business leaders. He said a second meeting was planned.

England tour back in touch

By DAN RETIEF

THE England rugby team will arrive in South Africa on May 12 for a two-Test tour after worries about the country abated.

While saying the tour had never been in serious doubt, SA Rugby Union president Louis Luyt said he had received an assurance from the English Rugby Union on Friday.

● See page 30



GREAT TASKS AHEAD ... Mandela is interviewed by Owen yesterday

Picture: DAVID SANDISON

Mandela reassures whites in plea for conciliation

While he could not talk of cabinet appointments except in the most general terms, he did indicate that he was anxious to ensure stability and continuity in the general management of the country.

Mr Mandela was relaxed but earnest as he awaited the first results of the election, and talked without notes. His frankness was, at times, startling.

He began by promising to abide by the election result, no matter what it turned out to be, and said his criticism of "massive sabotage" earlier in the week had not been directed at the IEC but to "people lower down" whom he blamed for the failure to deliver ballots to ANC strongholds in the Northern Transvaal, the Transkei and elsewhere.

Then he turned spontaneously to his major theme, denying a published report that he had threatened to raise taxes, especially for whites.

"I don't know where they picked up that statement," he said. "If there is anything I am conscious about, it is not to frighten the minorities, especially the white minority."

Mr Mandela reiterated his previous assurance that, while everybody had to pay fair taxes, he hoped for a low tax rate that would encourage local and foreign investment.

Recalling his visits abroad, during which he met foreign heads of state and heads of government,

officials of the World Bank and the IMF, commercial bankers and business leaders Mr Mandela said he had told them: "We are building a new country, and we want your assistance with resources."

"We can never get the support of business if we are going to have radical policies."

He was uncompromising on some points. It was "absolutely imperative" to disarm the nation and establish gun control; he would pay taxes on his salary and, to set an example of frugality, would reduce his salary "closer to that of the ordinary people".

He would prefer to live in his own house, but con-

ceded that it was probably unrealistic — for security reasons, he would have to live in the official residences.

But he would not permit cabinet ministers to draw government subsidies, as the Nationalist ministers had done, for living in their own houses.

● Full text Page 2

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UNLIKE most countries, SA's first democratic elections will lead not only to a change of government but also to a change of state. The elections will, over time, herald far-reaching changes to institutions of government at national, regional and local levels.

Apartheid, by its nature, created a myriad of segregated institutions serving different racial groups. Now that a majority government is about to be sworn in, many of the old institutions will be abolished or recast and others created in their place.

It is against this background that recent controversies affecting the public service should be understood.

As a distinct issue in negotiations, the public service rose to prominence late last year when the finer details of the draft constitution were being finalised. The controversy around post-elections employment guarantees for public servants, largely orchestrated by Cosatu, illustrated the differing sensitivities of the NP and the ANC towards the bureaucracy. It is widely accepted that the NP pressed for employment provisions under pressure from white public servants in central government, anxious about their career prospects after the elections.

Homeland public servants are, as events in Bophuthatswana, Lebowa and other homelands illustrate, also apprehensive. Some of the concerns differ but the point remains: the public service is now firmly placed at the centre of the SA transition.

SA's public service has never been far removed from the centre of political conflict, whether within the narrow confines of white politics or in terms of black-white politics.

The Africanisation of the public service, after the NP's 1948 election victory, placed the public service in the domain of white politics and most notably affected senior management echelons. Today 96% of senior public servants in central government are white; the overwhelming majority are Afrikaners.

Within the black community the key role of the public service in implementing apartheid policies was primarily responsible for its poor

Continuity is the goal but not without fundamental change

RICHARD HUMPHRIES

81 Bay 215/94

standing. Only in the homelands from the late '70s did senior positions open up substantially for blacks.

This rapid upward mobility points to a characteristic common to all public service structures in SA: that they operate within a "closed, ideologically confining patronage system". This comment was applied to the Transkeian public service last year by academics Southall, Segar and Donaldson, but it has wider relevance. With few exceptions, however, analysts have targeted their remarks on the central government public service, virtually ignoring the existence of 10 homeland public services, which employ nearly 500 000 people, and the coloured and Indian their own affairs administrations.

Various factors explain this myopic vision. The most important is a reaction against the centrality of "white Afrikaner males" in the policy-making process in Pretoria and fears that this group could hinder radically new post-election reconstruction policies. Options to limit any such resistance are thus high on the agenda.

A related explanation is rooted in the realisation that, since the pool of technically competent bureaucrats in the bantustans is shallow, these people will generally play a limited role in transforming the senior echelons in Pretoria.

A much greater role is accorded to

bringing in people who have had little or no experience in public service structures, and to widening processes of policy-making to include organs or civil society.

A further factor might follow from an earlier belief that the homeland system would develop vested interests and be a conservative force. But homeland public servants have realised the need to destroy the system in order to protect and advance their own interests in a post-apartheid society. Some say we will have an "SA public service" only after the elections, when these apartheid-derived barriers will formally end and the structures are integrated.

Somewhat ironically, it would appear that both the ANC and the NP hold a much more nuanced view towards public service. This is perhaps not surprising since they have accepted that a government of national unity should rule for five years. That government is predicated upon an acceptance of "political realities", and this extends to the public service.

The first signs of such a convergence emerged in late 1992 after the record of understanding between the ANC and the NP revived negotiations. The ANC accepted the need for

continuity within the public service while the NP accepted that affirmative action was needed in the senior ranks of the public service. Both accepted that the changes would be through bureaucratic reform rather than large scale dismantling of apartheid institutions.

Formally the ANC is committed, through its reconstruction and development programme (RDP), to ensuring that by 1999 the personnel composition of the public sector reflects the national distribution of race and gender.

Within two years of the start of the RDP, recruitment and training patterns should reflect SA society in terms of race, class and gender. It is estimated that 60% of all public servants, including those in former TBVC states, are black while 26% are white. Some 48% are women, who are obviously disproportionately represented in health and education sectors.

Meeting the RDP projections entails a substantial increase in black employment, especially at senior levels, and a greater emphasis on female representation outside health and education.

However, the ANC has for some time accepted the need for continuity in public service operations. In November 1992, Nelson Mandela said that a new government would have to have the support of the pub-

lic service, army and police. Whites would not be "cruelly cast aside" and "existing contracts would be respected". In early 1993 Gill Marcus said of public servants: "We are not asking them to go. We will need their skills and experiences."

Albie Sachs has said that the ANC did not want to start a civil war by getting whites fired from their jobs, and accepted that it would not be possible to retrench large numbers of white public servants in order to advance affirmative action.

Stress on continuity is also partly explained by an acceptance that levels of skilled white personnel are more limited than might be popularly imagined. Political idealism aside, the public sector has to compete with a private sector and local governments willing to pay better salaries to improve black representation in its upper echelons.

The NP accepted in August 1992 that the racial profile of central government departments would have to become more representative. Government departments were instructed to attempt to ensure this change at all levels. At senior levels higher salaries could be paid, if necessary, to attract blacks into the public service. The NP government also seems to have accepted some senior public servants might have to be replaced, especially those not prepared to serve under an ANC government.

It has the central government public service, at least, will be marked by a great deal more continuity at senior levels than might be expected. More fundamental changes can be expected at the regional level, given the need to amalgamate the existing regional public services.

Continuity does not suggest that no changes will be made. Clearly the immediate focus of a new government will be directed at the director-general, not only for symbolic importance but because conditions of employment in the public service are regulated by personal contracts. There is likely also to be an opening-up of extra-public service inputs into the policy-making process.

□ Humphries is the Centre for Policy Studies' acting director. This is an edited version of an article in the Natal University Journal Indicator.

Immigrants get the vote

Wilson Zwane

SCORES of Mozambican immigrants cast their votes in the East Rand township of Vosloorus last week after their applications for temporary voters' cards were approved without confirmation of their eligibility to vote. 21594

Several of these Mozambicans said at the weekend they were not asked to prove their eligibility to vote when they applied for the cards at the Vosloorus Town Council's offices on Thursday.

"We were not even asked if there was anyone who could attest to our SA citizenship," one Mozambican said. 3049

He added that he and a number of his friends had been assured by announcements, booming from an aircraft which had been circling over the township earlier on Thursday, that proof of citizenship would not be needed when they applied for the cards.

Home Affairs spokesman Neil du Bois would not comment on the matter, referring all queries to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

Comment could not be obtained from the IEC at the time of going to press.

5 0319 BREDA GORDI GEBES
2 1891 GABRIEL GALEDO
3 2684 MALAM BRUNY
3 2446 KOCHEBERUNG
1 1031 ROBERTSON WELDEGDA

ANC Joicks Up

Late surge in

Western Cape

AKT 2/5/94
(2014)

HUGH ROBERTSON
Political Editor

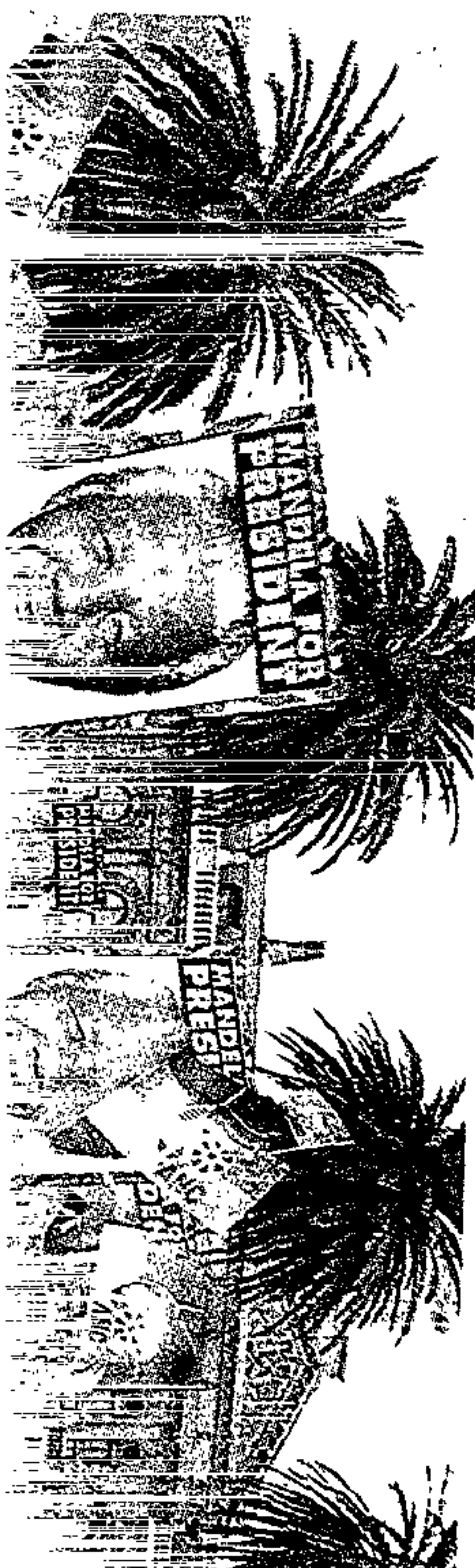
A SURGE of support for the African National Congress in late results from the Western Cape has failed to dislodge the National Party as the region's overall winner — but there are more results to come.

In all but three of the other eight regions the ANC was surging ahead, with its percentage of the national vote now exceeding 57 per cent and moving upwards as results from around the country trickled in.

In the Western Cape regional ballot for the national assembly — the votes cast in the region in the national assembly ballot — the ANC's percentage

Reports, pictures pages 2 - 6

moved up to 35.3 per cent as



Pictures: HANNES THIART, OSED
ZILWA, LEON MÜLLER, The Argus

COMRADES IN ARMS: Former head of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union Shepherd Mdladlana, above left, greets regional ANC premier nominee Allan Boesak and his wife Elina at the Good Hope Cen-

Cape Town streets to close on Friday as president is elected

CLIVE SAWYER
Municipal Reporter

CENTRAL Cape Town streets near the Parade will close on Friday for the celebration of the presidential election.

The National Assembly is scheduled to meet for the first time on Friday for the formal election of a president, two vice-presidents, and the Speaker of parliament.

The president is to make a speech from the City Hall upper balcony at 3pm. After the speech, to be televised worldwide, the president will be hosted at a civic reception in the City Hall.

The Parade, Darling Street between Butekant and Plein streets, and Corporation Street from the Longmarket Street intersection will be closed from Thursday night, and any cars still in the area at 5am on Friday will be towed away.

Employers have been asked to allow staff to leave work early to avoid peak-hour congestion on public transport.

The Cape Town City Council has hired trains to take people home after the ceremony.

Hundreds of marshals will keep order on the Parade, while the police and army will control the perimeter area.

Nearby businesses and stalls on the Parade will be guarded by police.

Police and peace monitors will be on duty in Cape Town station when crowds head for the trains.

A police spokesman said people wanting updates on events on Friday could phone the joint operations centre at 461 2161, or 461 7808, or 461 2902.

A 15m television tower is to be erected over the statue of George VI.

There will be seating for 1 000 journalists in front of the City Hall.

About 500 VIPs are expected to attend the ceremony.

Organisers said it was difficult to estimate what size crowd could be expected, part-



quarters in Cape Town
Davie de Villiers and Her-
nus Kriel, above, stayed
close to the radio to
make sure they didn't
miss any of the poll re-
sults.

Friday, in spite of delays in fin-
alising results of last week's
poll.
Musicians will entertain the
crowd from 10am.
Parade stallholders, victims
when crowds ran amok after
Chris Han's murder last year,
will be open for business.

Buttenant streets, with access
for ambulances, while para-
medics will patrol the Parade.
Forty portable toilets will be
provided.
The library, traffic depart-
ment cash office, and other of-
fices in the City Hall will be
closed.

ANC picks up in late

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for ambulances, while para-
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closed.

The Democratic Party's rally in the region was running at just under 8 percent, far below the 15 percent which some analysts had expected, and with ballots from all other regions enough to secure only about 2,4 percent of the seats in the national assembly for the DP.

According to an Independent Electoral Commission spokesman, the provincial result in the Western Cape would be known later today. All counting in the region had been completed and the results were now being reviewed at IEC headquarters.

According to unofficial sources, a late surge of support for the ANC had pushed its regional percentage up to about 30 percent, but had failed to threaten the NP's regional victory.

● In the Northern Cape, a paradoxical vote gave the NP the lead in regional ballots cast for the national assembly, but the ANC had a lead of about the same margin in votes in the regional election — with the gap narrowing slowly in the NP's favour in the regional election.

● In the PWV region, the ANC's vote continued to hover tantalisingly around the 50 percent mark after 1 380 968 votes there had been counted and accepted by the IEC.

● And in KwaZulu-Natal, the Inkatha Freedom Party's vote share of the vote was down slightly to 53,1 percent, and the ANC's up to 31,1 percent after some 517 000 of the region's votes had been counted — a little more than a third of the estimated total in the region.

The possibility of upset results in the three regions has not been ruled out, and computer projections suggest that the vote could go either way, with the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal feasibly heading a coalition of parties which could challenge the IFP's success.

The surprising KwaZulu result so far — analysts warn that it could change drastically later in the day — suggest that the entry of King Goodwill Zwelithini to the political fray may have swung many Zulus behind the party.

Although the king did not

THE PARTIES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER					
	ANC	IDP	FFP	NP	P
WESTERN CAPE	27,2%	7,3%	1,5%	56,5%	
EASTERN CAPE	70,3%	4,9%	0,6%	19,3%	
NORTHERN CAPE	49,7%	3,0%	0,4%	38,5%	
NORTH WEST	74,3%	0,1%	0,6%	14,5%	
PWV	49,9%	7,4%	3,6%	25,6%	
NORTHERN TVL	83,1%	0,4%	0,2%	7,5%	
EASTERN TVL	79,6%	0,6%	2,0%	9,1%	
OFS	69,5%	4,5%	1,4%	14,1%	
KWAZULU/NATAL	31,1%	1,5%	53,3%	8,9%	

THE 9 REGIONS OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA										
	WESTERN CAPE	EASTERN CAPE	NORTHERN CAPE	NORTH WEST	PWV	NORTHERN TVL	EASTERN TVL	OFS	KWAZULU/NATAL	TOTAL
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	1,0%	1,5%	1,0%	1,5%	1,3%	1,1%	1,4%	1,5%	0,7%	1,3%
SPORTS ORGANISATION FOR COLLECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS AND EQUAL RIGHTS	0,0%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,2%	0,2%	0,1%
THE KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
VRYHEIDSRONT - FREEDOM FRONT	2,2%	1,6%	4,4%	5,5%	4,2%	3,9%	3,7%	3,8%	0,9%	3,2%
WOMEN'S RIGHTS PEACE PARTY	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,4%	0,0%	0,1%
WORKERS' LIST PARTY	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%
AFRICA MUSLIM PARTY	0,5%	0,0%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,0%	0,1%	0,2%
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1,0%	0,7%	0,3%	0,3%	0,5%	0,4%	0,4%	0,3%	0,5%	0,5%
AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%
AFRICAN MODERATES CONGRESS PARTY	0,1%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,3%	0,4%	0,2%	1,1%	0,1%	0,3%
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	35,1%	74,4%	51,5%	75,2%	55,5%	84,5%	80,9%	65,7%	28,9%	57,9%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY - DEMOCRATISE PARTY	4,1%	2,0%	1,4%	0,4%	3,3%	0,3%	0,4%	4,0%	0,9%	2,4%
DIKWANKWELA PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,2%	0,1%	0,0%	0,1%	0,4%	0,1%	0,1%
FEDERAL PARTY	0,2%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,1%
LUSO - SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
MINORITY FRONT	0,1%	0,0%	0,1%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,1%
NATIONAL PARTY	54,6%	18,7%	40,0%	15,6%	29,5%	8,4%	10,5%	13,2%	10,7%	20,0%
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	0,9%	0,4%	0,5%	0,7%	0,8%	0,8%	0,5%	0,1%	0,1%	0,5%



Posts for leaders of PAC, Azapo – Mandela

Star 2/5/94
■ BY AGGREY KLAASTE
and MATHATHA TSEDU

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday said he would offer Cabinet posts to leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Speaking during the

first interview after it became clear that his organisation was leading the election, Mandela said both organisations had contributed significantly to the struggle against white domination and oppression.

"I find it painful that

the PAC should not show strength in these elections. There are men and women in the PAC who have suffered and it is only proper that a role should be found for them in government. This applies to Azapo as well," he said. "Both have outstanding leaders, who

should play a role in ... the new society."

He said that while this was his personal opinion, he was going to put it before the ANC executive committee.

The PAC had polled less than 2 percent by last night, while Azapo

304A
boycotted the elections.

Turning to the implementation of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme, Mandela said that the plan would involve forums where affected communities could determine the priorities.

Mandela pledges low tax to get investment

WASHINGTON — ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela pledged on Saturday to back a tax system favourable to investment in South Africa. He also said the ANC would not seize privately owned land for redistribution.

Mr. Mandela said the country needed "massive resources", including foreign capital, to rebuild the economy.

"I believe in formulating a fair low tax system which will be able to attract foreign investment," he told CNN news in an interview by the Rev Jesse Jackson. Mr. Jackson was in South Africa to monitor elections.

"A high tax rate can frighten investors," Mr. Mandela said. "And I'll make every effort to ensure that although everybody should pay a fair tax, nevertheless we should not raise the tax to an extent it will frighten foreign investors."

Mr. Mandela said foreign capital would play "a very vital role" in rebuilding the economy. "We need massive resources to ensure that our reconstruction and development plan takes hold, the plan to build — to create 2.5 million jobs during the next 10 years, to build one million houses during the next five years," he said.

Mr. Mandela said the government would lead would not appropriate white-owned lands for redistribution. "The white minority has more land than it deserves, but we have no policy to deprive those people who own land," he said.

"We have got vast tracts of state land which can be made available to the masses of the people who do not have land," he said. "In addition, we propose setting up a land bank which will provide the capital to those people who haven't got land, who haven't got capital, to be able to buy land in the market."

Sapa-AFP

Boundary CT 2/5/94 suggestions called for

Municipal Reporter

SUGGESTIONS as to how to draw the boundaries of future local authorities in Cape Town have now been called for by the Cape Metropolitan Negotiating Forum.

Any interested party may put forward suggestions. Provisional maps have already been drawn by the ANC (two different versions), and by groups in the Southern Suburbs and in Constantia.

The forum will have to formulate some principles to guide the process of determining boundaries, co-ordinator Mr David Schmidt said yesterday.

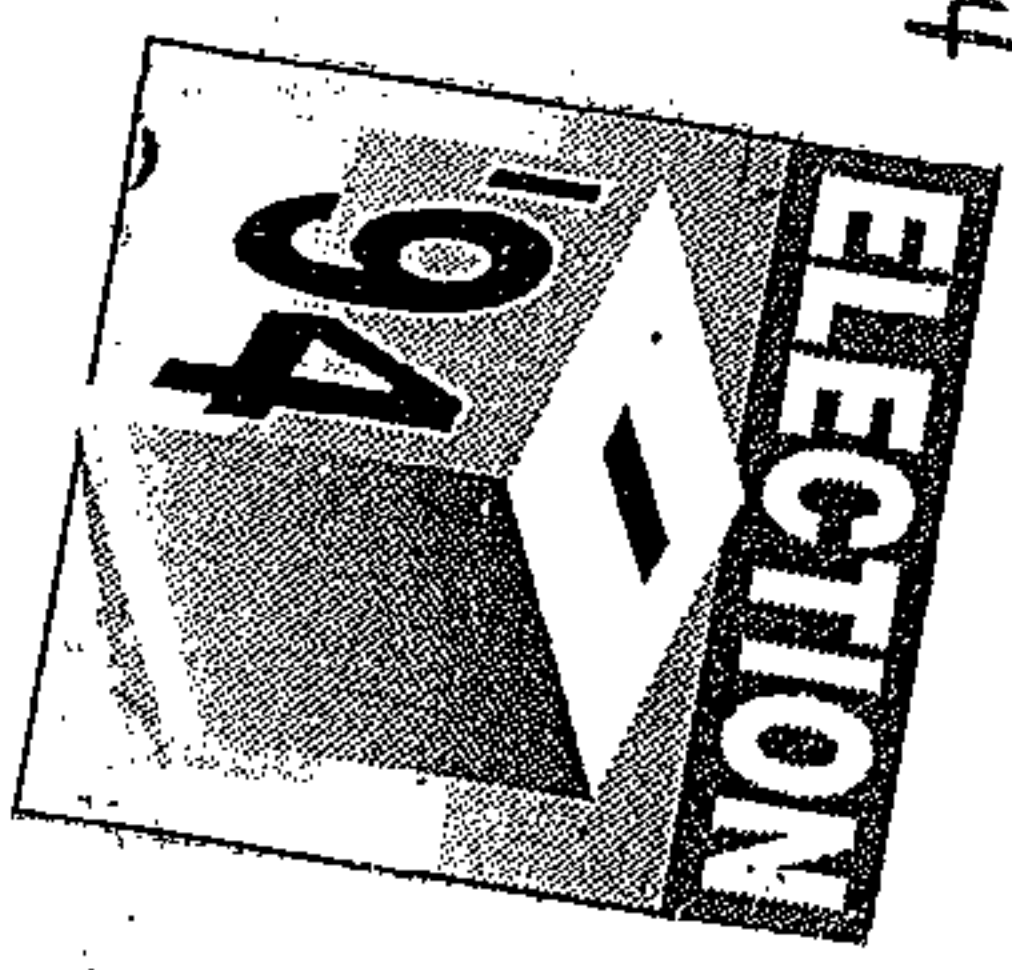
However, this will not be on the agenda of the next meeting on May 9, he said.

The three main items to be dealt with on that occasion will be: The boundaries of the forum area as a whole; a strategic management plan to ensure that municipal services are maintained in the townships, and a discussion of the powers and duties of a metropolitan council.

The Administrator has suggested a smaller boundary for the forum area than the forum itself suggested. His version leaves out Paarl, Stellenbosch and the Helderberg area.

Political home for people made outcasts?

Gold 94/3/5/14
Political Staff
ANC's vic.



you're an Independent Elec-
toral Commission official
processing the millions of
votes cast in South Africa's
first democratic election.
The IEC's vote tallies since
counting began on Saturday
have resembled a roller-
coaster ride at times be-
cause of what they call data-
capturing errors.
This morning, for instance, bal-
lots counted nationally shot
up by nearly three-million
votes to 14 174 205.
His figure included more than
2,5 million ballots in the
Western Cape, home to about
2,4 million voters, according
to recent research.
It within 20 minutes, the na-
tional total plummeted by
more than 2,75 million votes
as the IEC revised its tallies.
On Monday, the IEC said there
were nearly three-quarters
of a million spoilt votes in
the PWV, more than 34 per-
cent of the ballots counted in
that region. Again, the spoilt
ballot tally was revised to
33 915 — about 2,2 percent of
the votes counted.
Because of incorrect data
supplied by the IEC, figures
in the tables in some editions
of The Argus today were in-
correct.
Counting at most stations in
KwaZulu-Natal had been
completed by this morning
and results of the elections
were being compiled, IEC
spokesman Glenn McDougall
said.
t Durban's Expo centre,
where a third of the prov-
ince's votes are being coun-
ted, six of 28 stations were
still counting. — Sapa.

THE National Party's vic-
tory in the Western Cape
stands out as an striking ex-
ception in an election which
has convincingly swept the
ANC to power.
In the absence of a distinc-
tive ethnic power base, how
was the West won?
Finely-tuned election ma-
chinery — for which the Na-
tional Party has always been
renowned — played a signif-
icant role in the party's run-
away success in the Western
Cape.
Top-notch organisation, skil-
ful timing, carefully pitched
advertising, devolved respon-
sibility to party branches, de-
tailed attention to canvassing
and to the mechanics of elec-
tion day itself were all critical
in ensuring the highest possible
NP turnout on the day.
But they were by no means
the key.
For despite the aching
wounds of apartheid — and
symbols as salient and hurtful
as District Six — the new Na-
tional Party has successfully
provided a political home for
the very people it made out-
casts in the past.
There appear to be various
reasons for this.
They include certain lan-
guage, cultural and religious
affinities, but the most endur-
ing reason is undoubtedly a
widespread apprehension within
the coloured community at
their prospects under a black
government.
Even senior ANC figures in

by ANC leader Nelson Mandela
who was keen that the ANC in
the Western Cape should be led
by a coloured person.
In contrast, party workers
found a ready market for Pres-
ident De Klerk, whom they
could sell as someone who had
lived up to his promises and
had genuinely changed the NP
into a political home for all
South Africans.
Sources said the so-called
new Nats — MPs and minis-
ters who had crossed to the
Nats from other tricameral
parties — drew support
through their association with
housing developments and oth-
er positive initiatives launched
by the House of Representa-
tives.

In contrast, the NP drew lit-
tle support from the black
community. There was some
interest, but this was never
fully exploited, largely because
of the NP's lack of access to
townships and the fear of in-
timidation.
The NP has long been con-
fident of winning the Cape, and
the combination of superb or-
ganisation, and massive sup-
port from the coloured com-
munity, ensured that.
Now — clearly conscious of
a potentially divisive element
in Western Cape politics — Na-
tionalist leaders have stressed
that the top priority will be in-
culcating a spirit of reconcilia-
tion.
The NP acknowledges that
all constituencies must now
work together to turn the West-
ern Cape into a post-apartheid
success.

REGIONAL BALLOT UPDATE

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	PAC	16 757	0,9%
SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S PARTY	SAWP	2 268	0,1%
THE GREEN PARTY	GRP	5 614	0,3%
WYHEIDSFRONT - FREEDOM FRONT	VF-FF	43 560	2,4%
WES-KAAP FEDERALISTE PARTY	WKFP	6 156	0,3%
WORKERS INTERNATIONAL TO REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (SA)	WI	881	0,0%
AFRICA MUSLIM PARTY	AMP	18 312	1,0%
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	ACDP	23 490	1,3%
AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	ADM	2 493	0,1%
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	ANC	530 002	29,1%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	DP	131 674	7,2%
ISLAMIC PARTY	IP	15 179	0,8%
NATIONAL PARTY	NP	1 000 352	54,9%
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	IFP	25 534	1,4%

Graphic: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

W.I.I. discuss the National Par-
ty's role in the government of
national unity being formed in
terms of the constitution.
For each five percent of the
national vote gained by the NP
the party will be entitled to
one cabinet seat. The NP, with
over 20 percent of the vote,
will be entitled to four cabinet
seats.
Likely contenders are serving
ministers, among them Minis-
ter of Constitutional Develop-
ment Roelf Meyer, Minister of
Foreign Affairs Pik Botha,
Minister of Finance Derek
Keys, Minister of Public Enter-
prises Dawie de Villiers and
Minister of Manpower Leon
Wessels. — Sapa.

'Lost' ballots breakthrough

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The In-
dependent Electoral Commis-
sion's monitoring directorate,
investigating the loss last week
of millions of ballot papers, is
planning to prosecute five
warehouse managers.
IEC monitoring directorate
head Peter Harris said last
night at Gallagher Estate that
three of the officials had been
seconded from the home at-
tairs department, and the other
two were "from civil society".
Mr Harris said the specialist
functions unit of the director-
ate had discovered that hun-
dreds of boxes of ballot papers
and other voting material had
remained locked in three ware-
houses in the PWV region
while millions waited to vote,
and while the officials claimed
to have sent the material to the
designated polling stations.

An array of world leaders expected

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A glittering ar-
ray of world leaders — includ-
ing princes, presidents and
prime ministers — are sched-
uled to attend next week's in-
auguration of South Africa's
eighth president.
It is almost certain that Afri-
can National Congress leader
Nelson Mandela will be elected
president when the first Na-
tional Assembly meets in Cape
Town on Friday.
Estimates are that at least
3 million people are likely to
throng Pretoria for the invest-
iture ceremony next Tuesday,
which has been declared a pub-
lic holiday.
Details of the plans are be-
ing kept secret because of se-
curity considerations but it is
known that many top leaders
will be lancing at Jan Smuts

Hillary Clinton for inauguration?

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — United
States First Lady Hillary Rod-
ham Clinton could be coming
to South Africa next week as
part of President Bill Clinton's
delegation to the inauguration
of the new South African presi-
dent.
Mrs Clinton's name has been
mentioned in speculation here
for some time. Yesterday ad-
ministration officials said they
believed she would be in the
party travelling to South
Africa.
Mrs Clinton's press office
would not confirm or deny this
and said the president would
announce the names of the de-
legation later this week.
Mr Clinton is expected to
and the fact that millions had
voted for the first time in



Hillary Clinton

Mr Clinton will announce a US
financial assistance plan for
the new South African govern-
ment which is expected to total
about \$180 million (R648 mil-
lion) a year.
Yesterday White House press
secretary Dee Dee Myers said
Mr Clinton was very encour-
aged by the election results
and the fact that millions had
voted for the first time in

'End of race superiority' hailed

WORLD REACTION

NEW YORK. — World leaders
have hailed South Africans for
exorcising "the demons of ra-
cial supremacy" in an election
that ended apartheid and gave
the country its first black
president.
Many governments were
looking beyond the historic
balloting to the promise of
forging closer ties with the new
democracy.
South Korea hailed the coun-
try for "bringing about an end
to the 342-year legacy of mi-
nority white rule over the ma-
jority black population and the
regime of apartheid," foreign
ministry spokesman Chang Ki-
ho said today.
Australia's prime minister
Paul Keating praised President
De Klerk and Nelson Mandela
for their courage in pulling to-
gether the election that put Mr

"It is a vindication of the
long, lonely struggle of people
like Nelson Mandela," said Mr
Keating.
"There is a new beginning
for South Africa, one based on
truth and justice."

British Prime Minister John
Major spoke to Mr Mandela by
phone last night and congratu-
lated him after President De
Klerk conceded defeat, Mr Ma-
jor's office said.
"This magnificent achieve-
ment crowns your lifelong
struggle for freedom and jus-
tice, and your commitment to
reconciliation has won the last-
ing admiration of the world,"
Mr Major said in a separate

But The Times of London, in
an editorial today, warned: "Mr
Mandela has spoken, rashly, of
bringing dramatic improve-
ments to the lives of blacks
within 12 months. There is
need, now, more than ever be-
fore, for a realism edged with
iron."

In Washington, President
Clinton was "very encouraged"
by the ANC's landslide victory
in South Africa's first multi-
racial balloting, said White House
Press secretary Dee Dee My-
ers.

Details of a US aid package
to South Africa would be re-
leased after all the votes are
tabulated later this week, she

In the US Congress, lawmak-
ers who had long crusaded
against racial injustice in
South Africa exulted as Mr
Mandela and the ANC rose to
power.
"Today South Africa wit-
nesses the triumph of democ-
racy and equality over bigotry.
Today South Africa chose to
bury the demons of racial su-
periority that have been part
of the apartheid regime since
its formation," said Richard
Gephardt, leader of the major-
ity Democrats.
In Havana, the Cuban gov-
ernment has welcomed the
ANC victory.
Mr Mandela's triumph
"... spells the defeat of apartheid
... and is the last word on the
future of South Africans and of
man's equality," said deputy-
foreign minister Isabel Allende



Victory, though it will obviously make life a bit more difficult for us.

"There has been a democratic election. There have been problems, but we would accept a situation where the NP maintains power in the region.

● Western Cape police spokesman Colonel Raymond Dowd said they did not expect any trouble in the region should the Nationalist Party score a victory. — Sapa

on April 26 for possession of a suspected stolen firearm. They are to appear in court soon. According to Col Bruce, the police do not intend to oppose bail, and three suspects are still being sought. — Sapa

Overseas 'relief' over election result

PARIS. — Conservative newspapers expressed relief over the outcome of South Africa's first democratic election yesterday, and centre and left-wing media wrote of their hopes for the future.

The right-wing French daily Le Figaro warned that the former victims of apartheid could "in a twinkling don the garb of

pressed its faith in ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Thank God. Mr Mandela inspires confidence ... He intends to prevent civil war."

Britain's Daily Telegraph welcomed the fact that the ANC victory was not a landslide. "Such a victory would put too much power into the hands of an organisation

free-marketeers to near-Stalinists. Far better that it should be held in check by forces within the coalition."

A New York Times editorial carried by the Paris-published International Herald Tribune said: "What might have been a nightmare in South Africa turned into a peaceful festival of democracy."

and Mr Mandela.

The centre-right Independent wondered how "the architects of apartheid" had come to disown it.

"The Afrikaners are a people full of surprises, possessed of a remarkable vitality and inventiveness. Today is their day, as much as it is a day for all in the country."

'Victory at last'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

THE ANC broke through the 60% support level yesterday and early this morning was 3% shy of a crucial two-thirds majority.

gions could be negated by results in South Africa's two most populous regions, the PWV and KwaZulu/Natal, where the ANC is unlikely to score more than 60%.

Meanwhile, the National Party's national support has dropped to 23.8% and could decline further. But NP leader Mr F W de Klerk will still be enti-

er to build a better life.

The ANC leadership would be rolling up its sleeves from today to begin tackling the problems facing the country, he said.

"We ask you all to join us — go back to your jobs in the morning. Let's get South Africa working."

Earlier, as the burgeoning

(3047) 25 3/5/94

If the ANC eventually polls 66.6% of the vote, it will have the power to change the interim constitution without the support of other parties. Constitutional changes require a two-thirds majority in the 400-member National Assembly.

The ANC has also effectively captured control of seven of the nine provincial parliaments,

amid wild celebrations in Johannesburg and Cape Town last night, President-elect Mr Nelson Mandela said the provisional results indicated overwhelming support for the ANC and South Africans could finally proclaim from the rooftops: "Free at last!"

With just under half the votes counted — more than 10 million at midnight — the final outcome remained in doubt, with tallies from a number of high-density voting areas still to be announced.

Returns from some ANC strongholds — such as the Eastern Cape and the Northern Transvaal — could boost its support but gains in these re-

lated to a position of executive deputy-president even if its support falls below 20%.

In his speech last night, Mr Mandela extended "a hand of friendship" to leaders of all other parties, promising the government of national unity would not be "an empty shell" in which other parties would have to rubber-stamp ANC initiatives.

He also hinted that he would ask parties who did not make the five percent threshold in the election to serve in government, as it was important all South Africans worked together.

ANC share of the vote placed it on course for a landslide victory, President De Klerk formally conceded defeat and promised his full co-operation in an ANC-led government.

By early this morning, the ANC's rising share of the vote had reached 63.3% — entitling it to more than 250 National Assembly seats.

Parties will theoretically get a seat in the assembly for every 0.25% of the national vote they win, but the ANC's surging vote totals are fast cutting at the representation of all other parties.

Western Cape chief of police in Natal was still uncertain this morning.

Last night the ANC's information chief, Dr Pallo Jordan, doubted that the ANC could pass the two-thirds threshold, saying its final share of the poll was more likely to be around 62%.

Shortly after conceding defeat, Mr De Klerk said in an interview with the SABC that the NP had not negotiated itself out of power.

"It has negotiated itself to share power. There is a partnership or coalition — and therefore there is no sense of loss."

MOVED . . . An emotional President F W de Klerk bids goodbye to supporters at the National Party headquarters in Pretoria yesterday after conceding defeat to the African National Congress. He remains president until May 10.

are said to be in the process of being moved to the new premises. The move is expected to be completed by the end of the month.

The new premises are located in the central business district of Johannesburg. The move is expected to be completed by the end of the month.

Programme

Kids 10:00-11:00
Golden Years 10:00-11:00
Literacy Alive 10:30-11:00
Religion 10:30-11:00

Video 10:30-11:00
For children 10:30-11:00

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WEATHER ELSEWHERE

Red Tide Hotline (021) 439-4380

Min Max

13 25

Cloudy

Albany

13 25

Cloudy

Rio

21 25

Cloudy

Rome

10 23

Clear

Taipei

22 28

Rain

Tel Aviv

15 24

Clear

Tokyo

17 24

Clear

Toronto

05 08

Cloudy

Jubilant crowds celebrate

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

THOUSANDS of cheering ANC supporters gathered on the Grand Parade last night to celebrate the ANC's runaway national victory.

People began streaming into the city soon after president-elect Mr Nelson Mandela made his "victory speech" live on SABC and radio.

A large crowd of youths came toyi-toying down the street from the direction of Woodstock.

At one stage the jubilant crowd swelled to between 2 000 to 3 000.

National assembly candidate Mr Bulelani Ngcuka called for calm and an acceptance of the NP in the region. "We want to celebrate with champagne and not with blood."

The Western Cape could not become a racist enclave, he said.

ANC national assembly



ANC VICTORY . . . Thousands of people gathered in the city centre and in the townships last night to celebrate the ANC's national election victory.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

candidate Mr Kader Asmal said to loud applause: "Tonight we claimed our country, tonight South Africa belongs to us."

Thousands of excited ANC supporters clogged township streets from Gugulethu to Khayelitsha last night in a spontaneous celebration of their victory, Sapa reports.

Waving ANC campaign placards, jabbing fists into the air, shouting slogans and blocking traffic, they snaked through the dense mist which had descended on ill-lit streets.

"We are free at last!"

MOVING

are said to be in the process of being moved to the new premises. The move is expected to be completed by the end of the month.

The new premises are located in the central business district of Johannesburg. The move is expected to be completed by the end of the month.

304A

3/05/94

Mandela Congratulates

Winners

Political Staff
THE National Party has clinched an absolute majority in the Western Cape after a late rally. Hoping for the ANC from its materialise.
The official IEC provisional result, released early this morning, indicated an absolute majority for the ANC from its votes had been counted with 1 812 657 accepted, giving the ANC 528 193 (29.1%) the NP 965 705 (54.9%) the DP 129 302 (7.1%).

and the FP 43 472 (2.4%).
Last night ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela congratulated the NP on its victory in the region.
The parties had had "a great fight", but he could work together, Mr Mandela said.
The NP should have 23 seats in the provincial legislature that will be sworn in in Cape Town on Thursday, the ANC 14, the DP three and the FP one. One seat still has to be resolved.

Political parties noted
Mates were based on about 2 070 cast in the region (about 85% voters) and did not include 85% the national Parliament puts in the ANC at 33% and the DP at 17%.
Final provisional results are announced by the IEC today.
The reason for the ANC's fall from up to expectations in

Different prices paid for votes

Star 25/94
■ BY MICHAEL SPARKS

Political parties which were given funds from the State Electoral Fund to help them with their campaigning will not have to pay back any of the money — even if they did not get a single vote — as long as they can account for every cent spent. (3044)

This is according to Niki Moore of the IEC, which administered the fund.

Since the support for many of the smaller parties was so difficult to gauge, with hindsight parties were given vastly different amounts compared to their levels of support. If parties have spent all the money granted to them, they will have "paid" substantially different amounts for each vote.

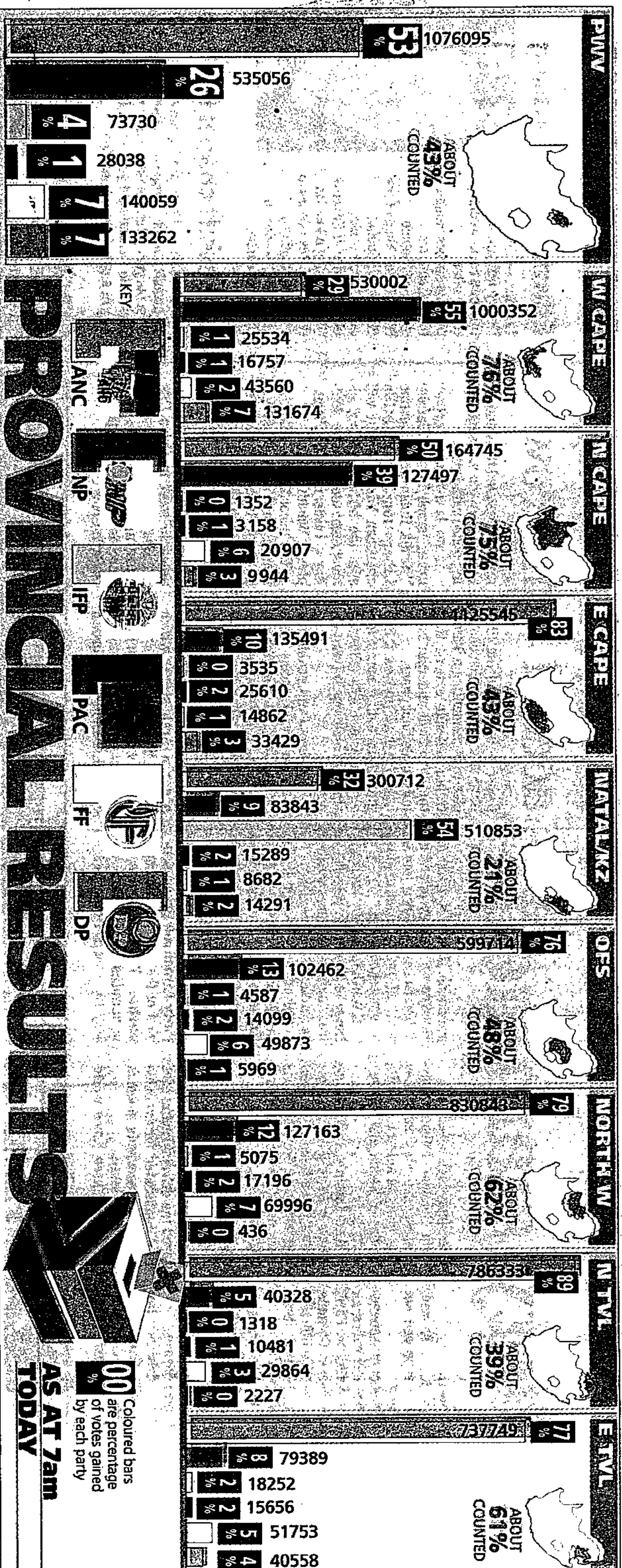
For example, the Workers' List Party got R1 702 380. But with just 2 654 votes at the time of writing, about R641 was spent on attracting each voter to the party after 8 956 063 votes have been counted.

At the time of writing, only the top six or seven of the 19 parties on the national list were set to keep their deposits.

The amount spent on each vote for the larger parties was also very different. The ANC, IFP, NP, PAC, DP and Freedom Front all received R3 404 762.

This means that the ANC paid out 63 cents of State money for each vote, while the NP paid R1,56 for each vote. The Freedom Front spent R13,18 per vote, the IFP R5,96, the DP R18,95 and the PAC R30,29.

304A



Counting behind in KwaZulu/Natal

Durban — Vote counting pressed ahead in KwaZulu/Natal yesterday afternoon behind schedule, amid predictions that a final tally could be delivered by this afternoon.

IEC spokesman Glenn McDougall said staffers from counting stations which had completed their tally would be moved to slower stations to speed up the process.

He said Durban was among the slowest stations because of its late start after a labour dispute on Saturday.

By late afternoon only about 12 percent of the total ballot had been counted.

At that stage the Inkatha Freedom Party led with 53 percent.

But the ANC was still confident of a victory in the province, saying support would swing in the

party's favour as counting drew to a close. The ANC had 30,7 percent at the time.

Spokesman Themba Rubushe said he was confident the ANC would gain more than 50 percent of the vote.

The counting process in Natal was labelled as chaotic by National Party Natal information chairman Renier Schoeman.

"It's thumb-suck. In KwaZulu/Natal there is an endless irritation about the way (counting) has been handled.

"This is gross inefficiency."

He said the current figures did not reflect even remotely what his party would achieve when counting was completed.

At the time the NP enjoyed just more than 9 percent support in the province. — Sapa.



Teachers at Livhuwani Combined School in Meadowlands, Soweto, remove ballot boxes and other election equipment which was left at the school premises by officials of the Independent Electoral Commission.

PIC: LEN KUMALO

FW concedes defeat to ANC

Sowetan 31/5/94

IN HIS LAST MAJOR speech as South Africa's head of state, President FW de Klerk last night said he hoped to continue the relationship he has built with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela over the past four years.

Conceding defeat to the ANC in South Africa's first democratic elections, De Klerk told members of his Cabinet and party workers in Pretoria that he would hand over the presidency to Mandela next Tuesday.

De Klerk, who is almost certain to be appointed one of the two executive deputy presidents, had high praise for Mandela.

"I said four years ago that Mr Nelson Mandela would play an important role and then noted that he had declared himself willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

"During the past four years Mr Mandela has played such a role. His role was a leading and an honourable one. I

■ LAST SPEECH FW hopes to continue relationship with Mandela:

thank him and congratulate him. "He deserves the congratulations, good wishes and prayers of all South Africans. I look forward to working with him constructively within the government of national unity in our common effort to promote the well-being of all our people. (3047)

"During the past four years we have proved that we can work together. Despite our differences, our relationship has become a symbol of the ability of South Africans from widely different backgrounds to co-operate in the national interest.

"This spirit will be essential to the success of the government of national unity," De Klerk said.

He was confident that Mandela would execute his task as president "in a bal-

anced manner, which will assure South Africans from all our communities that he has all their interests at heart".

"As he contemplates the next hill, I hold out my hand to Mr Mandela in friendship and co-operation.

"Next Tuesday I shall lay down my responsibilities as State President, secure in the knowledge that we have achieved what we set out to achieve four years and three months ago. I shall be handing over the presidency to Mr Mandela, but I shall not be leaving government.

"I shall be surrendering power — not to the majority of the moment — but to the South African people. I shall do so with the strong conviction that henceforth sovereignty will ultimately lie with them and in the constitution."

ANC stands

to fill

(3044)

252 seats
AR 431514
in assembly

Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress stands to fill 252 seats in the national assembly, on its present votes tally.

This has emerged from the 11.3 million votes counted so far.

Trailing far behind will be the National Party with just over 80 seats, the Inkatha Freedom Party with 30, the Freedom Front with 10 and the Democratic Party with six.

The rest of the seats will be divided among the smaller parties — including the Pan Africanist Congress and the African Christian Democratic Party.

The calculation of seats for the 400-strong National Assembly is based on the parties' scores on the national and regional ballots.

The national ballot accounts for the allocation of the first 200 seats, while the remaining 200 are based on the performance of parties on the regional ballot.



NP sweeps to power in W Cape

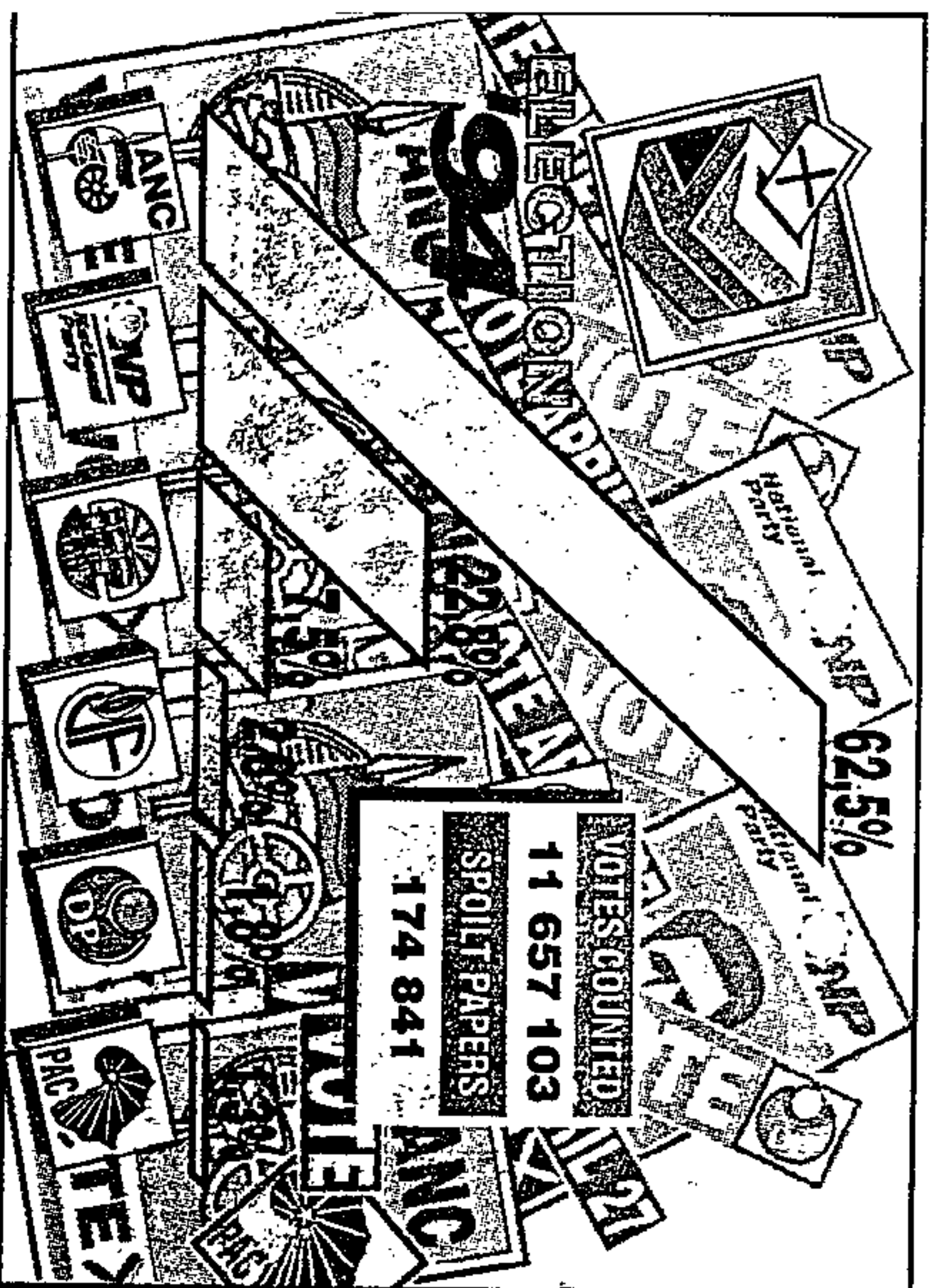
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Political Correspondent

THE National Party has swept to power in the Western Cape with a tally of 55 percent, leaving the ANC trailing with just over 29 percent of the vote.

The Democratic Party takes third place with just over 7 percent, followed by the Freedom Front with 2,4 percent, the Inkatha Freedom Party with 1,4, the African Christian Democratic Party with 1,3, the African Muslim Party with one percent and the Pan Africanist Congress with 0,9 percent.

With 1 822 272 votes accepted so far, the NP (1 000 352) will get 24 seats in the provincial legislature, the ANC (530 002) 13 seats and the DP (131 674) three seats.

● See page 3



NATIONAL BALLOT: How the parties stand.

Kriel 'will work with ANC'

**TOS WENTZEL
and MICHAEL MORRIS**

Political Staff

WESTERN Cape premier-elect Her-
nus Kriel today pledged himself to
reconciliation with political opponents
and co-operation with the central gov-
ernment.

Mr Kriel, who led the National Par-
ty to its only regional victory, said at
a Press conference he had already
had cordial discussions with ANC
Western Cape leader Allan Boesak on
the telephone.

He was optimistic they would have
a good working relationship.

At a meeting this afternoon they
would discuss matters such as the
composition of a 10-member provin-
cial cabinet. The NP would have six
members and the ANC four.

He did not foresee problems in co-
operating with the ANC-dominated
central government. Its rights and
powers would be respected but those

of the region would be jealously
guarded.

The government of the Western
Cape would work together with the
central government in a spirit of re-
conciliation and co-operation.

"There is no animosity from our
side whatsoever."

He was aware of racial tensions as
the result of the elections in the West-
ern Cape and developing a reconciali-
tion programme would be one of the
top priorities.

"We will have to work out a plan of
action to tackle that problem, but it is
something we have to do along with
the ANC and this will be started as
soon as the new cabinet meets.

"We must put our political fight be-
hind us and become task-orientated in
serving the community.

"We want to make the Western
Cape the jewel province of the new
South Africa."

He expressed appreciation for calls

by Mr Mandela and Cosatu for accep-
tance of the result. He would meet
community leaders soon.

"I will go out of my way to meet
leaders to assure them of the good in-
tentions of the National Party.

"In the final analysis we will have
to prove ourselves and we intend do-
ing that."

Other priorities were social uplift-
ment, economic development, peace
and security. He was not averse to the
ANC's reconstruction and develop-
ment programme but it would have to
be adapted to resources in the West-
ern Cape. Affordability and time-
frames would be factors.

Mr Kriel said he would seek sup-
port of the other parties to change the
name of the area to "Cape of Good
Hope", but this would not be done uni-
laterally.

● A press conference by Dr Boesak,
which was due to begin at noon today,
had not started by 12.30pm.

Boesak vows to co-operate with NP

VUYO BAVUMA
Political Staff

213 304A
VANQUISHED ANC regional premier Allan Boesak has pledged his "full co-operation" with the new National Party provincial government led by Hernus Kriel.

Addressing a press conference today a sombre Dr Boesak said people should rise above the rivalries and recriminations — the time of holding grudges and hard feelings was over.

Instead members of the new provincial government should work together to improve the life of all.

Dr Boesak said the ANC looked forward to taking its seats in the provin-

ARC 3/5/94
cial government and he would soon meet Mr Kriel to discuss the matter.

He emphasised that he and his party would push for the implementation of the ANC's Reconstruction Development Plan.

"He (Mr Kriel) did say he wanted to co-operate with us. At this moment, we must say there's no reason to believe he would not help with the implementation."

Dr Boesak said urgent steps should be taken to eradicate the racism reignited by the National Party's "racism" during the election campaign.

Referring to why the ANC had lost the elections in the Western Cape, Dr

Boesak said the movement had not had enough time to change the views of the people which had crystallised over 30 years of apartheid propaganda.

Many people in the coloured community voted for President De Klerk, not so much for the Nats, because they thought he would run the region.

The NP propaganda that black people would take over their houses and jobs or rape their daughters had struck a chord.

"They ran to the person who created the problems."

Dr Boesak also congratulated Mr Kriel for winning the contest.

Counting chaos looms in Natal

HUGH ROBERTON, Political Editor

NEAR chaos loomed at vote-counting stations in KwaZulu-Natal today as national attention focused on the election result there — and the possibility that the outcome could push the African National Congress close to a two-thirds national majority.

With only a third of the region's estimated 4,5 million votes counted so far, and with the outcome of the ballot in the ANC's metropolitan strongholds around Durban and Maritzburg still largely unknown, the Inkatha Freedom Party held 53,9 percent of the vote and the ANC 31,4 percent.

But elsewhere in the country, the trend after almost half the total votes had been counted continued to point to a stunning ANC national victory, with speculation now on whether it would win the two-thirds majority needed to rewrite the interim constitution as it pleases.

With 11,5 million national assembly votes counted of the estimated 22,5 million cast, the ANC held 62,3 percent, the National Party 22,9 percent, the IFP 7,5 percent, the Freedom Front 2,8 percent and the Democratic Party 1,8 percent.

The Argus correspondent in Durban reports that counting of votes in KwaZulu/Natal began four days ago but is today in a mess because of staff problems in the Independent Electoral Commission and a large number of disputed ballot boxes.

Some ballot boxes have arrived empty at counting stations, some obviously filled by hand and some filled with grass. Seals have been broken on some and their contents lost.

This has left members of political parties involved in the count annoyed and frustrated. The list of allegations made by political parties against each other of voting irregularities is growing.

At 6am today — 72 hours after counting started — only 1,1 million of the estimated 4,5 million votes for the KwaZulu/Natal provincial parliament had been counted.

KwaZulu/Natal's biggest counting station — the Exhibition Centre — has come in for the most criticism because of the management crisis it is experiencing.

The count may be finished there only tomorrow morning.

At first an auditor was in charge of counting at the Exhibition Centre. However, he soon collapsed under the strain and was taken to hospital.

The votes cast at 95 voting stations in the Durban area, the 57 voting stations in Umlazi and the 74 voting stations in Ntuzuma are being counted there.

A striking feature of the national results has been the poor showing of smaller parties. While the IFP is guaranteed a place in the cabinet — if it wishes to take up such a post — the Freedom Front's share is now too small to win cabinet rank, and the DP will be lucky to secure three or four MPs in the assembly.

A churlish response to the ANC's national victory from IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthezi last night raised doubts about his willingness to serve under ANC leadership in a government of national unity.

The FF's reason for existence — the promotion of its plans for a volkstaat — is now in serious doubt. Even in areas where the volkstaat idea is supposed to be strongest, it failed to secure more than 7 percent of the vote.

One of the conditions for establishing a volkstaat was evidence that the concept had the support of a majority of people in the region.

For the DP the familiar role of human rights watchdog appears to be its destiny in the new national assembly.

**MORE reports, pictures
pages 2, 3, 12, 13**

for the human spirit

ISSUES

HUGH ROBERTSON

New country blessed with centrist thrust

If one could freeze the election results at the halfway mark, it would be possible to say that among the many blessings visited upon South Africa this week, perhaps the most important was the shape of the new body politic — an assemblage of regional and ethnic interests and loyalties which leave the country's new rulers little choice but to seek unity and compromise.

In seven exhilarating days, South Africa became hostile territory for the radicals and ideologues of left and right. A new country, with a distinctly centrist thrust to its politics, was born.

What the country produced, indeed, was a political personality remarkably close to the one envisaged by the interim constitution, which was designed to reflect diversity and dilute power.

The radical left, in the form of the PAC, was devastated (though it would be wildly optimistic to assume that it will disappear); the radical right in the form of the Freedom Front was contained to a mere 2.9 percent of the total vote, and with pathetic support in the very areas where it would presume to create its volksstaat, the declared reason for its existence.

The IFP, defying all poll predictions of the past three years and longer, was leading in KwaZulu-Natal, but with only about 6 percent of the national vote and with about a quarter of the province's votes counted.

And the religious zealots, both Christian and Muslim, who appeared to be bent upon adding fundamentalist dogma and discord to our vexed national debate in spite of the tragedy which this has wrought in the politics of so many countries, were routed.

At the halfway mark, the ANC had been denied the two-thirds majority it would need to rewrite the constitution unilaterally. But even if it were to get a two-thirds majority in the national assembly, it would face powerful constraints on its power.

For instance, in the country's three most important regions — the PWV, the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal — regions whose co-operation would be crucial to the success of any national government's plans — the ANC either does not have a majority, or its majority (as in the PWV) is too precarious to risk antagonising other large groups.

And the electorate has ensured that the NP will get several cabinet posts, with Mr De Klerk probably becoming an executive vice-president, and with smaller parties like the DP free to be the voices of dissent and censure.

So patently did the result demand acts of reconciliation and unity that there was hardly any surprise when ANC leader Nelson Mandela hinted at drawing leaders of the PAC into his government of national unity, or when Mac Maharaj suggested that

the ANC might seek the services of parties which had fared badly in the election.

Improbable though it might seem at this stage, the IFP and the ANC are going to have to serve in the same government in KwaZulu-Natal, with the larger of the two not having a big enough majority to treat the other with anything but respect — that is if anything is going to get done in

Emotions ride high in ANC's victory rodeo

Sapa-AFP reports from Johannesburg.

TOWNSHIPS around South Africa's major cities parted rowdily as African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela claimed victory.

As spontaneous street parties got increasingly boisterous, it was reported that an election monitor was killed in Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg.

In Soweto, the sprawling black township south of Johannesburg that has been a power base for the ANC over the years, people erupted in joy, singing and lighting bonfires in the streets before Mr Mandela had even finished his victory speech — carried live on radio and television.

Outside the Holy Cross church on Mr Mandela's old home turf, the Orlando West district, more than 1 000 people crowded the streets, dodging crazy drivers whirling their cars in circles in a series of handbrake turns.

Youths set a tyre alight and dragged it through the street as fireworks exploded all round.

"I feel like celebrating all night," said 32-year-old technician Chris Mashu.

"We must be equal," he told a white journalist.

"If you see me tomorrow I want you to say 'Hi Chris'. That's how we must live."

"I don't want to wake up tomorrow and find myself saying: 'What does this white man want here in Soweto?'" Another reveler, Michael Tsotetsi, 24, said. "It's like the old-style Christmas. The Africans can come here and talk peace."

A few opportunistic revelers tried to pickpocket journalists' cellular phones, but were sent packing by an ANC

hotel where Mr Mandela was speaking.

National ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki promised they would "groove" until 8am today.

A beaming Mr Mandela, now president-elect, joined in the dancing along with guests like Martin Luther King's widow, Coretta Scott King, and former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda.

In the KwaMashu township outside Durban, jubilant ANC supporters — firing tracer rounds from AK-47 rifles, bearing posters of Nelson Mandela and lighting fireworks — flooded the streets.

Crowds had gathered on virtually every street corner, cheering as Mr Mandela announced: "Now is the time to celebrate."

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, who have been fighting a virtual civil war since 1986 with the ANC in KwaMashu and other black townships surrounding Durban, stayed indoors.

Groups of chanting youths toyed with up and down the streets of major cities' townships.

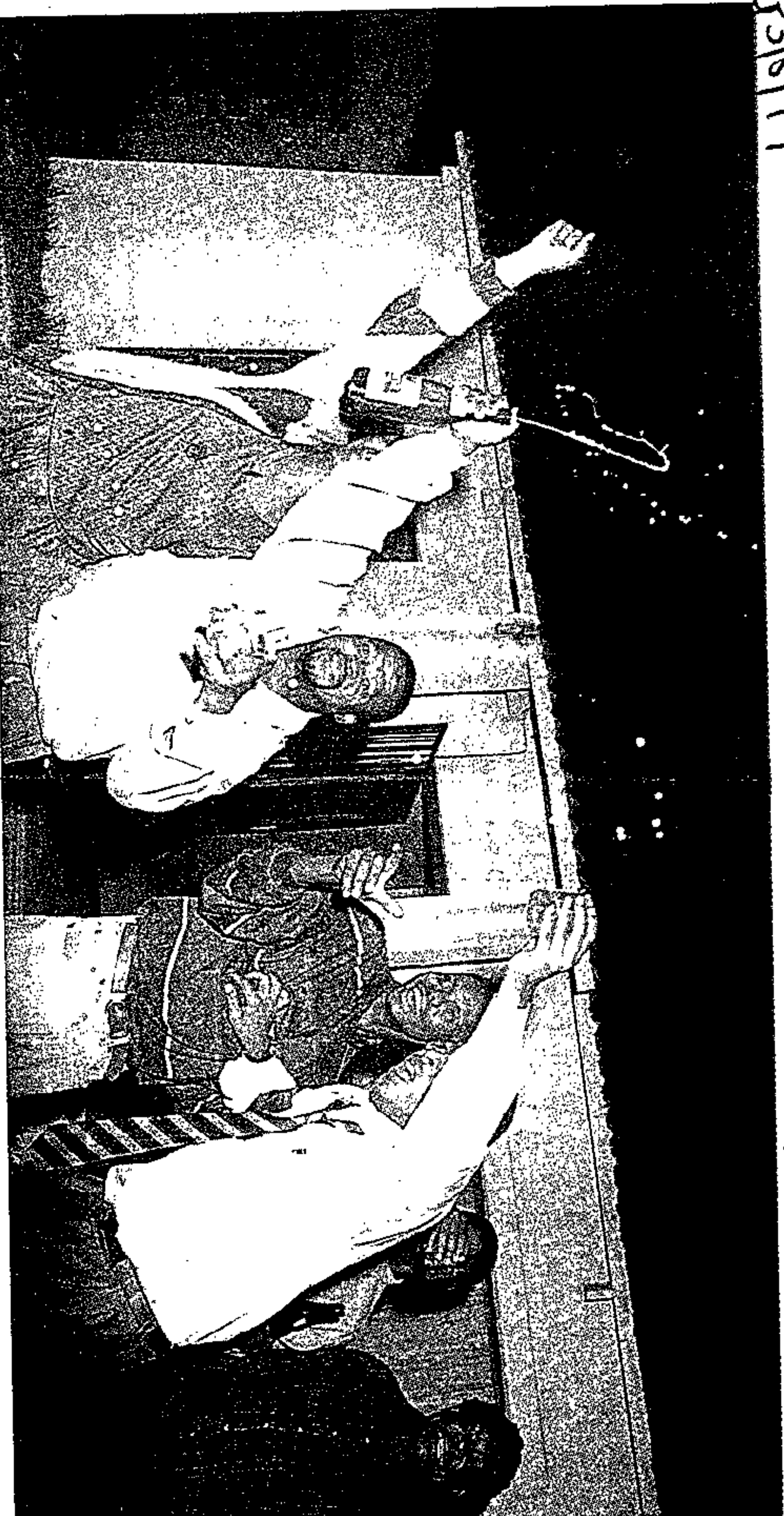
"We're celebrating our victory," said an ecstatic KwaMashu youth, sweating profusely as he danced.

"Apartheid is dead."

Some of the youths in the Durban township set up burning barricades as their elders sat quietly on their verandas.

"We're going to party all night," a young woman said from behind a Mandela poster. "And then we'll party again all night tomorrow."

Emotions ran just as high among the guests at the official ANC victory party.



LET'S PARTY: Township residents celebrate the ANC's victory in the country's first non-racial elections.

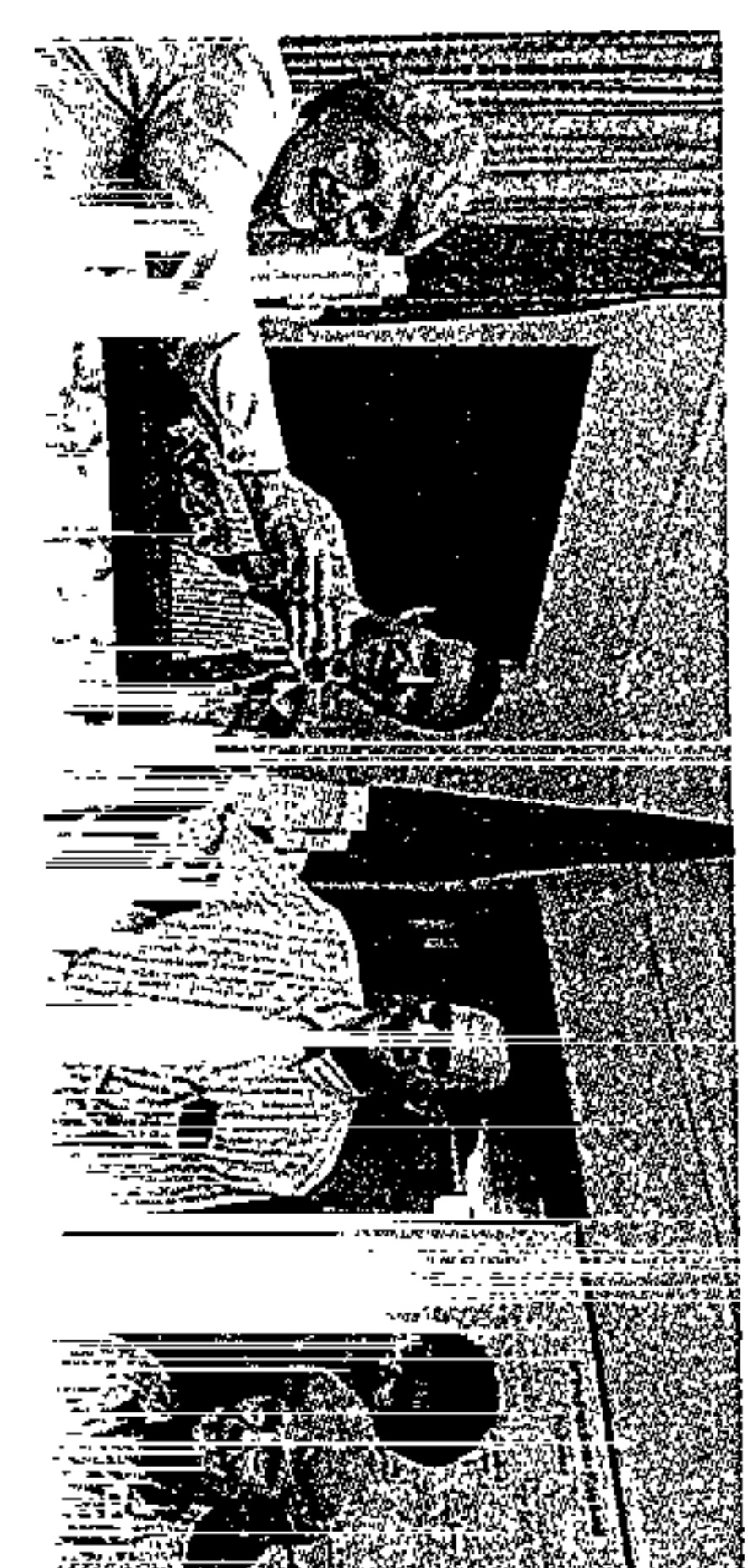
Pictures: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

TASTE OF VICTORY: Thousands of elated ANC supporters, left, flocked to the Grand Parade last night to celebrate after ANC president Nelson Mandela's victory speech in Johannesburg.

A midnight march of jubilation

Staff Reporters and Sapa

FTER celebrating on the Grand Parade for several hours there's nothing like



"We're here to celebrate!" said a group. The crowd was addressed

who fired a shot in the air to bring them to order.

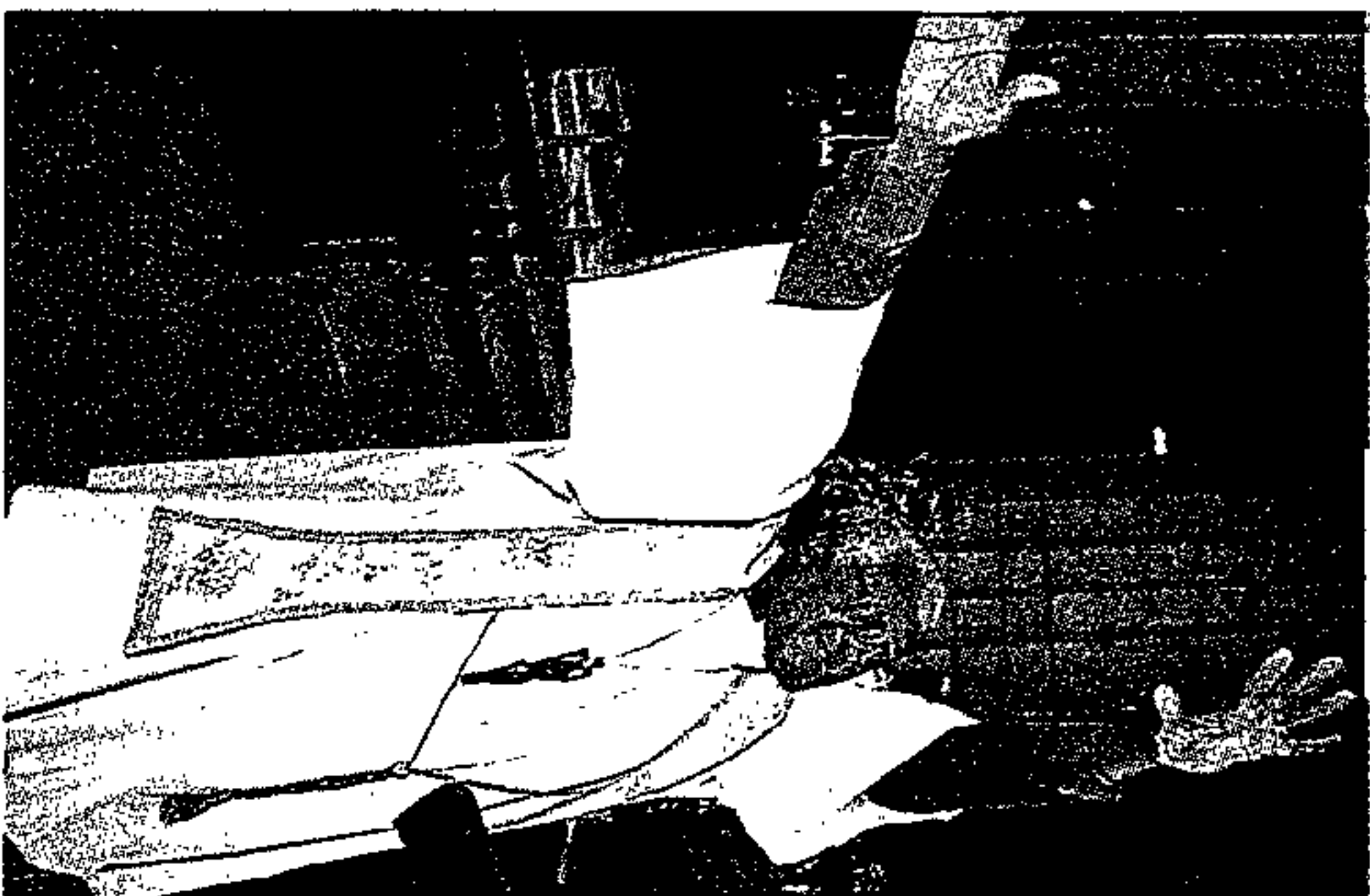
Another car involved in the handbrake rodeo overturned, injuring several youths, one of them seriously.

In downtown Johannesburg ANC luminaries and VIP guests waved flags in the hall of the luxury Johannesburg

"I feel very excited, but I haven't yet been able to come to terms with this," said an overhauled Mohamed Vahid Moosa, who helped chart South Africa's transition to democracy as an ANC negotiator.

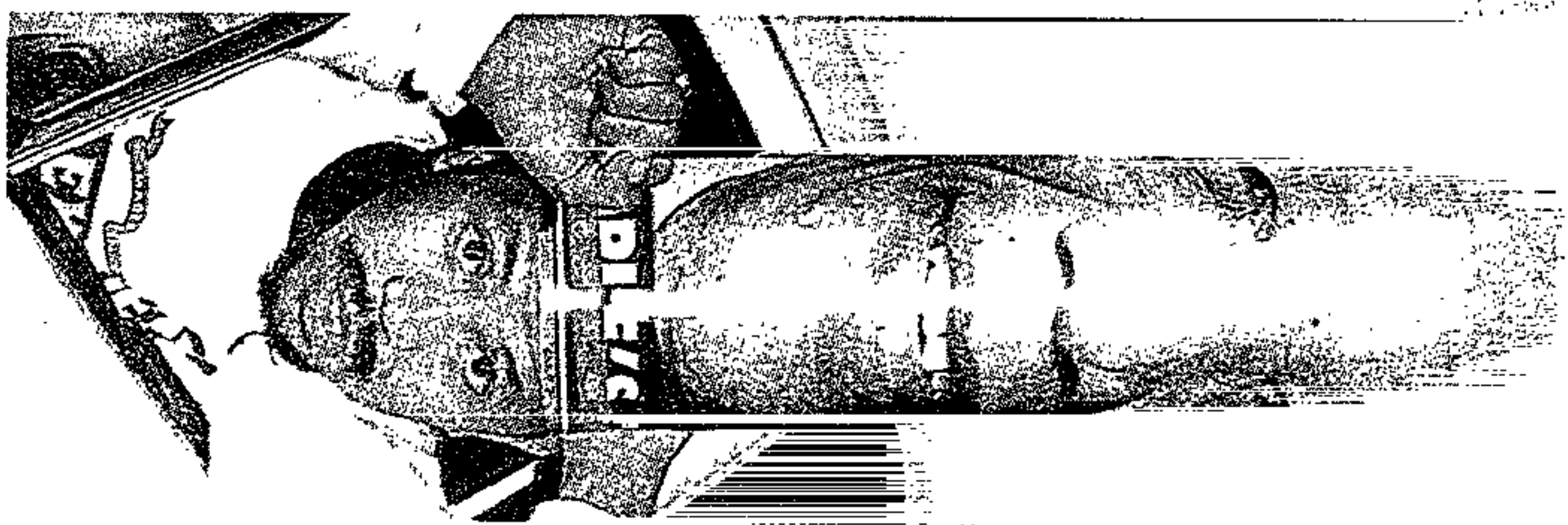
"This really is the first prize. It couldn't be any better," said Mr Moosa.

HE'S NOT OLD HAT:
This ANC supporter, right, found a novel way of expressing his joy.



RESPECT THE RESULTS:
Archbishop Desmond Tutu addresses a thanksgiving service in St George's Cathedral for the peaceful elections.

Picture: HANNES THIAI, The Argus.



And that's just what about 500 singing and toyi-toying ANC supporters did around midnight last night, after warning up with a few laps of the Parade.

All the way along the Main Road to Rondebosch, in fact. Earlier, a crowd of about 3 000 had gathered to celebrate the historic ANC victory. Some had arrived on foot and by train, while a host of cars, hooters blaring, bore most of the others.

They had come to the Parade happy in the knowledge that outgoing president F W de Klerk had conceded defeat yesterday, in spite of the resounding lead the National Party held in the Western Cape.

The mood was euphoric ... car hooters blared, flags waved and excited fists punched the air. Many revelers carried election posters with the face of their hero, incoming president Nelson Mandela.

Meanwhile, skittish police vans shadowed cars carrying the more exuberant ANC supporters back and forth across the streets of the city. Not that there were any incidents.

Not even the cold, misty autumn night could dampen the revelers' spirits. They had not come to protest.

cluding national assembly candidate Thozamile Botha.

Some chanted "Boesak Boesak" but there was no sign of the ANC candidate for the regional premiership.

Spilling into Darling Street and toyi-toying, singing and chanting vigorously, the boisterous crowd of young and old echoed the spirit of other spontaneous victory parties around the country.

Just before midnight the crowd was off, down Darling Street and past the Castle and Good Hope Centre in spite of the protestations of a few seemingly self-appointed marshals.

A lone Peace Committee monitor spoke frantically on his cellular telephone. A sedan with a megaphone pleaded for "discipline comrades, discipline" imploring the procession to turn back.

But on it swept, through Woodstock, Salt River, Observatory and Mowbray ... finally winding up outside the University of Cape Town's Tugwell Hall residence next to the Baxter Theater in Rondebosch.

Outside the residence they sang freedom songs, toyi-toyed some more, until the gathering broke up just after dawn.

Tired few watch FW bow out

Staff Reporter

ONLY a handful of faithful supporters gathered in the National Party offices in Burg Street to watch F W de Klerk's last public appearance as president on television.

It appeared that a long and hard election campaign had taken its toll, with most of the election workers preferring to spend the night at home with friends and family.

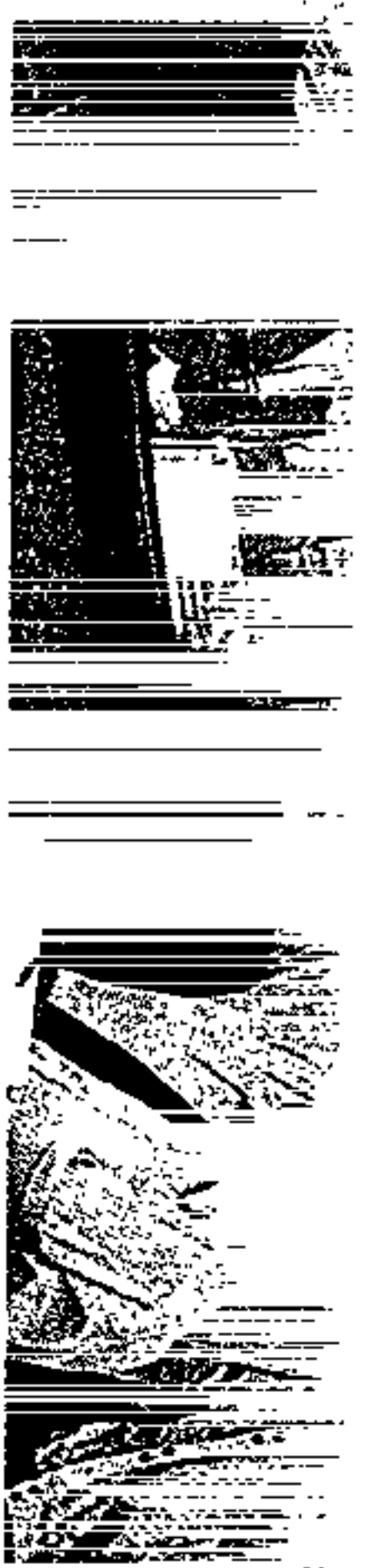
Provincial candidate Annette Reinecke's comment summed up the mood: "I'm so tired, I can't feel anything."

The small group watched in silence as their leader delivered his final speech, conceding defeat to the ANC.

Provincial candidate Quanta du Toit said she was not sad to hear Mr De Klerk speak as president for the last time — "because we all, the president included, realised it was coming long ago".

Mrs Du Toit and others might have expected defeat, but already she was talking about the next election.

"We are not taking our national defeat lying down — I'll bet you a million rands the NP will win the next elections," said Mrs Du Toit.



Picture: OBEID ZILWA, The Argus

Likewise, there cannot be an NP master plan in the Western Cape which ignores the fact that almost half the inhabitants of the region rejected the NP in the election.

If anything, the NP will be the prisoner of the sort of racial politics on which its victory depended in large measure.

At the centre of everything it thinks and does in the Western Cape will be the black community which has for so long been the brooding presence on which NP fear politics have been based — a community the NP cannot antagonise here if it has any hope of winning black support in the country as a whole in the election that must come in 1999.

Conversely, if the ANC has any hope of winning the Western Cape from the NP in the future, and solidifying its grip on the Northern Cape which it so narrowly won against all expectations and projections, it will have to ameliorate the fears of coloured voters.

And if the ANC has any hope of winning KwaZulu-Natal in 1999 (assuming that the results yet to come deny it a majority there) it will have to rule in other areas in a manner deeply sensitive to the frictions and secessionist dispositions of the people of Kwa-

This is now my country ...

ROGER FRIEDMAN Staff Reporter

ANGELICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu has appealed to voters in the Western Cape to accept the result of the election, regardless of the winner.

"This is now my country like it never was before and I will not stand any nonsense ...," Archbishop Tutu told about 400 people who attended a thanksgiving service at St George's Cathedral yesterday.

"We said we wanted democracy and hoped the people in the Eastern Transvaal would accept the result there ... and in the Orange Free State ... and in the Northern Transvaal.

"Now we've got to be consistent," he said.

"We may not like it but we too must accept the results. If we say the result in one region is unacceptable, we must say the whole result is unacceptable. We've got to *rosby* and say the people have spoken, not necessarily the way we would have liked ... And so we have learned a lesson, the lesson of tolerance."

To the vanquished, the Archbishop quoted his own father: "Don't raise your voice, improve your argument."

Earlier, he spoke of the country's fears in the run-up to the election,

and the "miracle" which had, in fact, occurred.

"We have come to say thank you to God for that incredible miracle that took place last week in our country."

"Incredibly, people stood in queues as if we had learned a wonderful lesson from the Brits. The alchemy just came together ... we couldn't have organised it better even if we were trying until we were blue in the face."

"And then we made that profound scientific discovery: 'Hey, we are all South Africans.' That is what we have been trying to say for donkey's years."

"We were transfixed. People walked into the polling station and when they emerged they were different people. Something happened to them, it happened to me ..."

"We are on cloud nine and trying very hard to return to *terra firma*. We are walking tall, with our shoulders straighter, we are glad to tell people we are South Africans."

Archbishop Tutu concluded his sermon by calling for a number of standing ovations. He called for applause for political parties, "our friends overseas", the Independent Electoral Commission, the army and police — even the media.

"And finally, a very warm clap for God ..."

Selection table

MAIN SECTIONS
Secondary Choice
Upper Choice

We give you the horses as rated by our tipsters and you decide the size of your terms.

Derek Wilsnagh				
RACE 1	RACE 2	RACE 3	RACE 4	RACE 5
1 GOLDEN BULLET 2 WHITE STAR 3 MARY K 4 MARY K 5 MARY K	1 LADY RUBY 2 LADY RUBY 3 LADY RUBY 4 LADY RUBY 5 LADY RUBY	1 CONCEPTION 2 HANDSOME HEIR 3 POWER OF BEATING 4 DEEP LORE 5 CHIEF'S ISLAND	1 BLUE BAND 2 GAY APPEAL 3 NOBLE CAUSE 4 ADRIANO 5 STICKER	1 TAYARA 2 STAR OF CALYPSO 3 TIRAGEL 4 DANCE CLOSER 5 MOSS GREEN

Property Queen would be higher on the list, were it not for the fact that she is a lot more comfortable at this course.

"We were transfixed. People walked into the polling station and when they emerged they were different people. Something happened to them, it happened to me ..."

"We are on cloud nine and trying very hard to return to *terra firma*. We are walking tall, with our shoulders straighter, we are glad to tell people we are South Africans."

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"And finally, a very warm clap for God ..."

Aut springs into Tayara

Milnerton

WEDNESDAY MAY 4

Jackpot, Pick 9 and doubles

* Denotes blinkers

Coupled: Nos 5 and 6.

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East Rand election pay scam claims

Sowetan 3/5/94

By Joe Mdhlela

■ THREATENED MARCH Monitors

allege officers pocketed their salaries:

MONITORS WHO WORKED TEMPORARILY for the Independent Electoral Commission during the election have complained that they had been underpaid and others had not been paid at all.

Some of the monitors told *Sowetan* yesterday that in some areas around the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area — and particularly on the East Rand — were either underpaid or told that they would not be paid because they were doing voluntary work.

A monitor, Mr Robert Mkhabela, said he was not paid because "the Independent Electoral Commission did not pay for voluntary work".

The areas where the scam is said to be prevalent include Tembisa and Daveyton,

both on the East Rand.

Mkhabela said: "As monitors who have put a lot of hours in helping to make the elections succeed, we want to know what has happened to our money."

He said he would appeal to the IEC to intervene.

"We suspect some officials who have been manning various stations in Tembisa have enriched themselves at the expense of monitors," he said. (30/4)

Widespread claims

Claims of corruption are widespread in Daveyton in Benoni where certain officials are alleged to have paid election monitors

R80 instead of R200.

Angry groups of monitors in Daveyton yesterday threatened to march to the IEC office to protest against this "exploitation by our black brothers".

IEC spokesman Mr Kian Barker said his organisation was not implicated in the alleged corruption. "We have processed more than 4 500 claims for all our monitors throughout the PWV area," Barker said.

He said he was aware that the National Electoral Observers' Network had problems with the payment of their monitors.

"We at IEC should make it clear that we should not be confused with Neon," he said.

Sowetan

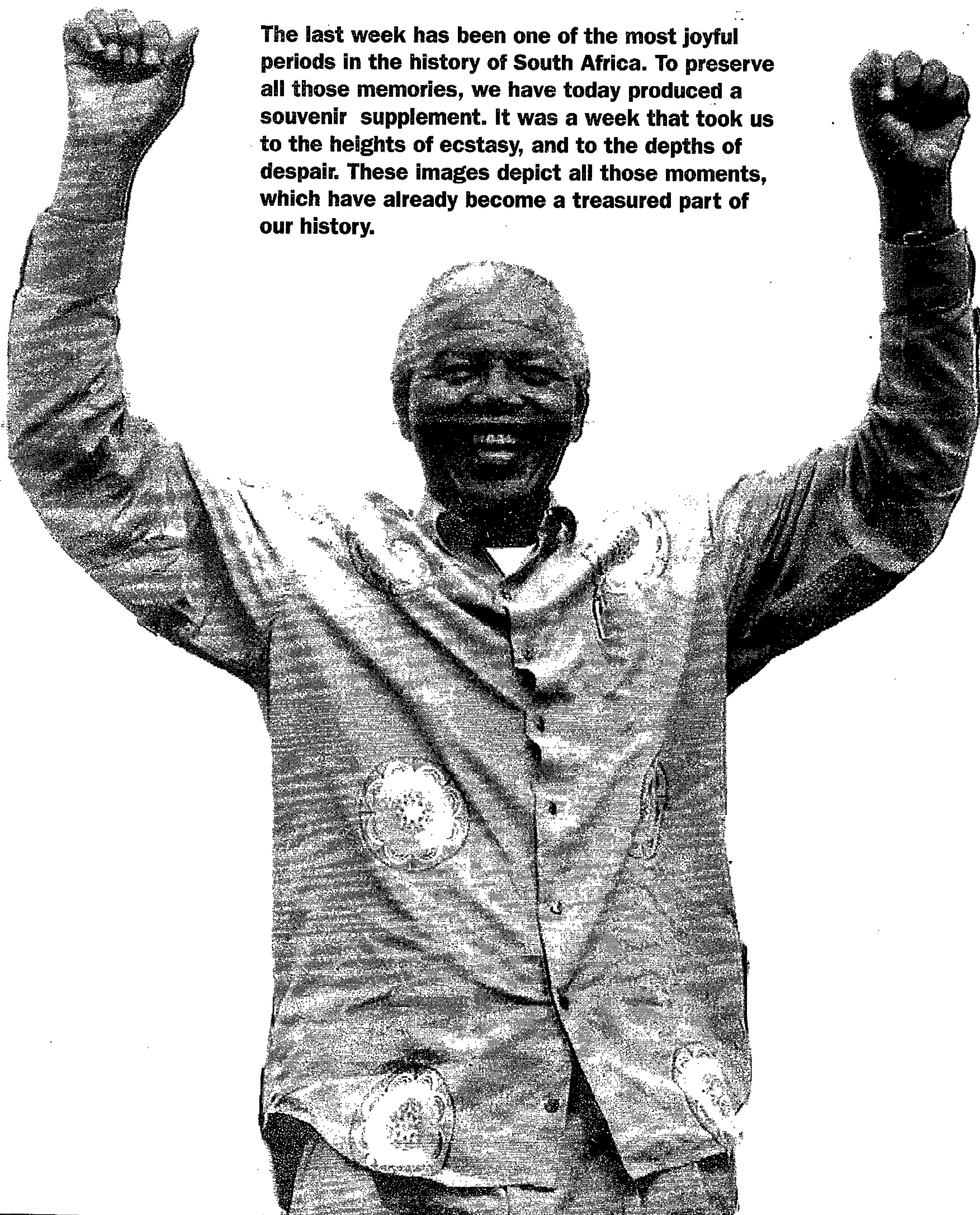
ELECTION

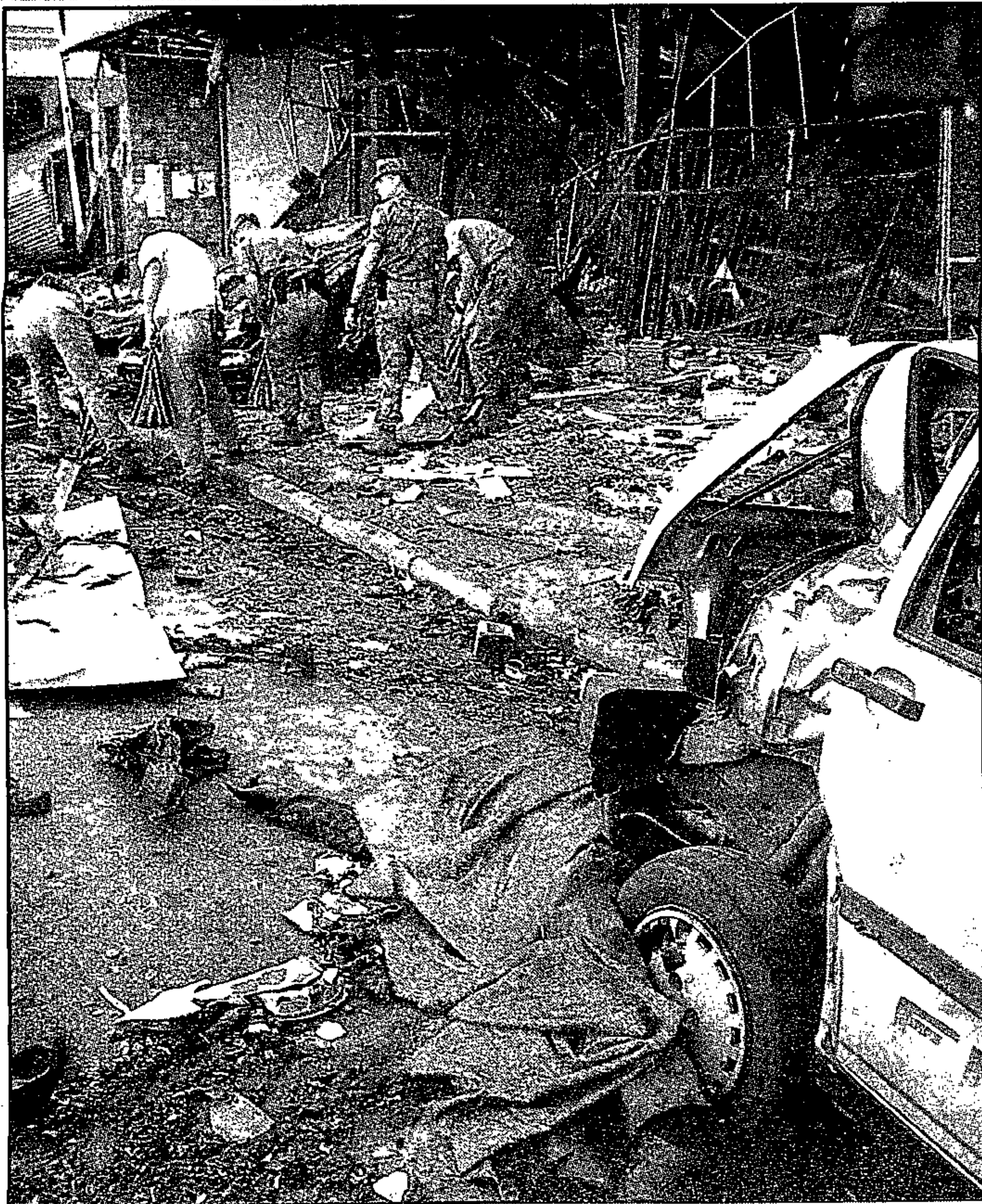
SOUVENIR

7 DAYS IN THE BIRTH OF THE
NEW SOUTH AFRICA

A victory salute

The last week has been one of the most joyful periods in the history of South Africa. To preserve all those memories, we have today produced a souvenir supplement. It was a week that took us to the heights of ecstasy, and to the depths of despair. These images depict all those moments, which have already become a treasured part of our history.

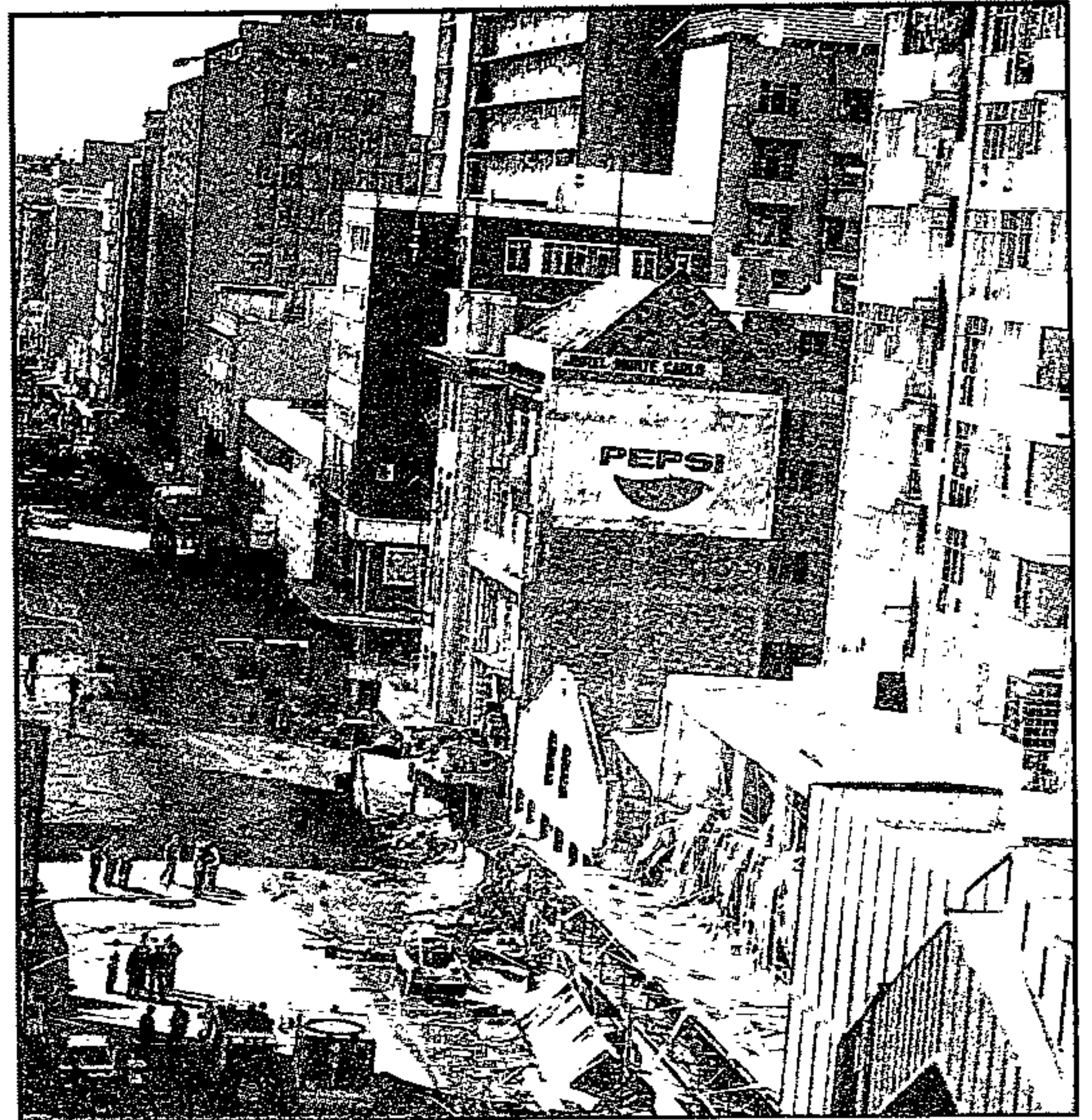




Police search for clues while the body of one of the people killed by the Bree Street bomb, on April 24, lies next to the car used in the blast.



DAY
Sunday's Bree Street bomb is followed by a car bomb at a Germiston taxi rank, which kills 10 people. Another two people die in an explosion at a Pretoria restaurant in the evening. Several polling stations also receive bomb threats during the day.



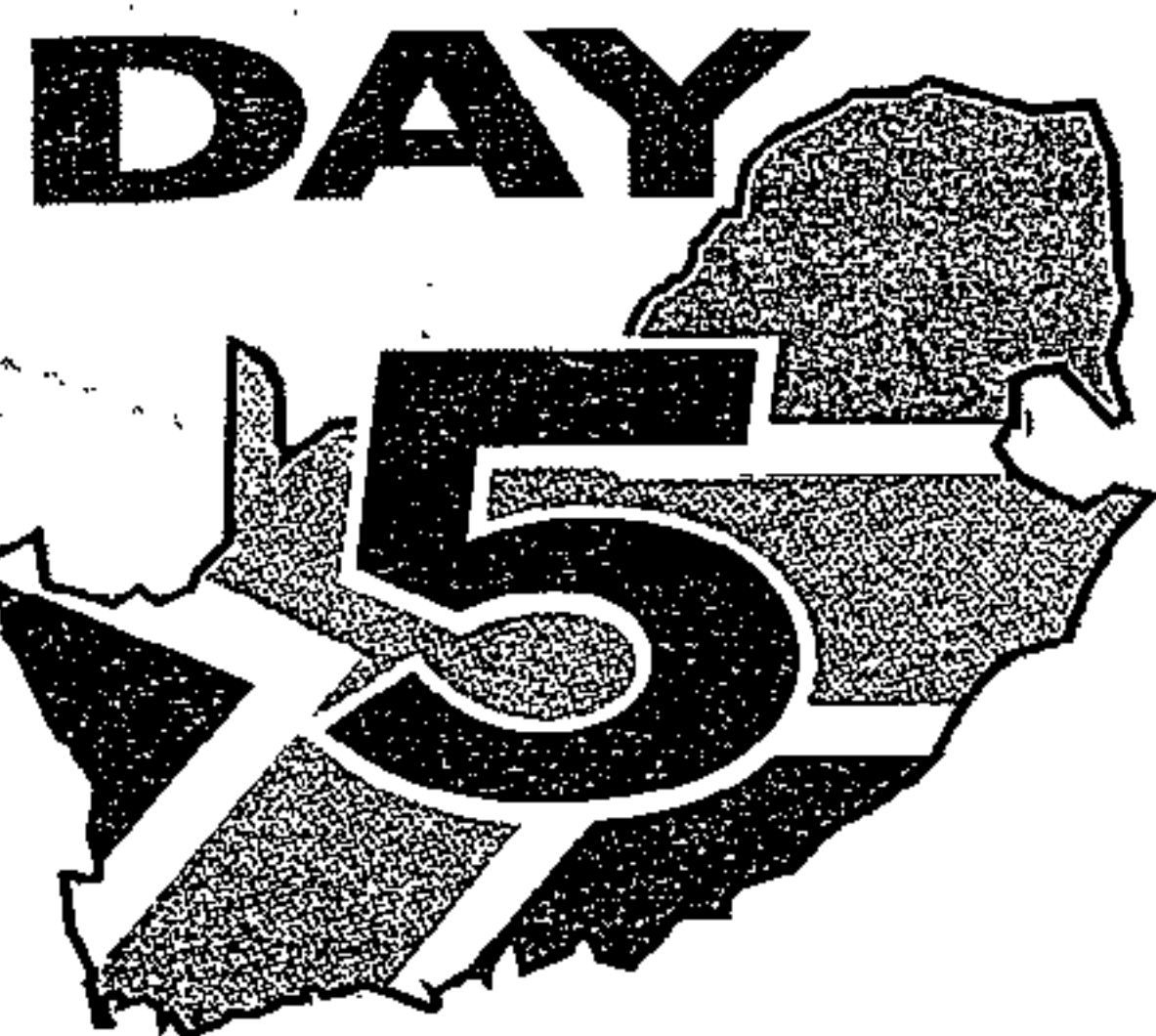
An aerial view of the scene of the blast that went off on Sunday April 24 near the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg. Nine people were killed and 92 injured.



Police and bomb experts search for clues at the Germiston taxi rank. The explosion, on April 25, killed ten people and injured about 50.

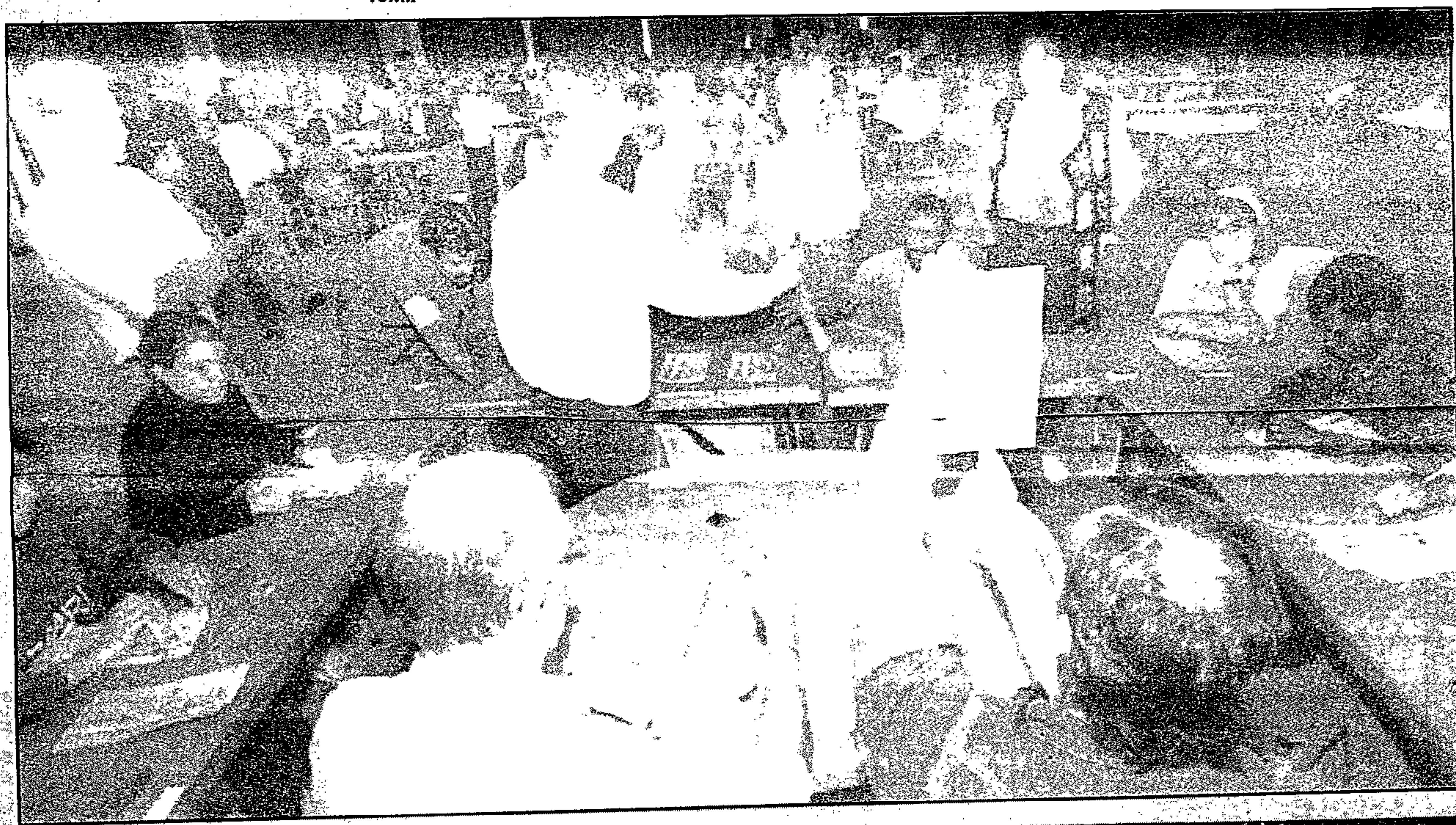
PICS: LEN KUMALO

The last lap begins: only those in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu and Northern Transvaal are still going to the polls; elsewhere, the ballot papers start trickling into the IEC's counting centres.



A member of the KwaZulu police guards a truck loaded with ballot boxes.

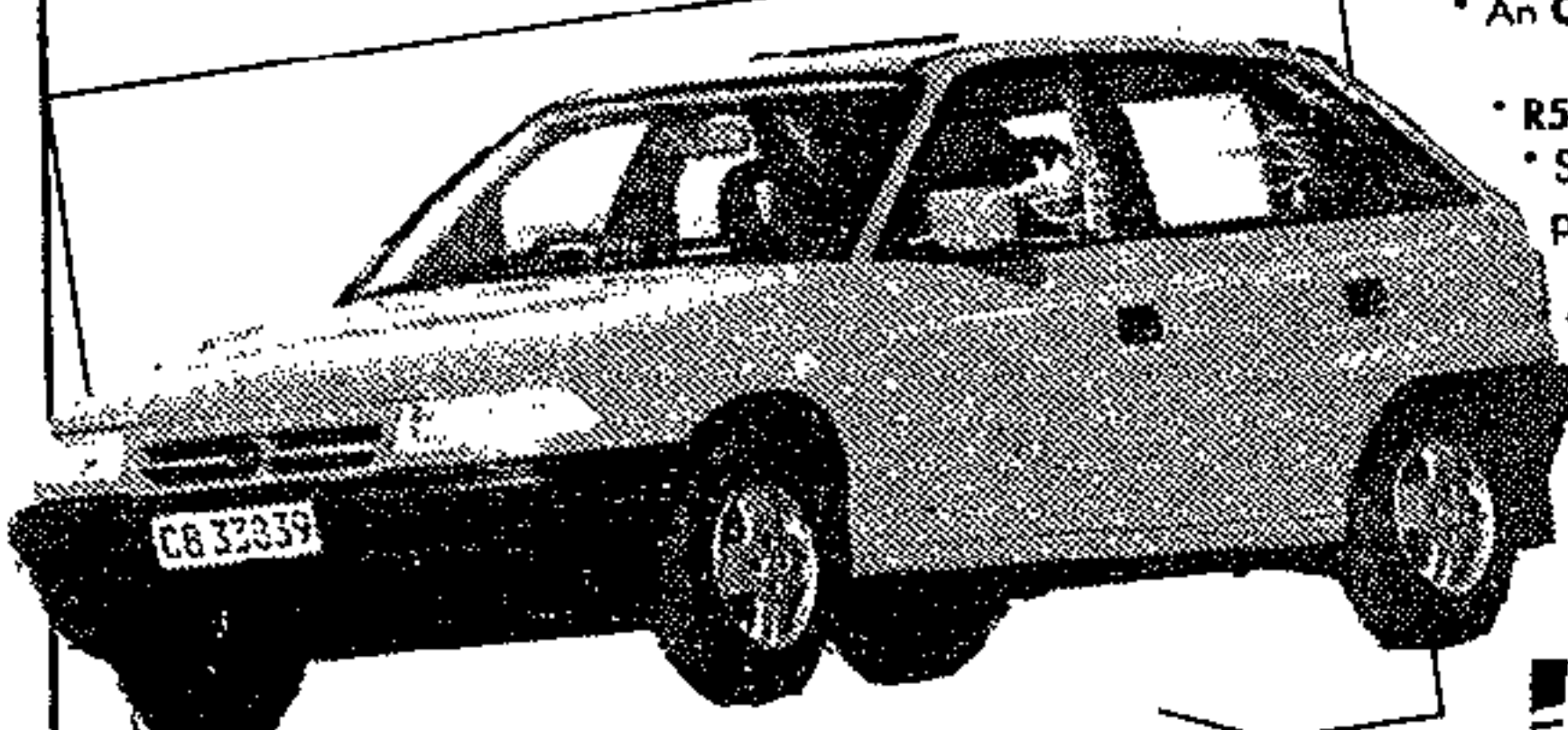
Members of the Independent Electoral Commission hold up ballots for scrutiny at an IEC counting centre in Cape Town.



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THE COUPLE OF THE YEAR WILL WIN:

- * An OPEL KADETT 140 STANDARD worth approximately R50 000!
- * R5 000 cash from AMERICAN SWISS.
- * Silver plated tea set worth R1 000 plus gold jewellery worth R2000 from AMERICAN SWISS.
- * Household linen and bedding from HORROCKSES.
- * A week's holiday at a Sun International Hotel.
- Additional cash prizes from AMERICAN SWISS for runners-up!

HORROCKSES
Bedroom Fashion

**BRIDAL COUPLE
OF THE YEAR
COMPETITION**

NOW OPEN TO ALL BRIDAL COUPLES
WHO GOT MARRIED IN 1994!

Each monthly winning couple will receive Pulsar watches worth R1 300, gifts from AMERICAN SWISS, an exciting VIP weekend getaway at a SUN INTERNATIONAL resort, household linen from HORROCKSES, a Janome sewing machine from RUSSELLS. Be a guest of honour at a cocktail party sponsored by CINZANO SPUMANTE.

Williams Hunt Delta
Suppliers of Opel and Isuzu.

PULSAR
A STATEMENT IN STYLE

Sun International

Russells
See how little style costs.

Just for you

RULES
* Bridal couples are judged on their happiness, radiance and charm, not outfits. * Entry forms must be filled in correctly and signed. * Staff of Sowetan, SABC, American Swiss and their immediate families may not enter. * Winners must have a valid passport/travel documents. * No prizes will be exchanged for cash. * The judges decision is final - no correspondence will be entered into. * Prizes must be collected from THE SOWETAN. * Couples who get divorced before the finals get disqualified. * Holiday prizes valid for six months. * The car will be registered in the names of the winning couple.

HOW TO ENTER:

Send a head and shoulders picture of the happy bridal couple on their wedding day. Post to SOWETAN/ AMERICAN SWISS BRIDAL COUPLE OF THE YEAR COMPETITION, P.O. BOX, 1127, RIVONIA, 2126

Bride's name:..... (h).....
Tel. (w).....
Groom's name and surname:.....
Tel. (w)..... (h).....
Address:..... Code:.....
Date of marriage:.....
I abide by the rules: Signature bride:..... Signature groom:.....

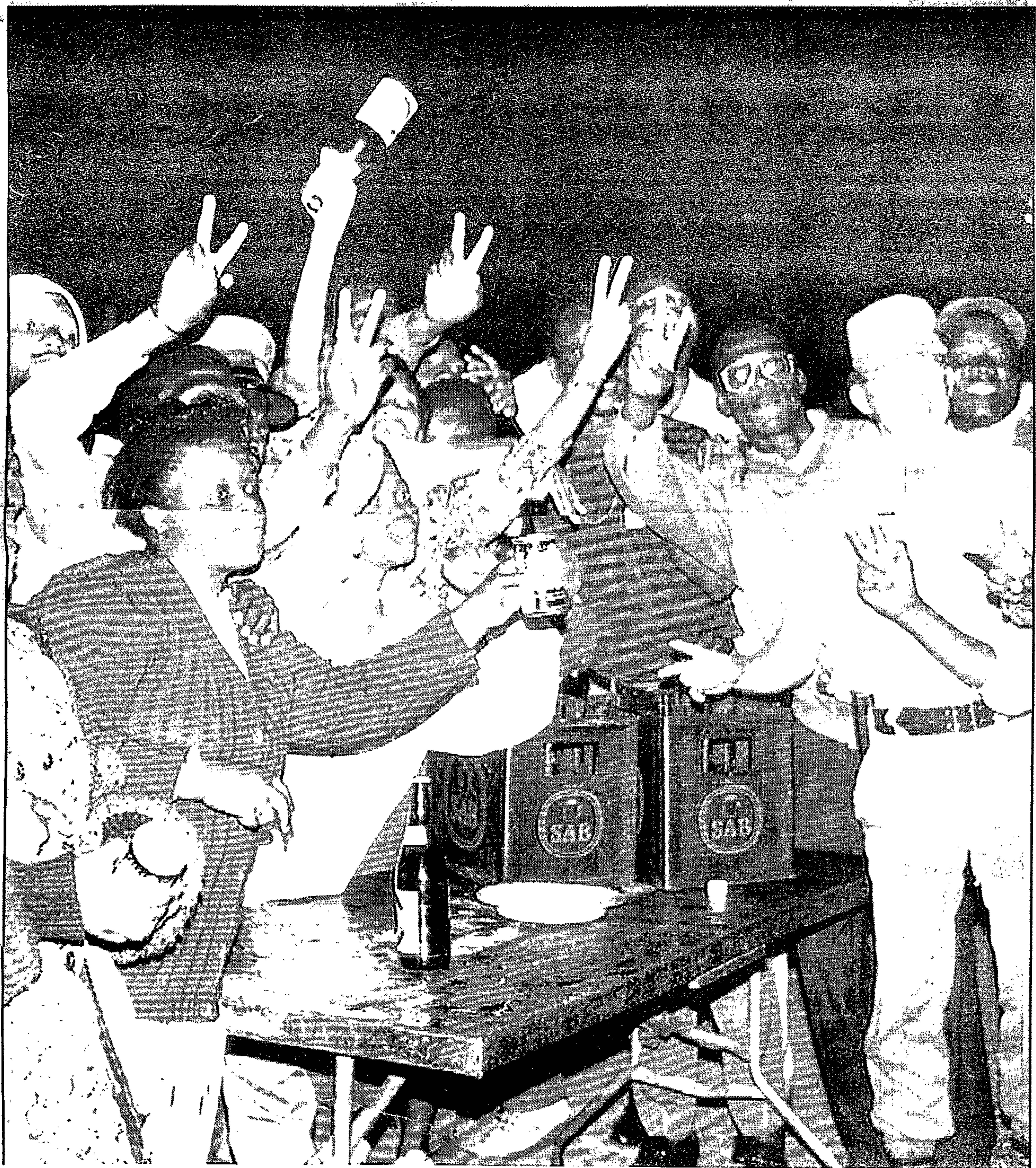
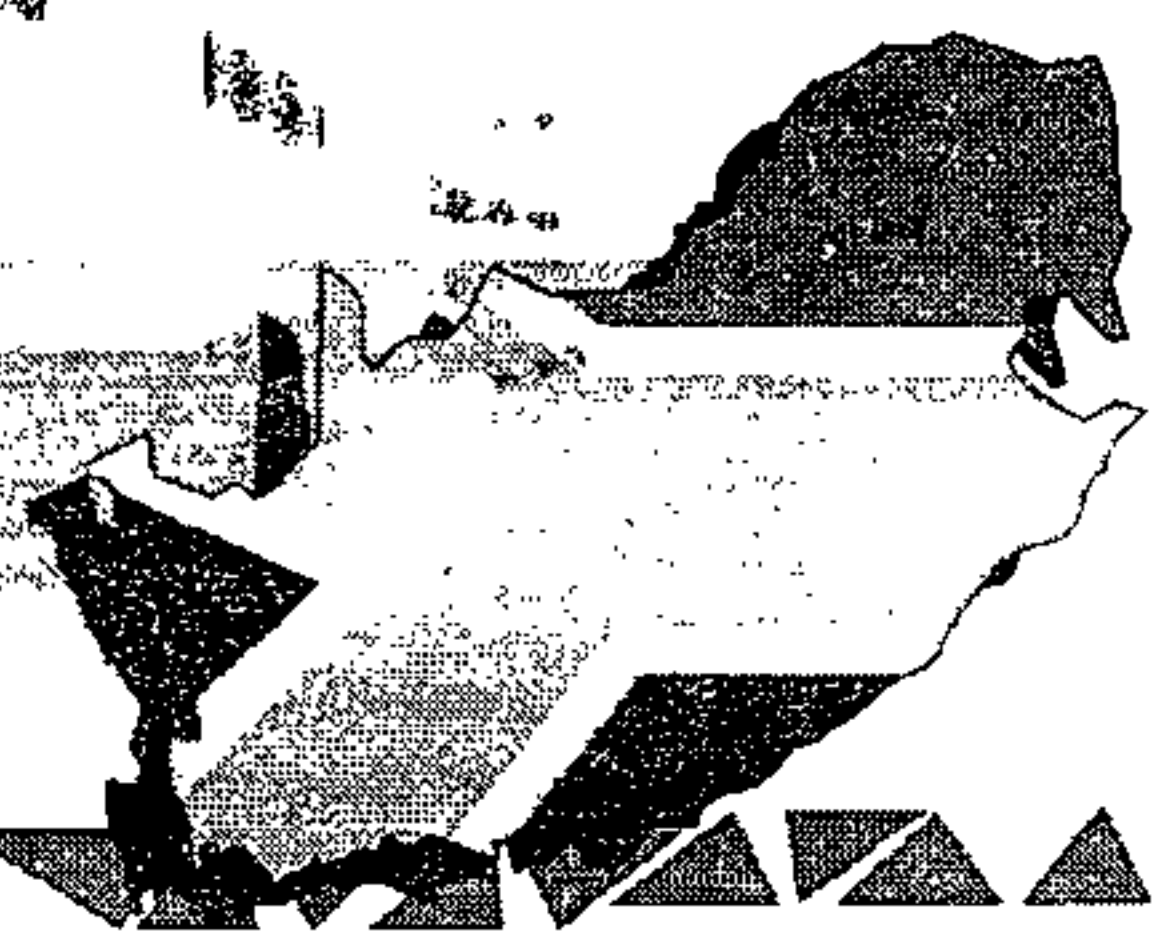
Sowetan

ELECTION

SOUVENIR



DAYS IN THE BIRTH OF THE
NEW SOUTH AFRICA



And let the celebrations begin...

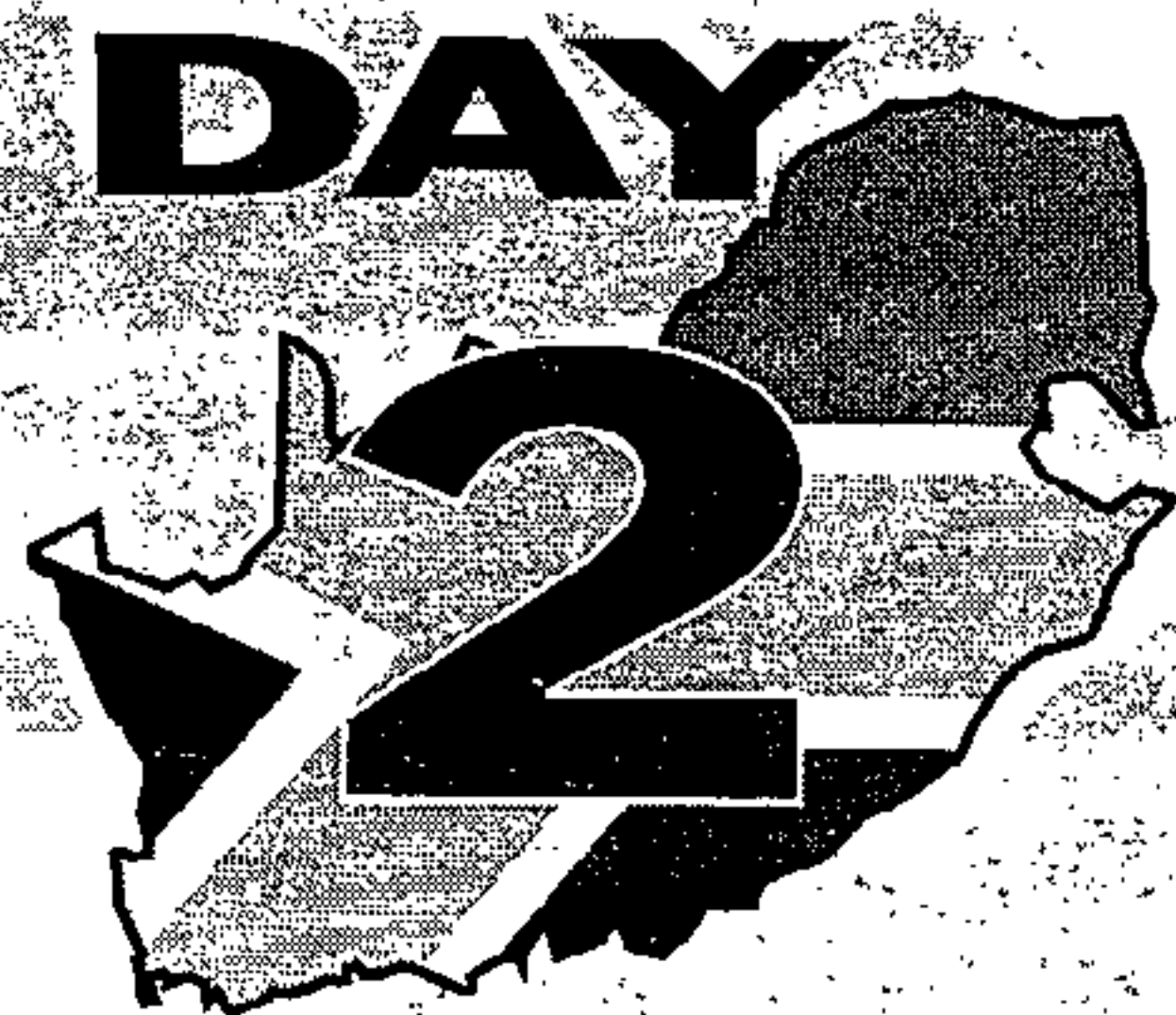
The bonfires of joy were lit soon after the polls closed last Thursday. Millions of South Africans realised — like these police, Merafe hostel dwellers and Mapetla residents — that they had been part of and witnessed something special, a miracle.

PIC: LUCKY NXUMALO



An elderly man struggles to stand up to join thousands of others who queued to cast their votes during the special voting day in Seshego, Pietersburg.

PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

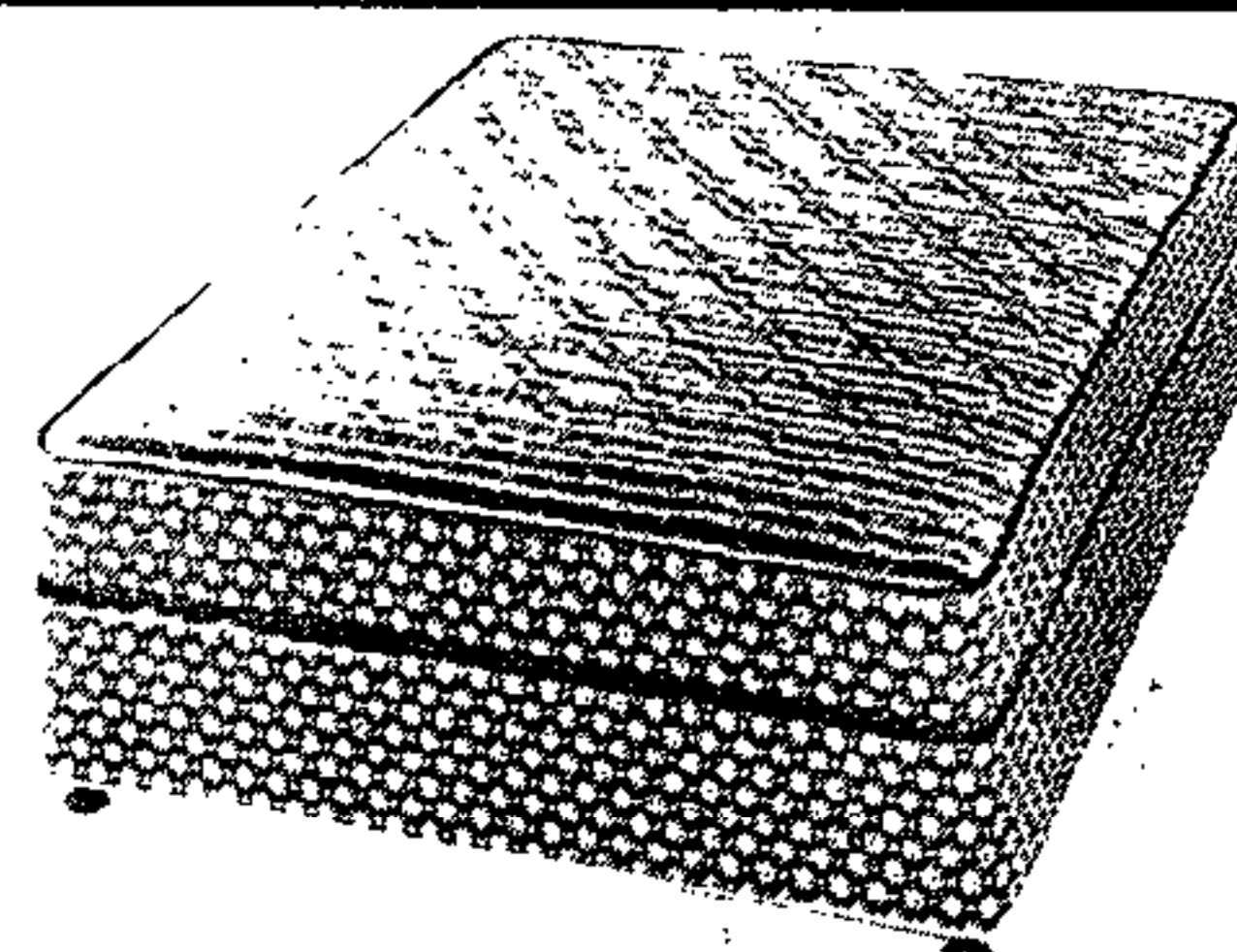


An inspiring display of courage and determination as the elderly, infirm and disabled go to the polls to cast their special votes. The first person to vote is Nelson Mandela's niece, Nomaza Paintin, who lives in New Zealand.



IEC officials help a pensioner who collapsed at the voting queue in Orlando East.
PIC: LUCKY NXUMALO.

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R35 per Month
DEPOSIT: R15
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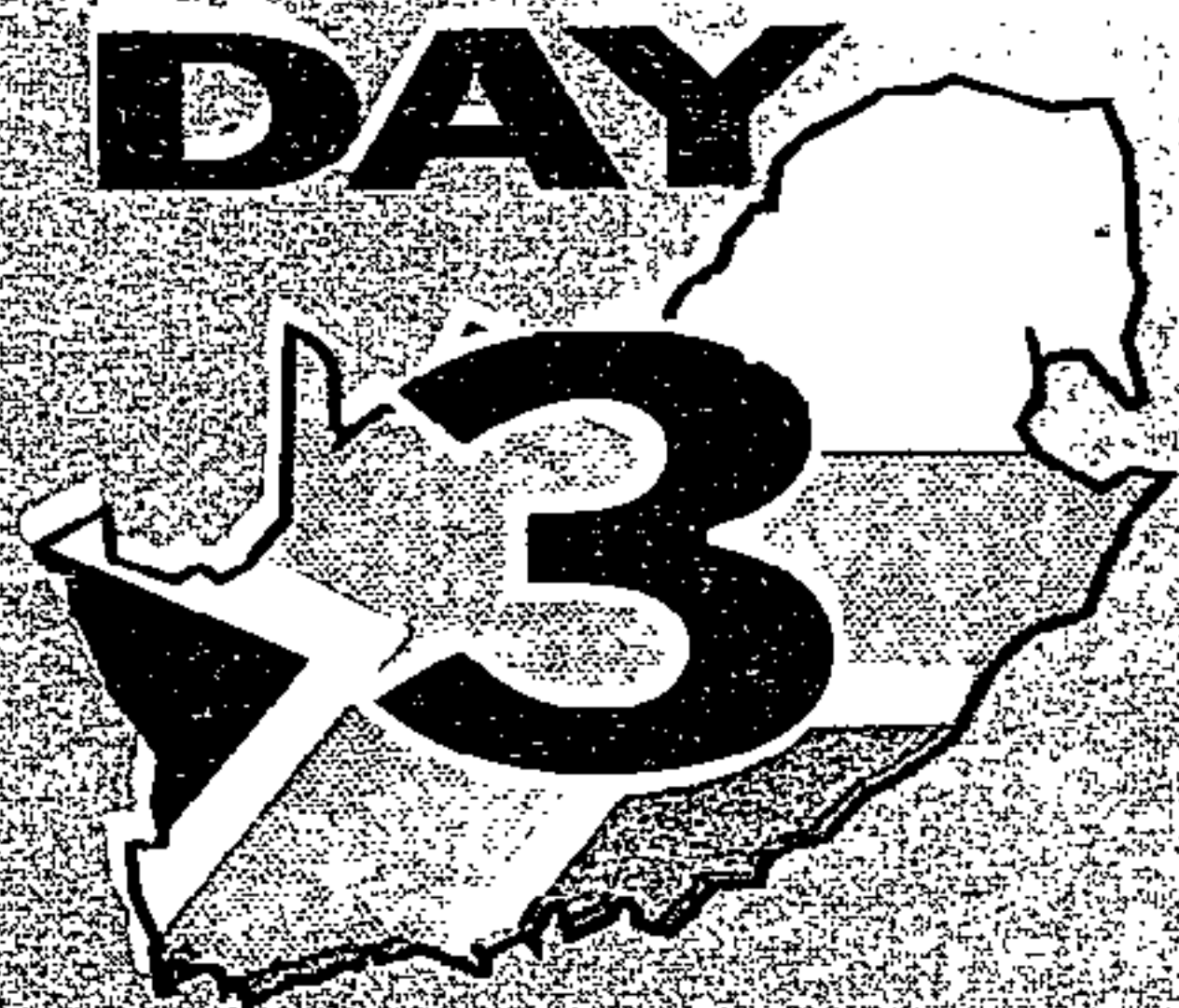
Modern House Furnishers
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R1078



Long queues did not deter voters in Mega City, Mmabatho.

PIC: PAT SEBOKO



They said it...

Ordinary respect is not something only black South Africans will enjoy. The pact South Africans have made will allow all to take their place in the community of nations without shame. To have achieved this through negotiation is, as Mandela has said, a triumph of the human spirit. The world is a better place today.

— John Carlin, *The Independent*.

The abiding image of the day that South Africa began to become one nation, all together, was in the orange autumn sun rising over a new country teeming with extraordinary, renewed people. It rose over a country with a new flag, a new anthem, a new map and a profound new human mood.

— Shaun Johnson, *The Star*.

The elections, a momentous occasion for South Africans of all races, have become a seminal event for all mankind with unprecedented international interest in the domestic affairs of another nation.

The entire world is not just watching this country over the next few days," said a Western diplomat. "It is cheering for South Africa to win".

— John Battersby, *Christian Science Monitor*.

One of the most remarkable features of the election has been the attitude of the voters. Their conduct has been outstanding. For those who have never been able to vote before it was a moment of elation, of new found dignity epitomised best perhaps by Archbishop Desmond Tutu's ebullient jig of joy.

— The Argus, Cape Town.

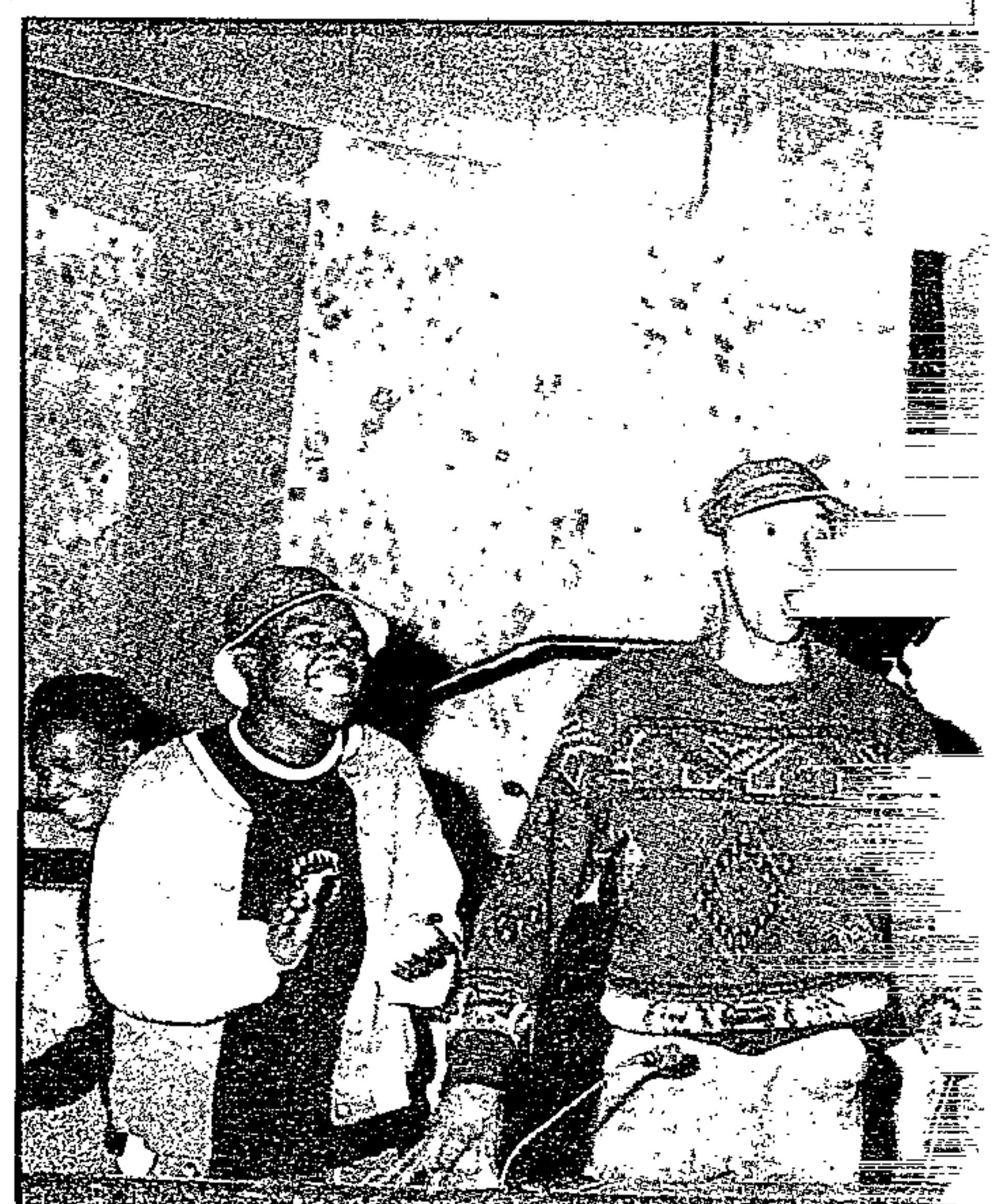


An SADF soldier restrains crowds wanting to get a glimpse of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.



South Africa's senior citizens queued up to cast their votes in the country's first all-race elections.

PIC: JOE MOLEFE



Youths in the North Western Region mocking the cabinet of the ANC.

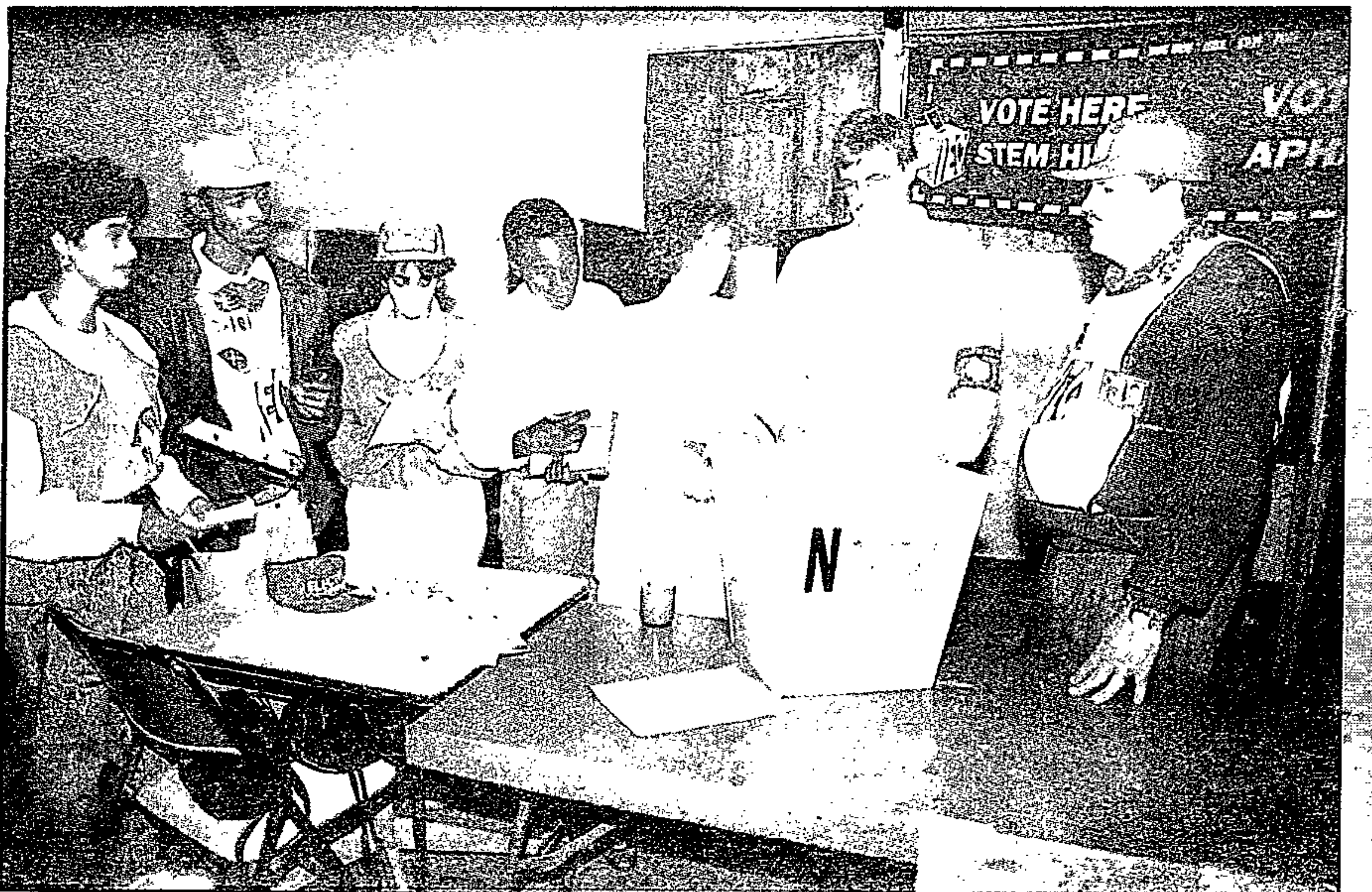


Mandela who had come to cast his vote at Ohlange High School in Inanda, Natal.

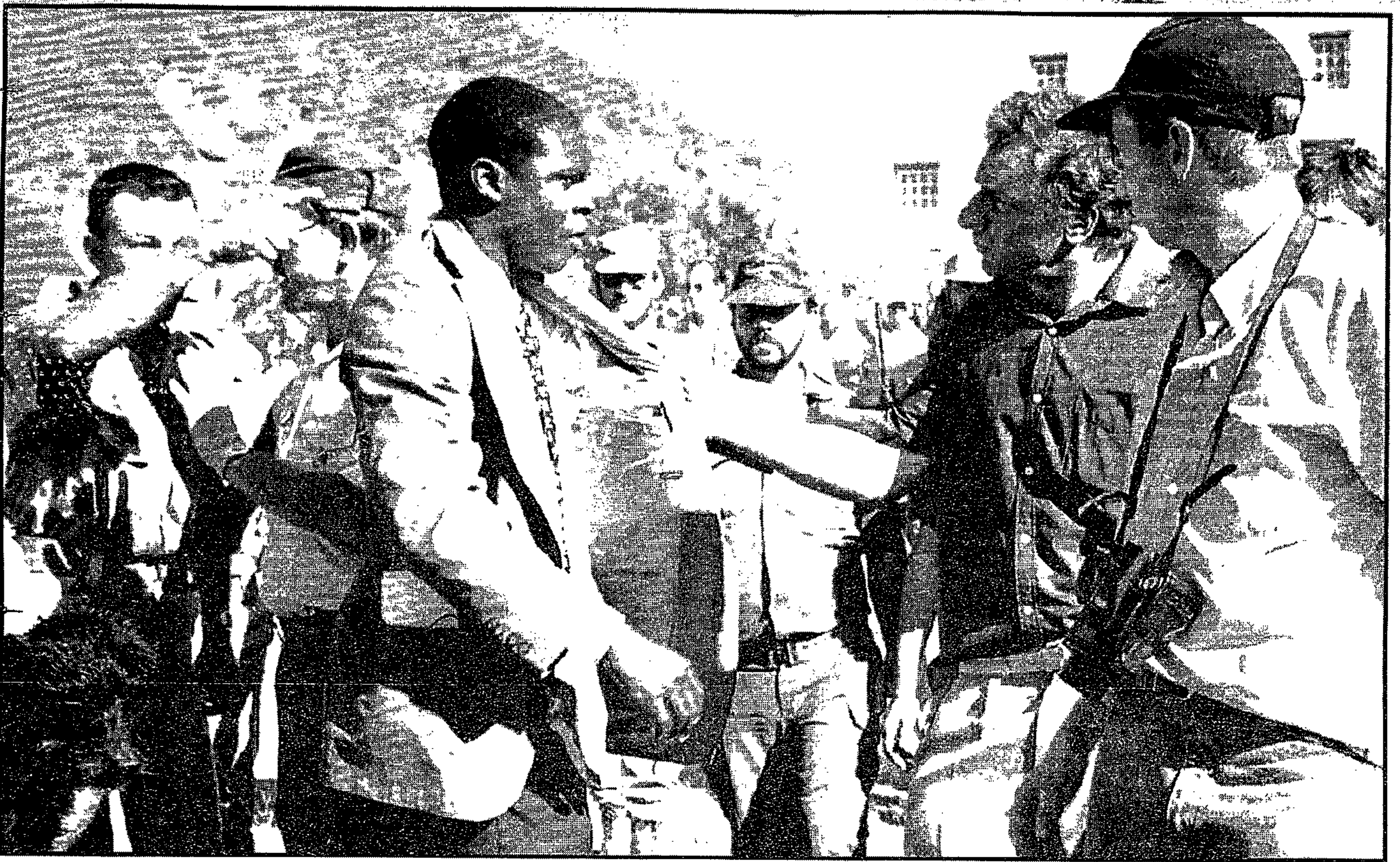
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU



Bophuthatswana parliament. PIC: PAT SEBOKO



IEC officials inspect a ballot box at a collection point at KaNyamazane, near Nelspruit, in the Eastern Transvaal. PIC: LEN KUMALO



A Journalist from the New York Daily News, Michael Allan, escorted away from the scene after he was attacked and beaten by AWB members during anti-election rally near the town of Phokeng.

PIC: AP

DAY



Because of severe logistical problems, today is declared a public holiday to give voters more time to go to the polls. Several polling stations still experience problems caused by the late arrival of voting material. Yet still voters continue to flock to the polls. Even veiled IFP threats to withdraw from the election do not dampen most people's joy.



Inkatha Freedom Party supporters protest outside Nasrec after claims of "irregularities" in the ballot papers.

PIC: AFP

3 IEC men in papers probe

CT 3/5/94 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Five IEC officials, three of them seconded by the Department of Home Affairs, are under investigation in connection with the concealment of large quantities of ballot papers and other materials at the height of a shortage crisis during the election.

Mr Peter Harris, chief director of IEC monitoring, told reporters last night that cases had been referred to the attorney-general and the Goldstone Commission following investigations into irregularities.

One official was under investigation for what Mr Harris described as "gross dereliction of duty at best". The official was in charge of 611 boxes containing 5 499 000 ballot slips at Marievale.

He had allegedly given conflicting counts of his available material, turning away electoral officers before a team of specialist functions monitors entered his warehouse on the morning of April 28 when the missing stock was discovered. The searchers were accompanied by nine police officers.

In Pretoria another warehouse was found to contain several hundred boxes of 9 000 ballot papers each, 100 boxes of IFP stickers, 200 UV lights and four boxes of ink.

Mr Harris confirmed that an investigation was also in progress in respect of ballot and material stashes found in warehouses on the West Rand. The findings would also be made public once investigations were completed.

● Community liaison policeman Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Maritz was threatened with death in a call to the SABC yesterday over allegations that 31 ballot boxes were tampered with in KwaZakhele, Port Elizabeth, during the election.

The caller wanted to know the whereabouts of Col Maritz, who told the media last Thursday about the alleged tampering, as "he's a dead man".

● A pay dispute sit-in by about 200 monitors in the offices of the Peace Secretariat in East London was disrupted by a bomb scare yesterday evening.

A spokesman for the monitors, Mr Samkelo Jwayi, said there had been a report that someone entered the building and left an article behind.

"We thought it might be a bomb," he said.

The protesters left the building and gathered across the road outside the East London City Hall while the bomb squad checked the premises. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Results snarl-up

CR 4/5/94

304A

Presidential election delay

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

A MAJOR vote counting snarl-up forced the postponement last night of the election of the new President and the prime ministers of the nine provinces.

ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela is now due to be formally elected President on Monday, instead of Friday, and to be sworn in on Tuesday in Pretoria. The election of the prime ministers was postponed from tomorrow to Saturday.

The Grand Parade victory rally to be addressed by Mr. Mandela will now be held on Monday after Parliament votes him South Africa's first democratically-elected President.

Crisis meeting

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) management committee, which announced the delays after an emergency meeting yesterday, said its decision followed "information from the Independent Electoral Commission".

The IEC was last night locked in a "crisis meeting" but confirmed a freeze in the announcement of results until later today.

The IEC said counting of ballots at a number of stations around the country would continue while it would re-vamp counting procedures overnight in a bid to overcome frustrating delays in announcing results.

This follows logjams and allegations of irregularities in key counting stations in KwaZulu/Natal, the Eastern Cape, Northern Transvaal and PWV.

By last night the IEC had only announced about 12 million votes, just

over half the ballots estimated to have been cast.

An IEC spokesman said 75% of counting had been completed but verification problems were delaying announcements of results. Some IEC officials doubted counting would be completed by Friday.

In KwaZulu/Natal only a third of the estimated 4.5 million votes had been processed. In the PWV the figure was under half of five million votes.

Results in the Northern Transvaal and Eastern Cape had also been released at a snail's pace.

The IFP, ANC and DP yesterday protested at alleged electoral irregularities.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would reserve judgment on the outcome until the final results became known, but added that he would not mind if polls were re-run in some areas where fairness was in dispute.

Although the ongoing delays made reliable predictions difficult, it seemed by late last night that the ANC would not be able to clinch a two-thirds majority in the 400-member National Assembly.

The ANC, having captured 62.5% of the votes announced, would have to win at least 73% of the outstanding votes to reach the 66.6% mark needed to give it a free hand in rewriting the interim constitution.

Despite the delay in the election of Mr. Mandela, as President by the National Assembly, the inauguration is still scheduled to take place in Pretoria on Tuesday, the TEC said in its statement.

Yesterday, the President-elect met for five hours with outgoing President F.W. de Klerk about the composition of the 27-member cabinet in the government of national unity.



SHAKE ON IT . . . NP premier-elect for the Western Cape Mr. Hemus Kriel and ANC regional leader Dr. Allan Boesak met yesterday to discuss cabinet positions in the new regional executive and to spell out priorities for the region over the next five years. They pledged to work together. Report — Page 2.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Viljoen: No cabinet seat

JOHANNESBURG. — Far right leader General Constand Viljoen, who is campaigning for a separate white homeland, poured cold water yesterday on his possible co-option into Mr Nelson Mandela's cabinet.

Mr Mandela said in his victory speech here on Monday night that he regarded Gen Viljoen and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer as "worthy South Africans who are going to make a

contribution to the government of national unity". **CT 4/5/94**

Asked by Radio 702 if he would accept a cabinet post, Gen Viljoen said: "I don't think so, not at this stage. I would have to discuss this with the new President-elect.

"But as far as I'm concerned my real job is to be with my people and to find a place for the Afrikaner people. I'd rather spend my energies and efforts in that direction, because I regard this as the biggest peace contribution I

could make." (304A)

Gen Viljoen said he would be happy with the 13 seats his Freedom Front is projected to get in the new 400-seat National Assembly, less than the 20 seats he would need for an automatic place in the cabinet.

Thirteen would allow him to activate the "volkstaatsraad", a forum to discuss an Afrikaner homeland with Parliament. — Sapa-AFP



IEC rethinks on counting process

■ DRAMATIC HALT Flow of results expected to resume this morning:

THE announcement of results in South Africa's historic all-race elections came to a dramatic halt last night as electoral officers decided to have a re-think on the whole counting procedure.

The Independent Electoral Commission was last night revamping its counting procedures, causing a delay spanning several hours.

The results are expected to flow again this morning, according to the IEC.

The vote counting was last night to be accelerated by entering the total number of votes recorded at counting stations as the basis for accumulating national and provincial tallies.

This would replace the old system which involved the entry into the count of batches of 2 000 to 3 000 votes from the counting stations as the figures came in.

"This changeover will take place during the course of the night and results will continue to flow during the course of the morning," the IEC said last night.

The commission stressed it had not stopped counting votes.

The counting of the estimated 19 million votes had already dragged on for four days, and the opening of provincial assemblies, originally scheduled for tomorrow, had been postponed to Saturday because the composition of the party blocs was still far from being decided.

Meanwhile, the crucial two-thirds majority sought by the African National Congress appears to be beyond reach.

Standing at 62,5 percent of the poll at 7pm last night, the ANC has to win more than 76 percent of the anticipated outstanding votes to reach the 66,6 percent mark to allow it to change the negotiated interim constitution at will.

IEC spokesman Mr Kumi Naidoo anticipated the final poll would stand between 70 and 85 percent of an esti-

ated 22,45 million voters.

On these figures, the ANC would require between 76,58 and 85,43 percent of the remaining votes to reach the two-thirds mark.

But trends since midnight on Monday to 7pm last night suggested the ANC majority was being reduced by the Inkatha Freedom Party, probably as delayed KwaZulu/Natal results trickled in. The IFP had risen to 8,3 percent from 5,8 percent in this period, while the ANC share had fallen from 63,8 to a low of 62,2 before recovering to 62,5.

The second-placed National Party dropped to 22,1 percent from 23 percent during this period.

The Freedom Front in fourth place had 2,7 percent, followed by the Democratic Party (1,7) and the Pan Africanist Congress (1,3). — Sapa.

Buthelezi quiet ^(30/11) on election result

ULUNDI. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would reserve his judgment on the outcome of the elections until the final results were known.

Speaking to reporters outside the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here, Chief Buthelezi also indicated his willingness to serve in a government with the rival ANC. **CT4/5/94**

He said he was grateful the country's first democratic elections had been peaceful.

Referring to Monday night's victory speech by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi said he was surprised and disappointed he wasn't congratulated along with other leaders by the ANC leader.

Meanwhile, the IFP's national chairman and KwaZulu/Natal premier candidate Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday the elections were representative of the will of the people.

He said there had been a big turn-out at the polls in KwaZulu/Natal, but with only a third of the votes counted it was difficult to predict which party would win the province. — Sapa

Nats, ANC commit to Cape unity

CT 4/5/94

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party and the ANC have pledged to co-operate in a government of regional unity to make the Western Cape a winning province for all its people.

NP premier-elect Mr Hernus Kriel and ANC regional leader Dr Allan Boesak — who met yesterday to discuss allocations for the 10 cabinet positions in the new regional executive — spelt out similar priorities for the region over the next five years.

Cabinet posts in the region — six for the NP and four for the ANC — are expected to be finalised next week.

Neither Mr Kriel nor Dr Boesak would give details about who was being considered to the top executive jobs in the new province, but it is understood the ANC is keen on securing cabinet posts related to housing, health, education and tourism.

Speaking at separate press conferences, the two leaders isolated reconciliation and the social upliftment of the people of the Western Cape — particularly the poor — as the central issues to be tackled.

Both leaders also said their parties should, in the interests of all the people in the region, put aside petty political animosities and concentrate on working together as partners in the new government to bring about a

job-creating investment and accelerated economic development to the region.

Mr Kriel said he did not foresee problems working with an ANC-dominated central government, saying: "The government in the Western Cape will work together with central government... there is no animosity from our side whatsoever."

He said he had "nothing against" the ANC's reconstruction and development programme. However, it would be necessary to draw up a plan of action to see to what extent it was affordable, its time-scale and how it could be applied in the Western Cape.

Dr Boesak said the programme remained a cornerstone of its policy and that it would work hard to see this programme implemented by a regional government.

He did not believe there would be any tensions between the ANC and NP if the NP went along with the reconstruction programme, but added: "If the NP tries to block it there will be tensions."

Dr Boesak said the ANC was determined to give its full co-operation in the NP-led government.

However, he said healing the scars left by the NP's racially-tainted election campaign would be an important long-term focus for the ANC and the NP.



MARCHING TO VICTORY... Overjoyed students from the University of the Witwatersrand march in the streets of Johannesburg yesterday to celebrate the African National Congress's commanding lead in the election.

Picture: AP

Co-option not on says Viljoen

Sowetan 4/5/94

FAR RIGHT leader General Constand Viljoen, who is campaigning for a separate white homeland in the new South Africa, poured cold water yesterday on his possible co-option into Nelson Mandela's cabinet.

Mandela said in his victory speech on Monday night after the country's first all-race election that he regarded Viljoen as a "worthy South African going to make a contribution to the government of national unity".

Asked about the offer, Viljoen said yesterday: "I don't think so, not at this stage. I would have to discuss this with the new president-elect."

"But as far as I'm concerned my real job is to be with my people and to find a place for the Afrikaner people."

"I'd rather spend my energies and efforts in that direction, because I regard this as the biggest peace contribution effort I could make."

Viljoen said he would be happy with the 13 seats his Freedom Front is projected to get in the new 400-seat National Assembly — fewer than the 20 seats he would need for an automatic place in cabinet.

Thirteen would allow him to activate the "volksstaatsraad", a forum to discuss an Afrikaner homeland that will report back to the new parliament, in terms of an agreement he signed with Mandela's African National Congress and the outgoing National Party on April 23, he said.

RECEIVED

ANC's top men eyeing cabinet posts

ARG 4/5/94

□ Slovo certain to be included

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

TOP African National Congress members are vying for posts in the new cabinet to be announced by president-elect Nelson Mandela next week.

Among those bound to be in the cabinet are Joe Slovo of the Communist Party, Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa.

If Mr Mbeki is made deputy-president, Mr Ramaphosa will still get a top post in the cabinet, probably to do with labour affairs.

He has considerable experience as a trade union leader and also made a strong impression in the negotiations on the new constitution.

A reconstruction and development department may be created with Cosatu's Jay Naidoo heading it.

ANC economic planning head Trevor Manuel is likely to get a department to do with economic development but Mr Mandela may want to keep Derek Keys as Minister of Finance.

He has performed impressively in this post and has remained a non-political figure.

Sydney Mafumadi is being tipped for the portfolio of trade and industry, Pallo Jordan for science and technology, Steve

Tshwete for sport, Marcel Goding for health, Gertrude Shope for information, Nkosazana Zuma for posts and telecommunications and Mohammed Valli Moosa for youth affairs and women's interests.

The National Party will be entitled to six posts in the cabinet. FW de Klerk will be an executive deputy president.

Nationalists in line for inclusion are Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers, Kobie Coetsee, Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Mr Keys.

Meanwhile, Nationalist and ANC Western Cape leaders Hernus Kriel and Allan Boesak have met to discuss posts in the provincial cabinet.

In Nationalist circles Administrator Kobus Meiring, Deputy-Minister Lampie Fick and two former MECs, Pieter Marais and Martha Olckers, are being strongly tipped.

Among others being mentioned are former MPs Peter Mackenzie, Arnold de Jager, Willem Doman and Gerald Morkel.

Apart from Dr Boesak, the ANC is considering some of its top candidates, including Lerumo Kalako, Chris Nissen, Vincent Diba, Hilda Ndude and Johnny Issel.

An ANC source said the party would be especially interested in a portfolio involving reconstruction and development.

Nationalist government winds up its affairs today

Political Staff

(3049)

ARC 4/5/94

THE Nationalist government is winding up its affairs today with a last cabinet meeting in Pretoria before handing over to a government of national unity led by Nelson Mandela.

Ministers arrived early at the Union Buildings to attend winding-up meetings of cabinet committees before President De Klerk presided at the last cabinet meeting at 10am.

The cabinet has a short

agenda today and was expected to deal with the general political situation after the National Party defeat and the African National Congress victory.

Mr De Klerk was expected to report on his meeting yesterday with Mr Mandela at which the transition to a new government and cabinet posts for the NP were discussed.

The NP will be entitled to six posts in the new cabinet.

Second ballot 'a guide for volksstaat'

BY RICHARD HUMPHRIES
and MARK SHAW
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

With just over half the estimated 22.7 million votes having been counted by last night, provincial votes for the Freedom Front may reach or exceed the number cast for the Conservative Party in the 1989 whites-only election.

These results would seem to vindicate the late entry of General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front into the election in a bid to promote Afrikaner self-determination.

The second ballot, which the

FF's Dr Corné Mulder described yesterday as effectively being a "plebiscite" on a volksstaat, has also boosted its support.

Late yesterday, the FF had 323 855 votes at the national level, and 433 164 provincial votes — a difference of 109 309 votes. If this level of support holds, particularly at the provincial level, support for the FF will surpass the 685 000 that the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party received in 1989.

In the northern and eastern Transvaal, FF support was only a few percentage points less

than that of the NP.

Mulder, third on the FF's national list, said that one of the first tasks of the soon-to-be established Volksstaat Council would be to examine FF voting patterns to determine the boundaries of a possible volksstaat.

Mulder said the council would examine data on FF support from 800 voting stations, chosen by the FF in an agreement with the IEC. These stations were chosen in areas where substantial support for Afrikaner self-determination was expected.

The FF had originally pro-

posed that some 1 100 voting stations be used. The revised list included areas where the FF did not expect much support.

Mulder said that by comparing levels of support, potential boundaries of a possible volksstaat could be determined.

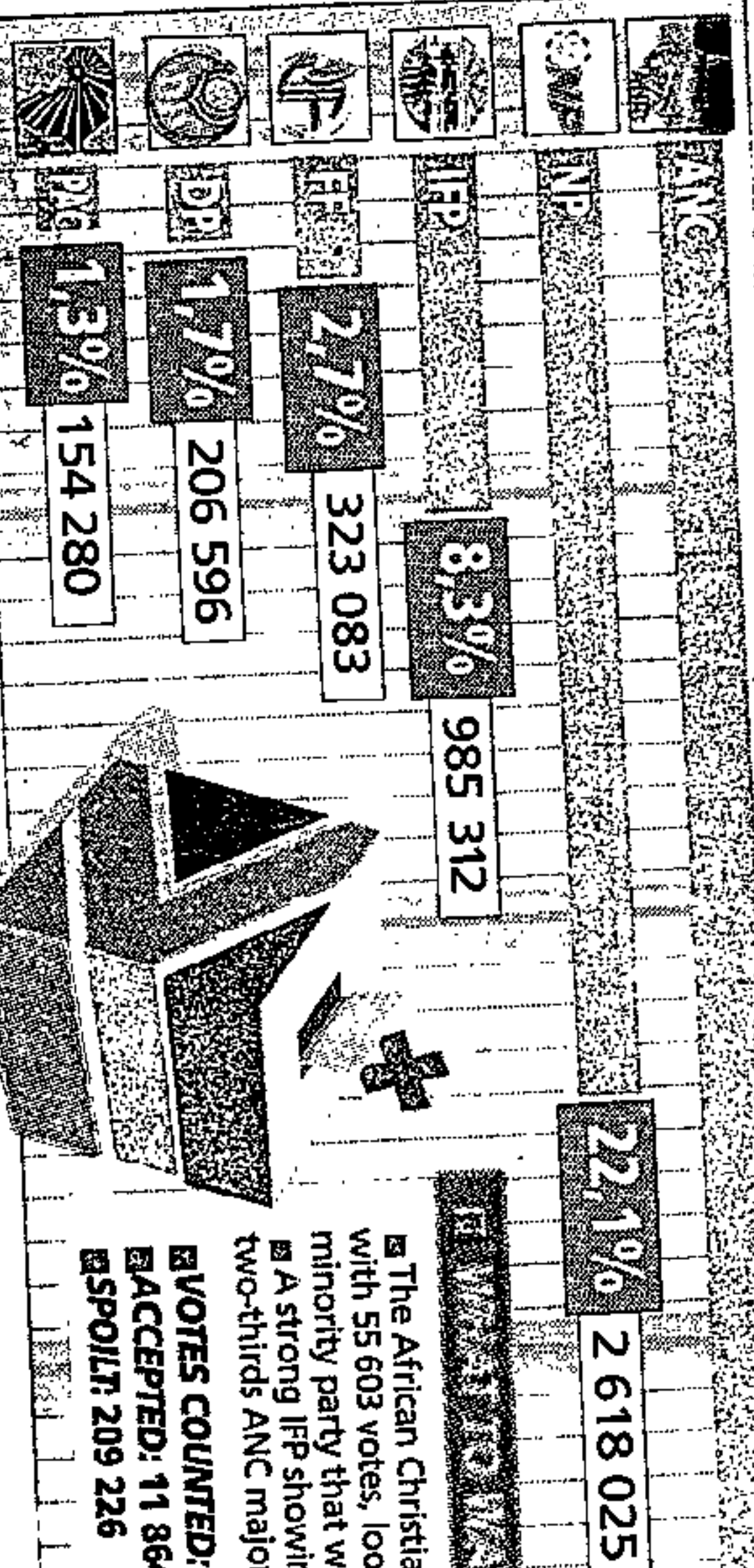
The FF has received 143 131 votes in the PWV, 69 996 in the North West, 51 753 in the Eastern Transvaal and 49 849 in the Free State. Split voting in these areas has also been more pronounced than elsewhere, indicating that many who voted for the NP at the national level dis-

played their sympathy for the FF in the provinces.

An IEC spokesman said yesterday that detailed district voting patterns were expected to be analysed and released after the final election results.

In terms of the ANC's agreement with the FF, "substantial proven support" must be attained in the election to further the negotiations around the "idea of self-determination including the concept of a volksstaat". What constitutes substantial support was not quantified in the agreement.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: VOTES AND PERCENTAGES BASED ON FIGURES AT 7 PM



■ The African Christian Democratic Party, with 55 603 votes, looks like being the only minority party that will gain a seat.

■ A strong IFP showing could prevent a two-thirds ANC majority.

■ VOTES COUNTED: 12 073 405
■ ACCEPTED: 11 864 179
■ SPOILT: 209 226

KISS: Keep It Straight and Simple Party
WRPP: Women's Rights Peace Party
WLP: Workers' List Party

XPP: Ximoko Progressive Party
AMP: Africa Muslim Party
ACDP: African Christian Democratic Party

ADM: African Democratic Movement
AMCP: African Moderates Congress Party
DPSA: Dikwankweta Party of SA

FP: Federal Party
LSAP: Luso-South African Party
MFP: Minority Front Party

MINOR PARTIES		TOTAL	
SP	7 040 0.1%	ADM	55 603 0.5%
KISS	3 950 0%	AMCP	5 134 0%
WRPP	4 187 0%	DPSA	25 042 0.2%
WLP	3 217 0%	FP	12 035 0.1%
XPP	4 093 0%	LSAP	11 645 0.1%
AMP	18 719 0.2%	MFP	2 111 0%
			6 193 0.1%

Full names of smaller parties:
SP: Soccer Party (Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights)



Portraits of the Presidents

NELSON MANDELA is soon to become our first democratically elected State President — but what about the ones who came before? In this the first of a two-part series, GORRY BOWES TAYLOR has been digging in the archives.

Boer Republic presidents

The first State President inducted in Southern Africa was J P Hoffman of the Orange Free State, in 1854. He was succeeded by J N Boshoff, M W Pretorius, J H Brand, F W Reitz, M T Steyn.

The first President of the Transvaal was M W Pretorius, followed by T F Burgers and S J P Kruger.

Since the old Cape was mostly a British colony, it did not have anything so democratic as an elected president.

JOSIAS PHILIP HOFFMAN

(1807-1879) First State President in Southern Africa, Orange Free State, 1854

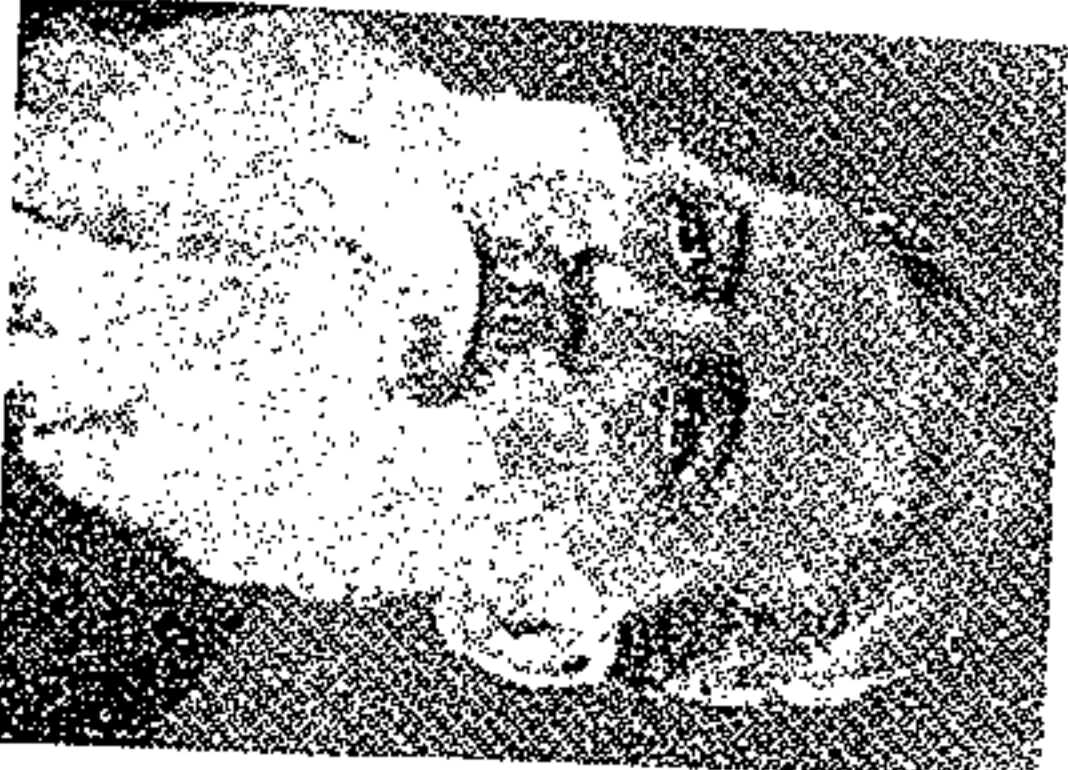
Wore a white beard as twiggy as a hawk's nest and watched the world with an eloquent eye. He was a cripple — the story goes that he fell into a boat from a ship in Cape Town harbour. As an itinerant trader in Natal and the OFS he became friends with Moshesh, the chieftain for whom he erected a stone house on Thaba Bosigo, in exchange for a farm on the Caledon.

Ostensibly resigned because of a failure to disclose a gift of gunpowder to Moshesh and Adam Kok but, in fact, it was his friendship with the British faction, which desired re-annexation by England, that settled the matter.

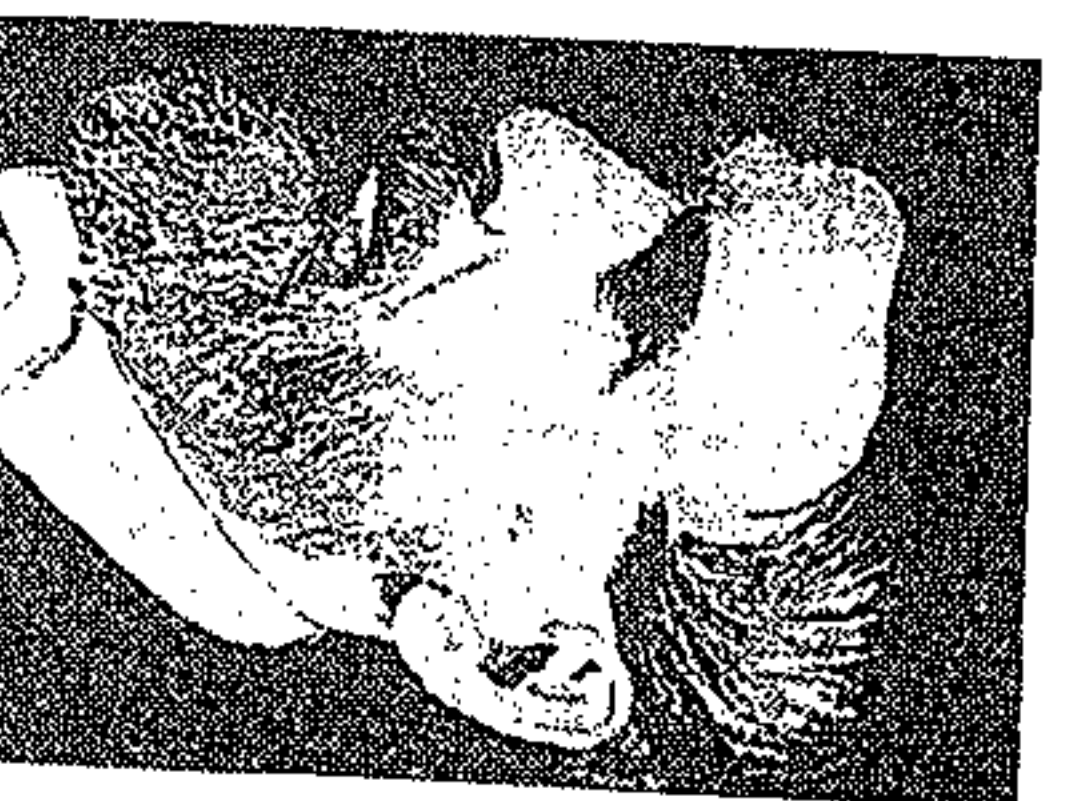
JACOBUS NICOLAAS BOSHOFF (1808-1887)

President of the Orange Free State 1855

The Huguenot name Bossou became Boshoff in 1749. Sympathetic to the Great Trek pioneers, he persuaded the Trekkers to accept British annexation in 1843. As a resident... 12 years in the Orange Free State.



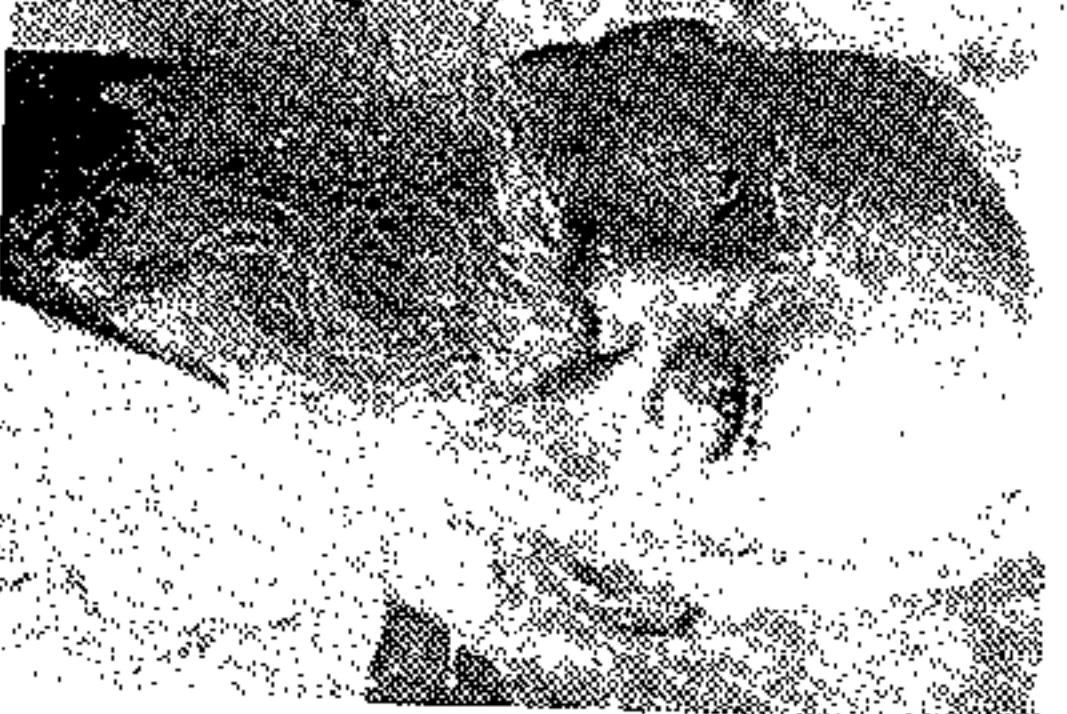
Josias Philip Hoffman



Jacobus Nicolaas Boshoff



Johannes Henricus Brand



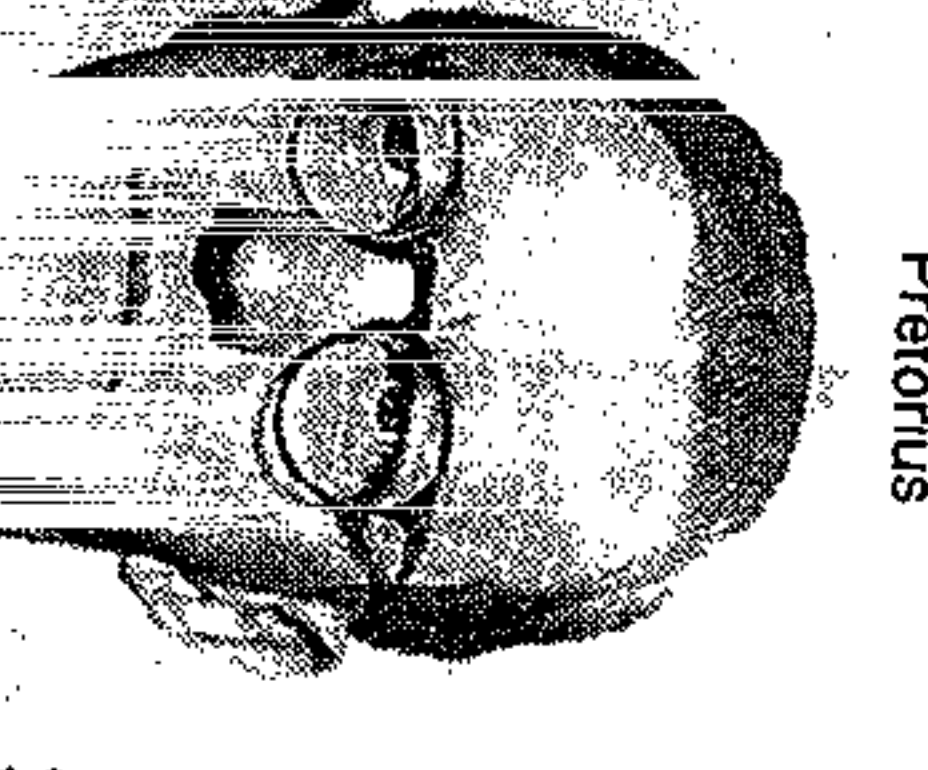
Francis William Reitz



Martinus Theunis Steyn



Martinus Wessel Pretorius



He left when the British enemy was on the point of occupying Pretoria, having to desert his wife in that capital, never to see her again.

When he died in Switzerland in 1904, his embalmed body was brought back to Cape Town aboard the *Bataavier VI*, to be buried in the Heroes' Acre in Pretoria.

Governors-General, representing the British monarch, were the first citizens of the land from 1910 until the Republic of South Africa was formed in 1961.

Presidents of South Africa

C R SWART (31.5.61 - 31.5.67)

Towering "Blackie" Swart was a colourful and controversial politician who became South Africa's first State President on May 31, 1961.

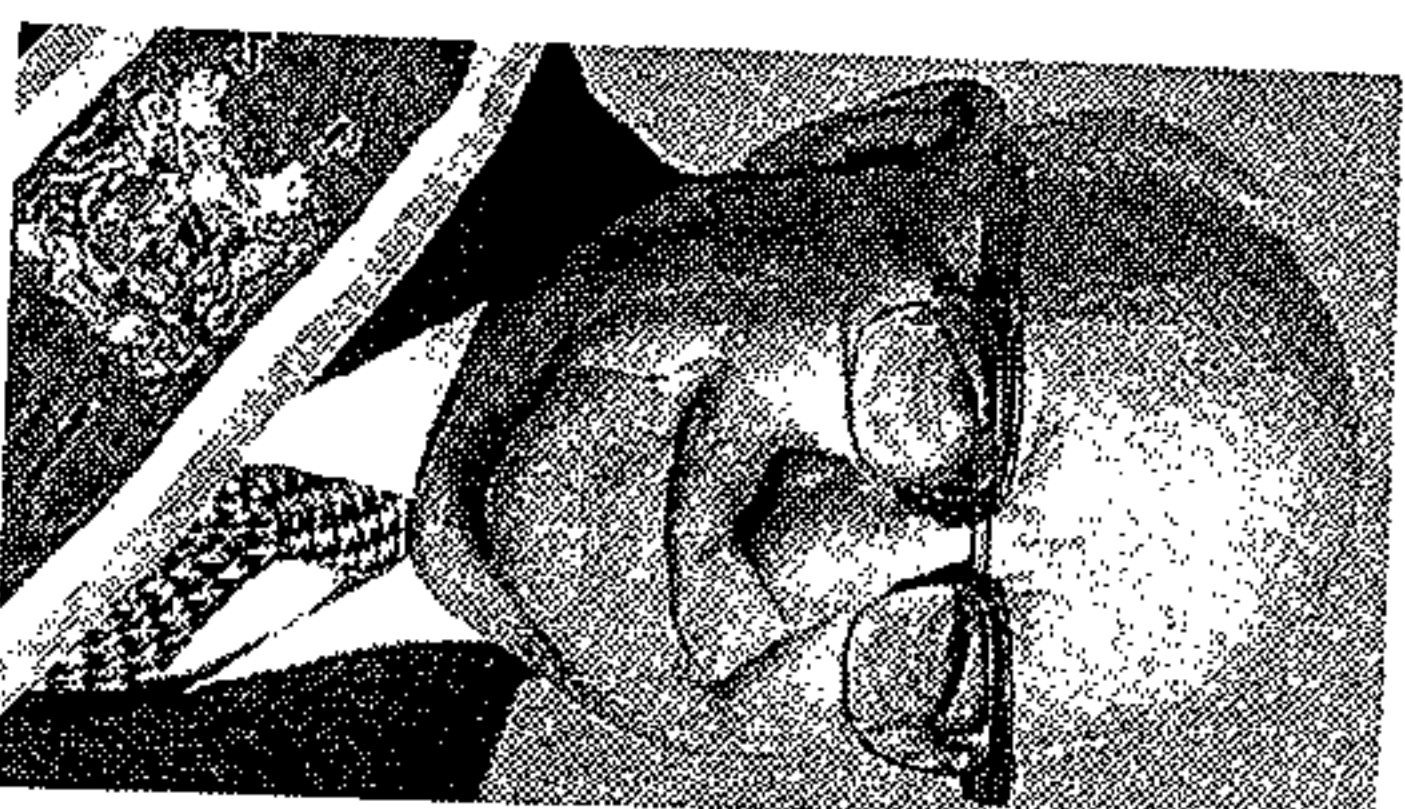
He tried for a Hollywood acting career, 70 years ago, and took a small part in a Western movie.

While Minister of Justice he was sharply criticised for controversial attitudes and statements on corporal punishment, and his rejection of criticism of the police. He had better luck conjugally: part of his obituary reads "Oom Blackie was port of a wonderful wife — our equally beloved Tante Nellie."

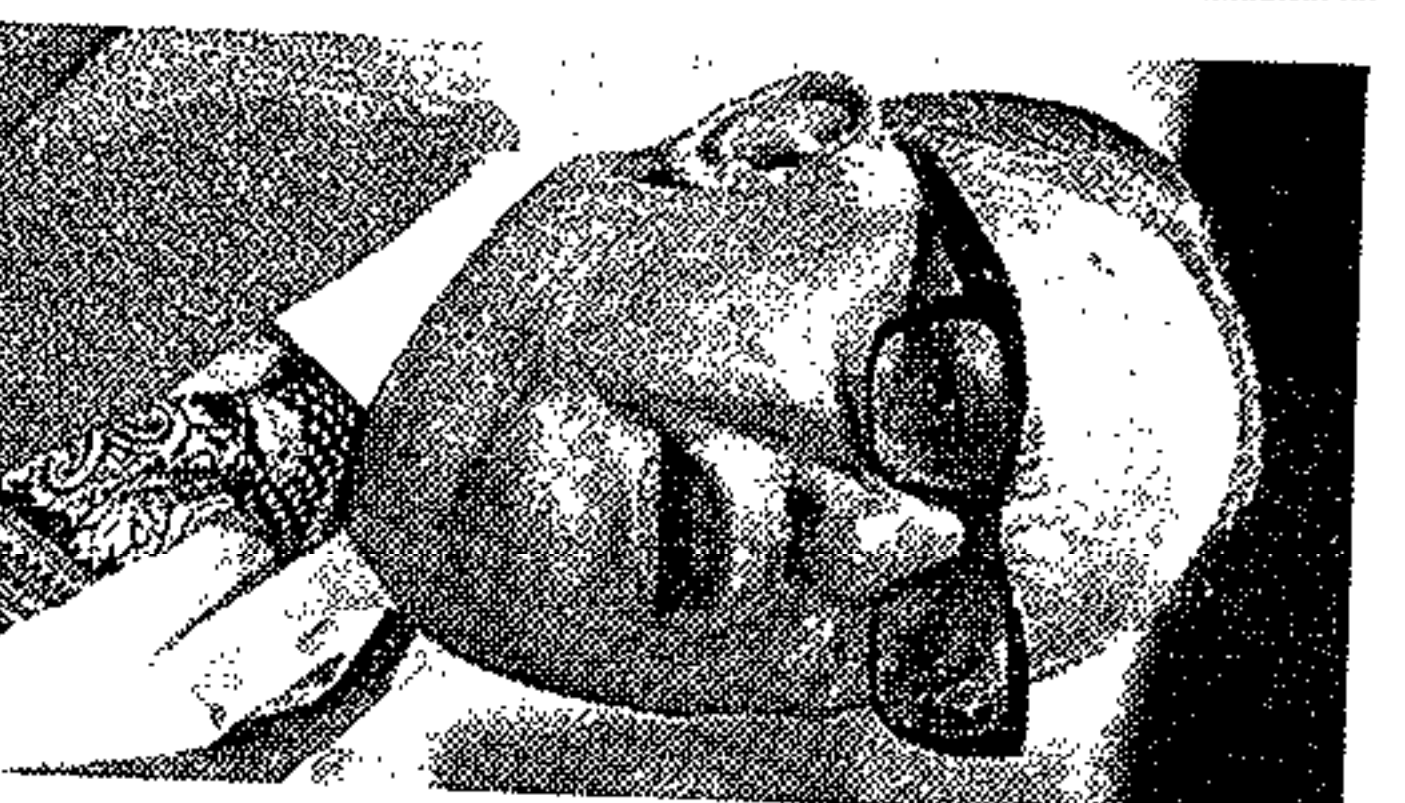
Acting Senator JF NAUDE (31.5.67 - 10.4.68)

J J FOUCHÉ (10.4.68 — 9.4.75)

Oom Jim was Administrator of the Free State (where he dedicated himself to improving race relations), Minister of Defence (brought about better understanding between English and Afrikaans



Nico Diederichs



B J Vorster



Marais Viljoen

● TOMORROW: The Presidents, part 2 — P W Botha and F W de Klerk.

vice, establishing state institutions and financial and judicial procedures on a firm basis. He advocated federation with the Cape Colony, believing that union with the Transvaal might impose the pioneering problems of that republic on the OFS.

In 1868 he tried unsuccessfully to initiate a movement for the federation of the several Southern African states.

STAFFORD PARKER
President of the
Diggers' Republic 1870

A curious historical footnote: Parker, a survivor of the charge of the Light Brigade, was a man of great resource. He deserted from the British Army in Hong Kong after killing a Frenchman in a duel and fled to America.

After serving with the Canadian Mounties and the US Navy, he worked on the Californian gold fields before sailing for Africa aboard the *Springbok*. He jumped ship and lived as a trader in the interior until diamonds were discovered.

Diamond diggers at Klipdrift (now Barkly West) proclaimed him President of the Diggers' Republic and he ruled with charm and authority until the British-appointed magistrate arrived a year later. The name of Klipdrift was changed to Parkerton.

JOHANNES HENRICUS BRAND (1823-1888)
President of the
Orange Free State, 1864

Tradition has it that he was a lively youngster who gave his teachers so much trouble that no school could contain him for very long. His talents were later to emerge, as, in his 25 years as President, he greatly contributed toward converting the OFS from a struggling community faced with imminent disaster, into what was seen then as a progressive "model state".

He warred with the Basuto, and battled with the British, nonetheless his oft-quoted motto, on the pedestal of his statue in Bloemfontein, states: "*Alles zal recht komen.*" To which he used to add: "*als elkeen zijn plicht doet.*"

FRANCIS WILLIAM REITZ (1844-1934) President of the OFS, 1889-1895.

From schooldays in Rondebosch and undergraduate days in Cape Town, he moved to London and Scotland for legal training. Elected President in 1889, he resigned six years later due to ill health. Treatment in Europe and 10 months' recovery at Kalk Bay meant he could again take up his legal practice two years later.

In 1898 he was appointed Secretary of State in the Transvaal and thus, in the midst of the Transvaal crisis, he had to hand to the British Agent in Pretoria the ultimatum which resulted in the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War.

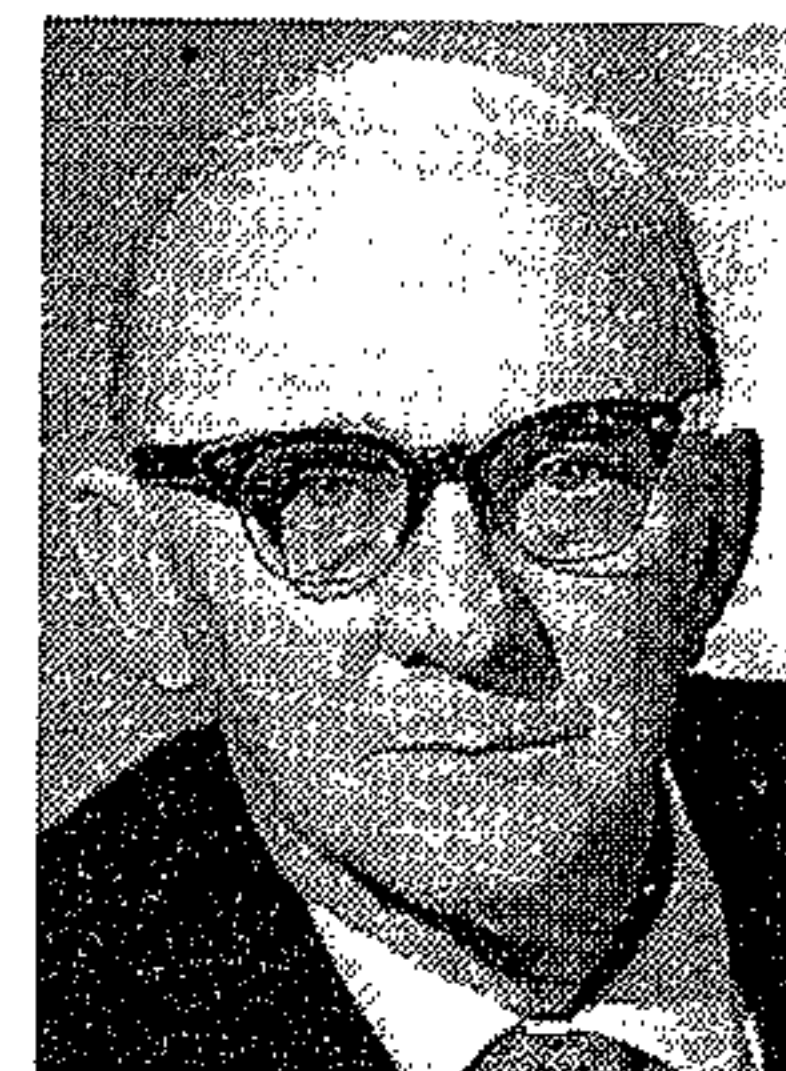
As Secretary of State he signed

Thomas Francois
Burgers



J F Naude

Stephanus Johannes
Paulus Kruger



J J Fouche

C R Swart

the Treaty of Vereeniging, but as a private citizen he declined to take the oath of allegiance to Britain and was exiled for two years.

From 1910 to 1921 he was President of the Senate and finally retired at 85. Meanwhile, with two successive wives, he fathered 15 children, and produced volumes of verse, biographies and an autobiography.

MARTHINUS THEUNIS STEYN (1857-1916)
President of the OFS: 1896

Theuns, the farmer's son, grew up along the Modder River near Maselspoort, where he returned before he'd finished his schooling. Completed his legal training at the Inner Temple, London and set off with the circuit court in the OFS.

His public career began with his appointment as Attorney-General, then as second criminal judge, then first criminal judge. At his swearing-in ceremony his long beard ruffled his ribbons.

In 1901 he and De Wet invaded the Cape Colony but were so hotly pursued that, after 18 days, he recrossed the Orange River near Colesburg.

A year later, almost totally paralysed, he had resigned as President and thus did not sign the Treaty of Vereeniging. When the peace was reported to him on June 2, he said: "Had I not wife and children, death would have been welcome."

First President of the Transvaal **MARTHINUS WESSEL PRETORIUS 1859; President of the OFS (1819-1901)**

His moustache was bulkier than his bow tie, his jacket hung below his knees and his trousers were wide in the clownish style of the time.

He fought at Blood River, and was the cause of much civil strife thereafter.

In 1855 he founded Pretoria (named after his father and himself), four years later he was elected President of the OFS. Under his presidency the treasury was emptied, the land impover-

ministration weak and the people divided.

Sensibly, he withdrew from public life to take refuge in farming, but again stepped to the fore when the Transvaalers refused to submit to British authority after annexation. He was imprisoned by the British authorities on a charge of high treason, but was soon released on bail. Twelve years after his death, General Louis Botha unveiled a monument on his grave.

THOMAS FRANCOIS BURGERS (1834-1881) President of the Transvaal: 1872

An idealist and an intellectual, he inherited a republic in crisis — great poverty prevailed, education was backward, the administration of justice unsatisfactory and the threat of British encroachment from Griqualand West acute.

His initiatives and his liberalism were much opposed by his conservative colleagues and, having failed to avoid annexation of the Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, he left Pretoria, arriving in Cape Town an impoverished (£500 annual pension) and embittered man. His widow endured great poverty.

Burgers Park in Pretoria and Burgersfort in the Lydenburg district are named after him.

STEPHANUS JOHANNES PAULUS KRUGER (Paul) (1825-1904) President of the Transvaal 1883.

Later photographs show him as a bag-eyed, crusty old man, but his energies at 58, when he became president, were considerable and much needed for the well-documented and well-known political role he played until 1900. Energies that, during the Boer War, earned him vast financial and physical support from Russia, France, Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, America and England.

Little-known facts:

● At the end of 1894, Kruger fancifully turned the last nut on the newly extended Eastern railway line to Lourenco Marques — the port from where he was to leave South Africa for the Netherlands in

He was known as a "man of the people" and with his friendly approach and rare sense of humour, he had no real political enemies.

Colin Eglin, then national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, paid tribute at Oom Jim's death: "He brought to the high office of the State President a quiet dignity, a homespun warmth and refreshing humility."

Acting Senator J de KLERK (10.4.75 — 18.4.75)

Dr N DIEDERICHS (19.4.75 — Died 21.8.78)

Armed with an impressive degree in D Litt et Phil with distinction, Dr Diederichs, as Minister of Finance, spiced his budgets with quotes from Shakespeare, Confucius, Langenhoven and Solomon. He earned his nickname ("Mr Gold") by insisting that gold was the cornerstone of the world's monetary systems.

He wrote several books and numerous articles on economics, politics and philosophy. For relaxation, he read art history, being especially interested in the Italian Renaissance and French Impressionists. Some of his happiest moments were spent on his farm Nou en Dan on the Vaal River near Vereeniging.

B J VORSTER (10.9.78 — 4.6.79)

John Vorster's public life started with his internment at Koffiefontein during World War 2.

He supervised detention without trial as Minister of Justice in the 1960s, and took over as Prime Minister in 1966, after Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's assassination.

In 1975 he masterminded the Victoria Falls conference between the Rhodesian Government and black leaders.

After 12 years as Prime Minister — the *kragdadigheid* tempered by an unexpected flexibility and pragmatism — Mr Vorster's political demise came on the wings of the devastating Information scandal. The ensuing internecine power struggle left him an embittered and irascible critic of his successors.

He was State President for just nine months before retiring to his home at Oubosrand in the Eastern Cape.

Senator M VILJOEN (19.6.79 — 3.9.84)

Former President of the Senate, Marais Viljoen was sworn in on June 19, 1979 as South Africa's fifth State President. The Presidential banquet for the State President and Mrs Viljoen on their first official visit to Bloemfontein three months later was for whites only, which prompted a coloured businessman to ask whether Viljoen was a "whites only" President.

When he laid the foundation to the "new" Groote Schuur hospital in 1983 he wielded the mallet used by the then Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone, in the founding of

Bruising fight for top post

Own Correspondent

OHANNESBURG. — A bruising fight for the deputy presidency has developed between ANC chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki and ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, while Defence Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys are likely to hold their posts, ANC insiders speculated yesterday.

The speculation coincides with a meeting yesterday between President F W de Klerk, who will hold the other deputy state president's post, and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela, who is due to announce his cabinet next week, is likely to select between three and five "cabinet secretaries" who will oversee various cabinet departments and be the ANC's executive "inner sanctum".

The people tipped for these posts are either Mr Mbeki or Mr Ramaphosa, (whoever is not made deputy president) to oversee foreign affairs and defence, NC department of economic planning head Mr Trevor Manuel to oversee economic and finan-

Ministers likely to keep jobs

cial matters and SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo to oversee judicial and constitutional issues.

Other cabinet secretaries will oversee welfare, education, social services and administration. This "cabinet within a cabinet" will leave Mr Mandela free to leave Mr Keys and Mr Coetsee in their current posts by making them responsible to higher, but less experienced, authorities.

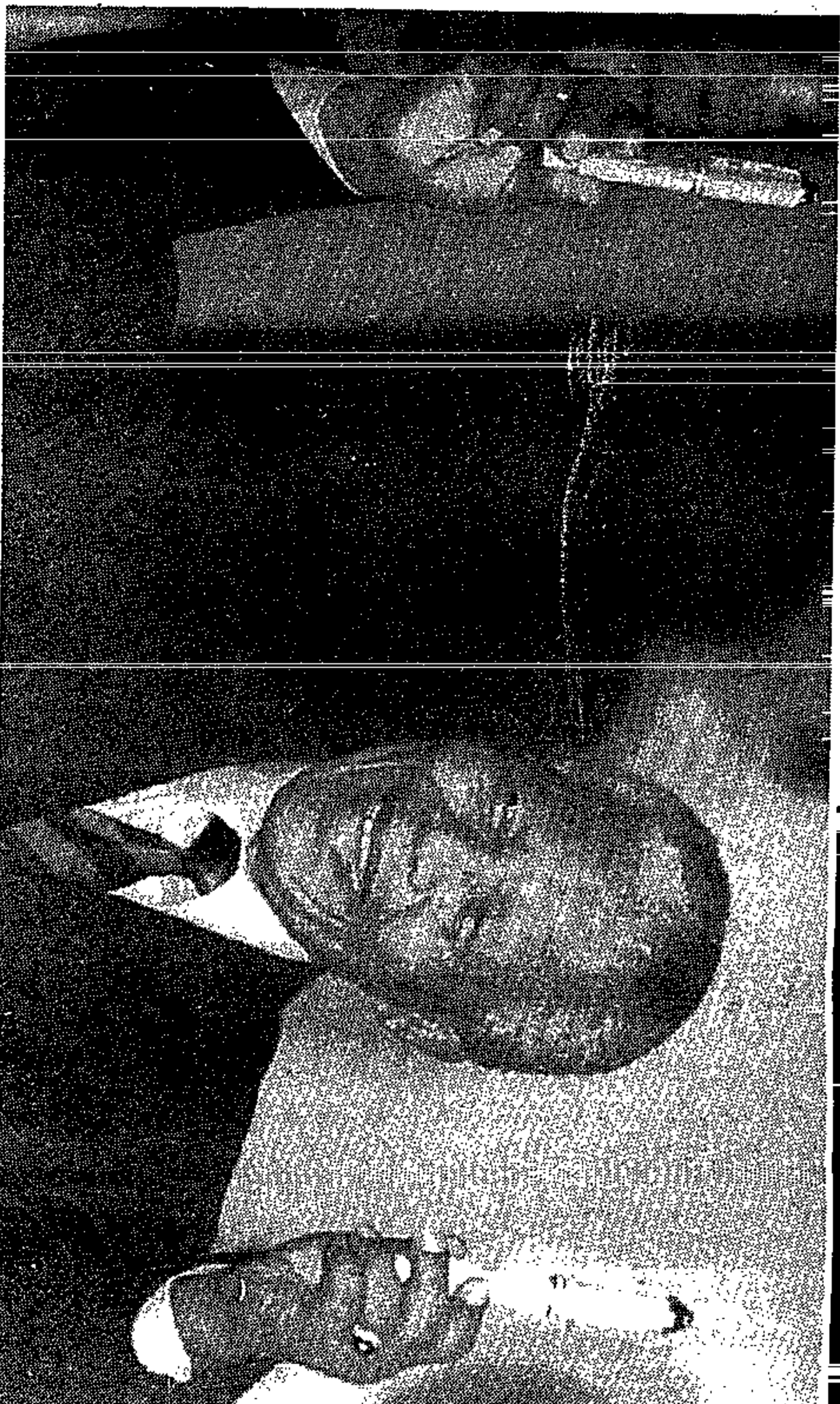
The debate about whether there should be a reconstruction and development portfolio, which some argue would cut across too many portfolios, is still ongoing. Should such a portfolio be created, the favourite to win the post is former Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo. Other good bets would be: Law

and order, Mr Sydney Mutamadi; trade and industry, Mr Tito Mboweni; mineral and energy affairs, Mr Marcel Golding; health, Mr Nkosazana Zuma; post and telecommunications, Dr Pallo Jordan; science and technology, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa; women and youth, Ms Gertrude Shope; information, Ms Gill Marcus; sport, Mr Steve Tshwete.

Other NP members included could be Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers. Speculation that Mr Botha will retain foreign affairs is understood to be unfounded.

Mr Mandela has already indicated his desire to reserve a special place to satisfy right-wing whites and farmers, and could retain Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekirk or his deputy Mr Tobie Meyer.

He has also indicated his desire to include a PAC member in the cabinet and could be constitutionally required to include Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Several minor cabinet posts, including transport, water affairs and forestry could go to these candidates.



PEN PALS ... Mr Nelson Mandela displays two pens given to him by the National Union of Mineworkers. The NUM asked him to use the pens when signing the new constitution. Picture: AP

Billion to see Mandela sworn in

PRETORIA. — President-elect Mr Nelson Mandela will be sworn in at the Union Buildings on Tuesday before leaders of more than 100 countries.

More than a billion people worldwide are believed likely to watch a live global TV transmission of the event.

National Inauguration Committee spokesman Mr Patrick Evans said 188 invitations were sent to foreign governments and 42 had replied that they would

send their heads of state.

Mr Evans said it would be "the largest gathering of heads of state in the world".

Dignitaries expected include US Vice-President Al Gore and Mrs Hillary Clinton, wife of President Bill Clinton.

Reports from the US last night said there was stiff competition in Congress and SA-interest circles to secure places in the big US official party, which will be named today or tomorrow.

Former Australian prime ministers Mr Malcolm Fraser and Mr Bob Hawke will represent their country. Prince Philip will represent the United Kingdom.

Festivities will be led by 3 000 performers, 300 sangomas and 100 African drummers. The 2½-hour "Many Cultures — One Nation" inauguration concert will also feature top South African writers, poets and music groups. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Aides hope Mandela's voice holds

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT-ELECT Mr Nelson Mandela is nursing a cold and his aides are hoping his voice will hold out until his inauguration next Tuesday.

"Usually when he gets a cold his voice goes because he talks so much and he gets laryngitis. But at the moment all he has is a bit of a cold," said a spokeswoman from his office.

On Friday Mr Mandela is due to give three speeches in Cape Town after being elected president.

The spokeswoman said his doctors had told Mr Mandela to stay home and nurse his cold — but there was little chance of this happening.

ANC gains in votes see-saw

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Political Staff

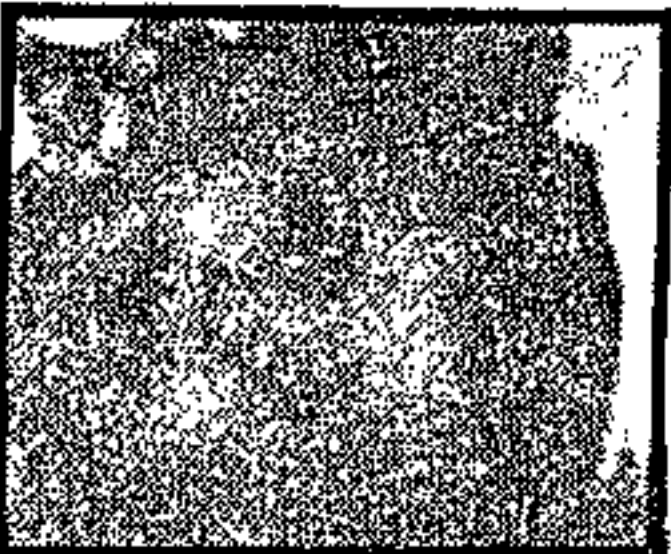
REVISED election results now show the African National Congress on the brink of holding an outright two-thirds majority in the new parliament but lagging behind in three of the country's nine new regions.

The results were revised after the discovery yesterday that data in the Independent Electoral Commission's computers had been tampered with.

According to the latest figures released by the IEC, based on about 75 percent of the vote counted, the ANC has won 64.9 percent of the votes for the national assembly.

This means that ANC members could fill 259 of the 400 seats in the assembly. The National Party with 20.5 percent would fill 82 seats and the Inkatha Freedom Party with 8.1 percent 33 seats.

Today's revised results also show that the ANC's support in the Northern Cape has dropped below the 50 percent mark and that the other parties in the re-



Stephen Duminy



Gerardt Duminy

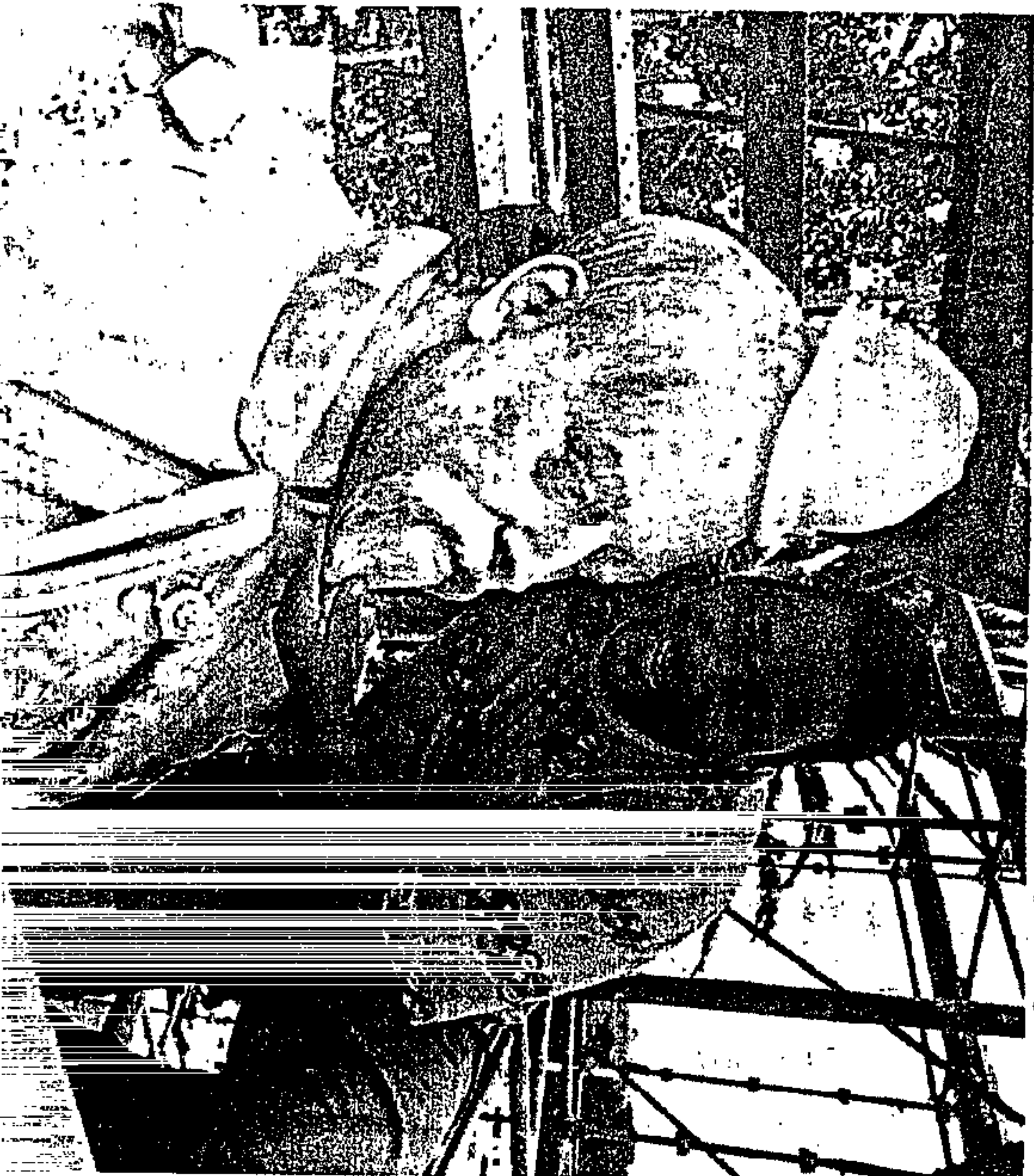
Strangler detectives hunt for two missing boys

ROGER FRIEDMAN, Staff Reporter

THE Strangler team of detectives has taken over the investigation into the disappearance of the young Duminy brothers who went missing from their Lansdowne home on Saturday.

Stephen, 4, and Gerardt, 5, were last seen playing in the yard of their parents home in Albert Road.

Police spokesman Colonel Raymond Dowd said the Strangler team had "shifted emphasis a bit".





NEW CROWN: The statue of King Edward VII on the Grand Parade, is dwarfed by stands put up for the new South African president's first speech on Monday. Julius Ntintelo, top, and Petros Tjutu make sure the statue does not get damaged as the stands go up.

Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus

11 children die as taxis collide

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Eleven school children and an adult were killed and 12 other people seriously injured when two taxis collided on the Soweto highway today.

A traffic department spokesman said the head-on collision happened about 7.45am.

A witness described the accident as "terrible" and said children's bodies were lying "all over" the road.

The man said he was travelling on a small road parallel to the highway when he heard a crash. He said he could not believe his eyes when he got to the scene.

"Everything was quiet and bodies were lying all around. It looked like 20 people were lying there dead," he said.

He said it appeared that two taxis — one carrying pupils from Soweto into town — collided.

Katz quits council

Municipal Reporter

ANOTHER Cape Town city councillor has resigned, reducing the council to 28 members.

Muizenberg councillor Abe Katz has resigned from the end of June. He will emigrate to Canada.

The Cape Town Municipal Ordinance provides for 34 councillors, but shortly after the spate of resignations began last year by-elections were banned because of expected changes to local government.

Mr Katz, a retired businessman, has been a councillor for six years.

R1,4-m bank robbery

PRETORIA. — The Allied Bank in Silverton has been robbed of R1,4 million by two armed men who locked the staff in a room late yesterday. They put the money in a trunk and left in a white bakkie. — Sapa.

counted, the ANC has won 64,9 percent of the votes for the national assembly.

This means that ANC members could fill 259 of the 400 seats in the assembly. The National Party with 20,5 percent would fill 82 seats and the Inkatha Freedom Party with 8,1 percent 33 seats.

Today's revised results also show that the ANC's support in the Northern Cape has dropped below the 50 percent mark and that the other parties in the region — led by the National Party — could form the regional government there.

And the new results have reversed the slow but steady recovery of the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal and have reinforced the

MORE reports on pages 2, 3, 7, 13. *(31/4A)*

lead of the Inkatha Freedom Party in that region, although the result from about half the votes there is still awaited.

The new picture now emerging points to a powerful ANC national government, but a substantially weakened ANC influence in at least three of the country's nine regions.

In early revised results today, the NP's percentage of the vote had dropped from more than 22 percent to a perilous 20,5 percent — half a percent above the percentage it needs to be guaranteed an executive vice president.

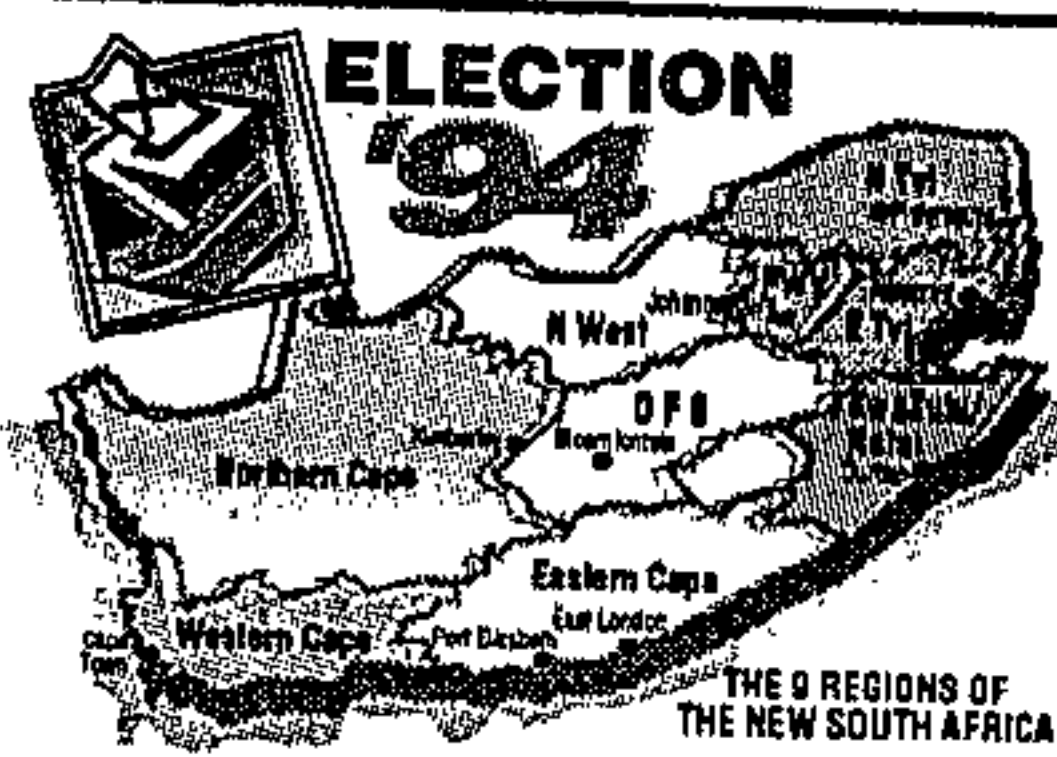
The IFP continued to hold on to third place in the national stakes, with 8,1 percent of the total vote but with half the votes from major metropolitan areas of KwaZulu-Natal still outstanding.

And the Freedom Front at 2,2 percent held on to fourth place with the Democratic Party trailing in fifth place with 1,6 percent of the total. The weak position of the Pan Africanist Congress persisted through the revised results, with the party gaining only 1,3 percent.

In the Northern Cape today, the ANC's vote dropped from more than 50 percent before the computer tampering was discovered, to 49,9 percent. The NP's total in the region grew to 40,4 percent, with other parties holding the balance.

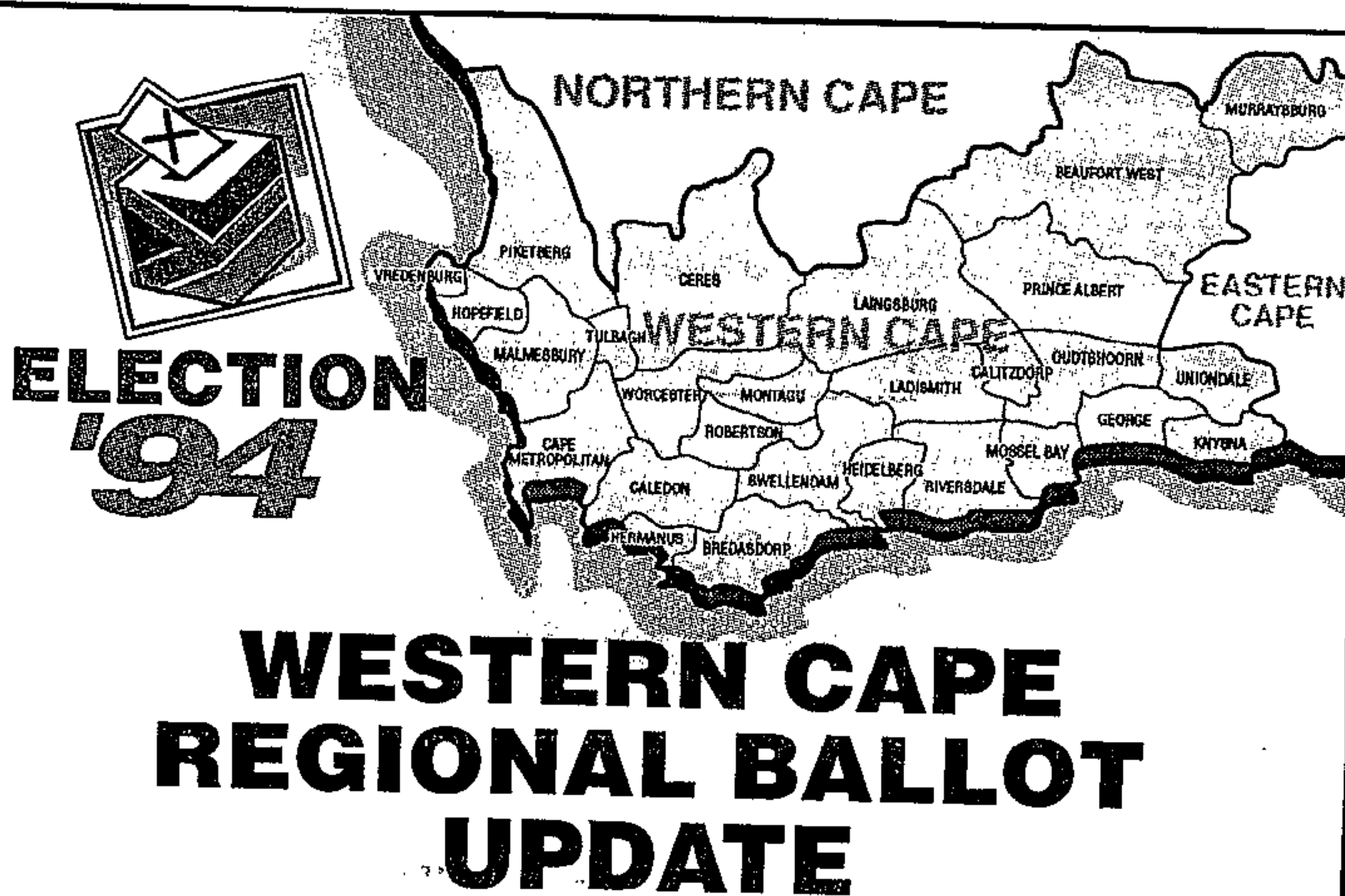
It seems likely, therefore, that there will be a hung parliament in the region, and that the possibility of minority parties combining in a bid to deny the ANC the power to govern in the Northern Cape is not impossible.

What could weaken the ANC's hold on power is the result from KwaZulu-Natal. So far about half of the votes in the province have been counted.



NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PERCENTAGES

		WESTERN CAPE	EASTERN CAPE	NORTHERN CAPE	NORTH WEST	PWV	NORTHERN TVL	EASTERN TVL	OFS	KWAZULU/NATAL	TOTAL
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	PAC	1,1%	2,0%	1,0%	1,5%	1,4%	1,1%	1,4%	1,7%	0,7%	1,3%
SPORTS ORGANISATION FOR COLLECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS AND EQUAL RIGHTS	SOCCER	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%
THE KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY	KISS	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
VRYHEIDSFONT - FREEDOM FRONT	VF - FF	1,9%	0,8%	4,3%	3,2%	3,2%	1,4%	3,4%	3,8%	0,4%	2,2%
WOMEN'S RIGHTS PEACE PARTY	WRPP	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
WORKERS' LIST PARTY	WLP	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY	XPP	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%
AFRICA MUSLIM PARTY	AMP	0,7%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,2%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,2%	0,2%
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	ACDP	0,9%	0,4%	0,3%	0,3%	0,4%	0,3%	0,3%	0,3%	0,4%	0,4%
AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	ADM	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%
AFRICAN MODERATES CONGRESS PARTY	AMCP	0,1%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,1%	0,2%	0,2%	0,7%	0,1%	0,2%
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	ANC	35,6%	81,9%	49,9%	83,0%	61,8%	92,9%	82,5%	76,7%	29,4%	64,9%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY - DEMOKRATIESE PARTY	DP	3,9%	1,4%	1,3%	0,4%	2,8%	0,2%	0,4%	1,5%	0,9%	1,6%
DIKWANKWETLA PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA	DPSA	0,1%	0,0%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,0%	0,1%	0,7%	0,1%	0,1%
FEDERAL PARTY	FP	0,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,1%
LUSO - SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY	LUSAP	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
MINORITY FRONT	MF	0,1%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,2%	0,1%
NATIONAL PARTY	NP	54,5%	12,7%	40,8%	10,4%	25,5%	3,6%	9,9%	14,5%	13,5%	20,5%
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	IFP	0,6%	0,3%	0,5%	0,5%	4,1%	0,2%	1,5%	0,6%	53,7%	8,1%



PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	PAC	22 037	1,1%
SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S PARTY	SAWP	2 388	0,1%
THE GREEN PARTY	GRP	2 328	0,1%
VRYHEIDSFONT - FREEDOM FRONT	VF-FF	41 310	2,0%
WES-KAAP FEDERALISTE PARTY	WKFP	5 855	0,3%
WORKERS INTERNATIONAL TO REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (SA)	WI	777	0,0%
AFRICA MUSLIM PARTY	AMP	20 008	1,0%
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	ACDP	24 577	1,2%
AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	ADM	1 843	0,1%
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	ANC	674 585	33,1%
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	DP	133 206	6,5%
ISLAMIC PARTY	IP	16 146	0,8%
NATIONAL PARTY	NP	1 085 074	53,3%
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	IFP	7 064	0,3%

IEC finds attempt to rig poll results

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An astonishing attempt to rig the election results and boost three small parties was uncovered by the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday — but the incident was not expected to throw the transition timetable off course.

The latest hitch in the electoral process followed a day of bickering between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party over allegations of electoral fraud.

Last night ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa denied reports that it had withdrawn charges of electoral fraud against the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal.

"The ANC has new evidence that it has submitted to the IEC, further strengthening its case on the irregularities in KwaZulu-Natal," he said.

Earlier yesterday the IEC said it had found no evidence to back claims of substantial electoral fraud in the province.

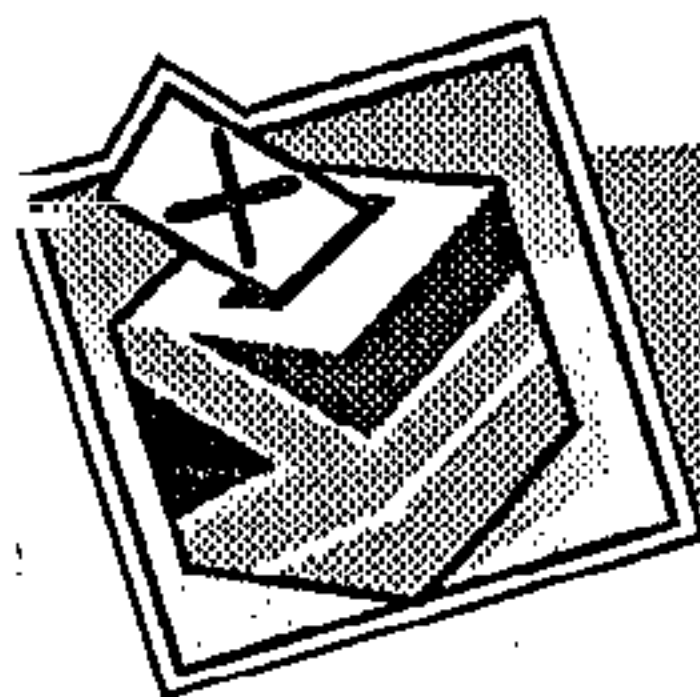
Early today the IEC resumed election result updates after a 24-hour delay.

Last night IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler told a tense press conference that the commission suspected on Tuesday afternoon that its main data-recording system had been tampered with.

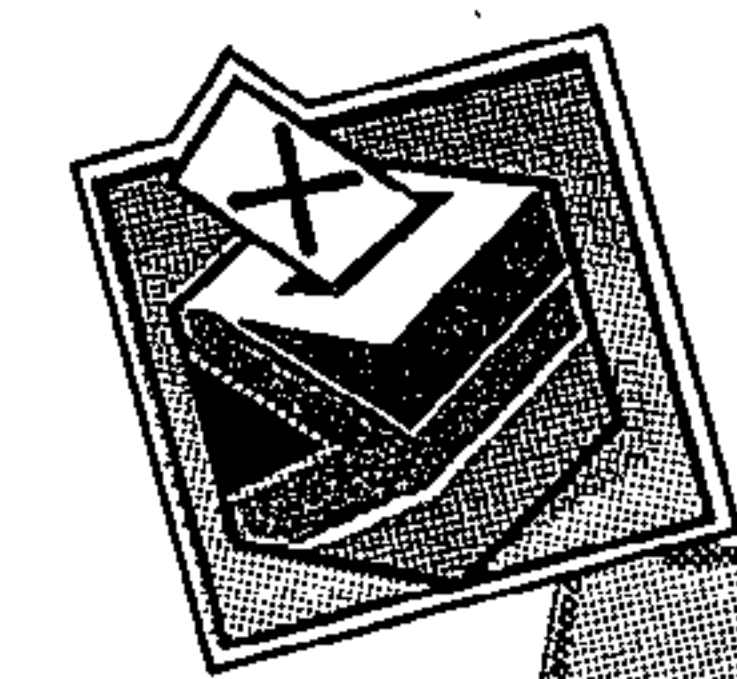
It was discovered yesterday morning "that there had indeed been tampering with the data in the main system".

Judge Kriegler emphasised that results released from today would not have been affected.

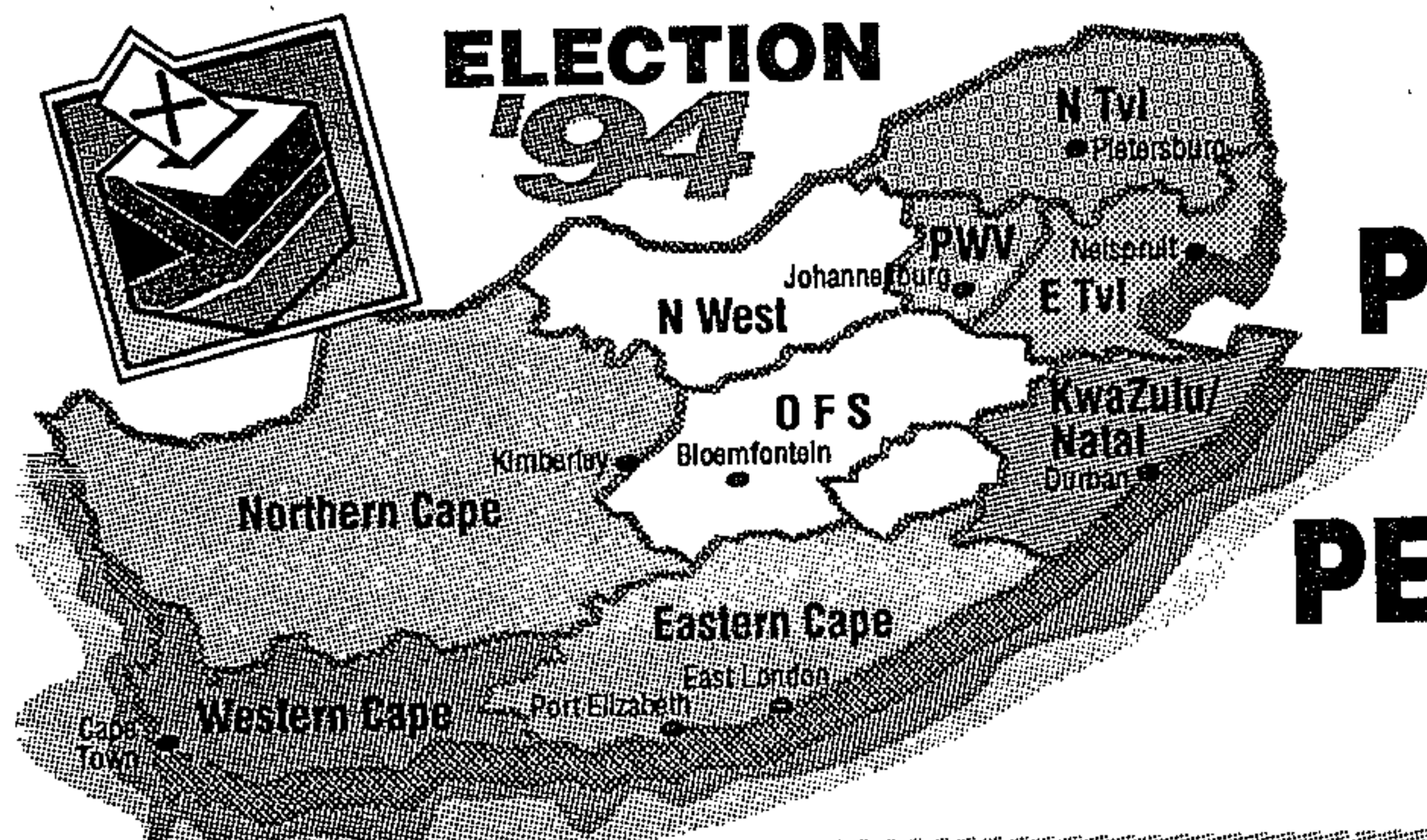
IEC deputy chairman Dikgang Moseneke said the attempted tampering would have consistently increased by two to three percent the tallies of three "small parties" which had so far done badly in the election. He would not reveal the identities of these parties.



ELECTION RESULTS '94



ELECTION '94



PROVINCIAL BALLOT PERCENTAGES

THE 9 REGIONS OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA	THE PARTIES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER					
	ANC	DP	EFF	NP	PAC	IF
WESTERN CAPE	33,1%	6,5%	1,3%	53,3%	1,1%	2,0%
EASTERN CAPE	81,2%	2,6%	0,2%	12,2%	2,0%	1,0%
NORTHERN CAPE	49,9%	1,9%	0,4%	40,4%	0,9%	5,9%
NORTH WEST	83,8%	0,5%	0,4%	8,6%	1,8%	4,4%
PWV	57,9%	5,5%	3,3%	24,0%	1,5%	6,0%
NORTHERN TVL	91,6%	0,2%	0,1%	3,3%	1,3%	2,1%
EASTERN TVL	81,8%	0,5%	1,5%	8,4%	1,6%	5,3%
OFS	76,9%	0,5%	0,5%	12,3%	1,8%	6,1%
KWAZULU/NATAL	28,6%	1,0%	57,1%	8,9%	0,8%	0,6%

Graphic: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

committee chairman Clive Keegan emphasised that the council, although owning the cableway after that date, would not itself operate the existing facility.

"Operators are ready to step in to take over almost immediately," Mr Keegan said.

"There is no question of new facilities requiring long-term closure."

The tender call process, which will incorporate an environmental study, is expected to take several months.

In addition to approaches from local company Concor —

tors. "We received dozens of responses from international companies.

"An international operator (could) restore the Table Mountain cableway to the glory and efficiency it deserves."

In a presentation to councillors before the meeting, the city's development co-ordination team said the existing transportation system was inadequate and facilities on the mountain inferior.

Although the existing operator — the Table Mountain Aerial Cableway Company — had

access to the Western Table.

● The next opportunity the council would have to influence developments on the mountain would be 2004.

Cableway company chairman Louis de Waal said after the council meeting that councillors had not been in possession of all the facts before taking their decision to expropriate, and that there could be a delay of four to five years in getting a new operator established.

This could influence Cape Town's bid for the 2004 Olympic Games, he suggested.

comet, and he will discuss the theory that a similar collision caused the extinction of the dinosaurs.

Admission is free and seats are available on a first-come, first-served basis.

Woman, 72, raped at home

Crime Staff

AN elderly Malmesbury woman was assaulted and raped in her home by a man who knocked on her door and asked for money.

The 72-year-old woman opened her front door and a man in his 20s barged in and pushed her into a bedroom where he tore off her clothes, punched and raped her.

The rapist left with a bottle of liquor and the woman's purse. No arrests have been made. The injured woman has been admitted to hospital.

Council asked to dump tariff increase plan

Municipal Reporter

THE Chamber of Industries has asked the Cape Town City Council to dump its plans to increase tariffs for services.

Chamber deputy director Colin Boyes told the council's executive committee the pace of development in the Western

Cape would be directly affected by decisions by local authorities.

"Businesses, and particularly the manufacturing industry, have gone through a recession of more than five years."

As the country emerged from this recession, cost in-

creases "whether from wage increases, increases in tariffs, taxes or rates, are simply not sustainable".

"Like industry, the city council has a responsibility to ensure all cost increases remain below the inflation level."

Comes The Sun

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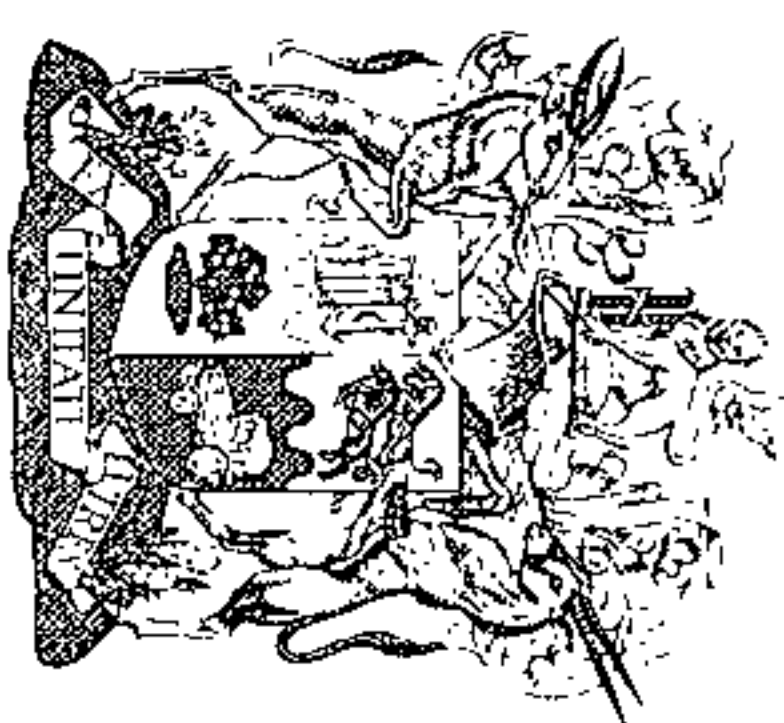
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Tale of two very different presidents . . .



WHEN Nelson Mandela is inaugurated as South Africa's first black president on Tuesday, he will be following in the footsteps of more than a dozen white presidents of South Africa. Today, the second of a two-part series takes a look at the last two presidents — PW Botha and FW de Klerk.

Political Staff

PIETER Willem Botha, or "Pee-wee" as he was popularly known, was South Africa's first executive president.

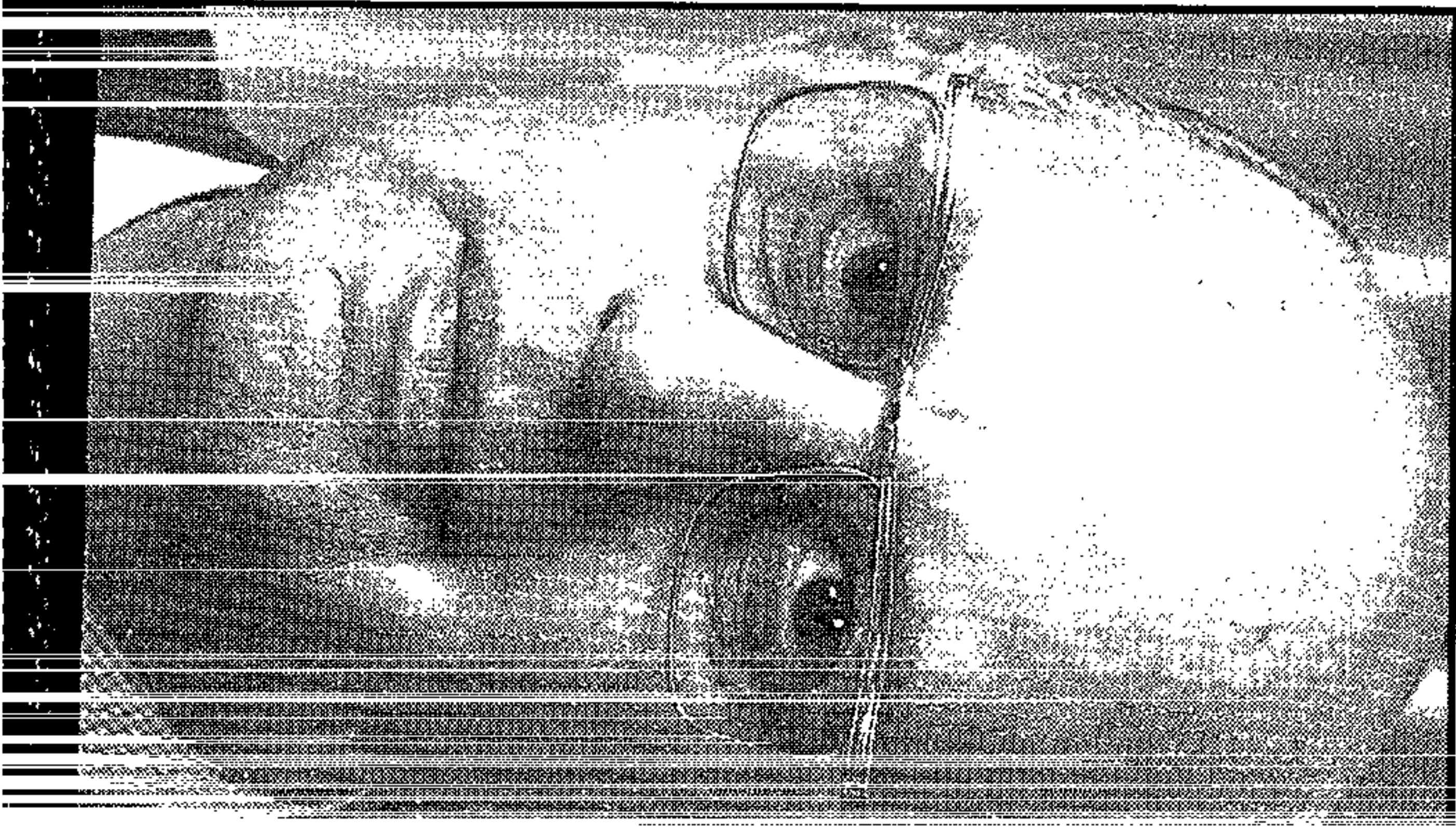
While he performed the same ceremonial roles as his predecessors did, he combined his status as head of state with his position as leader of the National Party and assumed all the powers previously vested in the prime minister.

His autocratic style, notorious temper and his insistence on all the trappings of power led to his term in office being described as the "imperial presidency", but on a personal level he could often be affable and charming, though with a poorly developed sense of humour.

PW Botha was born on the farm Telegraaf near Paul Roux in the Free State in 1916, the only son of two strong-willed and politically divergent parents, Pieter Willem Botha, Snr, a supporter of former Prime Minister General JB M Hertzog, and Hendrina Botha (née De Wet) who was a supporter of Hertzog's arch-rival, Dr DF Malan, leader of the National Party, who was later to become the first "apartheid" prime minister.

Mr Botha's mother also was the daughter of the MP for Lindley in the government of

PW BOTHA



FREDERIK Willem De Klerk, South Africa's second Executive President and possibly the country's last white leader, comes from a family steeped in politics.

His great-grandfather was a senator, his grandfather was a persistent, although unsuccessful, election candidate, his father was Minister of Labour in the Verwoerd cabinet, and an aunt was the wife of former NP Transvaal leader and later Prime Minister JG Strijdom.

Mr De Klerk himself was born in a humble suburb of Johannesburg in 1936 when his father was still a school principal.

While at school he joined the NP's Jeugbond and pursued his interest in politics at Potchefstroom University where he was elected an executive member of the Afrikaanse Studentebond and vice-chairman of the Students' Representative Council.

He also was appointed editor of the student newspaper. A gifted and hard-working student, he graduated with BALLB degree *cum laude* in 1958 and was awarded an Abe Bailey scholarship which enabled him to travel in Europe that year.

A fellow student describes him as having been "a popular

FW de KLERK



Free State Republic and exercised a profound influence on her only son.

He attended primary school in Paul Roux and matriculated at the Voortrekker Sekondêre Skool in Bethlehem in 1933, the year in which he was elected chairman of the school's debating society.

But he did not have academic inclinations and dropped out of Grey University College (precursor to the University of the Free State) in his second year of study for a law degree, to take up a job as organiser for the NP.

By then, however, he had become a leading figure in the Afrikaanse Studentebond and in election campaigns in the Free State had acted as a correspondent for the NP-supporting newspaper, Die Volksblad.

Mr Botha's first job was as organiser of the NP in the Caledon district and, aside from his work as an MP and minister, the only employment he ever had was as a paid official of the NP — a fact which many of his opponents, and a few of his supporters, found to be one of his greatest weaknesses.

"He really doesn't understand the big wide world out there," a leading businessman remarked after a heated interview in the late 1980s.

His record as an organiser was impressive, but also spotted by many episodes of organised NP violence at meetings of the party's opponents throughout the southern Cape.

At one such meeting, where Mr Botha had played the role as orchestrator of a group of rowdies, United Party supporters turned on him and he had to flee through a window of the

hall — almost losing his trousers in the process.

He took a courageous stand against the Ossewabrandwag during World War 2, denouncing its attempt to monopolise Afrikaner politics, and resigned from the organisation at a time when many NP leaders were ardent members or supporters.

During the 1940s Mr Botha held various senior positions in the Cape NP, and in 1943 married Elize Rossouw of Swellendam.

He was elected MP for George in the 1948 election which brought the NP to power.

He continued to climb the ladder of power within the NP, and in 1958 the then Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd appointed him Deputy Minister of the Interior. He emerged as one of those chiefly responsible for implementation of the notorious Group Areas Act.

In 1961 he became Minister of Community Development and Coloured Affairs, in which capacity he was responsible for the proclamation of District Six in Cape Town as a white group area — an act which haunted him for the rest of his public career.

After becoming Minister of Defence in 1980, Mr Botha set about building up South Africa's armaments industry in the face of the international arms embargo and retained the post even after succeeding BJ Vorster as Prime Minister in 1978.

His tenure as Prime Minister

was marked by major constitutional changes aimed at trying to broaden the whites-only base of government.

His efforts were met with strong resistance from conservatives under the leadership of the NP's Transvaal leader, Andries Treurnicht, and after proposing a new constitution he sought support for it in a referendum in 1983.

Under the new constitution the position of State President and Prime Minister were combined, and Mr Botha was elected President in 1984 after Mr Vorster had resigned in disgrace, a casualty of the Information Scandal.

His brief tenure as executive President was marked by a slow but growing national crisis as he attempted to foist upon the country a tricameral system which would have excluded the black majority.

He belatedly proposed a national council to review legislation on blacks and which would have looked at further constitutional change to accommodate blacks in government.

But this was not sufficient to dampen the escalating rash of strikes, demonstrations and riots which erupted in the wake of the tricameral constitution.

Mr Botha had a stroke in 1989 in the early stages of an election campaign and though he clung doggedly to power as the crisis deepened, his cabinet finally requested his resignation — which he tendered, with little grace, on television.

versity and, 10 years after graduating, he married a university friend, Marike Willemse, a marriage which associates describe as being "as solid as Table Mountain and the source of his strength".

While setting himself up as an attorney in Vereeniging in the early 1960s, Mr De Klerk continued his active involvement in politics and the NP.

He became chairman of Fede-raise van Junior Rapport-ryers and the NP's Vereeniging chairman.

When Bjaar Coetzee, the MP for the constituency, was appointed ambassador to Rome in 1972, Mr De Klerk had just accepted the post as professor of administrative law at his *alma mater*.

He also was called on to stand as the NP candidate and faced a dilemma — whether to pursue an academic career or plunge into the turbulent political waters in which so many in his family had distinguished themselves.

To South Africa's great good fortune, he chose politics. But it was a deceptive career.

From the outset, he appeared to align himself with the *verkrampde* Transvaal establishment of the time and became information officer of the party there.

As his career advanced, he held cabinet posts which were regarded as less "political" than the average — Posts and Telegraphs, Social Welfare and Pensions, Sport and Recreation, Mining and Environmental Planning and Energy, and Internal Affairs.

His cabinet career reached

a high point in 1984 when he became Minister of Home Affairs and National Education, and simultaneously became chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Assembly and Minister of the Budget.

Two years later, he also became Leader of the House of Assembly.

But, even here, Mr De Klerk gave no hint of the liberal enlightenment which he would show later and which would change the course of South Africa's history.

When protests erupted on university campuses around the country as the national crisis over the tricameral constitution deepened, his response was a *kragdadige* warning that he would cut the subsidies of offending universities — a matter which was only settled, in favour of the universities, by the Supreme Court.

By the time his predecessor, PW Botha, had a stroke on January 18 1989, it was clear that the tricameral constitution and the theory it was based upon were doomed.

The country was in turmoil, the economy in deep decline and law and order was being enforced by dirty tricks and the discredited "total strategy".

By the time Mr De Klerk took over as Executive President on September 6, after a

turbulent general election campaign as acting President, it was clear that something drastic had to be done.

Five months later, on February 2 1990, he revealed his true political personality for the first time.

To the surprise of almost all who had assumed he was a leader from the NP's more conservative wing, he announced the unbanning of the ANC, the SACP, PAC and all other banned political organisations and the release from prison of Nelson Mandela.

He smokes, he takes a drink or two, he enjoys golf, he has a crisp sense of humour, he is affable and diplomatic — "a regular kind of guy" as a prominent American described him after a meeting in the United States.

But he is much more than that — he is also a man with a deep sense of history and, as many who had underestimated him came to realise, a shrewd politician.

His skilful initiative to open negotiations with the ANC and other parties led to the multi-party talks, agreement on the interim constitution, the eventual inclusion of all major parties — including the Inkatha Freedom Party — in the process of change, and to the April 26-28 elections and the transfer of power to South Africa's first black President, Nelson Mandela.

FOOD

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Illegal occupation of homes sank ANC in W Cape

THOUGH there are many reasons for the National Party's victory in the Western Cape, the illegal occupation by Africans of council houses intended for coloured people in Tafelsig in January was a mortal blow to the African National Congress.

Not only did the occupation indicate, as one commentator put it at the time, what might be to come under an ANC government, it also provided priceless propaganda for the NP, whose main strategy was to exploit coloured fears.

The NP swiftly capitalised on the takeover of the houses — and blamed the ANC.

Adopting the guise of a saviour, the NP promised to protect the beleaguered coloured people against an ANC government which, it said, would favour Africans.

And, as veterans of many election campaigns, the NP knew very well that the truth was not paramount in a battle for votes.

By the time the ANC's leadership from Johannesburg intervened about two weeks later to end the widely reported occupation, the

movement's image in coloured eyes was already tarnished.

Another key element of the NP campaign was its "comic book" publication warning of the dangers of a supposedly anti-coloured ANC government.

The publication suggested that, among other things, the infamous "kill the boer" slogan could be aimed at coloured people — "one coloured one farmer" — under an ANC government.

The comic was eventually banned by the Independent Electoral Commission.

Besides building on the legacy of apartheid, why was the NP propaganda so successful?

Many believe, for instance, that the ANC would have walked it if the elections had been held in the mid-1980s heyday of the United Democratic Front.

Apart from the fact that intense repression affected blacks and coloured people across the board, the UDF as the internal arm of the then banned ANC had excellent networks in the form of branches that kept firmly in touch with the grassroots.

Five days before the elections, regional African National Congress members predicted a resounding victory over the National Party in the Western Cape. But the NP romped home, thanks largely to the support of coloured people, the majority in this region. What went wrong with the populist ANC's policies? **VUYO BAVUMA** of The Argus Political Staff reports.

This loose conglomeration consisting of many structures dealt with bread and butter issues with which communities across the Western Cape could easily identify.

But after the UDF's departure from the scene in 1991, its successor, the ANC, which was unbanned in 1990, did not appear to fill the gap adequately. True, ANC branches were set up throughout the region, but they lacked central co-ordination and tended to tackle issues individually.

Much of this could be ascribed to the fact that ANC energies were directed at national politics involving long constitutional negotiations.

Then, too, the legal return of the ANC sparked off a scramble for positions

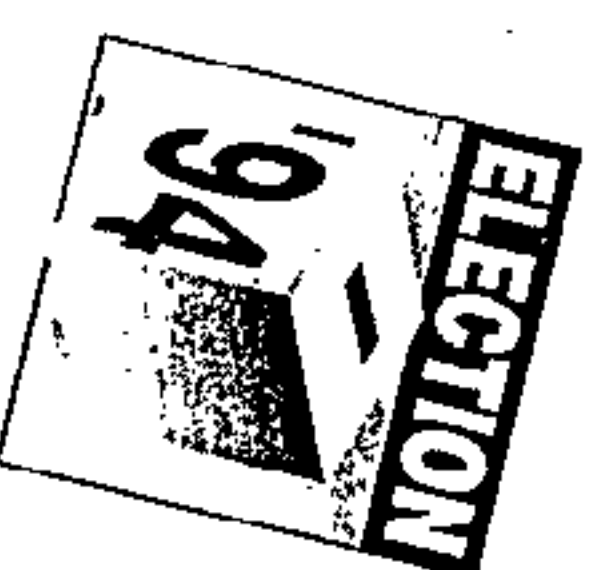
among local activists (most of whom had kept the torch of the struggle burning in the UDF), the exiles and former Robben Island activists.

In 1991 one of the first visible casualties of this behind-the-scenes bickering was activist Cecil Essau, who quit the regional executive amid dissatisfaction over alleged "pro-African preferential treatment" within the ANC. He has since returned.

At that time, there was even talk that coloured elements within the ANC wanted to set up a "coloured organisation", but this was hotly denied by the regional officials.

But the "coloured" issue refused to die.

In 1992 Nelson Mandela underscored the issue when he told ANC delegates that



the composition of the regional executive should reflect the population of the Western Cape. Subsequently Allan Boesak was elected regional chairman.

Later rumours surfaced that there was tension between Dr Boesak and fiery Western Cape ANC man Tony Yengeni, but Mr Yengeni denied this.

The rift appeared to broaden when Dr Boesak was publicly criticised by the township-based leadership of the Congress of South African Students for opposing the pupils' campaign against higher fees.

But members of the ANC alliance quickly defused the row and threw their weight behind Dr Boesak.

In January the ANC unveiled its untested election-

eering machinery with Dr Boesak at the controls in spite of misgivings in some quarters — especially in the conservative plateland — that the former cleric was not the right choice because of his private life.

Unlike its main rival, the ANC concentrated on selling its reconstruction and development programme aimed at providing a better life for all.

It organised "people's forums" to canvass opinions and also spent most of its resources trying to woo the coloured people.

During its campaign in coloured areas, it often had to run the gauntlet of pro-NP supporters making derogatory remarks.

The ANC held relatively few meetings in the townships and the squatter camps.

Its team of foot soldiers visited more than 350 000 people in several residential areas. It also tele-canvassed more than 50 000 people and drew thousands of people to its rallies.

Most of those who attended the meetings, it must be said, were the converted.

(3044) A25/5/94

In March, the signs of a possible NP victory started flashing in many polls — and the NP introduced and distributed many copies of the "comic book" before it was declared undesirable.

To counter the tide, the ANC organised endorsement campaigns by prominent coloured personalities, including Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn, who took sab-batical leave from the campus to back its policies and point out the dangers of what was being viewed as the NP's racist campaign.

In line with this, the ANC resorted to "we-warned-you" alarmist tactics that a vote for the NP government might jeopardise tourism and the Olympic Games.

But its detractors rejected this view and accused the ANC of using emotional blackmail.

Although the ANC stuck to its guns, warning of the dangers the liberal Cape faced if a "volksstaat" was allowed to develop, its message was not heeded.

Most of the coloured people voted for the NP — and the ANC was left wondering about what might have been.

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela meet again today for talks which could see the position of NP members in the first post-apartheid Cabinet finalised.

The ANC's national executive committee yesterday formally gave president-designate Mandela a mandate to decide on the new multiparty Cabinet by himself after consultation.

According to sources, it also decided that proposals for amnesty or indemnity should be put to the new Cabinet for decision.

ANC sources said last night Mandela was keeping mum about possible Cabinet posts. They believed the matter had not been discussed in depth on Tuesday at his meeting with De Klerk.

However, a Government source said that clear indica-

Final decision only 'after election results'

Mandela, FW in *Star* 5/5/94 talks over Cabinet

**ANC executive gives
Mandela mandate to
decide on the new
multiparty Cabinet
after consultation**

tions of who from the NP would serve in the new Cabinet had begun to emerge and were discussed at the last sitting of the Cabinet yesterday.

The sources said final decisions would only be made when complete election results were known.

The two leaders will also focus on logistical issues when they resume their discussions today.

ANC sources said NP suggestions that cabinet posts should be divided into different categories — security, economics and welfare — and that it get a

post in each were unacceptable.

Senior Cosatu sources last night denied backing ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki for the post of first deputy president. *(30/4/94)*

They said the trade union federation had its own preference for the job, which would not be disclosed. But they said Cosatu wanted either ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, or Mbeki for the post.

PATIENCE AND PERSISTENCE: The people of Northern Natal were determined to vote despite the odds

A day of peace, patience — and chaos

As chaos reigns at the Northern Natal polls, the people show the patience of Job, reports **Drew Forrest**

FOR many of the pensioners in the kilometre-long queue, it was the first and possibly the last vote they would cast, and they were determined not to be deprived of it.

Outside the Nqutu township administration offices, the patient line stretched in two directions, crossing a road and dwindling over a rise. Most people had been there since the small hours, and were using the blankets they had brought to keep out the cold as protection from the midday sun. Some were special voters who'd waited in vain from dawn till dusk the previous day.

At the nearby Nqutu stadium, would-be voters surged through the gates in a paroxysm of relief when polling finally got under way at 12.40pm on Wednesday. Special polling day had been a comedy of errors: no plastic tents for the 11 stations, no ballot papers, Inkatha Freedom Party stickers, voting booths, ballot boxes, ink, stamps, ultra-violet lights or security.

The Independent Electoral Commission had been asked for 42 minibuses to transport staff from Dundee, a presiding officer confided. Two had been supplied.

Standing forlornly in the stadium was an IFP agent from a polling station at a trading store 15km away. More than 1 000 people had been unable to vote there, she explained, because "there was nothing — not even a presiding officer".

At the St Augustine's station towards Dundee, the gates were still closed. And at Mondlo, 50km further into kwaZulu, scores of hopeful country people had waited a day and a half to make their cross.

Set amid the bleak hills and eroded grassland of deep kwaZulu, Nqutu is IFP territory — and there were fears of both violent intimidation and a huge voter stayaway in the town. Neither happened. As in other parts of the Newcastle electoral district, there was no violence or harassment of voters or election officials by the right, left or centre. Polling was free, fair — and chaotic.

Much the same applied to the potential flashpoint of Madadeni, home to the Congress of South African Trade Unions-supporting industrial proletariat of Newcastle but also part of kwaZulu and the constituency of the IFP's candidate for the Natal premiership, Frank Mdlalose.

As bored, crisp-munching soldiers and South African policemen ran cursory seat-belt checks on passing cars, frantic presiding officers of Madadeni and nearby Osiwenzu laid siege to the IEC's Newcastle sub-office, improvised solutions, borrowed and begged from other stations, and drove out to the airport to collect voting essentials.

At the Madadeni Hospital, where special polling had been arranged for nursing staff and patients, voting finally got under way in mid-afternoon after "sensitive" materials such as ballot papers had been delivered.

"We sat from 5.30 in the morning at the magistrate's office trying to get stuff signed out," said a monitor. "Eventually we roped in Grey's Security to do the delivering — it wasn't a day for bureaucratic decision-making."

At the Muzekhayise school, disconsolate citizens sat through Tuesday and most of Wednesday without result. Powerless to control her own situation, the presiding officer waspishly turned on the press, warning them against taking pictures or



Open secret: Nelson Mandela votes for the first time in Inanda

Mandela realises his dream

Chris McGreal

OUTSIDE Ohlange High School in Inanda the first voters had waited since 4am. Virginia Gasa stood at the front of the line, unaware of the man about to push ahead of her. Told that Nelson Mandela would soon arrive, she asked "Sure?" and then, suddenly overwhelmed, buried her face in a friend's shoulder.

Mandela's first stop was John Dube's grave. The last president of the ANC as a liberation organisation laid a wreath beneath the inscription "Out of the darkness into the glorious light". As he turned toward the polling station, Mandela was asked how he was going to vote. He smiled broadly. "I've been agonising over that question. When I decide it'll be a secret."

A mass of photographers and the American member of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Gaye McDougall, battled over the positioning of a voting table placed outside. McDougall won, saying the regulations dictated where the table should go.

"You have to listen to the law, not

reason," she said.

A few minutes later McDougall brushed aside the law, reason and the IEC's independence by greeting the ANC leader with a kiss. "I just wanted to welcome you," she said. From that moment she was at his side.

Mandela went inside, displayed his identity book and listened patiently to an explanation of how to mark his two ballots.

One ballot was dropped in a box inside the polling station to cheers and yet another hug from McDougall before Mandela emerged for his turn before the cameras. Waving his second folded ballot paper he graciously positioned himself on each side of the ballot box in turn. Posing a last time, he dropped the paper into the box, beamed and thrust a hand — not a clenched fist — in the air.

"This is, for all South Africans, an unforgettable occasion. It is the realisation of our hopes and dreams that we have cherished over decades. The dreams of a South Africa which represents all South Africans," he said.

"It is the beginning of a new era. We have moved from an era of pessimism, division, limited opportuni-

ties, turmoil and conflict. We are

starting a new era of hope, reconciliation and nation building. We hope by the mere casting of a vote the results will give hope to all South Africans and make all South Africans realise this is our country. We are one nation," he added.

Campaigning may officially be at an end but Mandela could not resist trying to charm the police. One white policeman grunted and looked the other way, but Colonel Kobus le Roux was moved.

"Take care of yourself," he told his next president.

"He's incredible. He went through a tough school, you know. But there's no bitterness there. The way he came over and spoke to the cops. It's just incredible," the colonel later said.

By the time Mandela left the polling station, the lines to follow his lead had grown across South Africa. As if to nail the apartheid lie, blacks and whites mingled peacefully. Outside Ohlange High School the order was only disrupted as Mandela emerged. Hardly any of the waiting voters knew he was going in but word spread and hundreds were on hand for him to emerge.

conducting interviews inside the dormant voting area.

Voting at the Sisizakhele school in Osiwenzu was stalled for several hours by a shortage of ink, absence of national ballot papers and the non-appearance of the kwaZulu Police. Hampering her distress calls to the IEC, explained presiding officer Mary Tenene, was the fact that neither her phone nor her two-way radio could be made to work.

With its pockets of town-based support against a rural and traditionalist backdrop, the Newcastle district would have been a security nightmare if the IFP had insisted on fighting shy of the election. But Inkatha's late entry was a mixed blessing — it compounded the administrative complexities, requiring the location, manning and provision of 70 additional polling stations in kwaZulu. From last Friday through to Monday this week, officials say, the list of stations changed daily, the final list coming out only at 3pm on Monday.

Geography here is another compounding factor. Stretching from Estcourt in the south to the Pongola Dam in the north-east, the district may be the most far-flung of all five in the

province. Many settlements are remote, almost devoid of skills and accessible only by dirt road.

Interviewed at the Newcastle airport, where he had set up a small operations centre to receive, audit and deliver materials directly to stations, IEC regional manager Vaughan Southey conceded that logistical planning had started too late.

But it is hard to feel anything but admiring sympathy for him and his hastily assembled staff, who have snatched a total of six hours sleep in the last three days.

Southey has been groping in the dark — official statistics, for example, put the population of Newcastle's townships at about 200 000, while the real figure may be three times this. But he clearly enjoys the challenge of grappling with unforeseen problems on a heroic scale.

"We've found out what's involved as we've gone along," he said. "Each crisis you overcome opens up new vistas, and you start to think you're going bananas. The failures have not been for lack of will. As a lawyer, I'm used to working long hours, but I've never seen

people work as hard as this."

In essence, Southey says, the voting infrastructure in the Newcastle district was created at breakneck speed after the failure of special polling. IEC staffers worked through Tuesday night to ensure that when the big day dawned, stations were voter-ready.

Conditions in Madadeni/Osiwenzu late on Wednesday suggest the materials crisis has been surmounted. Obvious exceptions were stations not initially gazetted, because they were in "disputed" (IFP-held) territory, where untrained school principals were summarily installed as polling station chiefs. But then, one of Southey's dreaded vistas unfurled — stations across the district began running short of ballot papers. Inside the Madadeni community hall, where polling started relatively early and went off relatively well, officials idled while the queues in the forecourt grew.

The most pressing danger in Northern Natal is that with two days of snarls and a day of polling to go, it may not be able to process all voters. In rural localities without electricity —

Bomb of Damocles hangs over 'kolonel's' head

Drew Forrest

THE far-right in Northern Natal has chosen street theatre rather than dynamite to underscore its rejection of the "Azanian election".

Until Tuesday, when it mysteriously vanished, the Northern Natal Boerekommando (NNBK) had manned a "command centre" in Newcastle's municipal car park.

Surrounded by blade wire and piles of tyres, this comprised of an army tent with camouflage netting — the ops kamer — a caravan with the legend, "Volksfront Burgerraad", a braai grill, a water dispenser fashioned from a milk-churn, a Vierkleur and South African flag on flagpoles, and a table with two donation tins, one for the NNBK and the other for a planned rightwing radio station to be called Radio Drakensberg.

The centre was guarded 24 hours a day by men in combat uniform. Its chief was irrepressible far-rightist Leonard Veenendal, the NNBK's regional commander, wanted in Namibia in connection with the murder of two United Nations staffers during Namibia's independence election.

Veenendal — whose cherubic face makes a sinister contrast with his leather-clad right hand, allegedly mutilated in a "shotgun accident" — spoke to the Mail & Guardian in his ops kamer.

Hanging above his head was an unexploded mortar shell.

He said council land had been "seized" on March 31 and that he had defied a council instruction to move by 4pm that day and a subsequent demand for R10 a day in rent.

The move was in protest against the state of emergency in Natal whose sole purpose had been to weaken the ANC/South African Communist Party's main opponent, Inkatha.

It also underscored the NNBK's rejection of the "Azanian election" which had been "steam-rollered through by the communists".

The burgerraad had been set up as an alternative structure to the National Party council of Newcastle, which had betrayed its mandate in 1990 and failed to subject itself to another election. WSM 29/4-5/5/94

A door-to-door survey in the town had shown that 88.8 per cent of Newcastle residents rejected their city fathers.

Asked if the NNBK planned to disrupt polling, Veenendal said this would give the election credibility. (3/4/4)

After the election, his organisation would pursue its goal of incorporating Northern Natal in a volkstaat through negotiations with the IFP.

"Only two nations have claims on this land: Afrikaners and Zulus," he said.

"KwaZulu will always exist. If Zulus lose this election, they won't accept it."

Final IEC bill will be 'at least R1bn'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE Independent Electoral Commission is expected by insiders to have spent at least R1 billion by the time it finally wraps up its activities.

This represents 2,5% of the ANC's estimate for its five-year Reconstruction and Development Programme (R39bn) and would be nearly R2m over the IEC's provisional budget.

The extra voting day required 600 fully-staffed extra voting stations and private truck and plane hire to supply the nine million extra ballot papers which had to be printed. There was also the cost of printing 80m IFP stickers because of Inkatha's late entry.

A well-placed IEC source at Gal-

lagher Estate in Johannesburg yesterday said R1bn was an "entirely reasonable estimate" when all the emergency measures were taken into account.

"People here are talking about going over R1 billion but rumours of double the estimates are a bit much," he said.

Yesterday afternoon chief IEC publicity spokesmen Mr Paul Bell and Mr Pieter Cronje hurriedly called their staff into a meeting over the current voting results information crisis.

Sources inside the nearly two-hour meeting said the pair spent most of the time "defending their management strategy" to angry staffers.

Two-thirds 'no guarantee'

CT 6/5/94

(304)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC will not necessarily have a free hand to rewrite the constitution if it manages to capture two-thirds of the vote in the election for the 400-member National Assembly.

The interim constitution stipulates that changes to the constitution have to be approved by two-thirds of Parliament — which encompasses both the National Assembly and the 90-member Senate.

The rules governing the election of the 10 senators from each of the nine regions is likely to give smaller parties an advantage over the ANC.

Because parties do not have to achieve a threshold in the provincial elections in order to qualify for a senator, it is theo-

Senate could tip balance

retically possible that parties achieving only three or four per cent of the vote in the provincial poll could qualify for a senator.

This could, on aggregate, tip the scales against the ANC in Senate elections, resulting in the largest party ending up with fewer senators than its performance in the regional elections would suggest.

With about two-thirds of the votes announced by the Independent Electoral Commission last night, the ANC was running at 65,4% of the popular vote, edging

closer to the crucial two thirds mark.

ARI JACOBSON reports that political analyst Dr F van zyl Slabbert said in Cape Town yesterday that the final outcome of the election could be the result of a political trade-off.

In terms of this scenario, the ANC would not get a two-thirds majority, the National Party would not get under 20% of the vote, and the IFP would be given a "fair share" of the total.

Speaking last night at the Personal Trust conference he said that this would be the end-result of the election and everyone involved will declare the process "fair and free".

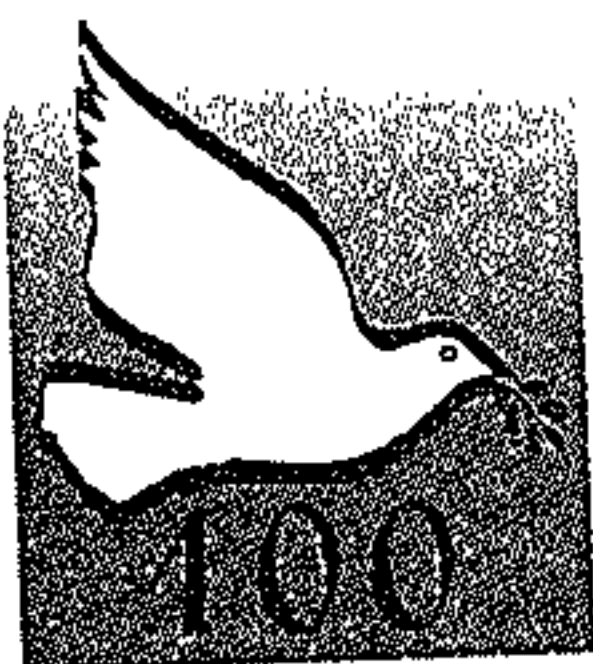
"I have no problem with that — the election is over."

He said that taking everything into account the election process had been "a blessing I never anticipated".

When the party's over

(304A)

President-elect Nelson Mandela needs to tell the hard truths early on



Even in the warm glow of victory on Monday night, Nelson Mandela revealed an acute awareness that the celebration will soon be over and the work must start — and that results are demanded.

Nobody knows how long the ANC has to deliver the goods, before the expectations of the masses turn to disappointment and then a sense of betrayal, but there is a sense of urgency.

In the US the traditional honeymoon period for an incoming president is 100 days. There is an understanding even among opponents that time is needed to acclimatise to office, to make appointments, even to make a few mistakes. After that, the dress rehearsal is over and the president is fair game. Something of the sort will happen here: even the most ardent and unrealistic ANC supporter knows that Mandela cannot transform the country overnight. A honeymoon will be granted him, by squatters as well as businessmen — and even political opponents.

But in another sense, Mandela will have no honeymoon at all. From the moment early election results showed that he would indeed be State President, he began setting the tone for his administration. The first steps were encouraging: he was at pains to emphasise reconciliation; he was gracious to the defeated leaders, President De Klerk in particular; his victory speech at the Carlton Hotel was delivered under the national flag rather than the ANC flag; and while there was ANC triumphalism, it was muted in deference to nation-building.

Such things were important psychologically but, however much we cling to them for comfort, they are also ephemeral. What matters is how Mandela will run the country. This is why his first 100 days, honeymoon or not, will be crucial. In that time he will, by omission and commission, be setting important precedents that could influence the way things are done long after he has gone.

Unlike an incoming modern American or British leader, Mandela has great latitude in terms of not only policy but procedure. It is in his hands to set in motion the government of

national unity; to establish its conventions; and to make sure that it survives early crises. Above all, he must make sure that government can govern.

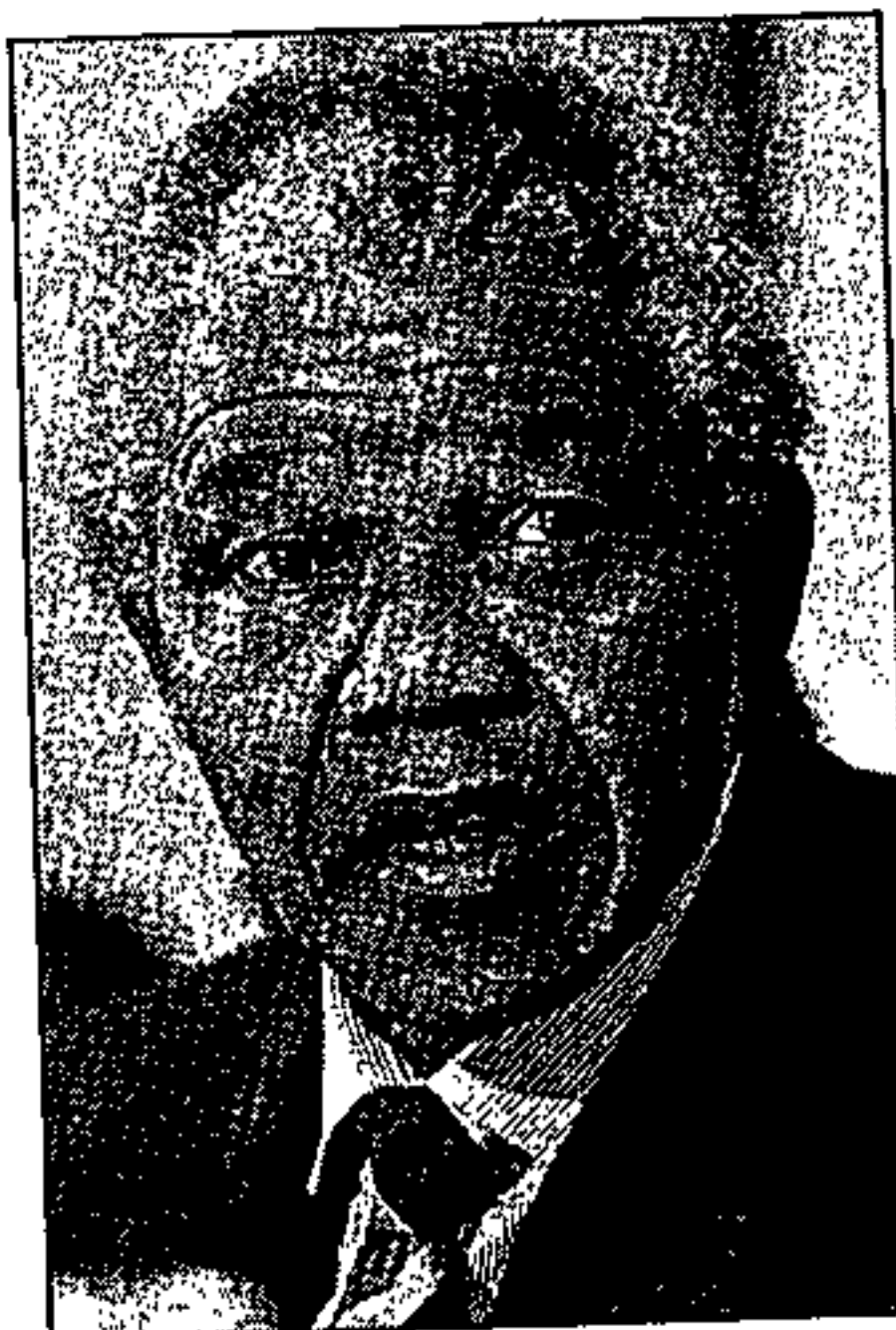
His first task, from which much else will flow, is to form a Cabinet. The most fascinating aspect of this is that he has no choice in appointing one of his deputy presidents — the interim constitution provides that it will be the leader of the second biggest party, FW de Klerk. It is important that, in stark contrast to Mandela, who has never held civic office at any level,

De Klerk has more than 15 years of Cabinet experience — five of them as State President — and is a consummate political operator.

So De Klerk is not about to fade away. In this peculiar relationship there will have to be trust; there will also have to be compromises on both sides — which Mandela will find more difficult because he has the huge electoral mandate.

Then there is the constitutional need to appoint several Nat Cabinet Ministers. Mandela has already said that these cannot be token appointments. There is talk that the major families of portfolios will be split: if a Nat is Defence Minister (Kobie Coetsee could keep that job), then an ANC man will be responsible for the police; and if Thabo Mbeki is Finance Minister, then Derek Keys will take Trade & Industry.

However the division is worked out in theory, the Nat Ministers will come from the ranks of the most senior, loyal and able of De Klerk's lieutenants — Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers, Keys, Coetsee, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels. None of them will be pushovers; thanks to their sheer experience of government, they will threaten to exercise influence out of proportion to their numbers. It is difficult, too, to imagine a man like Botha taking anything that might be interpreted as a junior position. De Klerk could also insist on appointing Jac Rabie or Abe Williams — both



Mandela

stood on the platform with him when he conceded defeat on Monday night — as acknowledgment of coloured support in the western Cape. ern Cape.

Inevitably there will be senior ANC Cabinet members who will resent and try to undermine this enduring Nat influence; it will take all Mandela's stature in the ANC to soothe them and head off rebellion. And when the inevitable compromises happen over policy, some in the ANC will be outraged — yet it will be Mandela who will have most to lose. His position is paradoxical: that

overwhelming electoral mandate will not be translated into executive power. This contradiction could weaken him, perhaps more than can be imagined in the immediate flush of victory.

There is also the thorny problem of collective Cabinet responsibility. This excellent convention, inherited from Britain and operative in SA until this week, accepts that there may be disagreement privately within the Cabinet — but when a decision is reached, those who disagree are bound to defend it publicly and to take responsibility for it. The only alternative is resignation. It is a convention that encourages healthy internal dispute, while preserving the executive unity that is essential to good government.

It is hard to see how this convention can be applied to Mandela's Cabinet without compromising the political identity of any group in that Cabinet opposed to the ANC. If there were broad agreement on the major issues of the day, it would not matter — but the big issue will be the ANC's approach to reconstruction, with its vital implications for economic policy. When disputes become bitter, how will Mandela keep the Cabinet together without paralysing government?

There are other imperatives, beyond efficiency and constitutional dictates, in composing the Cabinet. Mandela has to be careful to balance the portfolios among the leading ANC contenders. Allocation of jobs may reflect available talent; it is also instantly interpreted in terms of the succession. The two leading contenders to succeed Mandela are Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa. Relations between the two are not especially close; they also represent an important division in the ANC between the former exiles (Mbeki) and those who led the struggle internally through the unions and the Mass Democratic Movement (Ramaphosa). If



De Klerk



Botha

there are divisions in any organisation, it is in the interests of the leader to keep them balanced.

As if that were not enough to keep his hands full, Mandela will also have to keep a watchful eye on his teeming back benches. There will be well over 100 ANC MPs without office or the prospect of office; like many junior Tory MPs after Margaret Thatcher's big victories in the UK, they will seldom get a chance even to make a short speech in the National Assembly. Some will be bitter at being overlooked for office or select committees.

No MP will be kept busy dealing with letters and complaints from constituents, because there are no constituencies. Nor will dissatisfied MPs be able to cross the floor to another party — the ultimate power of the backbencher in the Westminster system — because under the new SA system, seats are in the gift of the party managers, not the voters. As a result, debates will be even more sterile than before.

In short, all those unemployed and redundant ANC MPs will get restless — and will begin to look at alternative arrangements for the next election. Of course all parties will be theoretically vulnerable to such erosion — but the ANC, with its huge majority, will have to be especially careful. Mandela might be well advised to consider his back benches



Mbeki



Sexwale

before he gets too generous to the leaders of parties which were wiped out in the election.

It sounded good when Mandela promised to make his Cabinet as inclusive as possible, but we must hope that no other party beyond the NP accepts his offer. The Nats might make life difficult for Mandela in a coalition Cabinet, but they will essentially be on the same side — in power. And while there may be policy differences, there are many areas where accommodation might not be too difficult — such as the role of government in the economy.

This is why we need strong opposition, not within the Cabinet but to the government of the day. It seems clear that by far the most powerful opponent of that government will be Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi MP. There is a certain irony here: the man who almost never made it to parliament because of an ill-advised boycott has ended up, once again, as the biggest thorn in the side of the cosy ANC/Nat alliance. His presence alone will make life awkward for the rulers; in the long term, he stands to take electoral advantage



Keys



Ramaphosa



Botha

of their failures.

It is clear that Buthelezi's support in KwaZulu/Natal was severely underestimated before the election. A broad and rather smug consensus emerged, along these lines: Buthelezi doesn't have much support, which is why he doesn't want an election. In fact, Inkatha turned in a phenomenal performance in Natal, given that Buthelezi only came in with a week to spare (though there is a view that this sensation was worth a few weeks' campaigning). When the *FM* went to press the counting was going on, but it was clear that Inkatha would be a major player.

This doubly strengthens Buthelezi's hand: at last his geographical power base has been confirmed and his arguments for a federal constitution have been boosted. He will also be able to draw on the support of the handful of MPs from the Democratic Party and the Freedom Front: together they could produce a not inconsiderable core force for creative opposition and a federal lobby.

Buthelezi's success raises another issue, one which is not often discussed for reasons of political correctness: tribalism. This was not an election fought on policy issues. It was a liberation election, on to which was grafted a once-off national contest between the personalities of De Klerk and Mandela. Buthelezi was not part of this contest. His success was a product of Zulu ethnic nationalism and it is a force that will not go away.

The voting in KwaZulu/Natal went markedly against the national trend, just as it did in the western Cape. The NP success in the Cape was due to the coloureds fearing the ANC in government more than they had resented the Nats in government. In KwaZulu/Natal a significant proportion of the Zulus, the largest single ethnic grouping, proved immune to Mandela's appeal. Reasons are probably more complex than in the western Cape, but the outcome is the same: SA has been shown not to be a homogenous political entity, and the new national government will ignore this at its peril.

So Mandela will have to be sensitive to the delicate position of the western Cape and especially KwaZulu/Natal — and he will have to ensure that his Cabinet appointees are also sensitive. In both the maverick provinces there will be suspicion that the regions which delivered huge ANC majorities will be favoured when resources are allocated by the central government. The fact that the "ANC provinces" will be led by men who were prominent in the old national ANC leader-

ship, with old friendships to call on and political ambitions of their own, will make it even more difficult to allay this suspicion.

In any case the provinces could all prove a headache for the national Cabinet, whoever is in power in whichever capital. It is difficult, for in-

stance, to see someone like Tokyo Sexwale, who will lead the PWV, meekly giving in to the national ANC leadership; nor will it be easy for Mandela to ignore the leader of the country's most populous and powerful province. Thanks to the double ballot, provincial politicians of all parties must look to their local electorates for survival. This could give a fresh boost to arguments for a federal constitution — much to the irritation of ANC Cabinet members.

Mandela will not be able to govern on his own, of course — but he will have a major influence on how SA will be governed. For the first time the ANC will have to order priorities; there will be tough decisions and uncomfortable facts. As a guiding principle, the new State President must try to take the hardest decisions as soon as possible.

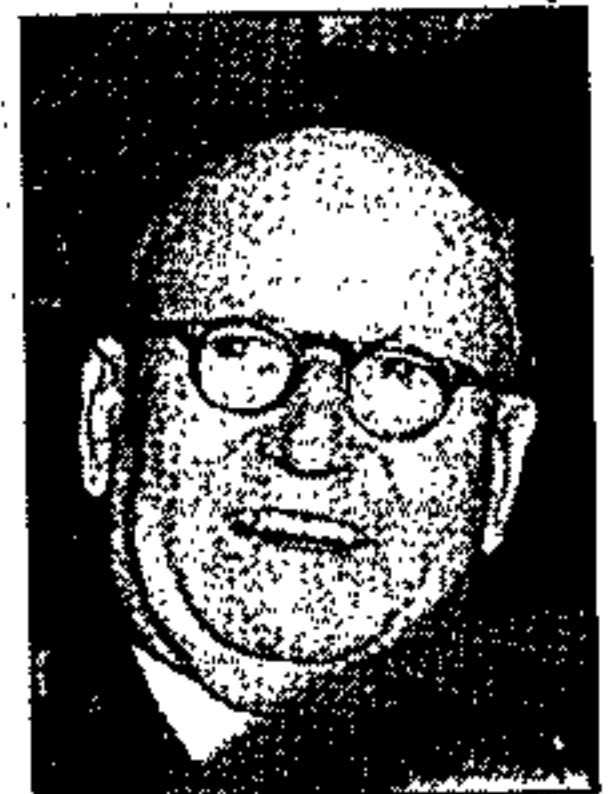
For the first few months after the election — the first 100 days, let us say — Mandela's legitimacy and authority will be sky-high and few politicians, inside or outside the ANC, will dare to gainsay him without risk. After that, the problems of governance will begin to crowd in and Mandela's personal magic will lose its power.

This is why Mandela cannot afford to ease his way into office trying to be nice to everyone. Sooner or later he will have to tell unpalatable truths to his supporters; let him do it sooner — in the noble Churchillian language of toil, tears and sweat.

ANOTHER TIME

In the 1948 general election, the National Party of Dr D F Malan won 70 seats to the 65 seats of General Jan Smuts's United Party. When Malan arrived in Pretoria by train on June 1 to a rapturous welcome, he spoke of what the election victory meant to his *volk*:

"In the past we felt like strangers in our own country, but today SA belongs to us once more. For the first time since Union in 1910, SA is our own. May God grant that it always remains our own."



THE RIGHT Up in smoke

Constand Viljoen's *volkstaat* dream was fading fast this week as voting trends pointed to a massive shortfall in the 800 000 votes he believed would compel the new government to accept rightwing demands for a homeland.

With most of the results in from areas where Viljoen's Freedom Front expected to draw its strongest support, the party's vote tally was still well under 400 000.

Viljoen and Front spokesman Stephen Maninger blamed the CP boycott call for the poor showing. Viljoen estimates the loss of support due to the boycott at between 150 000 and (coincidentally) 400 000. Maninger was more precise, putting it at 250 000. (304A)

Most analysts say the boycott by CP supporters had a minimal effect on the Front's total. The general view is that CP supporters voted either for Viljoen or the NP, or for Inkatha in Natal — but they voted. It was also clear from the results that Front support is spread across a vast part of SA, which makes the identification of a suitable geographic area for a homeland almost impossible. Ironically, the Front's strongest showing was in provinces where the ANC won well over 75% of the vote.

Nevertheless, Viljoen says he will push ahead with plans to use the proposed *volk-*

staat council to continue negotiating the establishment of a rightwing homeland. Establishment of the council is provided for in the interim constitution.

But it seems unlikely the new government will agree to create a separate area for rightwingers based on fewer than 400 000 votes or 2% of the poll. Practical considerations have always rendered the idea absurd.

Earlier this week, Viljoen appeared disinterested in ANC



Viljoen

leader Nelson Mandela's offer to accommodate leaders of small parties in the government of national unity even if they were not automatically entitled to Cabinet seats based on their representation in parliament. The Front was expected to win about 12 seats.

Viljoen says his priority remains the interests of the Afrikaner people rather than serving in a government of national unity. He is prepared, however, to discuss the offer with Mandela.

The Front's relatively weak showing and the crumbling of a rightwing terror campaign as the polls opened last week seemed again to shatter the myth of widespread, well-organised conservative opposition to the transition to democracy.

Police started arresting alleged rightwing terrorists within hours of the car bomb in Johannesburg on April 24 and by the end of the week 34 were in detention and a large quantity of arms and explosives had been confiscated.

The election went off without any major attack, which could indicate that the main rightwing terror threat has been neutralised — though it is possible that other cells have not yet been activated and may launch campaigns to coincide with the inauguration of the new President next week. ■

PARTIES *FM 6/5/94*
Nice while it lasted

The virtual annihilation of minor parties in last week's election not only dented many egos but could mean the end of the political road for scores of prominent political figures.

The Democratic Party will return to parliament severely depleted. Though some results were still outstanding when the *FM* went to press, it seemed that the DP would win no more than six seats. Based on the party's lists of candidates, this would probably mean the election of Zach de Beer, Tony Leon, Dene Smuts, Colin Eglin, Kobus Jordaan and William Mnisi. MPs unlikely to make it back included Errol Moorcroft, Ken Andrew, Douglas Gibson, Chris April, Lester Fuchs, Peter Soal, Mahmoud Rajab, Roger Hulley, David Curry and Rupert Lorimer. *(304A)*

Earlier in the campaign the DP had predicted winning 15% of the vote, which would have given the party about 60 seats in parliament. However, while the DP appeared to retain the bulk of its loyal white support, it failed to make significant inroads into black communities.

The other main loser in the election was the PAC, which will probably win four seats. Its MPs could be Clarence Makwethu, Johnson Mlambo, Benny Alexander and Dan Mofokeng. Losers could include Gora Ebrahim, Jaki Seroke, Patricia de Lille and Maxwell Nemaizivhanani.

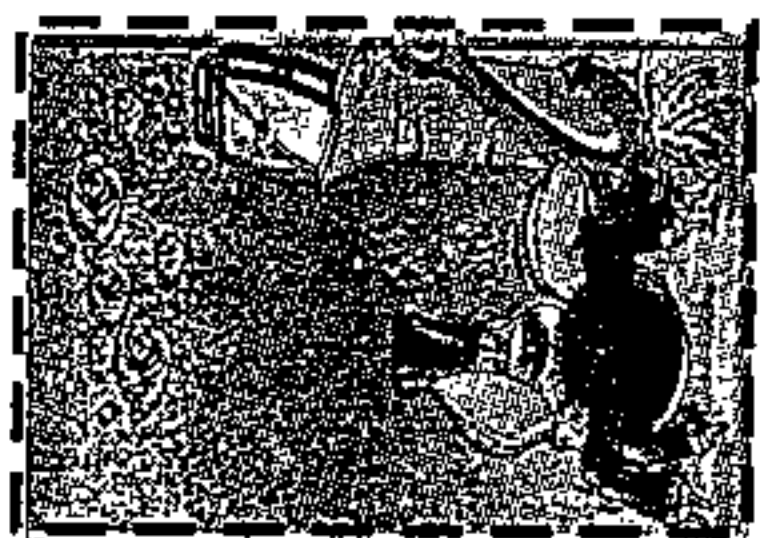
Another possible casualty could be Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi, though, with the Natal result late, it was difficult to say how much support his party had drawn.

The Federal Party of high-profile Frances Kendall drew far less support than she had hoped for. The Dikwankwetla Party of former QwaQwa leader Kenneth Mopeli and the African Democratic Movement of former Ciskei dictator Oupa Gqoza were virtually wiped out.

The relatively obscure African Christian Democratic Party had a surprisingly strong showing and was expected to win a seat for leader Hosea Fakude. ■

TODAY'S AD-VENTURE
STICK-A-PIC

There's nothing I like
more than making
a real entrance.
Check columns 101
and 121 for details.



Graphic: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

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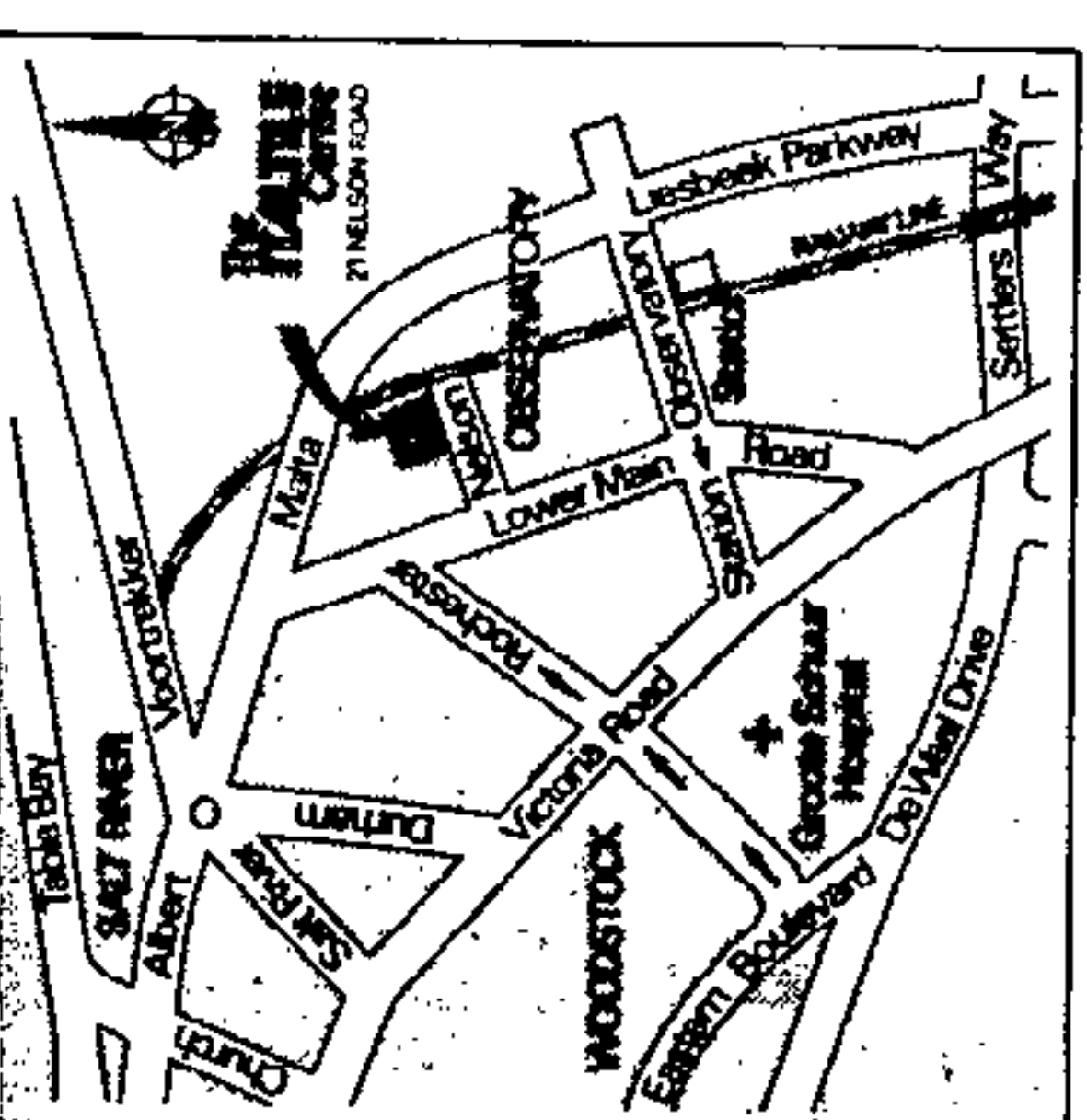
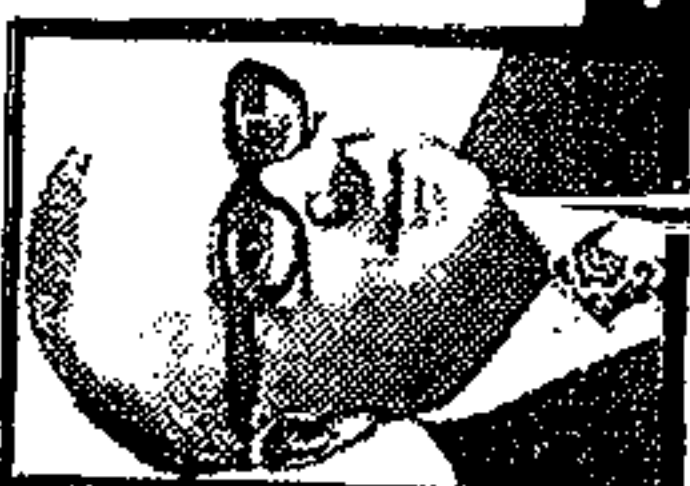
Stintley has fallen away.
Among those named as likely
ANC provincial cabinet mem-
bers are Dr Boesak and Ler-
umo Kalako.

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CAPE TOWN, FRIDAY MAY 6 1994

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LATE FINAL

Newspaper

Ramaphosa out in cold as Mandela names his first deputy vice-president

Police Swoop on Radio Pretoria

The Argus Correspondent

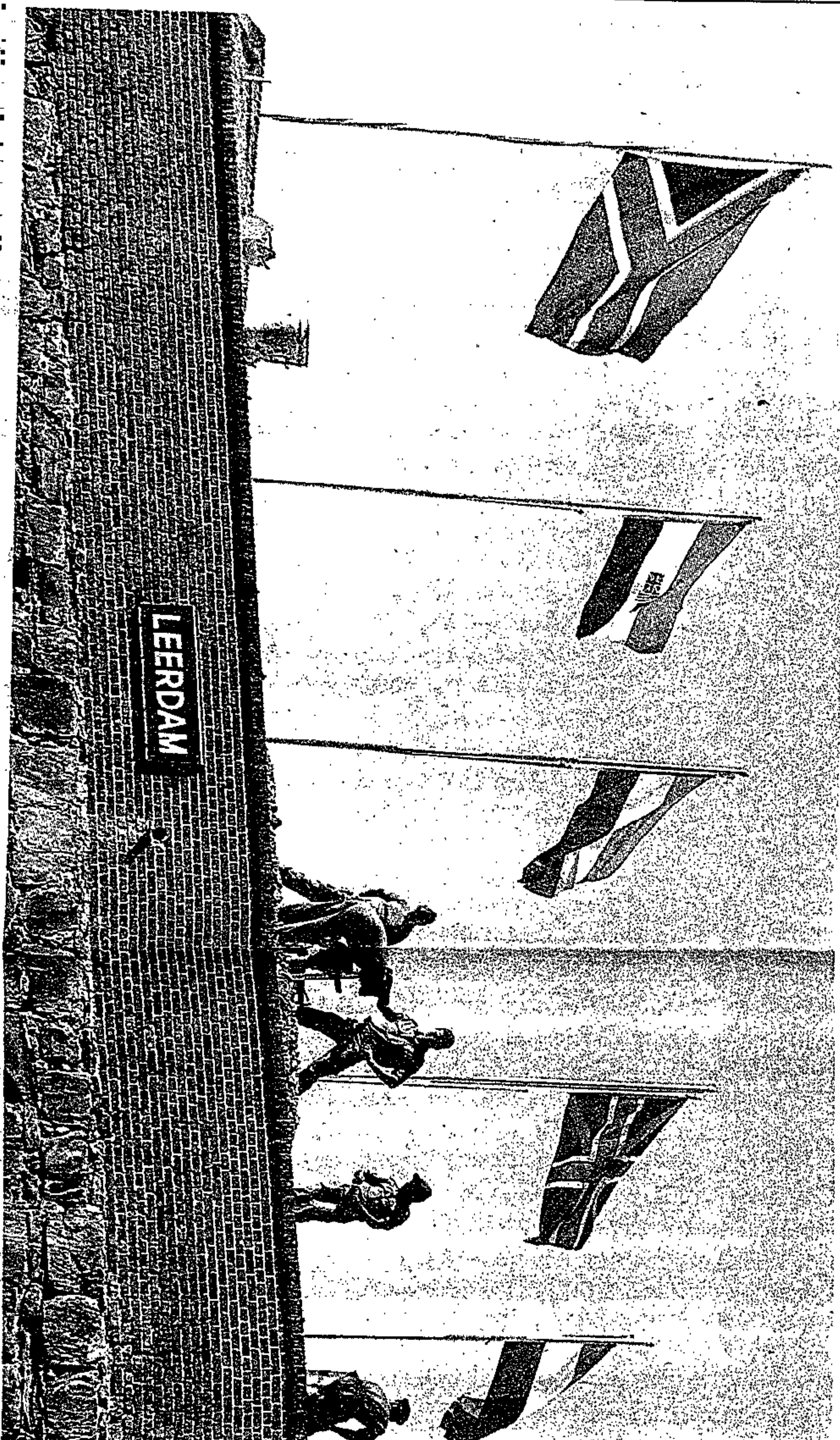
PRETORIA — In a ground and air swoop, police today launched a pre-dawn raid on the Radio Pretoria premises and Fort Wonderboom after receiving information that explosives and illegal weapons were being stored there.

Pretoria police spokesman Evan Johnson said arrests were made and "certain items" were confiscated from the premises.

He could not confirm how many people had been arrested or what was seized.

A spokesman for Radio Pretoria said 14 people had been arrested, adding that "the Boerekommando has thrown our name away".

A spokesman at the station's headquarters, 50km away in



Political Staff

PRESIDENT-ELECT Nelson Mandela today appointed African National Congress chairman **Thabo Mbeki** as his first deputy vice-president.

He also announced other cabinet appointments and said the organisation's chief negotiator and general secretary **Cyril Ramaphosa** had been left out — at his own request.

Members of the cabinet named so far are:

Mr Dullah Omar (Justice);

Pallo Jordan (Information);

Derek Keys (Finance);

Joe Modise (Defence);

Sydney Mufamadi (Law and Order and Home Affairs);

Professor S Benghu (Education);

Jeff Hadebe (Public Works);

Ahmed Kathrada (Prisons);

Tito Mboveni (Labour);

Joe Slovo (Housing and Welfare);

Mac Mahary (Transport);

Stella Sigcau (Public Enterprises);

Nkosazana Zuma (Health and Welfare);

Trevor Manuel (Trade and Industries);

Derek Hanekom (Regional and Land Affairs);

Members of W Cape parliament

(3044) ARG 6/5/94
Jay Naidoo, Minister without portfolio,

In a brief announcement, Mr Mandela said he would probably appoint outgoing president **F W de Klerk** as his second vice-president.

Mr Keys is the only member of the former cabinet named so far.

The two Western Cape ministers are **Mr Omar** and **Mr Manuel**.

Today the ANC said Mr Ramaphosa opted to stay out of the cabinet and to build up the ANC's organisation and fundraising.

The organisation said Mr Ramaphosa's predecessor, **Alfred Nzo**, whom some commentators had written off, would be appointed Foreign Minister.

In terms of the constitution, the NP would be entitled to about four members of the 27-person cabinet, including **Mr De Klerk**.

Among those NP members most widely tipped for cabinet posts are NP negotiator **Roelf Meyer**, and ministers **Dawie de Villiers**, **Pik Botha** and **Leon Wessels**.

So far, ANC sources said, the portfolios of agriculture and sport had been offered to the NP, but there was also speculation that Mr Mandela would draw a PAC leader into his cabinet and might also reach out to other minority parties.

helicopters had landed, but said the head office staff were in the dark and unable to give details of the raid as the phones at Radio Pretoria were not being answered.

Fort Wonderboom is an old abandoned fort north of Pretoria where rightwing Boere-kommando leader Willem Ratté sought refuge after leading the Fort Schanskop occupation last year.

The raid comes a day after Radio Pretoria called on all media to support its effort to gain a broadcasting licence to further speech freedom.

Station head the Rev Mossie van den Berg said it was the vocation of the Boere-Afrikaner culture to keep Afrikanerdom alive — in the interests of all the people of the sub-continent.

Only by maintaining the Afrikaner culture alive would there be peace, progress and prosperity for South Africa, he said.

Mr Van den Berg and Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg referred to the right to freedom of speech as enshrined in the new constitution as justification for their demand for a broadcasting licence.

Mr Van den Berg said the radio station had gone off the air on April 26 and the station's supporters had given it two weeks to apply for a licence.

"On May 13 we will have to decide whether we will go on air and broadcast illegally or not," he said.

Dr Hartzenberg referred to the United Nations human rights commission on indigenous populations, which has a draft document before it which recognises the rights of indigenous people to establish their own media.

Policeman arrested

JOHANNESBURG. — Another policeman, and former "Bal-plaas" operative, Captain "Bal-leijes" Beilingham was arrested today by the international team investigating the Goldstone Commission's allegations of police complicity in third force activities.

● See page 8

CLOUDY

● See page 2

The Castle, probably one of the few places it can still be seen. The other flags next to it, from left, are those of the Batavian Republic, the Black Jack and the Orange flag of Jan van Riebeeck. The flags depict the history of the Castle. The Union Jack will soon be added.

Picture: HANNES THART, The Argus.



VICTORY JIG: An upbeat Nelson Mandela back in Cape Town today.

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WE loudly proclaim from the rooftops — Free at last! — from Nelson Mandela's victory speech to the people of South Africa after the general election.

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On Tuesday next week Nelson Mandela will become president of South Africa before hundreds of thousands of people in an historic ceremony.

To commemorate this great event The Argus will publish a souvenir, **The Making of President Mandela**, in words and pictures next Wednesday, May 11.

The final poll result: ANC gets 62,6 percent

ARL 6/5/94

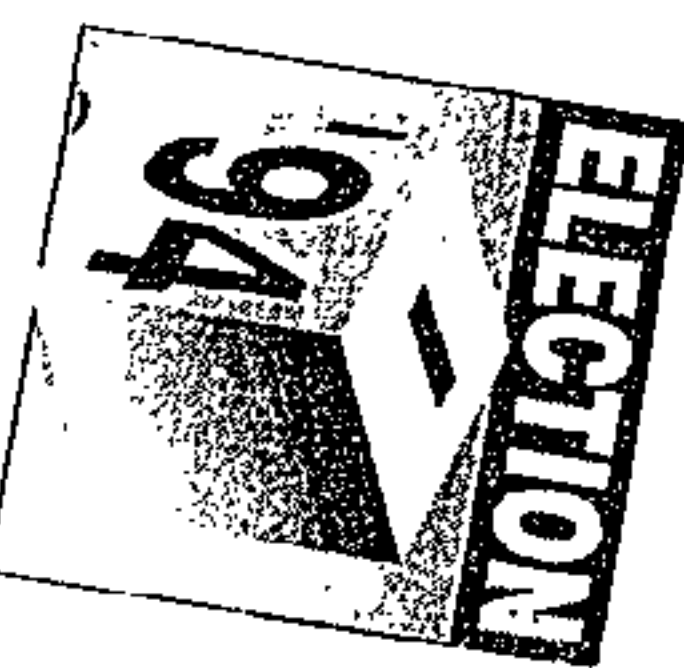
(3047)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Independent Electoral Commission has declared South Africa's first democratic elections substantially free and fair.

Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, on behalf of the 16 commissioners, said today from the IEC headquarters in Midrand that it was substantially free and fair in spite of objections and complaints from political parties.

"The election was admittedly flawed, but that is peripheral. About 20 million people of this land were granted a say in the government of this country.

"The electorate was offered a reasonable opportunity to vote. When it came to counting, once again disaster was averted. Alleged electoral violations occurring during the voting and counting periods will be investigated and where necessary



sary appropriately investigated. "We were able to establish the will of the people with reasonable accuracy," the judge said.

With regard to claims of electoral fraud in KwaZulu-Natal, the IEC chairman said there were problems there with the counting of ballots. Therefore, a reliable test of the votes would be to justify it proportionately to the proven support of the parties in that province.

He then proceeded to announce the tally of each party indicating the African National Congress had received 62.65 percent of the total number of counted ballots, with the National Party receiving 20.4 percent of the tally.

The Inkatha Freedom Party was third with 10.5 percent of the vote, while the Freedom Front received 2.2 percent.

Close to 20 million votes were counted, of which the ANC received just over 12 million votes.

In terms of the National Assembly seats for each party, the ANC has 252 seats, the NP has 82, the IFP 43, the Freedom Front nine, the Democratic Party seven, the Pan Africanist Congress five and the African Christian Democratic Party two seats. — Sapa.

Manhole covers welded shut

Municipal Reporter
MANHOLE covers near parliament and the Parade have been welded shut as a security precaution for the first sitting of the National Assembly.

The covers were sealed at the request of security police, Cape Town City Council spokesman Ted Doman said.

DP leader quits

ZACH de Beer has resigned as leader of the Democratic Party.

Dr de Beer said today he had not intended retiring immediately after the election, but "the results clearly indicate that the party needs to reassess its position thoroughly and make a clean, new start under a leader who can serve for a considerable time." — Sapa.

False teeth found near 'Strangler victim'

JOHAN SCHRÖNEN
Crime Reporter

A SET of home-made dentures found in the Strangler's killing field has been positively linked to the serial killings and police believe the backyard dental technician who made them could provide vital information.

Police spokesman Raymond Dowd was, however, not prepared to say whether police believed the set of

upper teeth found in the bushes in Westport Drive near one of the bodies belonged to that of the Strangler himself or to an accomplice.

He stressed that Norman Azfal Si-mons, who is being held for 30 days' psychiatric observation, had been positively linked to the death of only one of the so-called Strangler's victims, 10-year-old Elroy Van Rooyen.

Colonel Dowd added that police were still investigating, but the pos-

sibility existed there was more than one Strangler.

He said detectives had also focused the investigation on one of the Strangler's victims, a man in his early 30s, whose decomposing body was found in January.

The fact that all but one of the Strangler's victims were young boys was an important "one-off" change of pattern in the serial killings, said Colonel Dowd.

The police are investigating the possibility that the man knew the Strangler, or might have been an accomplice.

Police today displayed clothing worn by a compactly built man and appealed to anyone who recognised the dark blue shorts, black under-pants and a pink and yellow T-shirt, to contact 951 6665.

The identity of the man and the details of his murder would be a major breakthrough in the investigation, according to Colonel Dowd.

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Weekend Argus

SUNDAY

All the latest local, national and international news, PLUS sports reports, pictures and results, PLUS lots more in your seven-section Sunday newspaper — the Cape's own Sunday.

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THESE are the 42 members of the Western Cape parliament.
National Party: Herms Kriel, Lam-pie Fick, Gerald Mortel, Willem Doman, Arnold de Jager, Pieter Marais, Ryno King, Adrian Jordaan, Kobus Mering, Patrick McKenzie, Martha Ockers, Piet Meyer, Quarta du Toit, Aletta Rossouw, Johnson Ngxobong-wana, Annette Reinecke, Pierre Gerber, Anwar Ismail, Nic Isaacs, Mali Hozza, Themba Nyati, Antoinette Versteel, Cecil Herandien.

African National Congress: Allan Boesak, Cameron Dugmore, Vincent Diba, Lerumo Kalako, Johnny Issel, Hilda Ndude, Chris Nissen, Ebrahim Rasool, Tashneem Essop, Leonard Ramatlakane, Lynette Brown, Russel McGregor, Roseberry Sonto, Cecilia Ramoisama.

Democratic Party: Hennie Bester, Richard van der Ross, Joe Marks.
Freedom Front: Eleanor Lombard.
African Christian Democratic Party: Michael Louis.

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After President F W de Klerk's gracious acceptance of his party's defeat at the polls and incoming president Nelson Mandela's victory speech this week, it seems almost churlish to dwell on the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)'s catalogue of bungling and mismanagement. (304A)

That the exercise was pulled off at all is probably due mainly to the electorate's sense and forbearance. But then IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler, warning beforehand about time constraints, apartheid's legacy, inadequate data and so forth, did say that it would be up to the people to make it a success. And perhaps last week's historic elections cannot, in the first place, be judged by First-World standards. Let's hope that

lessons have been learnt for the next time.

By Monday, the IEC's monitoring division had received 3 500 complaints concerning election irregularities. Many have apparently been sorted out. But 156 have been referred to the SA police and 10 to the Goldstone Commission, according to IEC chief director of monitoring Peter Harris.

The deluge of complaints, from virtually every party, concern shortages of ballot forms and other material including Inkatha stickers; improperly sealed and even lost ballot boxes; cheating and incompetent polling station officials; under 18-year-olds in possession of temporary voter cards; long waits in queues; the existence of "pirate" voting stations in parts of Natal; disputed tallies at counting stations, and so on.

Perhaps the most serious alleged irregularity concerns five IEC officials, three of whom were seconded from the Department of Home Affairs, under investigation for possibly concealing large quantities of ballot papers and other materials in warehouses in the PWV area at the height of a shortage crisis during the election.

One official had been in charge of 611 boxes containing nearly 5,5m ballot papers at Marievale. About 600 boxes containing millions of ballot forms were found in a Pretoria warehouse, in addition to thousands of Inkatha stickers, ultra violet lights and indelible ink.

This seems to be what Mandela referred to last week when he alleged that sabotage of the process appeared to have taken place. But in victory he could afford to be magnanimous by not pressing the charge.

Home Affairs strongly denies that its officials were involved in the "unlawful storage of ballot papers." Anything was possible in this election and we must presume that millions of papers might have gone missing by accident.

Despite all this, the main parties, Kriegler and the international observer missions have pronounced the elections essentially free and fair. And most ordinary voters probably agree — they have had enough.

While he does not evade blame for administrative bungling, Kriegler says the elections were a "tremendous success" as no violence occurred at any voting station.

UN special representative Lakhdar Brahimi averred that all eligible voters had had the opportunity to vote. Observer missions of the European Union, Commonwealth and OAU said jointly that the elections were successful despite administrative hitches. Most observers were "impressed" by voters' enthusiasm and praised the general spirit in which the election had taken place.

According to the Association of West European Parliamentarians, the voting phase of the election was free and fair. It says reported irregularities did not seriously compromise the process, adding that logistical failures by the IEC had not been exploited.

President Bill Clinton's special envoy Jesse Jackson, full of praise for people's "fierce

desire" to vote and the absence of violence and intimidation at the polls, described the election as "substantially free and fair" in spite of hitches. So did the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Many eyebrows will be raised at what it cost to run the election; Home Affairs estimates R1,5bn, which includes the involvement of various State departments. This comes to about R66 per voter — about double what it cost Home Affairs to run the 1993 white referendum on De Klerk's proposed reforms.

Many hitches may well have been prevented had the election been organised by the department, which long ago presented a report to the IEC identifying 7 000 polling sites and detailing infrastructure. But that would, of course, have been politically incorrect. ■



Kriegler

Bo-Kaap in rousing Muslim welcome

By DALE GRANGER

27/5/94

(364A)

THERE was a rousing traditional Bo-Kaap reception for President-elect Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday when he visited the country's oldest mosque.

He told believers religion played an important role in a future government so all forms of corruption could be

uprooted. After a greeting from Muslim Judicial Council president Sheikh Nazeem Mohamed, Mr Mandela spoke inside the crowded 300-year-old Auwal Mosque.

"I am very honoured to be the President-elect — (but) after May 10 I will be your brother, your father and your

godfather," he said. To Western Cape voters, he said some people had made unfortunate remarks about coloured people voting the NP into power in the region.

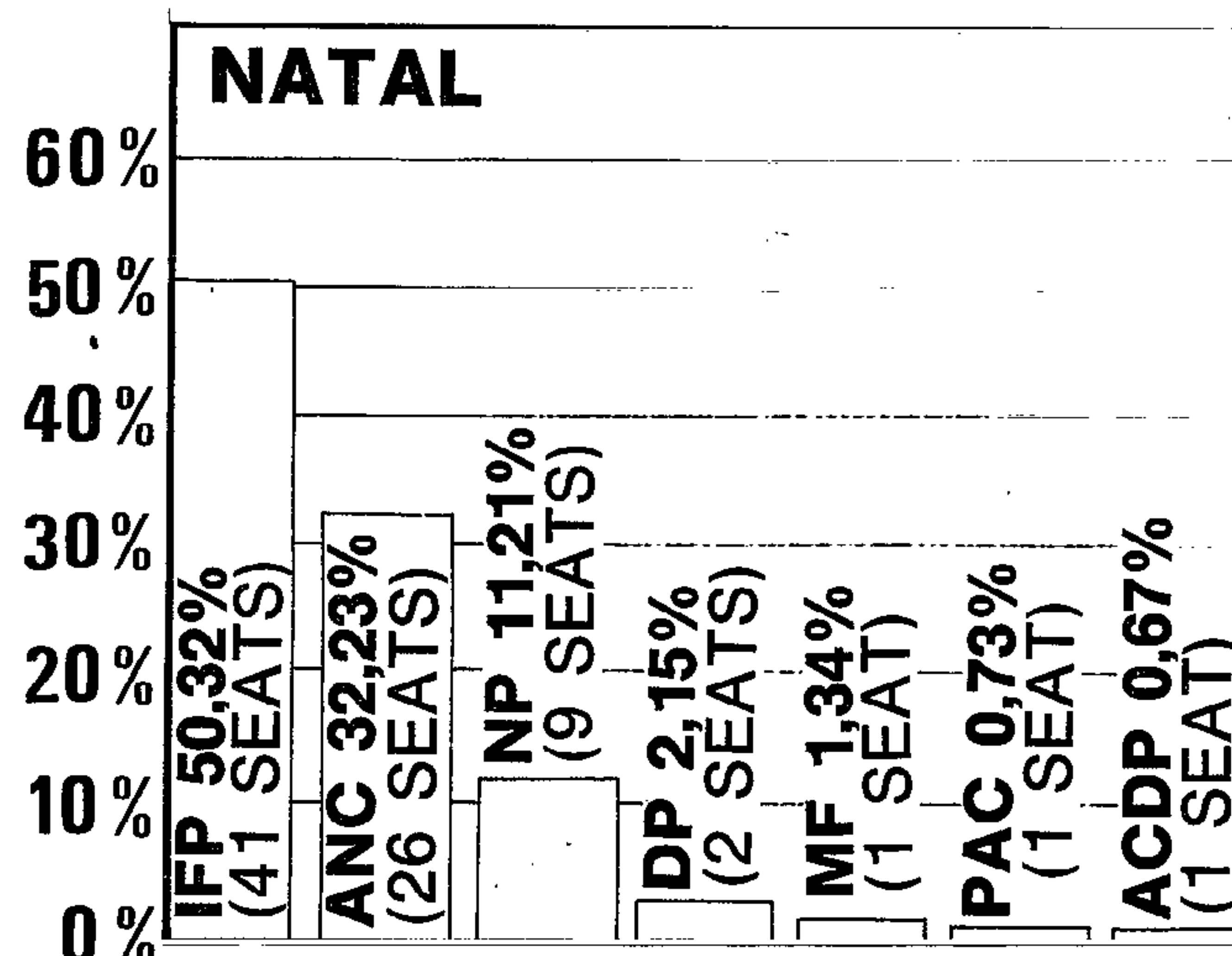
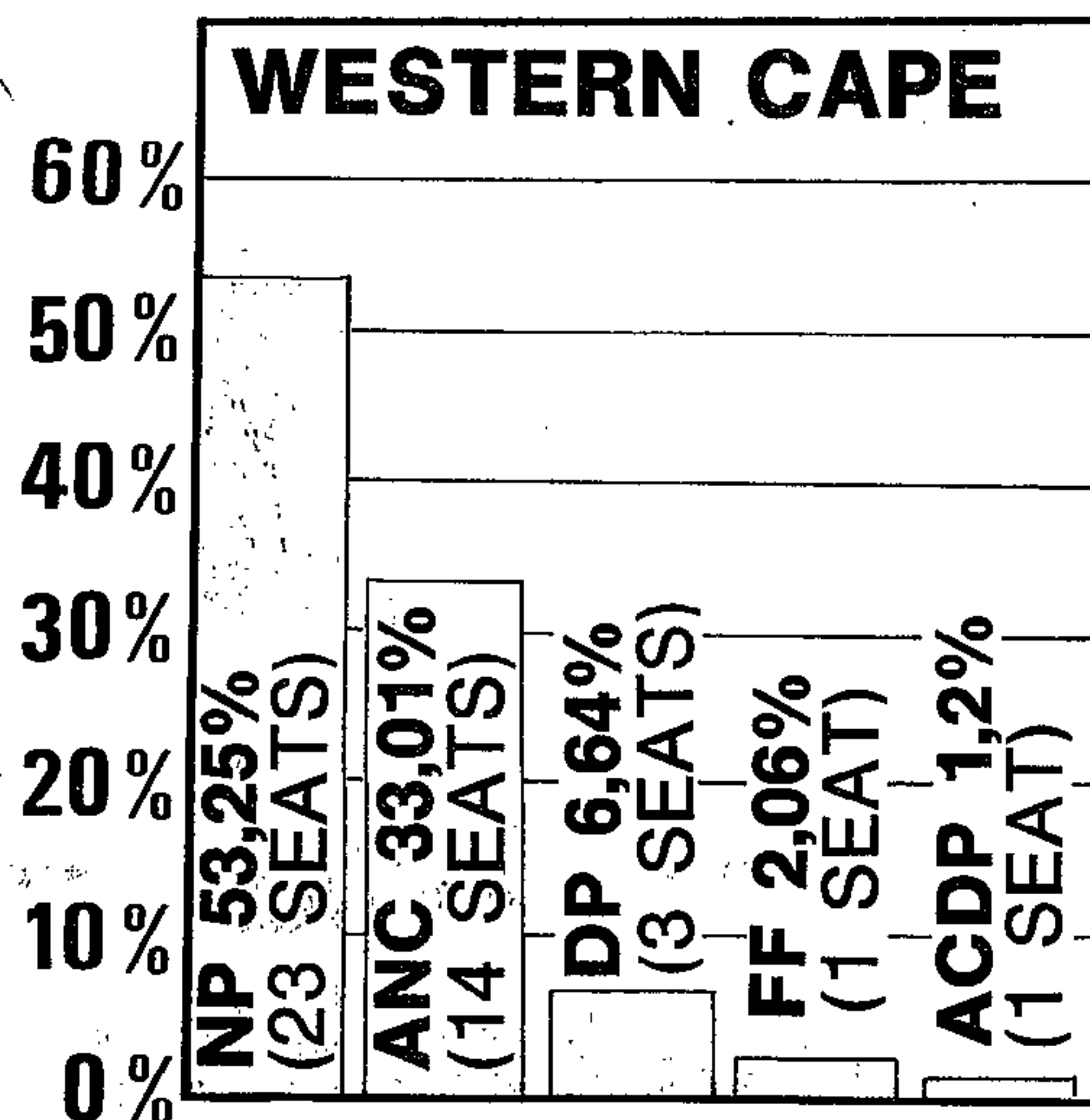
They had voted solidly for the ANC without which the party's overwhelming election victory would have been impossible, Mr Mandela said.

"I stand firm in the belief we are one country and one nation whether coloured, Indian, white or African. That is what we must promote in this country from now on."

It was a "matter of concern" that corruption in the NP government was endemic. "We would like to cleanse

the government of all forms of corruption and one way is to ensure religion has a role to play in influencing the policy of government.

"Whether you talk about Muslim, Hindu, Jewish or Christian religions, they attach a great deal of importance to the maintenance of moral values," he said.



Two local MPs are political newcomers

Political Staff

TWO Western Cape MPs, former Bloemfontein lawyer Mr Michael Louis, 36, (African Christian Democratic Party) and former Khayelitsha taxi owner Mr Leonard Ramatlakane, 41, (ANC) are newcomers to politics.

Mr Ramatlakane, who will hold the local Transport and Public Works cabinet portfolio, is a veteran local trade unionist.

Bloemfontein-born Mr Louis, a director of several local property companies and a former Transvaal manager of Sanlam, sees himself first as a Christian.

Married with one child, he was elated: "Christians from all over the nation haven't stopped phoning — I'm ready to attack the political field."

Mr Ramatlakane could not be contacted last night.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Party	Votes	%
AMP	34 466	(0.2%)
AMCP	27 690	(0.1%)
DPSA	19 451	(0.1%)
FP	17 663	(0.1%)
MF	13 433	(0.1%)
SOCC	10 575	(0.1%)
ADM	9 886	(0.1%)
WRPP	6 434	(0.0%)
XPP	6 320	(0.0%)
KISS	5 916	(0.0%)
WLP	4 169	(0.0%)
LUSAP	3 293	(0.0%)
Votes counted:	19 726 579	
Votes accepted:	19 533 498	
Spoilt votes:	193 081	

Top pay rates for Mandela

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela will be earning on a par with the heads of state of some of the world's leading nations.

Compared with the net R409 000 which Mandela will get, British Prime Minister Mr John Major gets a £78 292, or about R391 460 and German head of state, Mr Helmut Kohl gets about DM250 000 (about R500 000).

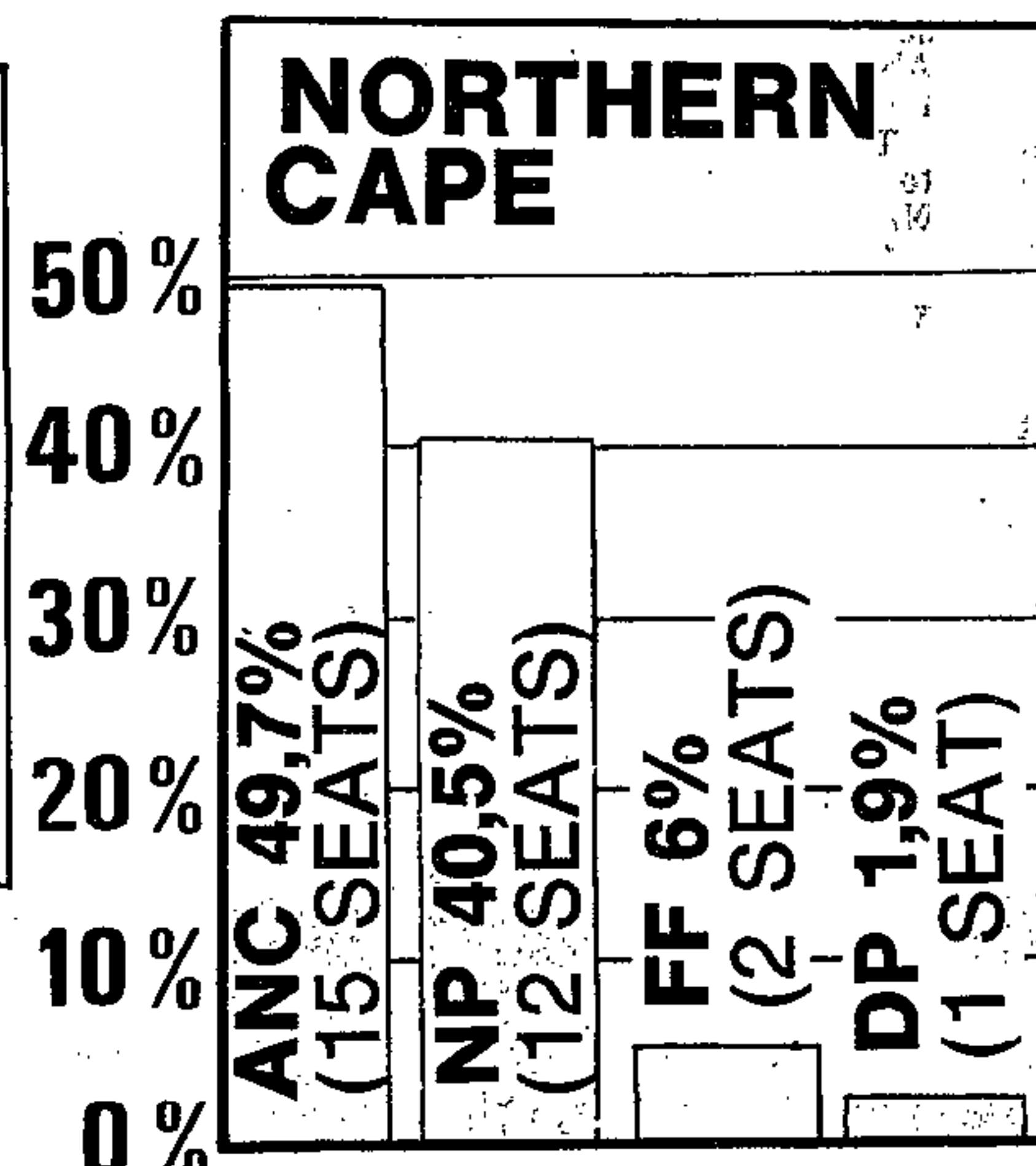
President Bill Clinton outstrips them with a taxable sum of \$200 000 (about R700 000), excluding expenses.

But French President Francois Mitterrand lags behind, receiving only FF452 244 before tax and excluding expenses which translates into about R283 967.

Mr Mandela's salary is probably commensurate with the salaries of chief executives of large companies, according to Dr Mike Page of the Graduate School of Business.

However, he said it was difficult to obtain a flat figure for 'chief executives' compensation because many companies paid extras in the form of bonuses and other options.

Such perks were paid out over and above their salaries. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter



Volkstater 'will work with ANC'

KIMBERLEY. — Veteran Afrikaner volkstaat promoter and Freedom Front member Professor Carel Boshoff will join his black counterparts today in the Northern Cape's regional legislature — a hung parliament expected to produce some interesting political battles.

Prof Boshoff said last night that the regional parliament was the best way to achieve Afrikaner self-determination.

He said the FF would vigorously defend its independence and would not form any coalitions, but it

would not obstruct proceedings and would be prepared to vote with the ANC if this favoured the region.

Prof Boshoff said the FF would probably abstain from the vote to elect a premier for the region today — a move likely to aid the ANC's candidate, former unionist Mr Manne Emsley Dipico.

With 15 of 30 seats in the regional parliament, the ANC does not have the majority required to automatically elect its own choice of premier. The NP has 12 members, the FF two and the DP 1. — Sapa

IN resigning as Democratic Party leader yesterday, Zac de Beer, 65, admitted that election results showed the party needed to make "a clear, new start under a younger man who can serve for a considerable time".

By withdrawing at once from parliament he would leave a seat available for someone else "who will be younger than I am and able to contribute more in future than I am able to do," he said.

The DP's federal council, consisting of about 60 people, will meet within the next fortnight to choose an acting leader, its chairman David Gant said in Cape Town yesterday.

The choice of a new leader rests with the party congress, which will not meet until

Andrew and Leon in DP leadership

much later in the year, he said.

Two people are being mentioned as potential new leaders: Ken Andrew, federal chairman and former MP for Gardens, and PWV leader Tony Leon, former MP for Houghton, Johannesburg.

Both will probably sit in the national assembly, although Mr Leon's name appears on both national and provincial lists. Others likely for the national assembly are Colin Eglin, Kobus Jordaan and Dene Smuts.

"We shall now take stock of the situation, to ensure that South Africa will become a

peaceful democracy with the values and principles in which we believe either enshrined in the law or in the practice of politics," Mr Andrew told Weekend Argus.

Overall, although it came out so low on the national list, the DP got close on half-a-million votes in the provincial elections, 100 000 more than they got in the 1989 general election, he said.

"This shows that we did not lose support, we just didn't get as many new supporters as we had hoped.

"There was a much bigger electorate, so there is no cause for complacency. But it

The Democratic Party's traditional supporters stood by it in the provincial ballots, claims federal chairman Ken Andrew. A report by **JEAN LE MAY** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

is obvious that our old supporters stuck to us in the provincial ballot, with some new ones. But in the national ballot they went for either the National Party or, in Natal, possibly the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"My view is that the DP results were disappointing because it is a party of values and principles — which were not the deciding factors in the election.

"People who voted for the African National Congress saw it as the liberation election, and people who voted for the NP were apprehensive of what the ANC might get up to and looked to the NP to protect them.

"Voters perceived the difference between us and the NP as not big enough to risk not getting a strong NP to stand up to the ANC.

"It's a fact of political life.

"I don't think it's a matter of what we did and what we did not do."

Jasper Walsh, Western Cape chairman, said the party was competing for voters in the same market as the NP without the NP's resources.

"The NP obviously cut deeply into our traditional support base," he said. "The coloured people were frightened into voting for it. I find it astonishing that the NP got so much support in, for example, Atlantis, which I have always regarded as one of the worst examples of the disgraceful way coloured people were treated by the NP.

"As for the black vote, we had estimated that we had 25 percent of the black vote, but the real problem was that we didn't have access to the black areas."

Mr Leon's noisy fights with students in the Western Cape did nothing to attract potential support from the left. Although they were of undoubted publicity value, they backfired.

It has also been said that the DP made a serious mistake in angling its campaign attack against the NP, especially since it is now counting on a comeback through the

emergence of a liberal democratic political centre.

Such a political centre will be capable of gathering in the extreme left and right wings of both the ANC and the NP, claims Mr Gant.

Meantime, the DP intends getting down to "a host of issues closer to the ground than the broad issues on which the campaign was fought".

Party representatives point out that the Progressive Party was "not a dead duck when it had Helen Suzman as its only MP and it certainly isn't dead now.

"We're meeting over the next few weeks to map out our programmes for the future. Our public representatives are all quality people and we expect to make our mark."

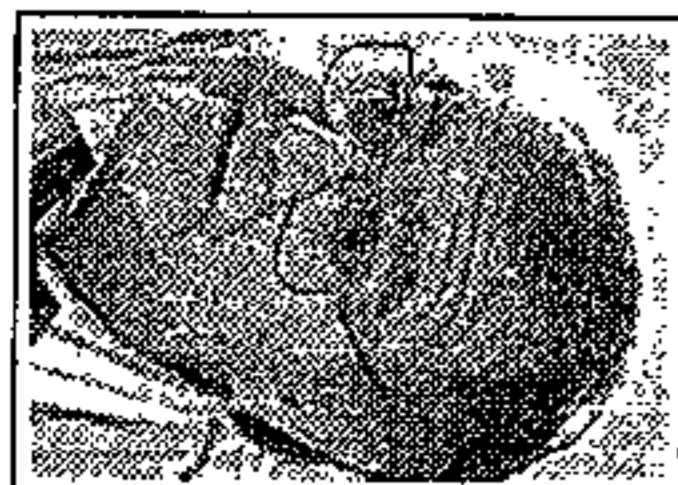
line-up
1/5/94
APR 4

BALLOT RESULTS PROVINCE BY PROVINCE



WESTERN CAPE NP

RESULTS: The only province controlled by the NP with 53,3 percent giving it a clear majority over the ANC with 33 percent, the DP with 6,64 percent, the FF 2,1 percent and the ACDP 1,2 percent.



Winning candidate profile

Premier Herens Kriel made his political name as a Cape MEC before hitting the big time as Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs. But it was as Minister of Law and Order that South Africans either loved or loathed him.



PWV ANC

RESULTS: The ANC won this region with 57,6 percent followed by the NP with 23,9 percent, the FF 6,2 percent, the DP 5,3 percent, the IFP 3,7 percent and the PAC 1,5 percent.



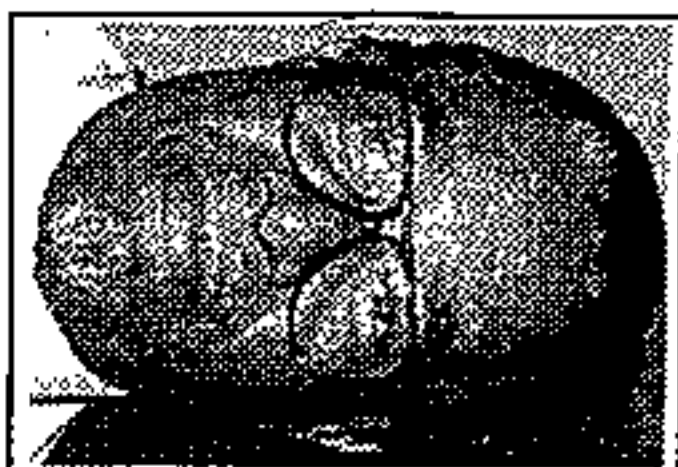
Winning candidate profile

Mosima "Tokyo" Sexwale, 41, was recruited by the ANC when he was 18. He received military training in the Soviet Union. In 1977 he was sentenced to 18 years for terrorism and spent 13 years on Robben Island. Many will remember his grief when Chris Hani was assassinated.



KWAZULU/NATAL IFP

RESULTS: The IFP squeaked home with 50,3 percent, just over half — but well ahead of the ANC with 32,2 percent. The NP, which is likely to side with the IFP, has 11,2 percent, helping to strengthen the IFP's position.



Winning candidate profile

The avuncular Frank Mdlalose, 62, is a medical doctor whose easy-going style will be ideally suited for South Africa's most turbulent province. Dr Mdlalose has been KwaZulu Minister of Health and chairman of the IFP and played a major role in persuading the party to take part in the elections at the last minute.

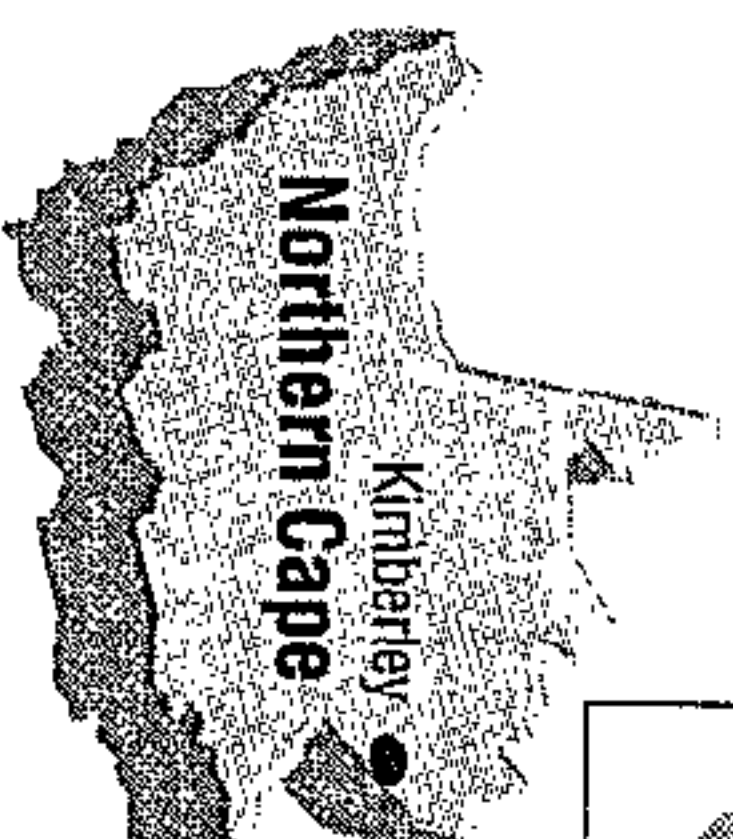
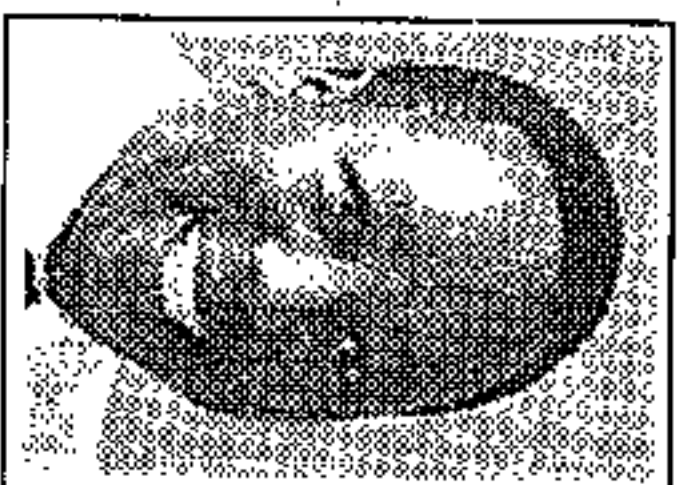


NORTHERN CAPE ANC/NP/FF/DP

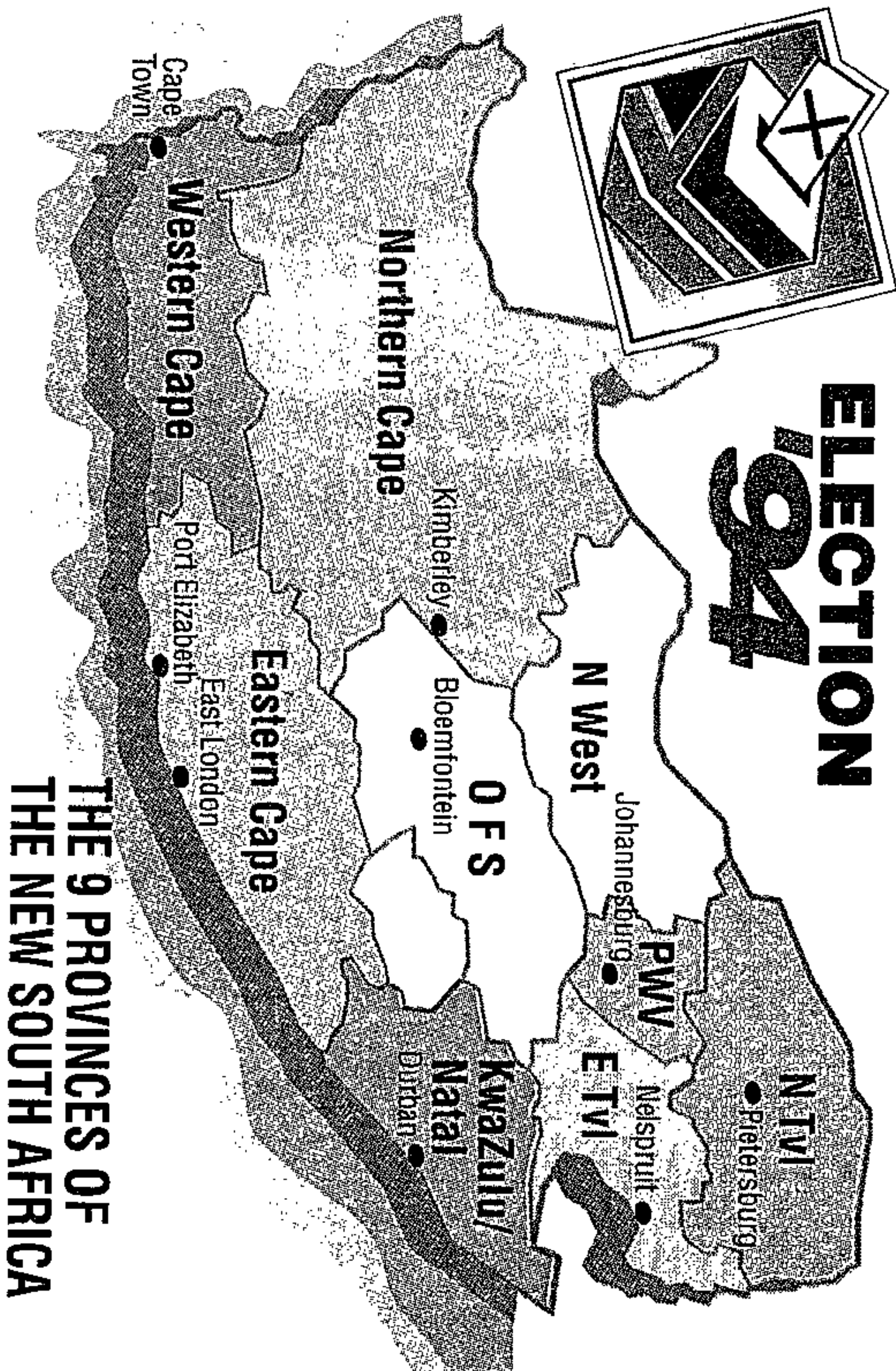
RESULTS: The ANC fell just short of a majority with 49,7 percent, with the NP getting 40,5 percent, the FF 6 percent while the DP with 1,87 percent just managed to hold on to a seat, giving it the balance of power.

Winning candidate profile

Manne Dipico, 35, is the most likely man to become premier which has a "hung parliament". A former NUM organiser in Kimberley, he became head of its education department.



ELECTION '94

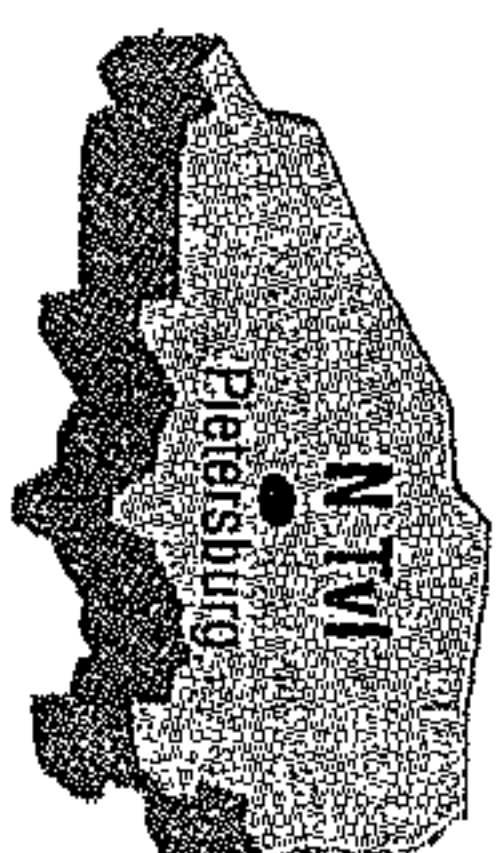
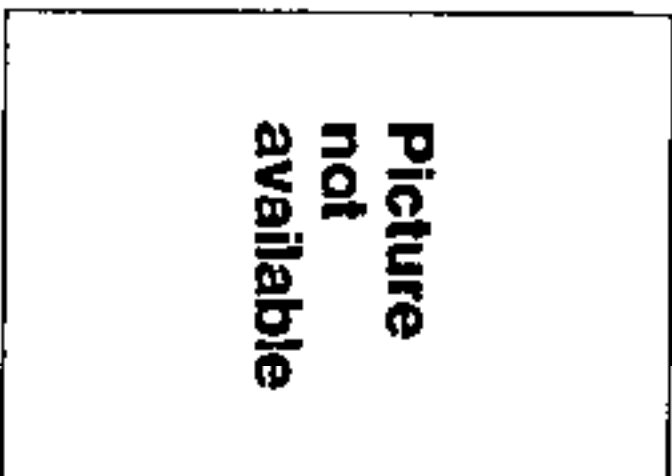


NORTHERN TRANSVAAL ANC

RESULTS: The ANC dominate the province with 91,6 percent while the NP got a miniscule 3,3 percent and the FF an even tinier 2,1 percent. Ironically this was the only area the rightwing won in the 1992 white referendum.

Winning candidate profile

Premier Ngoko Ramathodi's political career began by writing political poetry at university. He later became Oliver Tambo's speechwriter.



NORTH WEST ANC

RESULTS: The ANC won easily with 83,3 percent while the NP won only 8,8 percent and the FF 4,6 percent in this province which includes most of the former Bophuthatswana and the white conservative Western Transvaal.

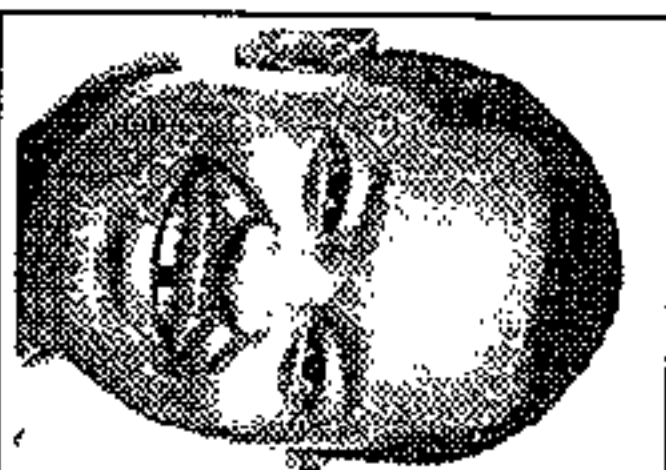
Winning candidate profile

Pope Molefe, 42, was a founder member of Azapo. He then took a leading role in the United Democratic Front. But he was tied down during the Delmas Trial. He headed the ANC election commission.



ORANGE FREE STATE ANC

RESULTS: The ANC won this former "Afrikaner" heartland with 76,6 percent while the NP received only 12,6 percent and the FF 6 percent. The PAC received only 1,8 percent.



O F S



Winning candidate profile

ANC premier Patrick "Terror" Lekota, 45, after spending time on Robben Island for "subversive" student activities, he became UDF publicity secretary. He spent over four years in jail during the Delmas Trial.



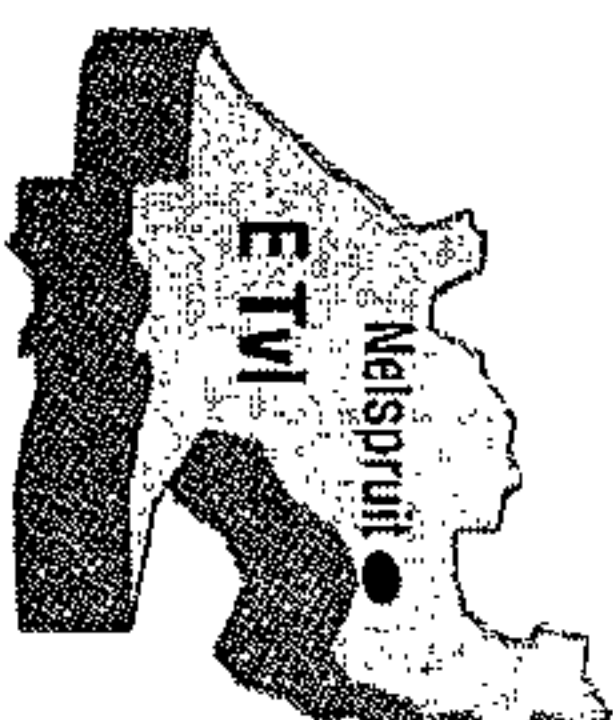
EASTERN TRANSVAAL ANC

RESULTS: The ANC won easily with 80,7 percent. The NP was far behind with 9 percent and the FF 5,7 percent, helping the ANC to win a clean sweep in the former Transvaal province.



Winning candidate profile

Mathews Phosa, 41, lawyer and businessman, left South Africa for Mozambique in 1985 when MK counter-intelligence told him the SA security forces were plotting to kill him. He returned in 1990 and played a key role in negotiations and organising the ANC legal department.



EASTERN CAPE ANC

RESULTS: The ANC won its Xhosa heartland including the former Transkei and Ciskei homelands easily with 84,4 percent while the NP trailed with 9,8 percent, the DP 2,1 percent and the PAC 2 percent.



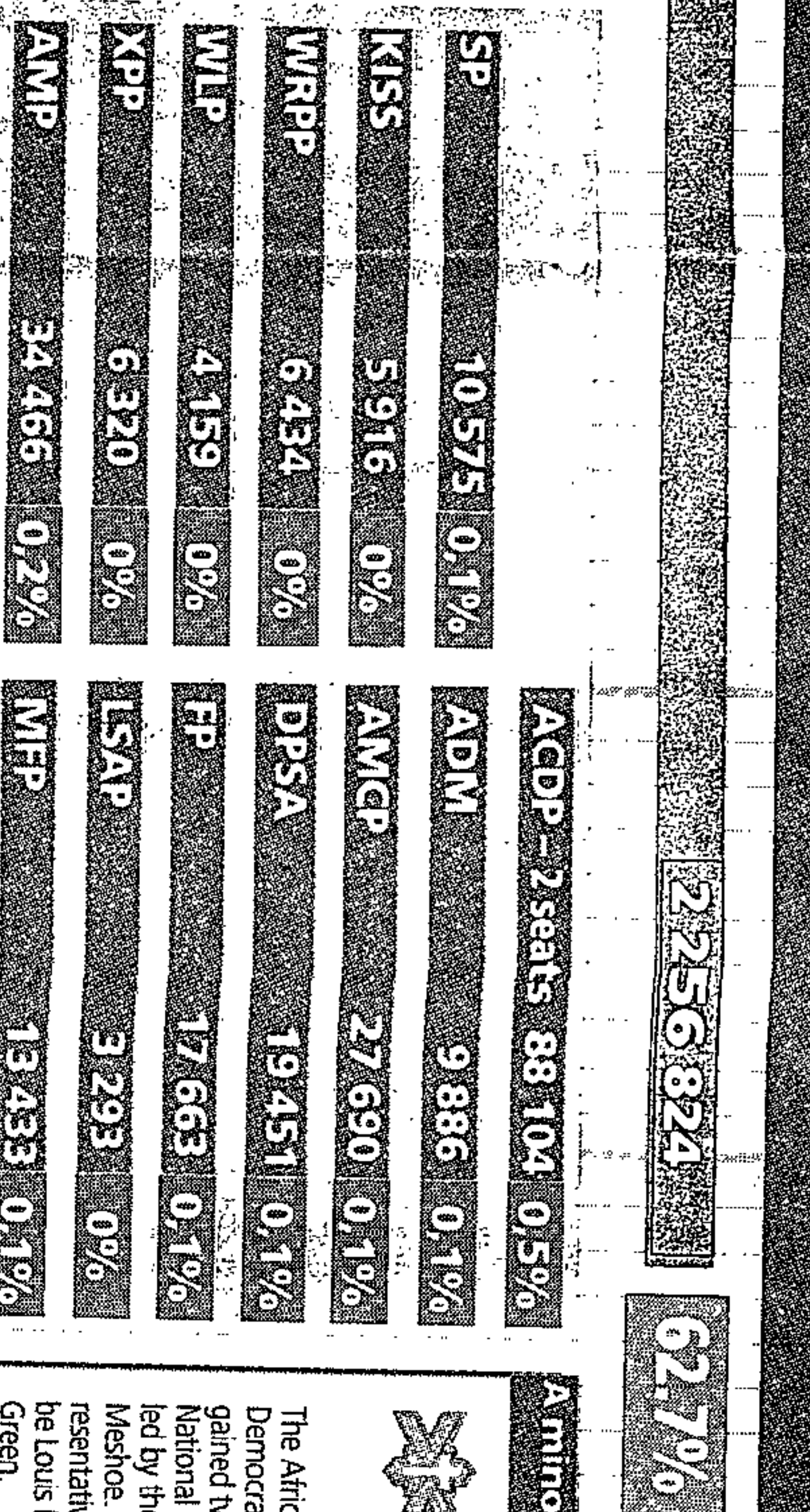
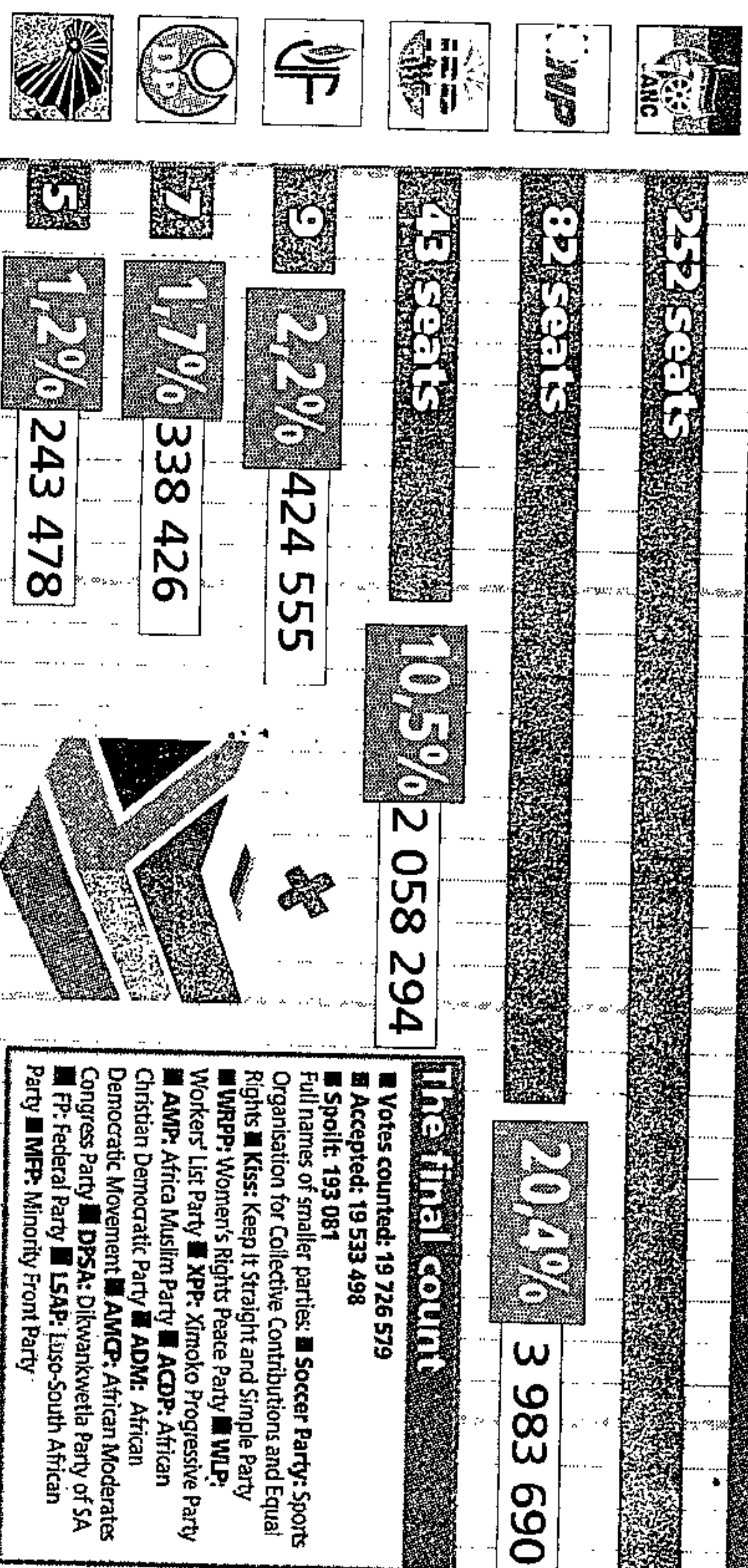
Winning candidate profile

Rivonia trailist Raymond Mhlaba at 74 is the oldest of the ANC's provincial premiers. An old Communist Party member, he took part in many historic ANC campaigns. He is deputy chairman of the SACP.



How you voted . . . and the people you chose

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY



THE CABINET

ANC-SACP members of the new South African Cabinet announced yesterday are:

■ Thabo Mbeki (First Deputy President). Mbeki is the national chairman of the African National Congress and head of its international affairs department. He holds an MA degree in economics.

■ Dullah Omar (Minister of Justice). A veteran civil rights lawyer, Omar is a national executive committee member of the ANC and was chairman of the Western Cape region of the UDF. He is currently director of the Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape.

■ Joe Modise (Minister of Defence). A former commander of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Modise is also a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

■ Sydney Mufamadi (Minister of Police Services). Mufamadi was Transvaal publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front and later assistant secretary-general of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

■ Trevor Manuel (Minister of Trade and Industry). A community activist, Manuel was a prominent member of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee in the early 1980s. In 1983, he was elected secretary of the UDF in the Western Cape.

■ Joe Slovo (Minister of Housing and Welfare). The national chairman of the South African Communist Party, Slovo is also a national executive member of the ANC and former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was a key figure in the negotiations.

■ Ahmed Kathrada (Minister of Correctional Services). An ANC national executive committee member and former Rivonia trialist who spent 26 years with Mandela on Robben Island, Kathrada was a member of the ANC delegation which met the government at Groote Schuur in May 1990.

■ Professor Sibusiso Bhengu (Minister of Education, Arts and Culture). A former secretary-general of the then Inkatha cultural movement, he broke

with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the mid-1970s to return to academia. Bhengu is a rector of the University of Fort Hare.

■ Tito Mboweni (Minister of Labour). Mr Mboweni is deputy head of the ANC's department of economic planning. He studied economics in the former Yugoslavia.

■ Alfred Nzo (Minister of Foreign Affairs). A former health inspector, Nzo went into exile in 1964 and later served as ANC secretary-general from 1969 to 1991.

■ Dr Nkosazana Zuma (Minister of Health). Zuma, who trained as a medical doctor, is an executive member of the ANC's southern Natal region.

She is married to ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

■ Mac Maharaj (Minister of Transport). Maharaj, who served 12 years on Robben Island, is a member of the ANC's NEC and was a key negotiator in the constitutional negotiations. He is presently the ANC's representative on the Transitional Executive Council.

■ Professor Kader Asmal (Minister of Provincial Affairs). Asmal, professor of human rights law at the University of Western Cape, is a member of the ANC's NEC. He was a founder member of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and professor of international law at Trinity College, University of Dublin.

■ Stella Sigcau (Minister of Public Enterprises). A chiefdom of the Mpondo tribe of the northern Transkei, Sigcau briefly served as Prime Minister of the homeland. He was one of Transkei's representatives at the constitutional negotiations in Kempton Park. She is the daughter of late Transkei president Chief Buthe Sigcau.

■ Jay Naidoo (Minister Without Portfolio). A trade unionist with a strong interest in worker issues, Naidoo was until recently the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

■ Jeff Radebe (Minister of Public Works). He is chairman of the ANC's Southern Natal region and member of the national executive committee. While in exile from 1977 to

1986, he worked as a journalist with the ANC's Radio Freedom and completed a LL.M. degree in international law. He also underwent military training with Umkhonto we Sizwe.

■ Zola Skweyiya (Minister of Public Services and Administration). The head of the ANC's department of legal and constitutional affairs, he also heads the movement's Civil Service Unit, which trains future public servants.

■ Skweyiya, who holds an LL.D. from the University of Leipzig, is a member of both the NEC and the National Working Committee.

— Sapa.

THE PARTIES' TOP CANDIDATES FOR THE 400 MPs

These are the likely ANC contenders for the National Assembly from the national list:

■ Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mvuyelwa Mbeki, Joseph Slovo, Pato Jordan, Javaseelan Naidoo, Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada, Ronald Kasrils, Fikileisi Sydney Mufamadi, Nortkisele Albertina Sisulu, Thozani Botha, Stephen Vukile Tshikole, Benitoor K. Harrington, Hol'ani, Jeffrey T. Jamsangadabhe.

■ Golding, Praveen Jammadas Gordhan; Max Vuyisile Sisulu, Sakumzi Justice Macozoma; Tony Sithembiso Yengeni; Geraldine Joslyn Moleketi; Jennifer Ann Schreiner; Roginad Kenneth Septhener; Sango Pankie Woloniba; Thomas Titus Nkoko; Brigitte Sylvia Mahandla; David John Dalling; Sister Bernard Ncube; Andrew Mlangeni; Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim; Adelaide Frances Matlala Tlambo; Barbara Anne Hogan; Sibusiso Mardienkosi.

■ Phakhegi Makwela; Nkosiathi Phikweyikosi; Mhlekio.

From the IFP list:

■ Carl Gerhartus Nienhaus; Janet Yetta Love; Durrudla Aubrey Mokoena; Sokhaya Abraham Nkomo; Max Coleman; Ebrahim "Cassim" Saloojee; Nkomo Nathaniel Kekana; Ismail Jacobs; Nkomo Esop Essak; Jassat Susan Shabangu; Elizabeth Thabathe; Limpoko Hanu; Sedlana D. Jany; Montisi; Nkomo Hanu.

■ Rejoice Thizwalandi Mabudathasi; Hlamani Wendy Mayirene; Maite Emily Mchale; Gezae Michael Mushwana; Lulu Louis Aaron Mnguni; Dingaan Amos Zitha; Mabbolo John Nwedamtswe; Omar Ahmed; Manana Catherine Mabuzza; Mawutu Kingi David Daxhama; Mathupa Lemack; Mokoena Felix; Christopher Frankono; Tshoani Josephine Tshwase; Ntsihadi Marthe Tshoele; Mbengezi; G. Bert Ligezi; M. V. V. wa Alpha.

■ Jeffrey Brian Peires; Geoffrey Quinon Mitchell; Doidge; Gregory Abraham Fredericks; Buyelwa Patience Sonjica; Mandisi Bonqani; Mabuto Mphahla; Justo Chirries; Lindwe Benedica Nyangane; Daniel Alexander Jordaan; Alice Ntombisa Sigcau; Litsela MacDonald; Farie; Alwyn Dennis Gcoosen; David Grant Ndawonde; John Nash; Henry Ehasian Faze; Mabone William Duna; Zandile Increase Ntshane; Nkosa Tiro; Faz le Bhen.

■ Khosa; Gertrude Mzizi; Baldwin; Sipho Ntshane; Dennis Rheanli; Wladie; Sibho Elijah Mzimela; Xoliswa Faith Gaba; Mohammed Farouk Cassim; Elaine Etida Nkosi Shandu; Katen Rajoo; Peter Francis Smith; Sybil Seaton; Buyelwa Maureen Ntshande; Inka Mars; Bhekezwe Nkand Luthuli; Lailtha Singh; Ben Moleane Skene; Jan Hendrik Stebbert; Ahmed Ali; Mandla David Momi; Lindwe; Rossouw; Mhlayazi; Philip Powell.

■ Stephanus Appelgryn; Malelane Phenehi.

From the Eastern Cape list: Anton Meyer; Gert Myburgh; Emanuel Schoeman; Raymond Radebe; Wilhelms le Roux; Donald Trevor.

From the Western Transvaal list: Christian Firmer; Arminston Watson; Pieter Schutte; Stephanus Schoeman; Barend Kruger; Randoof; Dan Makhanay; Adrien Blass; Arnoldus Matthee.

Small comfort

After the big two there's little left for the minorities

By RICHARD HUMPHRIES AND MARK SHAW

of the Centre for Policy Studies who have been analysing the election for The Star for the past two weeks.

WHILE the ANC, IFP and NP must be reasonably happy with their showing in the election the results have shown little encouragement, if not the death knell, for many of the smaller parties which contested this election.

This despite the advantages for smaller parties which the system of proportional representation — used for the first time in a South African election — holds for smaller parties.

Only four parties achieved sufficient votes to obtain seats in the National Assembly.

The Freedom Front is the largest with nine seats, the DP next with seven, the PAC gained five, and the ACDP two.

Established small parties such as the DP and PAC performed well below expectations.

The DP suffered twice over. Many former DP voters deserted to either the NP or ANC while other DP voters only supported the party in provincial elections.

The Freedom Front, while technically a new party, essentially grew out of the Conservative Party's support base.

Power play as parties battle for cabinet posts

304A ■ From page 1

yer, Dullah Omar as Minister of Justice;

■ Former commander of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Joe Modise as Minister of Defence;

■ Unionist and former Transvaal publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front Sydney Mufamadi as Minister of Police Services;

■ Former community activist and head of ANC economic planning, Trevor Manuel as Minister of Trade and Industry;

■ Chairman of the South African Communist Party and former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe Joe Slovo as Minister of Housing and Welfare;

■ ANC national executive committee member and former Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada as Minister of Correctional Services;

■ Rector of the University of Fort Hare Professor Sibusiso Bhengu as Minister of Education, Arts and Culture;

■ Deputy head of the ANC's department of economic plan-

ning Tito Mboweni as Minister of Labour;

■ Former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo as Minister of Foreign Affairs;

■ Medical doctor and wife of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, Nkosazana Zuma as Minister of Health;

■ Former Robben Island prisoner and key negotiator Mac Maharaj as Minister of Transport;

■ Professor of human rights law at the University of Western Cape Kader Asmal as Minister of Provincial Affairs;

■ Chieftainess of the Mpondo tribe of the northern Transkei and former Transkei prime minister Stella Sigcau as Minister of Public Enterprises;

■ Former general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions Jay Naidoo as Minister without Portfolio;

■ Chairman of the ANC's Southern Natal region Jeff Radebe as minister of public works; and

■ Head of the ANC's department of legal and constitutional affairs Zola Skweyiya as Minister of Public Services and Administration.

ANC take the plum cabinet positions, but the Nats are ready to horse-trade for seats

Power play!

ARG 7/5/94

■ A fierce political struggle seems under way in the making of the new government of national unity.

MICHAEL MORRIS

Weekend Argus Political Staff

CONFUSION surrounds the structure of South Africa's new 27-strong cabinet and tough horse-trading is under way between the three parties who are entitled to fill posts: The African National Congress (18), the National Party (6) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (3).

In what appeared to be a power play, the ANC-SACP alliance announced a string of senior cabinet appointments, which gave the alliance all the plum positions of power.

However, after South Africa's presidential troika — Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk — had met for three hours of hard bargaining yesterday afternoon in Cape Town, it appeared that some changes might be made in the ANC line-up.

Twelve deputy ministers — eight from the ANC, three from the Nats and one from Inkatha — also will have to be appointed.

Political circles were abuzz when the ANC announced a list of 16 Cabinet appointments at midday yesterday, but President-elect Mr Mandela said after talks with Mr De Klerk at Tuynhuys later in the day that changes could be expected.

He said: "In the spirit of working together in the government of national unity, we have to do some horse-trading."

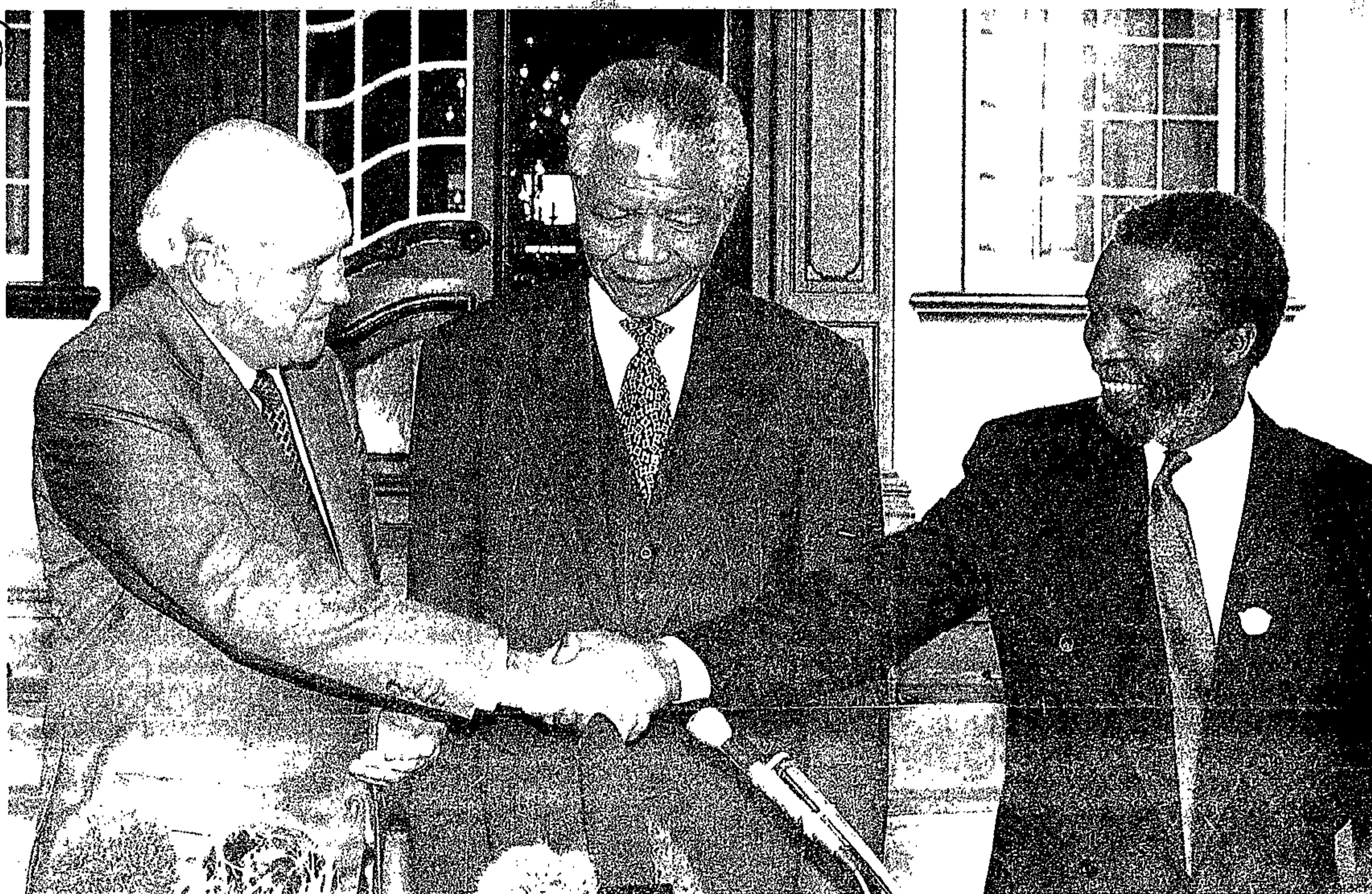
"My idea is to ensure that we speak with one voice in addressing national issues which we will be expected to resolve. I want to contribute to the spirit of mutual confidence, reconciliation and nation-building and we can do it by giving everybody what they reasonably want."

Changes in the Cabinet line-up, he said, would depend now on further discussions between himself and his ANC colleagues, talks with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and consultation between Mr De Klerk and the NP.

The only certainties in the Cabinet line-up so far are:

■ Nelson Mandela as State President.

■ Thabo Mbeki as the first



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus.

□ **BIG MOMENT:** The top men in the new South Africa face the press in front of Tuynhuys. Mr F W de Klerk, second vice-president, shakes hands with first vice president Thabo Mbeki as president-elect Nelson Mandela looks on.

W Cape cabinet chosen to represent all groups

ARG 7/5/94

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE Western Cape will be run by a two-party power-sharing cabinet that has been carefully balanced to represent all the population groups in the province.

The National Party will have six of the 10 cabinet members and African National Congress the other four.

The cabinet has been balanced to include two black members, three white members and five coloured members — roughly a reflection of the province's population.

Headed by NP premier Hernus Kriel, the cabinet consists of:

■ Gerald Morkel (NP), Minister of Housing and Leader of the House;

■ Former administrator Kobus Meiring (NP), Minister

of Finance, Expenditure and Service Commission;

■ Lampie Fick (NP), Minister of Agricultural Development;

■ Peter Marais (NP), Minister of Local Government and Development Planning;

■ Martha Oelkers (NP), Minister of Education, Training and Cultural Affairs;

■ Patrick MacKenzie (NP), Minister of Police Services;

■ ANC provincial leader Allan Boesak, Minister of Economic Affairs;

■ Leonard Ramatlakane (ANC), Minister of Roads, Transport and Public Works;

■ Ebrahim Rasool (ANC), Minister of Health and Social Services;

■ Lerumo Kalako (ANC), Minister of Environment Affairs, Nature Conservation and Tourism;

Willem Doman of the NP will be Speaker of the Western Cape parliament and Arnold de Jager of the NP his deputy.

The NP's chief whip will be Adriaan Jordaan and his assistant Petrus Meyer.

Mr Kriel announced his cabinet late last night after the final election results gave the NP a comfortable working majority of 23 members in the 42-member provincial parliament. The ANC has 14 provincial MPs, the Democratic Party three, and the Freedom Front and African Christian Democratic Party one each.

Only the NP and ANC have more than the 10 percent threshold to qualify for the cabinet.

■ Interview with Hernus Kriel — page 5.

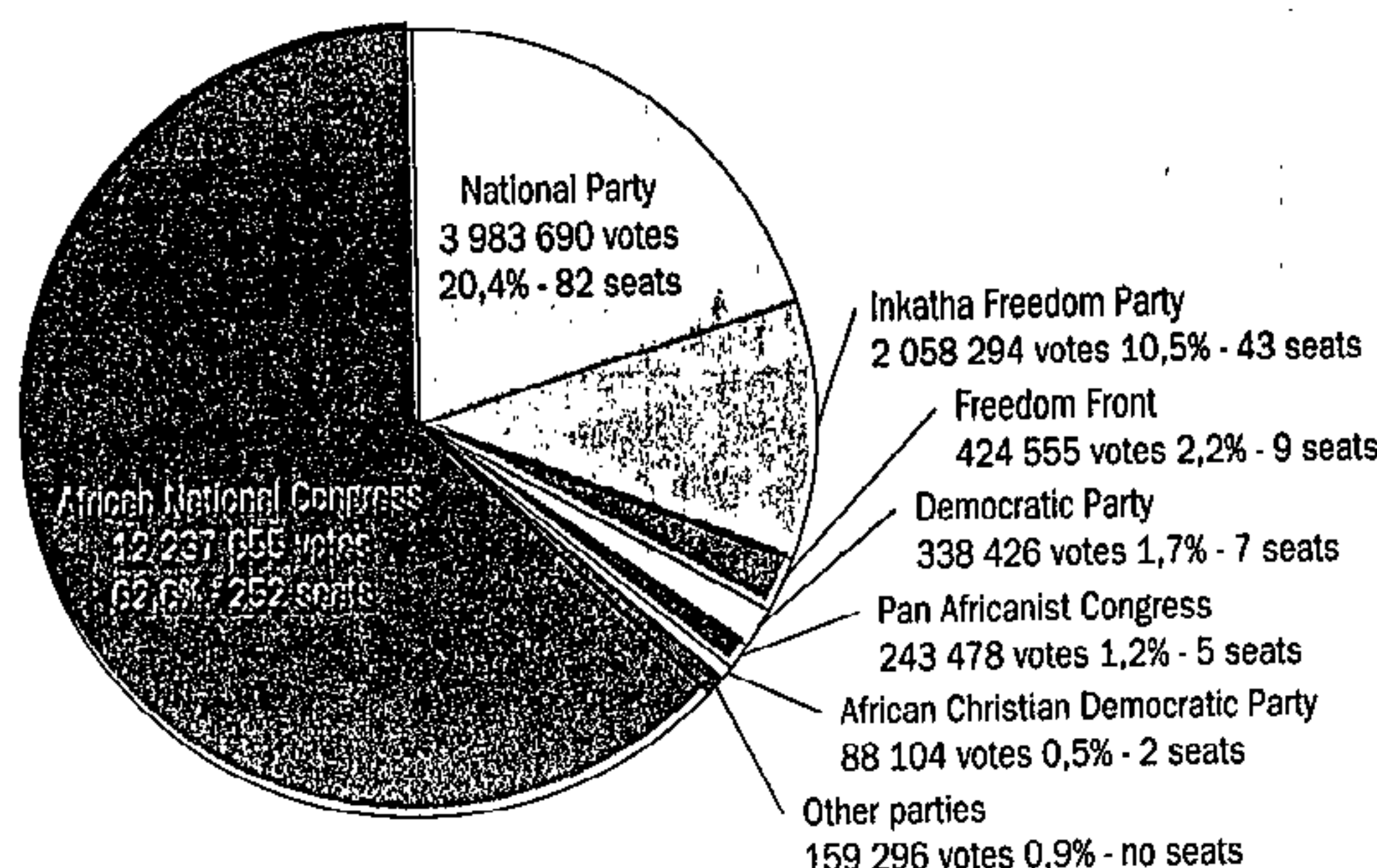
Winds of change blow through public service

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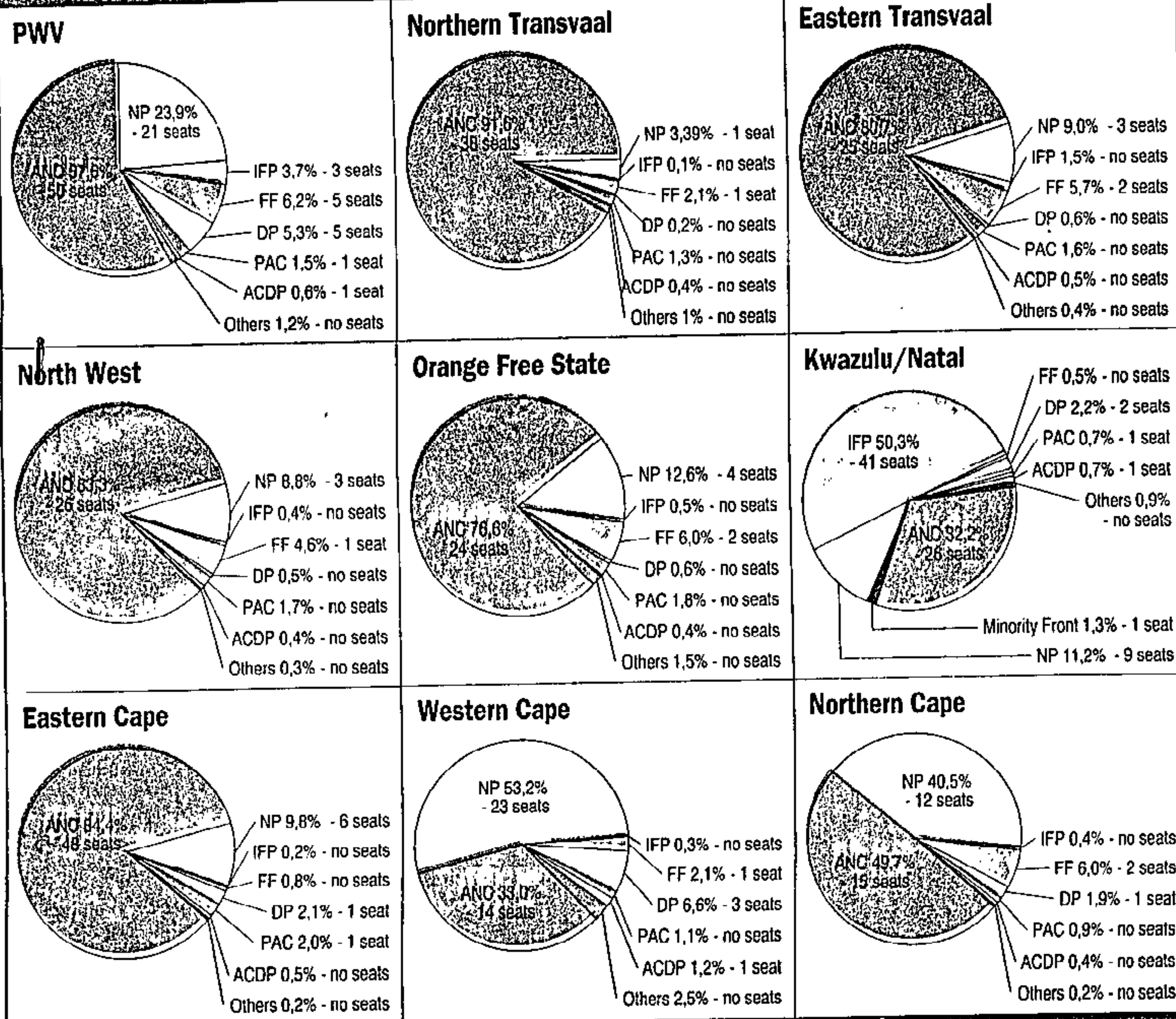
By MARLENE BURGER

Parties, votes and seats in the National Assembly



Other parties are:
Soccer Party
Keep It Straight and Simple Party
Women's Rights Peace Party
Workers' List Party
Ximoko Progressive Party
Africa Muslim Party
African Democratic Movement
African Moderates Congress Party
Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa
Federal Party
Luso-South African Party
Minority Front Party

Parties and seats in the Provincial Assemblies



AT MIDNIGHT on April 26, the day the new constitution came into effect, 1,2-million servants of the state became new South Africans.

For the men from the ministry, the change signalled an end to the job security 46 years of NP rule had all but enshrined as a right.

Ill-equipped to confront affirmative action and large-scale restructuring, some white public servants believe they will be early victims of an ANC-wielded axe.

Ironically, those most likely to fall first — the top echelons — are pinning their hopes on the constitution which guarantees pensions, perks and posts.

Among the optimists, however, is a 39-year-old deputy director in the Commission for Administration — the public servants who run the public service.

While he sees himself "retiring in the public service" in 2019, he nevertheless asked that his name not be used.

Married with two children, he has 18 years of service to his credit and is his family's sole breadwinner.

He bought his house 16 years ago, taking advantage of the 100 percent guarantee offered by the public service for the bond.

"More than ever, I believe the public service is a good career choice, regardless of colour or gender," he says with conviction.

He believes implicitly that the entrenchment of rights for public servants in the interim constitution should assuage any fears of the future.

At the same time, he knows that restructuring is inevitable and that he may be among those required to relocate or shift gears in order to stay aboard the ship of state.

"But I can't see much changing for the next 12 months."

"We have to create a single public service from 15 existing structures — four in the TBVC states, six in the self-governing territories, four from own affairs and one at central government level."

"We might well see a bigger public service."

Change will be most evident, he believes, at senior level.

"There's no doubt that affirmative action will start at the top. The rest of us won't feel the impact for some time. There's so much work to be done in equalising service conditions and salaries, getting the provincial structures running, revising legislation..."

Equally optimistic is a 12-year veteran of the public service, Mr Richard Carter, spokesman for outgoing State President F W de Klerk.

Despite Mr de Klerk's altered status, Mr Carter plans to remain with the NP leader and expects to be "busier than ever".

In addition to the constitution, the Public Service Labour Relations Bill, passed last November, offers employees recourse to the law in the event of unfair labour practice.

For the first time, too, public servants may join trade unions, giving them the right to strike and to

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CUBA wi guration Mandela week wil have who

Old-order MPs bid farewell to parliamentary perks



SCORES of MPs who failed to be re-elected packed their bags this week and bade a final farewell to Parliament and its perks.

One of them was the former DP MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley.

A successful businessman

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Association. And without his parliamentary earnings of R124 814 a year, he will also be pursuing other business

But increases in parliamentary salary packages announced this week make the outgoing batch of MPs look lean in comparison with the new ones.

However, one MP complained this week that although he would now

a year as a car allowance: "That means I cannot even buy myself a Uno."

He found it "a bit odd" that President-elect Nelson Mandela was on record as saying the pay packages of the new president, ministers and MPs would be smaller

8/5/94

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African Christian Democratic Party

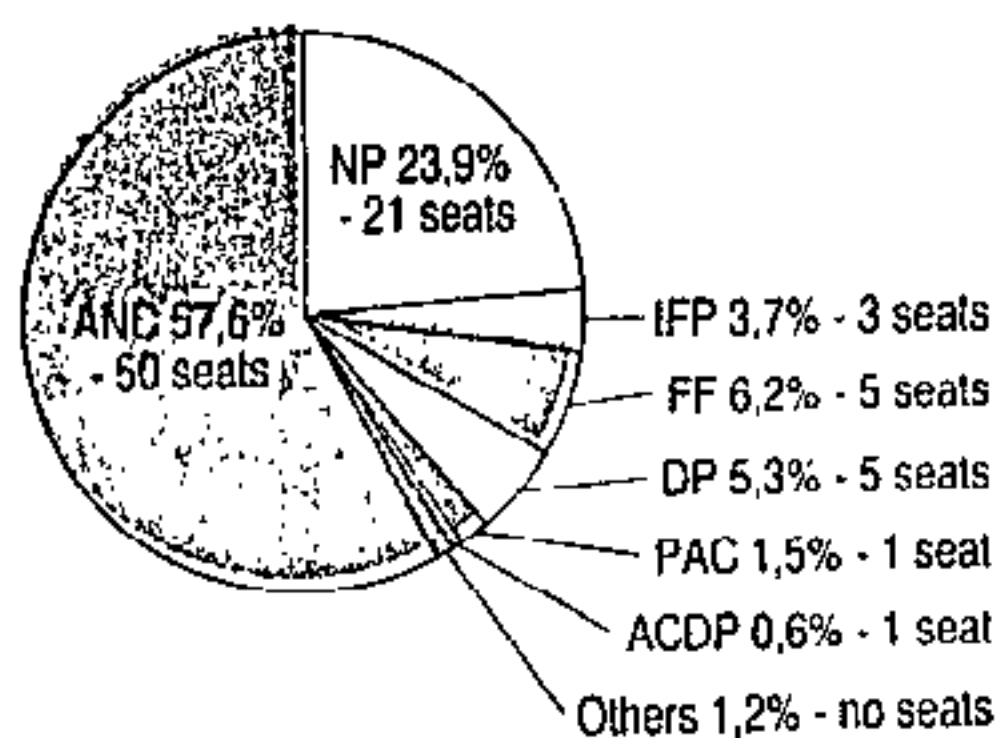
88 104 votes 0,5% - 2 seats

Other parties

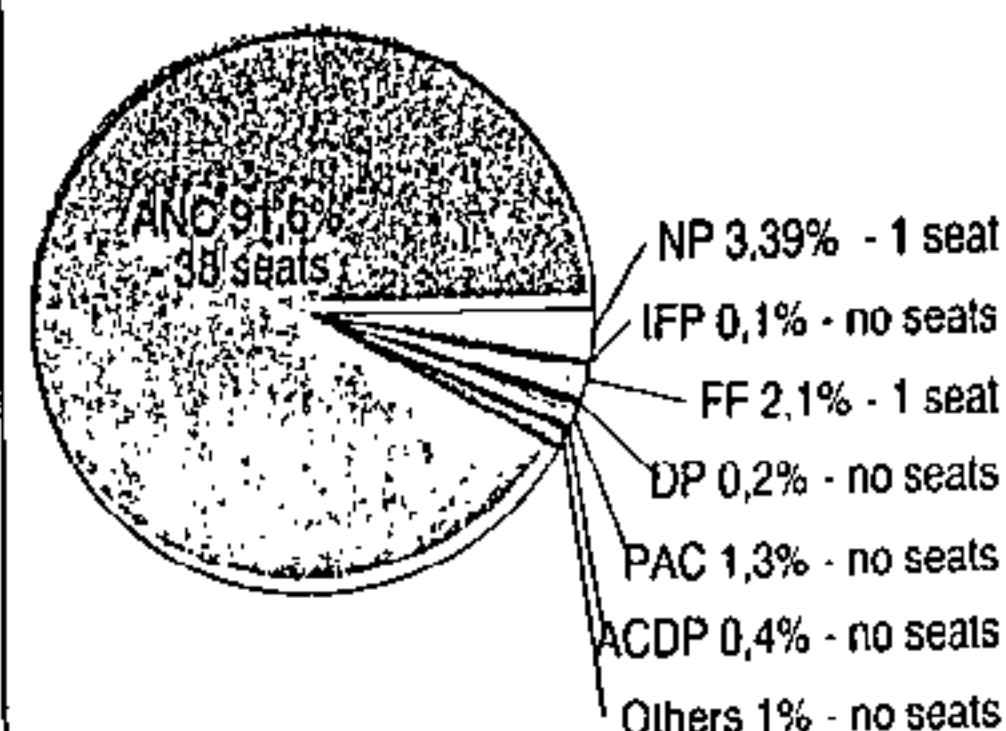
159 296 votes 0,9% - no seats

Parties and seats in the Provincial Assemblies

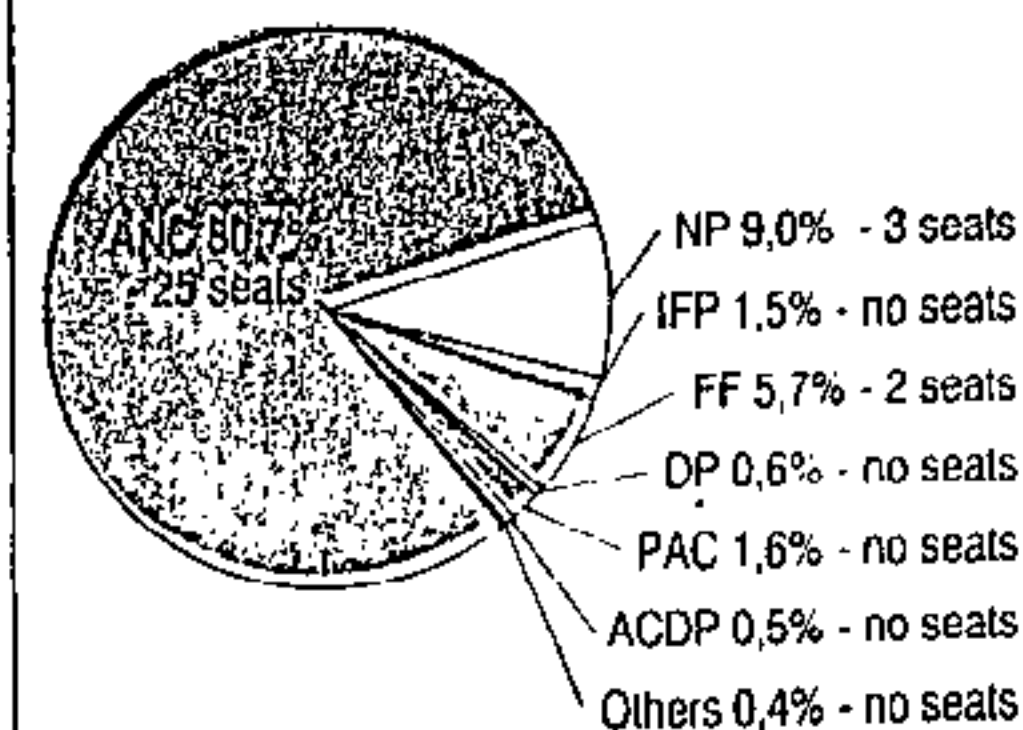
PWV



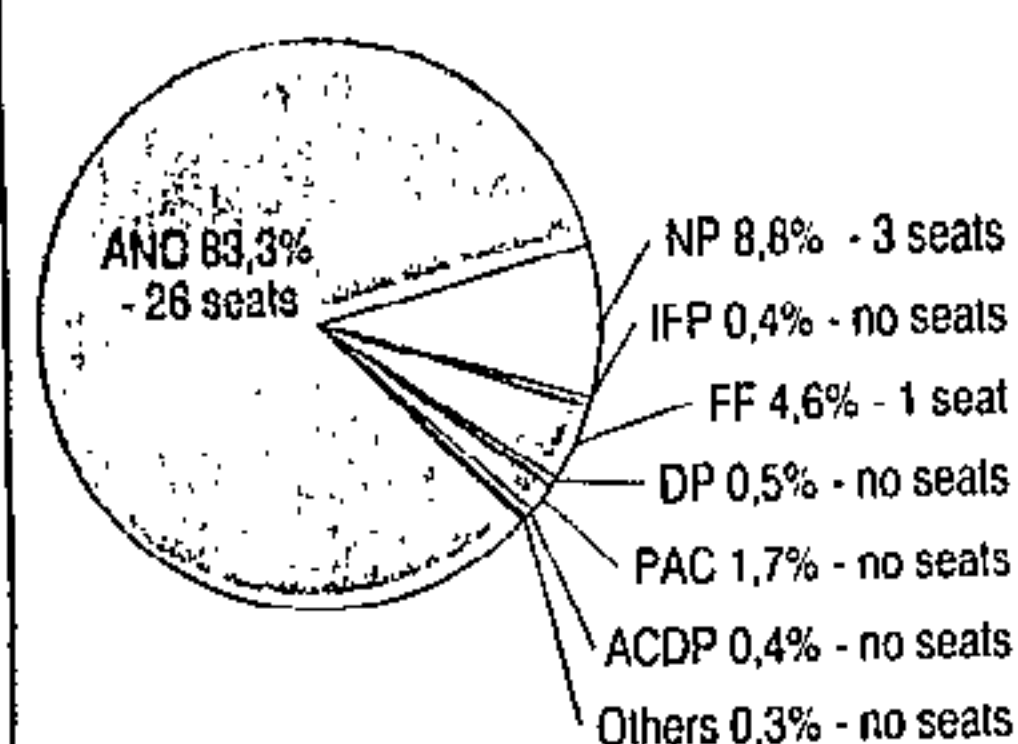
Northern Transvaal



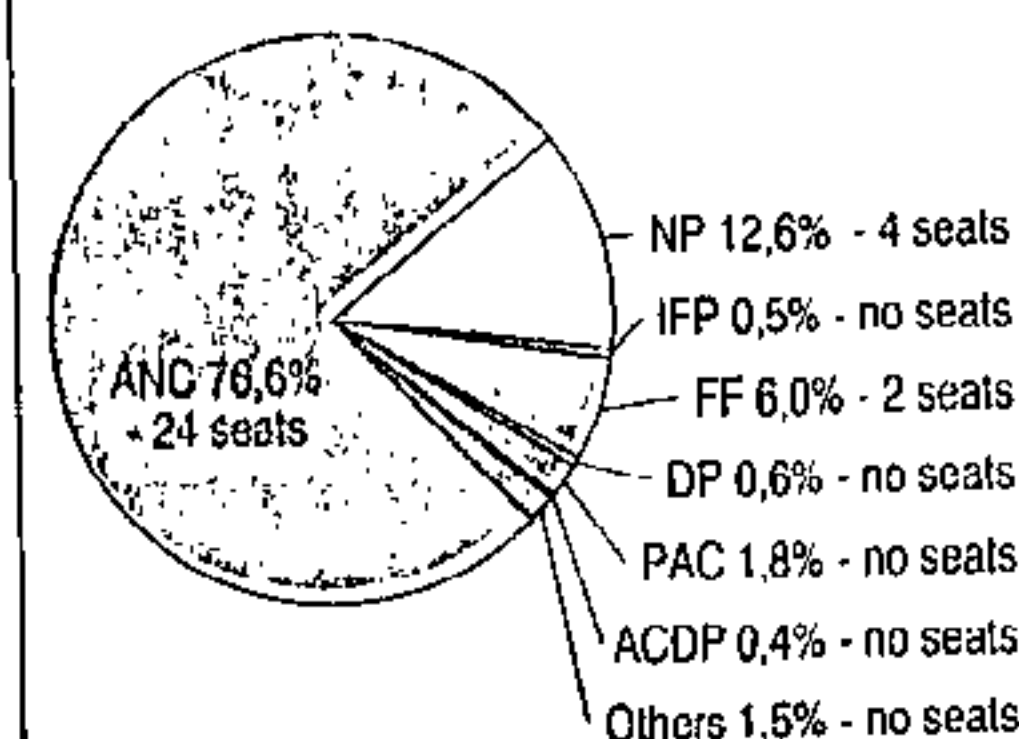
Eastern Transvaal



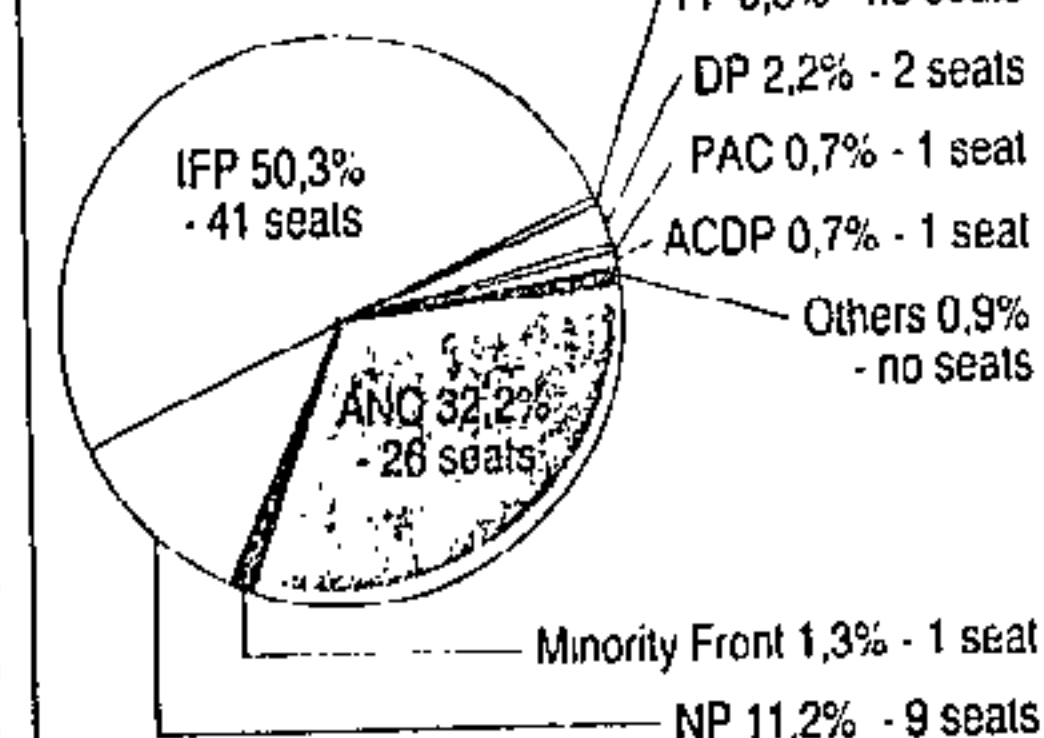
North West



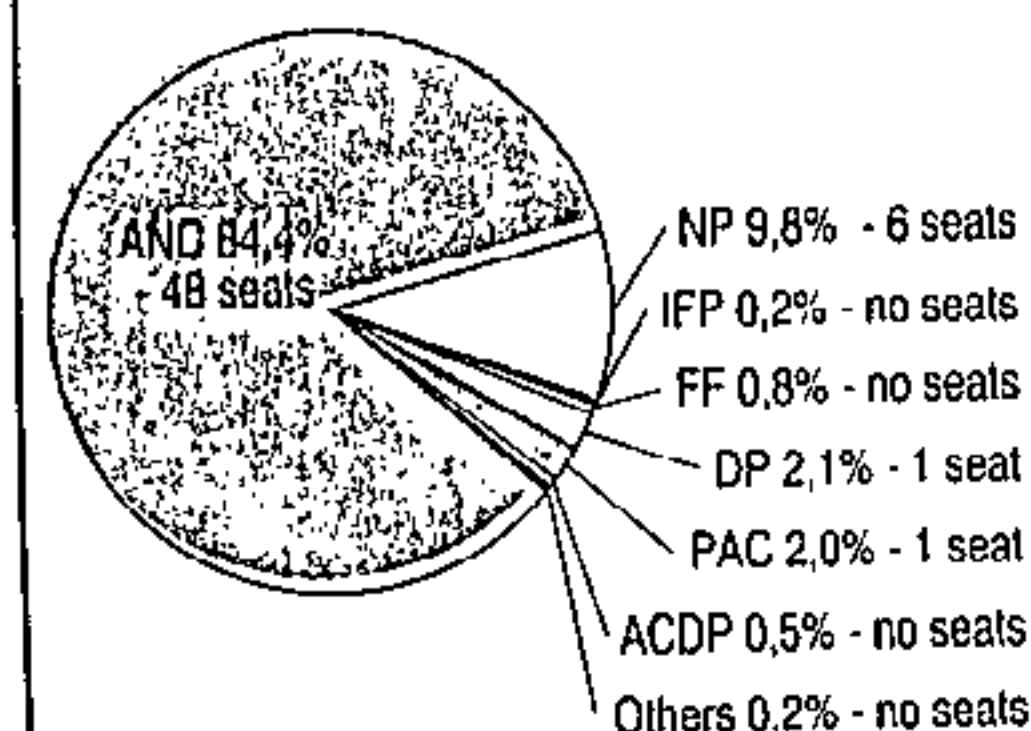
Orange Free State



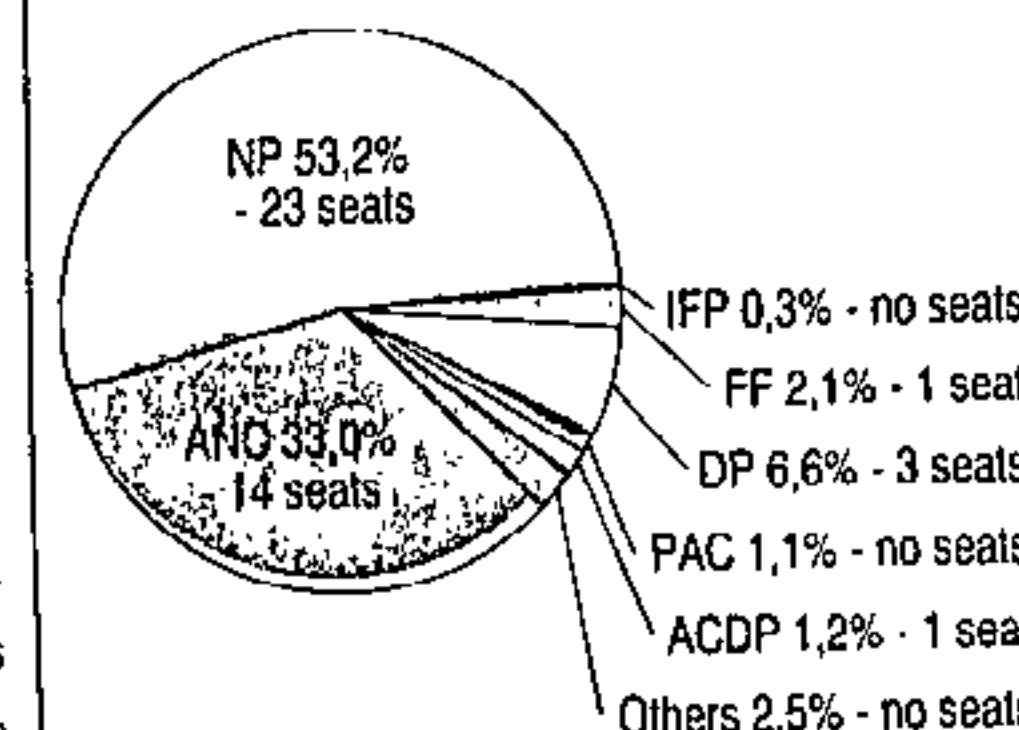
Kwazulu/Natal



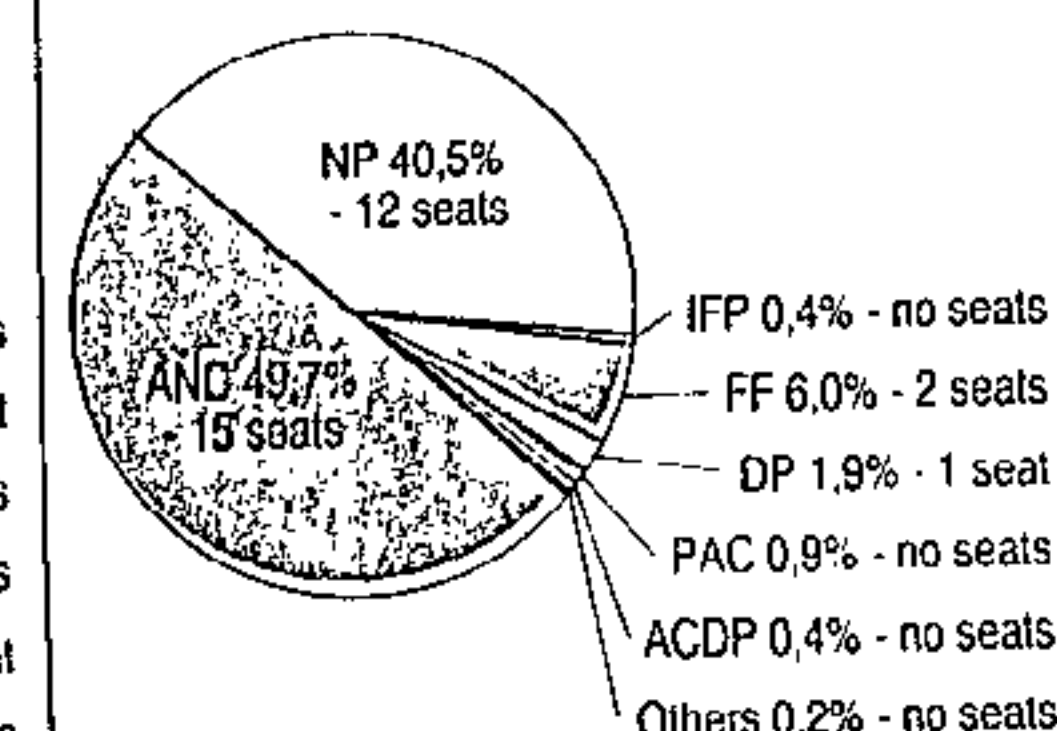
Eastern Cape



Western Cape



Northern Cape



Old-order MPs bid farewell to parliamentary perks

ROGER HULLEY
Successful businessman

SCORES of MPs who failed to be re-elected packed their bags this week and bade a final farewell to Parliament and its perks.

One of them was the former DP MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley.

A successful businessman who received the SBDC Award in 1989, he was back at his desk this week as director of the Falrest Cape

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Association.

And without his parliamentary earnings of R124 814 a year, he will also be pursuing other business interests.

In the tricameral parliament, many MPs faced taunts of being "fatcats".

But increases in parliamentary salary packages announced this week make the outgoing batch of MPs look lean in comparison with the new ones.

However, one MP complained this week that although he would now receive R193 000 a year as an ordinary member of the National Assembly, he would only receive R32 200

a year as a car allowance. "That means I cannot even buy myself a Uno."

He found it "a bit odd" that President-elect Nelson Mandela was on record as saying the pay packages of the new president, ministers and MPs would be smaller than those of tricameral parliamentarians.

He quoted Mr Mandela as saying tricameral pay levels "left a bad taste, and the ANC should set an example for others in the economy".

The MP said: "Against that background, a salary package of R734 350 (R409 632 after tax and other deductions) for Mr Mandela and R681 600 (R338 247) for the two deputy presidents sounds obscene."

Under the old order, MPs like Mr Hulley received R90 000 a year, plus a R33 000 non-taxable allowance, as well as a R774 monthly car maintenance allowance.

During parliamentary sessions, they stayed in government parliamentary villages for R150 a month.

Married with two children, years of service to his credit family's sole breadwinner.

He bought his house 16 years ago, taking advantage of the 100 percent guarantee offered by the public service for the bond.

"More than ever, I believe the public service is a good career choice, regardless of colour or gender," he says with conviction.

He believes implicitly that the entrenchment of rights for public servants in the interim constitution should assuage any fears of the future.

At the same time, he knows that restructuring is inevitable and that he may be among those required to relocate or shift gears in order to stay aboard the ship of state.

"But I can't see much changing for the next 12 months."

"We have to create a single public service from 15 existing structures — four in the TBVC states, six in the self-governing territories, four from own affairs and one at central government level."

"We might well see a bigger public service."

Change will be most evident, he believes, at senior level.

"There's no doubt that affirmative action will start at the top. The rest of us won't feel the impact for some time. There's so much work to be done in equalising service conditions and salaries, getting the provincial structures running, revising legislation..."

Equally optimistic is a 12-year veteran of the public service, Mr Richard Carter, spokesman for outgoing State President F W de Klerk.

Despite Mr de Klerk's altered status, Mr Carter plans to remain with the NP leader and expects to be "busier than ever".

In addition to the constitution, the Public Service Labour Relations Bill, passed last November, offers employees recourse to the law in the event of unfair labour practice.

For the first time, too, public servants may join trade unions, giving them the right to strike and to collective bargaining.

The first test of the democratised approach to public service could come as early as tomorrow when the Public Service Forum holds its maiden meeting.

Attended by representatives from the former independent homelands and self-governing territories — which will add more than 450 000 officials to the existing central workforce of 746 378 — the meeting will pave the way for unification.

In terms of the constitution the new public service will be "efficient, non-partisan and career-orientated" in order to "loyally execute the lawful policies of the government of the day".

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Mandela plunges into PLO talks

JOHANNESBURG. — President-designate Mr Nelson Mandela will plunge headlong into international negotiations on the eve of his inauguration when he lends a hand in the Palestinian crisis.
 Mr Mandela will meet Palestinian Liberation Organisation chairman Mr Yasser Arafat and Israeli President Ezer Weizman together in Pretoria today.
 Both foreign leaders have requested the meeting.
 It is aimed at providing symbolic backing to the new PLO-Israel accord, which is strongly opposed by Palestinian and Israeli factions.
 Diplomats hope South Africa's transformation will be an example for the Middle East.

Accord

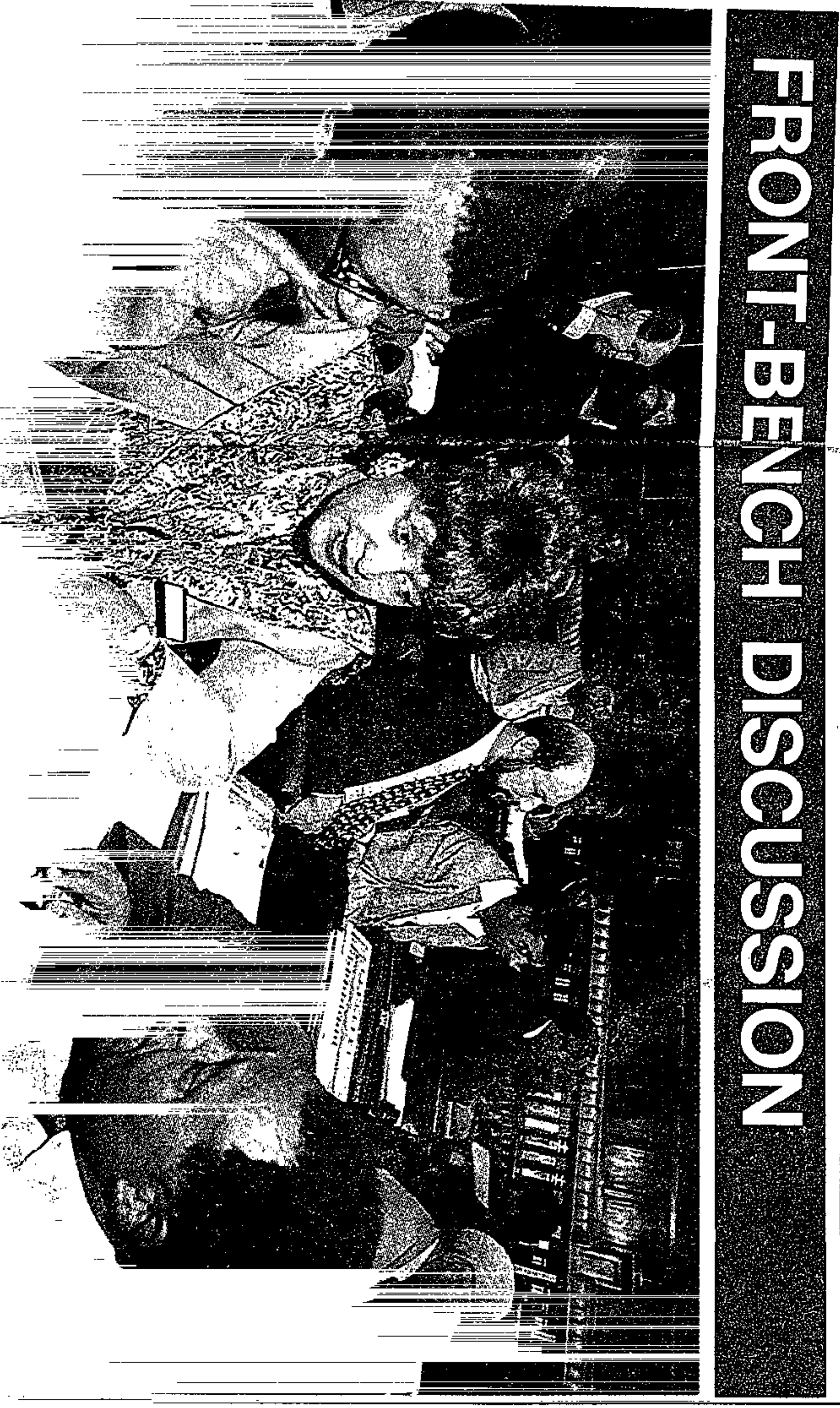
It is expected Mr Mandela will be asked to do more than simply greet the two leaders.
 He could enter discussions to sort out snags that have developed in the wake of the signing of the accord last week.
 Implementation of the peace deal has been plagued by delays in deploying police and naming a Palestinian self-rule authority.
 Clashes erupted yesterday between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers.
 The Weizman-Arafat talks will be the first of a string of meetings between Mr Mandela and foreign leaders who are

ANC to change cabinet line-up

Trading for seats continues

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
 Political Correspondent

THE ANC's cabinet line-up could undergo a number of changes as horsetrading on the final make-up of the cabinet climaxes today with another round of hard bargaining between the leaders of the ANC and National Party.
 Top ANC sources said the list released on Friday could be "scrambled up a bit" and that some surprise omissions from the early list could be "rectified" when Mr Nelson Mandela unveils the 18-strong ANC component of his cabinet team, probably on Wednesday.
 At the meeting in the previously whites-only chamber, the ANC's 252 MPs decided they would nominate ANC negotiator and head of the Women's National Coalition, Mrs Frene Ginwala, as Speaker of Parliament today. She is expected to become the



Today
 Cloudy with rain — PAGE 2
 Prince visits City — PAGE 2
 Cape cabinet meeting — PAGE 2
 The 11-member Western Cape cabinet will hold its first meeting on Friday.
 Carey ordains women — PAGE 2
 The Archbishop of Canterbury ordained women priests for the first time but acknowledged the historic ceremony was tinged with sadness.
 Building a new country — PAGE 3
 South Africans should forget the past, hold hands and begin the task of building a new country.
 Peninsula murders — PAGE 3
 Five people were murdered in the Peninsula over the weekend.
 Pilots retested — PAGE 7
 Pilots of China Airlines (CAL) have to go back to school and be retested.
 Manuel meets G7 — PAGE 7
 Trevor Manuel told the Group of

'GAY' CLAIMS HURTING TORIES
 — PAGE 3

migration tomorrow.
Mr Mandela will also meet collectively the leaders of the frontline states today.

Queen's staff ready to leave

LONDON.—Hundreds of Queen Elizabeth II's domestic servants are threatening to resign over new pay arrangements aimed at cutting the running costs of the households of Buckingham Palace, Balmoral, Sandringham and Windsor, said yesterday's issue of The People.

The 400 MT's will meet in the Great Hall of Parliament this morning to formally elect a new State President, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. Mr Mandela's is expected to be the only nomination for State President.

After his election, Mr Mandela will make a symbolic appearance on the steps of Parliament before proceeding to the Grand Parade to make his first public address after his election. Over 100 000 Cape-landers and hundreds of foreign leaders and dignitaries are expected to attend the event.

But intense interest will also centre on the meeting today between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk to settle on positions in the 27-member cabinet.

Government sources said yesterday Mr De Klerk could announce the NP's six cabinet members as early as this evening.

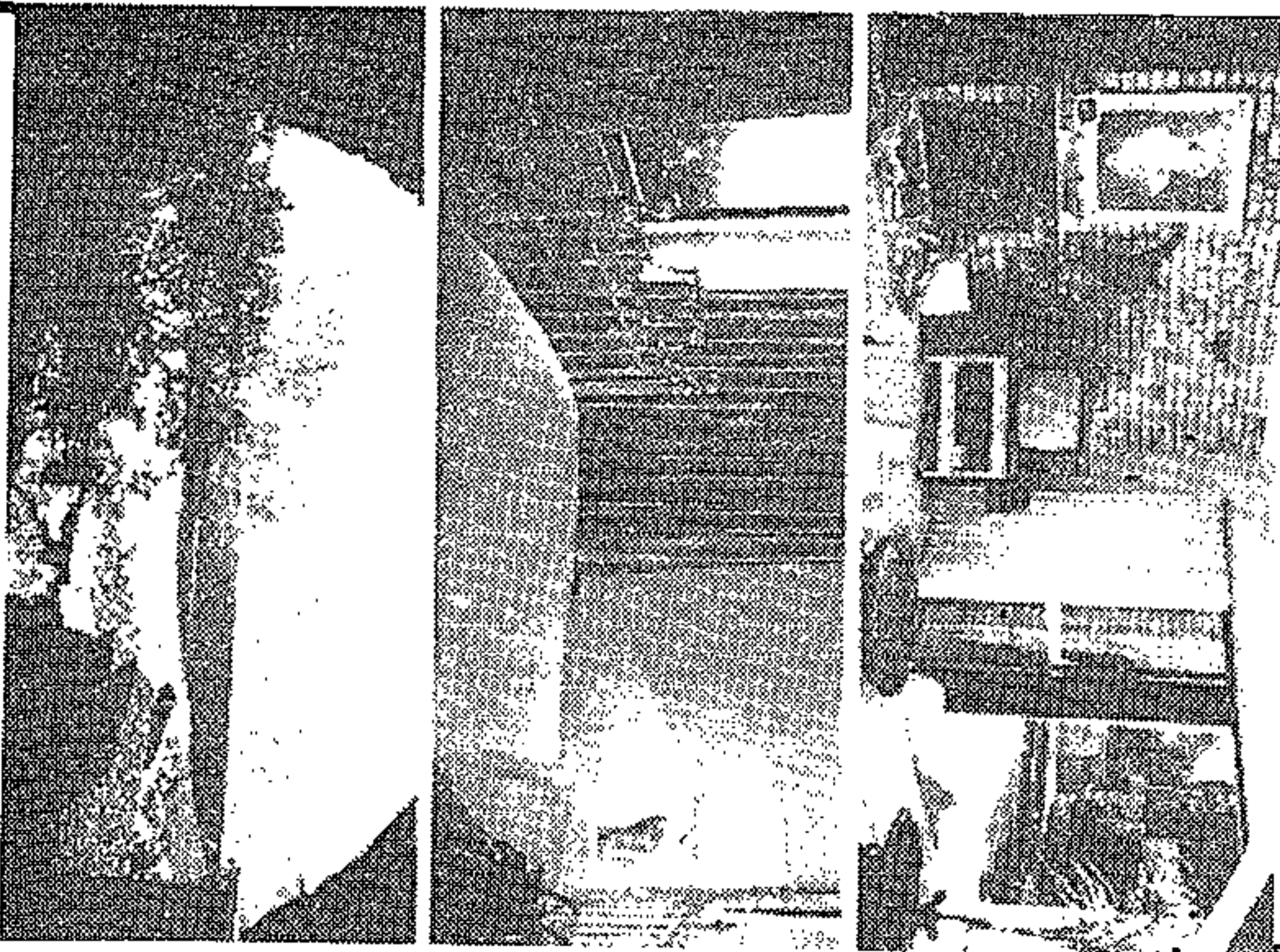
Inkatha sources said that the party would "probably" take up the three cabinet posts it was entitled to in terms of the constitution.

Portfolios still up for grabs include Mineral and Energy Affairs, Home Affairs, Agriculture, Local Government, Sport, Environment, Water and Forestry. The confirmation of Mr Derek Keys as Finance Minister is considered a formality.

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MANDELA POSTER

Tomorrow's Cape Times will carry a double-page wraparound, sponsored by car manufacturer Volkswagen, featuring a full-colour poster of South Africa's new president Mr Nelson Mandela to coincide with his inauguration in Pretoria.



NEW FACES . . . Mr Steve Tshwete, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Minister of Defence-to-be Mr Joe Modise inside the previously all-white House of Assembly building before yesterday's ANC National Assembly caucus meeting.

Festivity as MPs meet

THERE was a festive air in the street outside Parliament as new MPs, many of them former political prisoners, arrived to take their places in the government of national unity.

The occasion was the first National Assembly caucus meeting. Security was tight as MPs from across the country ran around making arrangements while patient wives waited next to piles of suitcases.

Veteran activist Mr Reg September, 70, hugged Wits academic Mr Raymond Suttner. "I've been waiting for this day since I was 16," he said.

And Mr Joe Slovo, as he entered the building, said: "It's the people's Parliament now."

For Mr Walter Sisulu it was what "South Africans have been waiting for for decades — centuries".

Mr Trevor Manuel reflected on the irony of former political prisoners entering Parliament as cabinet ministers — "a proud moment".

Mr Ronnie Kasrils said: "It's going to be fun, like today, but also hard work."

Chief ANC negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the greatest moment would be when Mr Nelson Mandela became President. Former Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said he was looking forward to being in Parliament. "It should be a nice experience," he said.

While delighted MPs were only too happy to talk to journalists, Mrs Winnie Mandela pushed her way through the group of reporters and photographers refusing to respond to questions.

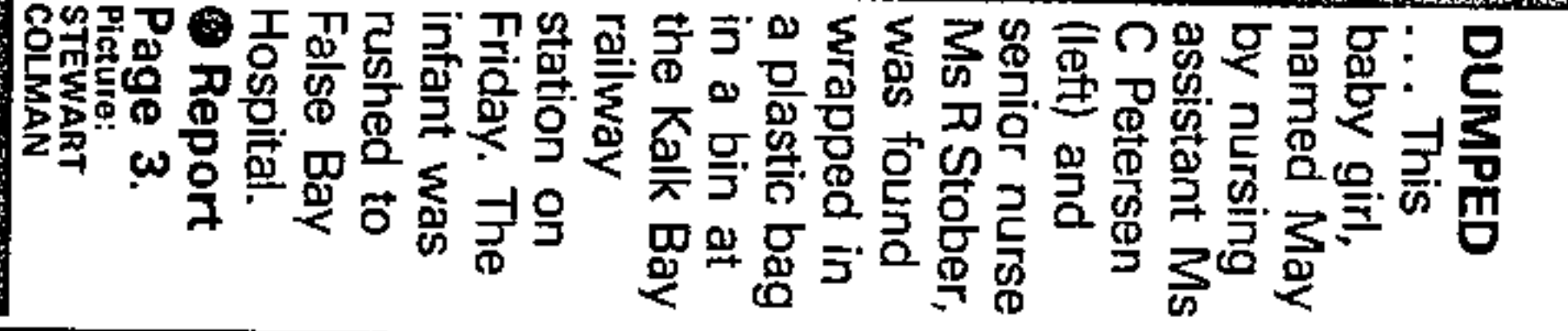
Among the celebrities, coming to Parliament from small towns were many lesser-known men and women who viewed the proceedings with an air of incredulity.

"It's like a dream. We are making history in our hand," said Mr Mangisi Zitha of Nelspruit.

Mrs Clementine Kgaue said there had been parties for a week in Klerksdorp. She had never thought she would see the day that her husband, Josias, would be an ANC MP.

DUMPED

... This baby girl, named May by nursing assistant Ms C Petersen (left) and senior nurse Ms R Stober, was found wrapped in a plastic bag in a bin at the Kalk Bay railway station on Friday. The infant was rushed to False Bay Hospital. Report Page 3.



Swimmer rounds Cape Agulhas

Staff Reporter
CAMPUS BAY law student Mr Lewis Pugh braved shark-infested waters off Cape Agulhas at the weekend to become the first person to swim around the southernmost tip of Africa. He completed the 10km swim in four hours and 15 minutes. He hired local shark-tagger Mr Trail Whittton to "ride shotgun" in a boat and keep a lookout for sharks. He started at Struisbaai in 14°C water and ended on a tiny beach two kilometres west of Cape Agulhas. He was "fed" a glucose drink by his supporters every hour. Mr Pugh has also swum around Kobben Island five times, around Cape Point, across the English Channel and was the first to swim the 25km across Lake Malawi in 1992.

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1992 MAXIMA 300E	R441	R472	R455	R372

* All rates quoted are monthly premiums for: Regular driver aged 40 years, residing in Cape Town, 5 year No Claim Bonus, private use. Comprehensive cover including political riot and hail cover. Rates may vary and may even be lower in certain circumstances (e.g. Civil Servants, retired persons or lower risk areas). Rates supplied by Compunote.

Khan: 'I tampered with ball'

Own Correspondent
LONDON. — Imran Khan, ex-Pakistan captain and one great-est-ever all-round cricketers, has admitted tampering with the ball in his 20-year career to make it swing more. The revelation, in an authorised biography to be published next week, appeared in the Mail on Sunday yesterday. The newspaper said: "The world of cricket is a sadder place this morning. . . Imran Khan, one of the most respected figures in the sport, was a ball-tampering cheat."

top to tamper with the ball to make it swing more. "When Sussex (for whom he played) were playing Hampshire in 1981 the ball was not deviating at all. I got the 12th man to bring on a bottle top, and it started to move around." Cricketing relations with Pakistan slumped in 1992 when Allan Lamb, the South African England batsman, publicly accused fast bowlers Wasim Akram, Waqar Younis and Aqib Javed of using their nails to deform the ball. Imran has said he doubted his country would play another series against England this century.

that SA needed help to reform but was not a "basket case" seeking aid.

Andrews fit for Tests

WP tighthead prop Keith Andrews will be available for the Springbok team to meet England in two Tests next month.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

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NEWS ANC leader answers 'prophets' of doom • Sexwale sworn in as PWW Premier

Mandela reassures whites

ganisation."

WHITE living standards would not be affected by the African National Congress' poverty-relieving reconstruction and development programme, State President-elect Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Speaking outside the Green and Sea Point Hebrew Congregation synagogue, he said the ANC was committed to reconciliation and nation-building.

The ANC also appreciated the crucial role played by essential services such as the defence force, police and farmers during transformation.

"All we want is the highest professional standards of a police force not serving the interests of a political or-

ganisation."

Mandela said he would personally discipline any policeman or soldier who served only the ANC and not all South Africans.

The ANC appreciated the role whites could play in this country, and those who had left should come back and help build it.

His organisation's plans for jobs, housing, free and compulsory education, electricity and water for all households could not be addressed by reducing white living standards.

While prophets of doom had predicted a decline in the quality of life for whites once the ANC came to power, "nothing of the sort" had hap-

pened.

"I assure you nothing of the sort will happen in my lifetime, or during the lifetime of the ANC," he said to cheers from a largely white crowd which had gathered outside the Marais Road synagogue.

The ANC, he said, served the interests of all South Africans.

Forecasts of riots, Africans running wild and attacking whites had not been realised, "because our organisation is committed to serving all South Africans".

Mandela had been invited to attend a Sabbath service which was also attended by Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris.

— Sapa.

NEWS The meteoric and unexpected political rise of Venda's Ramaremisa Sowetan 9/5/94

Electoral commission winds up mammoth task

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

THE Independent Electoral Commission wound up its mammoth task of delivering South Africa's first non-racial election with the announcement of results on Friday.

The announcement proceeded without much of the fanfare that was expected and the IEC declared that the elections were conducted in a free and

fair manner.

According to the results, the ANC obtained 62,5 percent of the votes, thus gaining 252 seats in the National Assembly.

Trailing behind were the National Party with 20,4 percent (82 seats), Inkatha Freedom Party 10,5 percent (43 seats), Freedom Front 2,2 percent (9 seats), Democratic Party 1,7 percent (7 seats), Pan Africanist Congress 1,2 percent (5 seats), African Christian Democratic Party 0,5 percent (2 seats).

In a shock move shortly after the results were publicised, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer announced his retirement from politics.

Meanwhile, PNC deputy-president Mr Johnson Mlambo also announced yesterday that he would not accept a Cabinet post as he felt he had a greater responsibility to the party outside Parliament. Meanwhile, the first caucus of ANC members of Parliament yesterday decided to nominate Dr Frene Ginwala as Speaker of the National Assembly.

Speaking after a two-hour meeting, deputy president-designate Mr Thabo Mbeki, who chaired the session, said Mr Arnold Stofie had been accepted as ANC Chief Whip.

The post of deputy Speaker had not been discussed, and would be dealt with later, he said. The post might be filled by a member of another party, and the ANC was open to discussions with the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party on that question. Ginwala will be formally elected

Speaker today when the National Assembly meets for the first time. Her nomination is not expected to be opposed. Mbeki said the Cabinet might be announced on Wednesday by president-designate Mr Nelson Mandela, after the IFP and NP had named their appointees. He said the IFP was prepared to serve in the Cabinet, and the ANC had discussed the allocation of portfolios with IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The ANC expected Buthelezi to take a seat in the Cabinet.

Service

Viva Madiba

AKG 9/5/94

304A

**MICHAEL MORRIS
and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff**

NELSON MANDELA was unanimously elected as South Africa's new President to rapturous applause from the packed chamber of parliament.

People in the packed public gallery joined most of the 400 new MPs in cheering and applause when the announcement was made by the Chief Justice Mr Michael Corbett at 12.15pm.

Mr Mandela — affectionately known by his clan name of Madiba — was proposed by veteran ANC activist Albertina Sisulu and seconded by ANC secretary general Cyril Ramphosa.

He left the chamber after his election and stood on the steps of parliament with his two deputy presidents F W de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki as the rousing strains of the two national anthems echoed over Stalplein.

Parliament also gained its first woman Speaker with the election to the post of Ms Frene Ginwala. The National Party's Bhadra Ranschod was elected as deputy Speaker.

In a brief address, Ms Ginwala promised to uphold the traditions of free speech and the right of minorities to be heard, saying that at a time when the country was undergoing profound change, the House had to be a reflection of all the people.

Earlier, as the 400 new MPs prepared to be sworn in, a remarkable fraternal bonhomie charged parliament as arch-political foes crossed the floor and greeted one another with hugs and handshakes, earning generous applause from MPs and their guests in the public galleries.

In a gesture that set the spirit of the day Mr Mandela walked over to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, shook his hand and hugged him. He also warmly greeted Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen.

Then F W De Klerk greeted Chief Buthelezi as the sustained applause proved the new parliament's endorsement of the spirit of national unity.

The infamy of the past seemed instantly dispelled as Mr Mandela, flanked by his two deputy presidents-elect, Thabo Mbeki and Mr De Klerk, entered the chamber shortly before 11am.

Immediately, MPs and the people in the galleries stood to cheer, and the ululation so redolent of the decades-long campaign for political rights in South Africa pierced the applause.

As the new leaders of South Africa took their seats, a Tembu "imbongi" or praise singer, Sthembile Mlangeni, took the floor.

Dressed in traditional costume and headgear, he recalled incidents in Mr Mandela's life in a chant to honour the new President.

Mr Mandela led the first group to be sworn in by the Chief Justice. The others were Winnie Mandela, Cyril Ramphosa, Albertina Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Jay Naidoo, Moses Mayekiso, Trevor Manuel, Mr Mbeki and Ms Ginwala.

Before the arrival of the presidential party, most of the new MPs had gathered in the chamber well before the bells, chatting and greeting one another and trying the green leather benches for comfort.

Political divisions seemed to have been suspended as MPs from various parties shook hands, hugged one another, even kissed.

It was as if the entire chamber reflected a single political idea.

In a sense they did: they all represented a new beginning, a new future.

9/5/94

304A

P.T.O



SOLEMN OATHS: South Africa's new president, Nelson Mandela, and his first deputy vice president, Thabo Mbeki, take the oath during the swearing in ceremony at parliament.

Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

New president outlines strategy for the future

(304A)

ARL 9/5/94

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

NELSON Mandela said today his government was committed to a spirit of national unity, but was determined to introduce economic and social policies to improve the lot of the disadvantaged.

The government would remain true to the constitution and honour the rights of all.

In an historic address on the Grand Parade — his first speech as president — Mr Mandela declared: "Today we are entering a new era. Today we celebrate not the victory of a party, but a victory for all the people of South Africa."

He said: "We place our vision of a new constitutional order on the table not as conquerors, prescribing to the conquered."

"We speak as fellow citizens to heal the wounds of the past with the intent of constructing a new order based on justice for all."

"This is the challenge that faces all South Africans today, and it is one to which I am certain we will all rise."

He warned that the task would not be easy.

"But you have mandated us to change South Africa from a country in which the majority lived with little hope, to one in which they can live and work with dignity, with a sense of self-esteem and confidence in the future."

Making a plea for unity of purpose, he said future challenges "require us all to work together to bring an end to division, an end to suspicion and build a nation united in our diversity".

The government's plan was to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all.

Poverty would be tackled, investors would be encouraged to support job-creation projects, and the country would be changed from a net exporter of raw materials to one that exported finished products.

The government would devise policies to encourage and reward productive enterprise in disadvantaged communities, Mr Mandela said.

It would ease credit conditions to "assist them to make inroads into the productive and manufacturing spheres and breakout of the small-scale distribution to which they are presently confined".

Reflecting on the ANC's history, he said the movement had fought long and hard for freedom and democracy and "milestones in its history give concrete expression to what South Africa can become".

He added that while the majority principle was vital in a country where the "vast majority have been systematically denied their rights ... democracy also requires that the rights of political and other minorities be safeguarded".

"In the political order we have established there will be regular, open and free elections, at all levels of government — central, provincial and municipal."

"There shall also be a social order which respects completely the culture, language and religious rights of all sections of our society and the fundamental rights of the individual."

RINGING THE CHANGES *Who we voted into our first democratic Parliament*

All the names for National Assembly

THE FOLLOWING are the names of all candidates for the National Assembly: (An * indicates that the candidate appears on more than one list.)

KEY NAMES *A hard long road and a bitter fight ends here:* **3049**

African National Congress:

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mvuyelwa Mbeki, Joseph Slovo, Pallo Jordan, Jayaseelan Naidoo, Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada, Ronald Kasrils, Fhloisani Sydney Mufamadi, Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu, Tozamile Botha, Stephen Vukile Tshwete, Bantubonke Harrington Holomisa, Jeffrey Thamsanqa Radebe, Abdulah Mohamed Omar, Kathyandana Maharaj, TH Ragunanan, Jongizizwe Moses Mayekiso, Christopher Dhlamini, Trevor Andrew Manuel, Sidney Themba Skweyiya, Ntiti Gertrude Shope, Abdul Kader Asmal, Johannes Modise, Makhenkesi Arnold Stofile, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Stella Sigcawu, Peter Ramoshoang Mokaba, John Kgoana Nkadimeng, Essop Goolam Pahad, Raymond Sorrel Suttner, Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, Tito Titus Mboweni, Thenjiwe Ethel Mtintso, Baleka Kgotsile, Bonginkosi Emmanuel Nzimande, Ruth Segomotsi Mompoti, Aziz Goolam Hoosein Pahad, Penue Mmpapa Maduna, Billy Nair, Yvette Lillian Myakayaka, Phillip David Dexter, Senzangakhona Mahlangu, A James, Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, Alfred Baphethuxolo Nzo, Erwin Alexander, Gregory Rockman, Gill Marcus, Jan van Eck, Thandi Ruth Mkhwanazi, Mphumzi Membathisi Mdladlana, Nkosazana Clarice Zuma*, Nosiviwe Noluthando, Randall Paul van den Heever, Frene Noshir Ginwala, Mbuku Joseph Nhlalula, Marcell Jonathan Golding, Pravin Jammadas Gordhan, Vuyisile Max Sisulu, Sakumi Justice Macozoma, Sithembiso Tony, Joslyn Geraldine Moleketi, Jennifer Ann Schreiner, Reginald Kenneth September, Patekile Sango Holomisa, Titus Thomas Nkobi, Sylvia Brigitte Mabandla, David John Dalling, Zelle Neki Ncube, Andrew Mlangeni, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, Adelaide Frances Thambo, Barbara Ann Hogan, Mandlenkosi Sibusiso Bengu, Sydney Rapulane Molekane, Elias Mosunkutu, Nozizwe Charlotte Routledge, Nelson Mogoboya Ramodike, Jan Hendrik Momberg, Israel Mcwaryseni Zulu, Nomzansi Dorothy Nyembe, Derek André Hanekom, Terence Goniwe, Melanie Verwoerd, Dolly Sankie Nkondo, Pregaluxmi Govender, Lydia Makwena Ngwenya, Cikizwa Ivy, Ela Gandhi, Joyce Happy Mashamba, Phumzile Mlambo, Nnoseng Kuzwayo, Kate Ellen, Zoliswa Kota Zoliswa, Albertina Sisulu, Adam Firoza Mabuza Lindiwe, Gabriel Hermanus Loots, Brian Percy Bunting, Peter Alroy Charles Hendrickse, Archibald Jacob Gumede, Mnyamezeli Shadrack Booi, Mpetjane Kgaogelo Lekgoro, Dipuo Elizabeth Peters, John Anthony Copelyn, Cephas Mangisi Zitha, Regan Ntombi Shope, Wally Mongane Serote, Ismail Richards, Thokozile Angela Msane, Edwin Samuel Moeti, Duma Moses Nkosi, Jennifer Ferguson, Johannes Ndaweni Mahlangu, Johannes Mninwa Mahlangu, Tinyiko Phyllia Shilubana, Samuel Dickenson Nxumalo, Peter William Rowland, Temperance Nozuko Majola, Phathakge Sampson Makwetla, Nkosinathi Phiwayinkosi Nhleko, Makhosazana Njobe, Alicia Abigail Selby Simeon, Themba Maseko, James Mveli, Marytheresa Xingwana,



The Reverend Kenneth Meshoe ... divine guidance.

Lwellyn Tyrone Landers.
Free State African National Congress — Sekhophi Molisoetsile Malebo; Mietha Patricia Coetzee, Cornelis Dirk du Toit, Maureen Meise Malumise, Serake Jakob Leeuw, Casaalis Modise Mokitlane, Alfred Zingile Dingani, Frances Beatrice Marshoff, Lewele John Modisenyane, Stephen Phohlela, Joseph Ntshikwane, Webster Mfebe.
Northwest African National Congress — Samuel Kolman Louw, Sophia Makatse Maine, Peter Moatshe, Johnson Khasu, Emmanuel Ntaopane, Lindiwe Mahlangu, Josias Kgauwe, Desmond Locky, Edith Sethema, Jan Serfontein, Lodewyk Hoek, Lorna Maloney Bernard Molewa, Patrick Chauke.

Northern Transvaal African National Congress —

Collins Ohm Chabane, Simon Farisani, Thizwilondi Mabudafhasi, Wendy Mayimele, Emily Mohale, Michael Mushwana, Aaron Mnguni, Dingan Zitha, John Nwedamutswu, Omar Mohamed, Manana Mabuza, David Davhana, Lameck Mokoena, Christopher Fankomo, Josephine Tshivhase, Martha Tsheole, Gilbert Ligege, Alpheu Netshimupfe, Collins Molapateni Ramusi.

Eastern Transvaal African National Congress —

Fish Mahlalela, Johannes Shabangu, Francina Baloyi, Piet Mngomezulu, Emmah Phakathi, Simeon Gininda, Simon Mgidi, Maria Ntuli, Isaac Vilakazi, Mokohe Mohlamonyane, Sindisiwe Priscilla, Piet Mathebe.
PWV African National Congress — Carl Niehaus, Yettam Love, Aubrey Mokoena, Abraham Nkomo, Max Coleman, Ebrahim Saloojee, Nathaniel Kekana, Jacobus Mohamed, Essak Jassat, Susan Shabangu, Elizabeth Thabethe, Limpho Hani, Danny Montsisi, Bertha Gxowa, Mabokela Chikane, Titus Mafolo, Lallo Chiba, Priscilla Jama, Mahmood Saloojee, Fatima Hajaig, Carl Nel, Ismail Vadi, Herbert Vilakazi, Elizabeth Turak, Sello Selebi, Mahomed Cachalia.

Eastern Cape African National Congress —

Editor George, Morris Mti, Ntombile Mabude, Ncumisa Kondlo, Benson Fihla, Jeffrey Peires, Quinton Doidge,

Gregory Abraham, Patience Sonjica, Bongani Mpahlwa, Judy Chalmers, Benedicta Ngwane, Alexander Jordaan, Nothembisa Sigcawu, Fanie Letsela Macdonald, Dennis Goosen, David Ndawonde, Henry Nash, Ethesian Fazzie, William Duna, Increase Ncinane, Moosa Tiry, Fezile Bhengu, Valerie Viljoen.

KwaZulu African National Congress — Innocent Scott, Ismail Carrim, John Makume, Joseph Gcabashe, Benedict Martins, Ian Phillips, Curnick Ndlovu, Carl Cronje, Richard Sikakane, Meinrad Msimang, Themba Boyi, Bathabile Dlamini, Ramgobin Mawallal, Edmie Tshabalala.

Western Cape African National Congress —

Hendrik de Lange, Moegammad Salie, Grace Pandor, Andrew Olifant, Doneley Arendse, Nomatya Hangana, Robert Davies.

Northern Cape African National Congress —

Godfrey Oliphant, Seperepere Mittah Selekananya.

PWV: National Party —

Frederik Willem de Klerk, Roelof Botha, Roelof Petrus Meyer, Samuel de Beer, Leon Wessels, Derek Keys, David Chuenyane, Jakobus Rabie, Peter Welgemoed, Theodor Alant, Stefanus Schoeman, Pule Bikitsha, Sheila Camerer, BL Geldenhuys, MCJ van Schalwyk, NE Masango, DK Padiachey, RH Groenewald, TJ King, DM Bakker, GC Oosthuizen, PW Coetzer, MS Appelgryn.

Western Cape National Party —

Dawie de Villiers, D de Graaff, FJ van Deventer, NJJ Koornhof, JJ Pretorius, FP Jacobsz, NJ Gogotya, DM Streicher, MA Smit, PG Marais, A van Wyk, Hamman Melt van Schoor, Margaretha Badenhorst, Mario Mashier, Jacobus Dowry, Christiaan Wyngaard, Jacobus Albertyn, Rhoda Rodney Tyrone, Esme Chait, Glen Carelse, Edwin Morris, Paulina Cupido, Abdul Mohamed.

Free State National Party —

Hendrik Coetsee*, Wynand Breytenbach, WA Odendaal, FJ van Heerden.

Northwest National Party —

AS Beyers, ID van Zyl, TJ Malan, TC Mtsizi.

Northern Transvaal (National Party) —

Andrew Fourie; NG Ramaremsa; Eastern Transvaal (National Party) — Christiaan Fisser, Armistons Watson, BC Bester, ZD Mnguni.

Eastern Cape (National Party) —

AT Meyer, GB Myburgh, EA Schoeman, Julius Radue, Jacobus le Roux, Trevor Lee.

Northern Cape (National Party) —

JJ Niemann, PW Saaïman, Adriaan Nel, Mangaliso Zwelinjani Kortman.
KwaZulu-Natal (National Party) — Danie Schutte, RS Schoeman, BG Ranchod, DW Makhanya, A Blaas, PA Mathee, Johannes Maree, Pieter



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... likely to serve in Nelson Mandela's Cabinet.

Johannes Steenkamp, Davagie Govender, Johan Marais, James Waugh, Cyril George.

Inkatha Freedom Party —

Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, Vincent Matthews, Walter Felgate, Lionel Mtshali, Jacobus van der Merwe, Jurie Mentz, Suzanne Vos, Hendrik Bekker, Ziba Bonginkosi Jiyane, Bhikizwe Phillemon Biyela, Velaphi Bethuel Ndlovu, Harriet Ngubane, Hlengwa Mhlabunzima, Albert Mncwango, Lucas Eric James, Gavin Woods Gower, Elred Ferreira, Brian Mfayela, Jeremiah Nkosi, Michael Abrahams, Neerahoo Hermanthkumar Murilal.

KwaZulu-Natal (Inkatha Freedom Party) —

Sipho Ngubane, Rheinhold Madide, Elijah Mzimela, Faith Gasa, Mahomed Cassim, Eileen Shandu, Kirsten Rajoo, Peter Smith, Roy Mbongwe Sybil Seaton, Maureen Nzimande, Inka Mars, Bhikizizwe Luthuli, Lalitha Singh, Ben Skosane, Jeanette Vilikazi, Jan Hendrik, Ahmed Ally, David Msomi, Rosebud Mbuyazi.

PWV: Inkatha Freedom Party — Theminkosi Samson Khoza, Madala

Abram Mzizi.

Freedom Front — Constand Laubscher Viljoen, Pieter Willem Adriaan Mulder, Cornelius Petrus Mulder*, Willem Abraham Botha, Willem Botha.

Free State (Freedom Front) — Leon Louw*.

PWV (Freedom Front) — Joseph Chiole*, Cornelius Petrus Mulder*.

Western Cape (Freedom Front) — Pieter Grobbelaar.

Democratic Party — Anthony James Leon*, Mudene Smuts, Colin Eglin.

PWV Democratic Party —

Anthony James Leon*.

Western Cape (Democratic Party) — Kenneth Michael Andrew.

KwaZulu-Natal Democratic Party — Michael James Ellis.

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania — Clarence Mlamli Mkwetu, Gora Ebrahim Gora, Patricia de Lille, Richard Sizani.

African Christian Democratic Party —

Kenneth Raselabe Meshoe, Louis Michael Green.



Mr Clarence Makwetu ... leads small delegation.

capitulating to the most explicit demands of the white-minority government

Good-bles Africa

3044 10/5/94

Death call in roadblock killing

JOHANNESBURG. The state called yesterday for the death penalty or life imprisonment for seven men and a woman who murdered four black people at an illegal West Rand roadblock last year. The seven were convicted in the Rand Supreme Court of murdering four and wounding six other people at the roadblock.

Mr Justice D Marais said it would be an understatement to label the attack shocking.

He asked what the white community would have done if nine Apla members had shot 10 innocent white people, some of them children, at close range.

Sentence will be passed tomorrow.



THE PRESIDENT... Mr Nelson Mandela waves to a huge crowd from the City Hall balcony after being elected to the highest office in the land.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

have been constructed, and aircraft have been banned from flying over the area — except for the display by the Silver Falcons.

Media representatives, emergency personnel, choirs and bands will start arriving at the Union Buildings from 4.30am today.

A little more than seven hours later, Mr Mandela will spell out to the nation — and the world — his vision for the country over the next five years as he heads an ANC-led government of national unity.

After a series of breakfasts, lunches and meetings with foreign leaders, Mr Mandela — accompanied by his two deputy presidents, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr F W de Klerk — will fly by helicopter to Ellis Park for the afternoon soccer clash between the South African national team and the crack national squad from Zambia.

Commuters on the Reef will be able to travel free of charge on special trains today. Extra trains have been made available to cope with the influx of people to Pretoria.

Metrolink said passengers travelling to Ellis Park for the soccer match would also be catered for.

In London, more than 1,000 dignitaries will attend a celebration at South Africa House of Mr Mandela's inauguration.

South African ambassador Mr Kent Durr is hosting the Vin d'honneur which will be attended by government

ministers, church and business leaders and representatives from educational, cultural and sporting groups.

The guests will be able to sign a book of congratulations which will remain open at the embassy all week and then be sent to Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela's inaugural speech will be shown on two big screens at South Africa House.

In Durban, a massive laser and fireworks display will light up the city's skies this evening as part of the inaugural celebrations.

●Sapa-APF reports Tanzania has declared today a public holiday to give people there a chance to join South Africans in celebrating Mr Mandela's inauguration.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Mr Nelson Rohlilahla Mandela will achieve his finest hour today when he takes the oath of office as South Africa's first democratically elected President.

The ANC leader will formally take over the reins of power at 11am at a Union Buildings ceremony attended by leaders and dignitaries from around the world.

Mr Mandela's 20-minute inaugural address will be televised by SATV.

CNN, the BBC and SKY television to an audience of billions across the globe.

As organisers last night put the finishing touches to the most ambitious and elaborate celebration ever staged in South Africa, a massive security cordon was thrown around Pretoria and by this morning strategic roads will be closed off with razor wire.

Access to the inauguration will be restricted to about 6,000 foreign and local dignitaries, over 2,000 media representatives and 150,000 members of the public who have managed to get tickets.

At the centrepiece of the inauguration — the amphitheatre of the Union Buildings — two bullet-proof podiums

Jubilation as new president appears

3044 10/5/94

BY PETER DENNENY,
YVETTE VAN BREDA
and RONNIE MORRIS

THE ANC placed its vision of a new order in South Africa on the table "not as conquerors but as fellow citizens", President Nelson Mandela told 70,000 supporters on the Grand Parade yesterday.

Jubilant and ululating men and women, dressed in the ANC's

3044 10/5/94

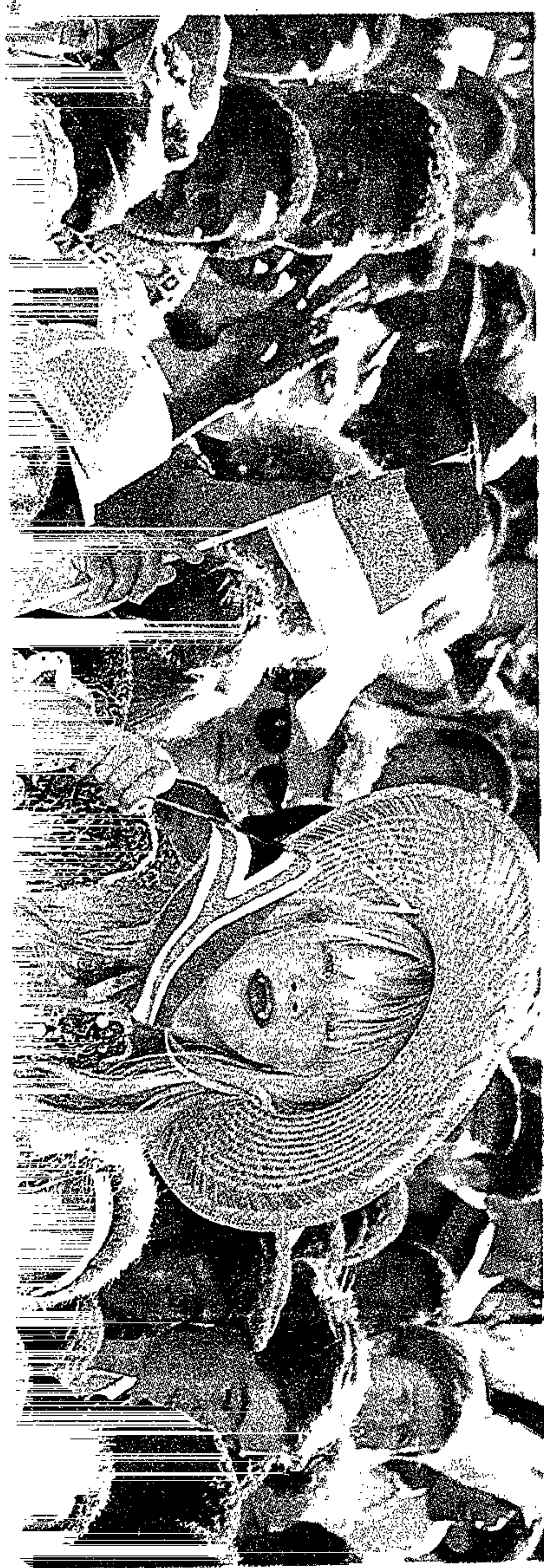
this had been another milestone in a series going back before the 1953 Freedom Charter to the first adoption of a bill of rights in 1923.

"These milestones give concrete expression to what South Africa can become. They speak of a constitutional democratic political order in which, regardless of colour, gender, religion, political opinion or sexual orientation, the law will provide for the equal

He ushered Mr Mandela on to the podium saying "our new president... out of the box". He introduced Mr Mandela as "the man of the century".

Some of the most poignant moments were during the Peace Song, when tens of thousands of arms waved in close unison, and when Tina Turner sang the well-known struggle song Show Us the Way to Freedom.

People started gathering out-





MAKING HISTORY... With the new South African flag lending colour to her gap-toothed grin, this youngster summed up the festive mood as thousands of well-wishers swarmed the Grand Parade yesterday for the historic balcony address of new President Nelson Mandela.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

The event went off without a hitch as hundreds of policemen, ANC marshals and peace monitors defused any potential flare-up instantly. While muted applause greeted Archbishop Desmond Tutu's introduction of Vice-President F.W. de Klerk, major Mrs Patricia Kreiner and chief justice Mr Michael Corbett, the Parade reverberated to a roar when Mr Mandela stepped up to the podium. In his first public address since being elected president, Mr Mandela said democracy was based on majority rule, but that the rights of political and other minorities should be safeguarded. The ANC had committed itself in the 1980s to a bill of rights and

Fine fettle

He promised a social order "which respects completely the culture, language and religious rights of all sections of our society and the fundamental rights of the individual". People of South Africa had spoken in the elections. "They want change, and change is what they will get," the president said. "Our plan is to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all South Africans."

At one stage an impatient group of people flattened the fence next to the press stand but police marshals, peace monitors and police rushed to the scene and quickly restored order. Thousands of people continued dancing in the street long after the end of the speeches at 2.15pm, while Cape Town station was the scene of much dancing, singing and jubilation as people waited for trains.

Tears for a long-awaited day

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff/94

HARDENED political veterans in the newly-elected National Assembly were close to tears yesterday when the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Michael Corbett, announced that Mr Nelson Mandela had been elected the new president of South Africa. It was a moment in history that many long-time activists

had wondered if they would ever see. And when that moment finally came the 400 new MPs could not hold back. Some cried openly, the public representatives all stood up, applauded, cheered and ululated, and the packed gallery followed suit. Even the parliamentary staff, dressed in formal gowns and usually the very model of deco-

rum, stood up for the occasion. The man of the moment, Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, once the world's most famous political prisoner, seemed to take it in his stride, sitting with a white rose in his suit lapel and acknowledging the praise. The emotional moment began after the new MPs had been sworn in. Judge Corbett called at 12.10pm for nominations of can-

didates for the presidency and when only one was received he announced: "I accordingly declare Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela duly elected as the President of the Republic of South Africa." The MPs and visitors in the public gallery stood up and applauded — and cried.

● Assembly 'voice of people' — Page 6

MORE PICTURES AND REPORTS PAGES 6 & 7

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn) (close) \$380.75
Gold (NY) (close) \$381.25
Dollar R3,604/55
JSE Overall Index .. 6441
FT 100 3097.8
Dow Jones 3629.0
Nikkei 19786.9



ROYAL SLIP... Prince Philip visited a bakery owned by Mrs Barbara Manata in Crossroads yesterday, where he laughed off being referred to as "Charles" by Young Tamile Manata (left).
● Report Page 3.
Picture: NIC BOYUMA

Lion kills man in Kruger Park

NELSPRUIT. — A man has been killed by a lion in the Kruger National Park, police said yesterday.

Tourists had seen a lion eating human remains next to a dirt road between the Letaba and Olifants camps in the north of the park. A game warden investigated the report, and the lioness dragged the remains to a rocky outcrop.

She was shot. Footprints belonging to at least four people were seen in the area. The police are investigating. — Sapa

Soccer in limelight for special day

From HERMAN R GIBBS

JOHANNESBURG. — Soccer is poised to take its rightful place alongside South Africa's hitherto giant sports codes, rugby and cricket, after the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela today.

The South Africa-Zambia international friendly at Ellis Park this afternoon is the sporting highlight of the inauguration celebrations. Significantly, it will also mark the first international sports event under the new government, and the emotions that have charged millions of South Africans since the election process began.

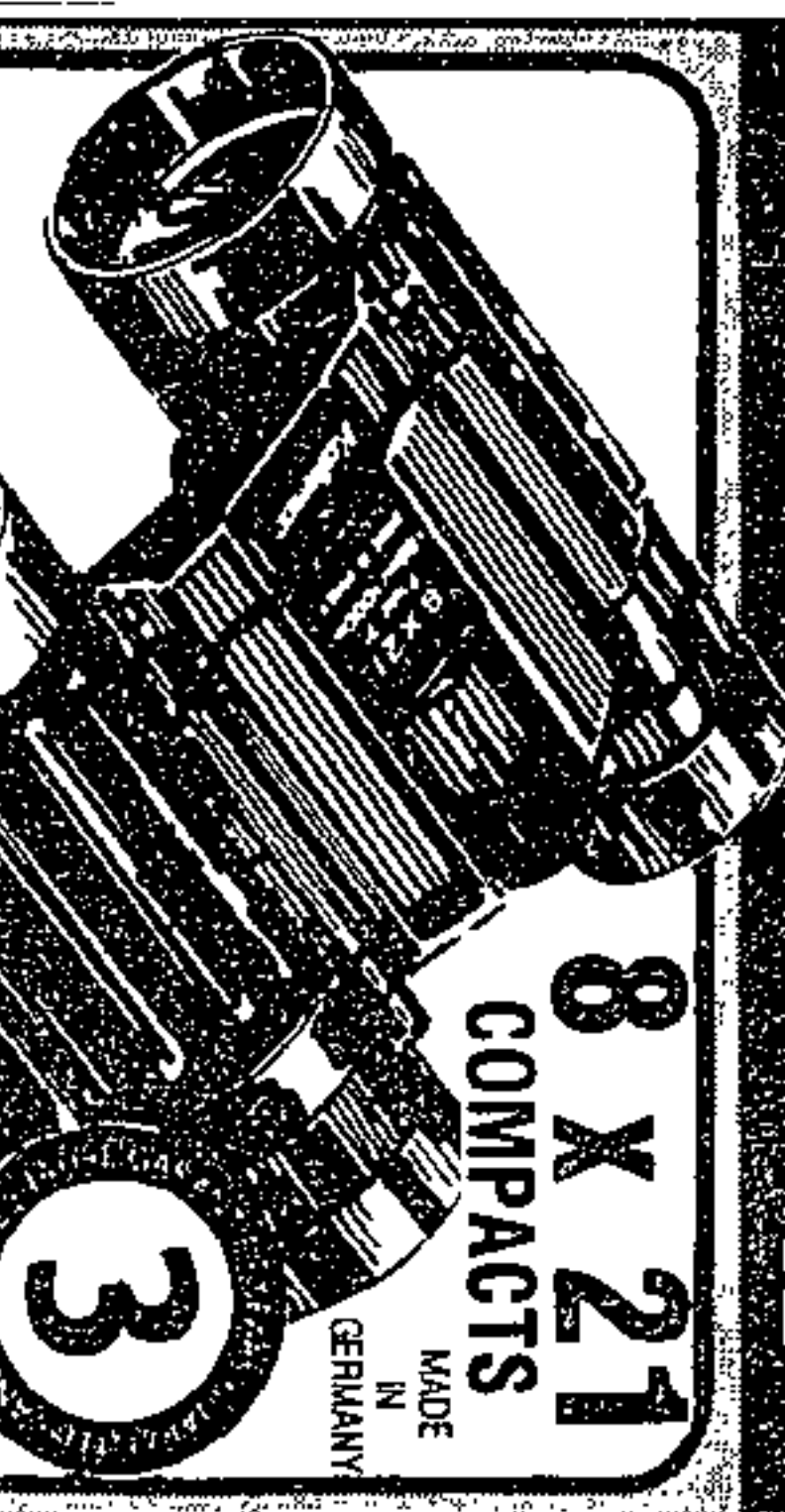
Mr Mandela will be flown by helicopter into Ellis Park about three hours after the inauguration ceremony in Pretoria and will address the crowd about 30 minutes ahead of the 4pm kick-off.

Mr Mandela will be joined by guest of honour, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, the former president of Zambia. Dr Kaunda has often attended soccer internationals in South Africa over the past two years.

The Pretoria ceremony will be relayed live to spectators at Ellis Park on a giant electronic screen. Apart from Mr Mandela and Dr Kaunda, a number of heads of state and dignitaries will be attending the match.

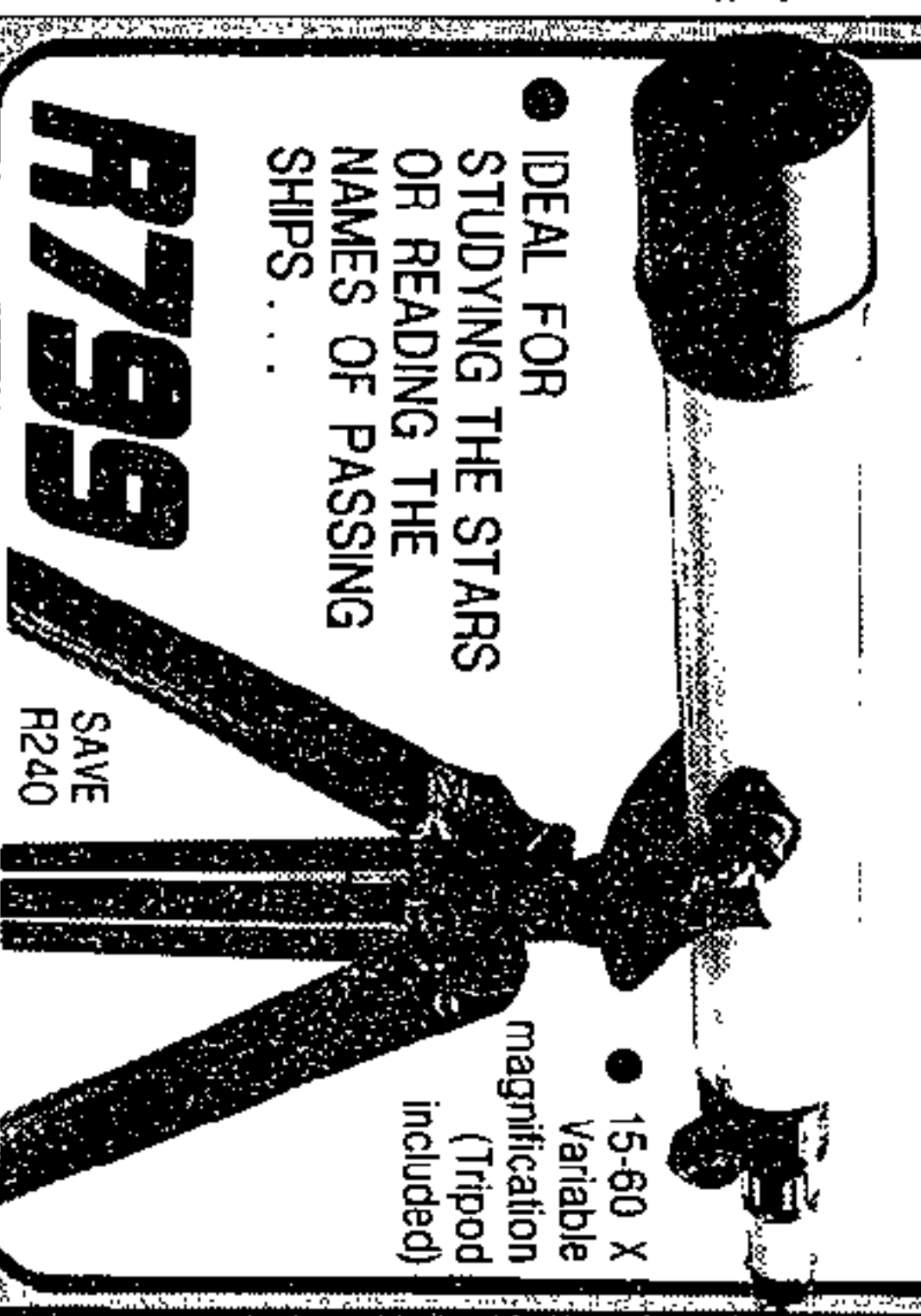
Zambia was chosen as the opposition as a gesture of goodwill from South Africa. South African Football Association president Mr Stix Morewa said that during the apartheid years Zambia was the haven for many exiles. He said that Zambia had played a leading role during decades of political struggle in this country.

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Elected sit — African style

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT will never be the same again. Yesterday's historic session to elect a new president ushered in a series of mould-breaking developments in the great hall of parliament that had old-timers and traditionalists rubbing their eyes in disbelief.

From the moment that ululations and full-throated cheers rocked the parliamentary complex when the then-President-elect Mr Nelson Mandela strode into the chamber, it was clear that many of the traditions and observances of the old order were about to fade into history.

MPs-in-waiting from the National Party and Freedom Front benches stared in disbelief as a scantily clad praise singer sporting Tembu beads, animal skins and knob-kierie launched into a minute-long tribute to South Africa's new leader.

After the 400 new MPs were sworn in by Chief Justice Michael Corbett, the moment arrived that the world had been waiting for.

Celebrate

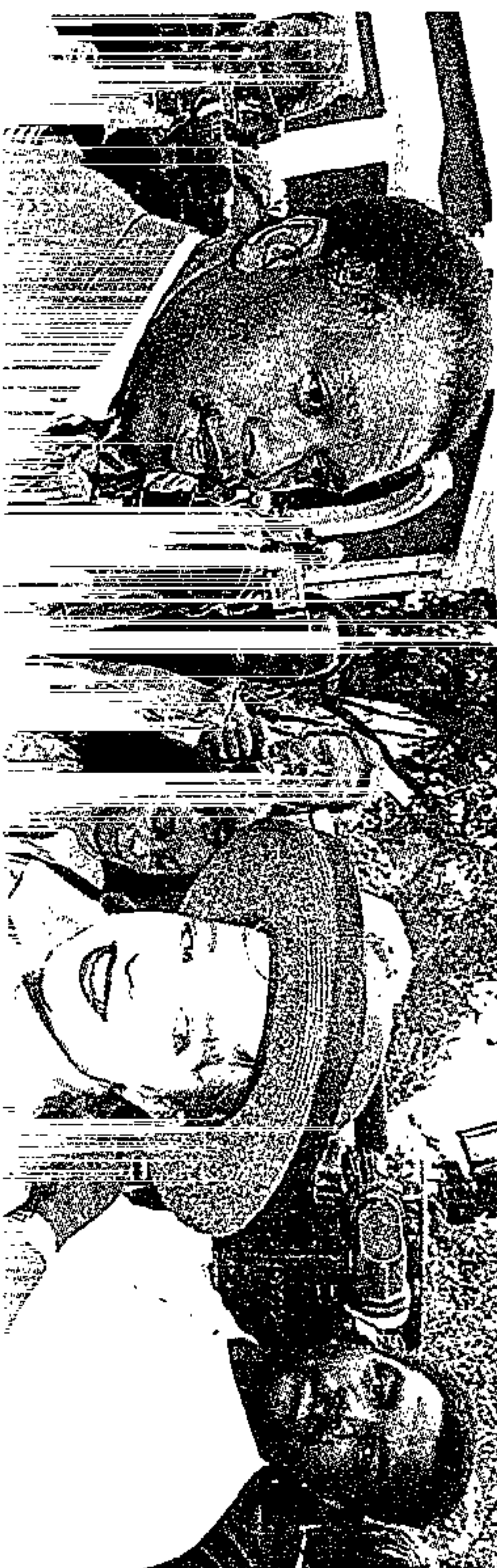
At 12.14pm cheering MPs and members of the packed public gallery leaped to their feet to celebrate as Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela became South Africa's first democratically elected president.

A few "vivas" echoed through the chamber, but excited MPs who broke into song were quickly stifled by colleagues eager to preserve the solemnity of the occasion.

Parliament then moved on to another "first" when Dr Frene Ginwala of the ANC was installed as the first woman Speaker in the 84-year history of the Parliament.

The NP's nominee for Deputy Speaker, Dr Bahdra Ranchod, was also elected unopposed.

A number of MPs from NP and Freedom Front benches appeared unsettled when proceedings were later closed with Muslim prayer.



Ancestors rise as one to deliver their praise by proxy

THE blood of the black people was thundering, the mountain was tumbling and the bones of heroes such as Chris Hani, Oliver Tambo and Albert Lutuli had risen in pride to celebrate their people's freedom, President Nelson Mandela's praise singer bellowed.

Umtata's Mr Thembile Mlangeni made his own bit of history yesterday when he became the first of his calling to echo the "Voices of his ancestors" across the parliamentary chamber.

He earlier secured media pride of place outside parliament when he burst into praise-song as ANC

stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu climbed the steps.

Mr Mlangeni told an enthralled throng of foreign journalists "this is not just a recitation, I've got an intercession with the ancestors".

Dressed in traditional Xhosa fashion and carrying a fly-whisk, Mr Mlangeni later drew roars from the estimated 70 000 at the Grand Parade when he said Mr F W de Klerk had "not known he was arresting a king when he arrested Mr Mandela".

His invocation of the spirits from the top ramparts of the City Hall after the VIPs left had the Xhosa-

speaking section of the crowd baying for more.

Mr Mlangeni wrung the changes at the first sitting of the National Assembly at parliament yesterday.

The "imbongi" said he was "drawing inspiration from his ancestors" to praise the man who had once been a prisoner and was now a president.

As the new leaders of South Africa took their seats in the chambers, he chanted and recalled incidents in President Mandela's life to honour the new head of state.

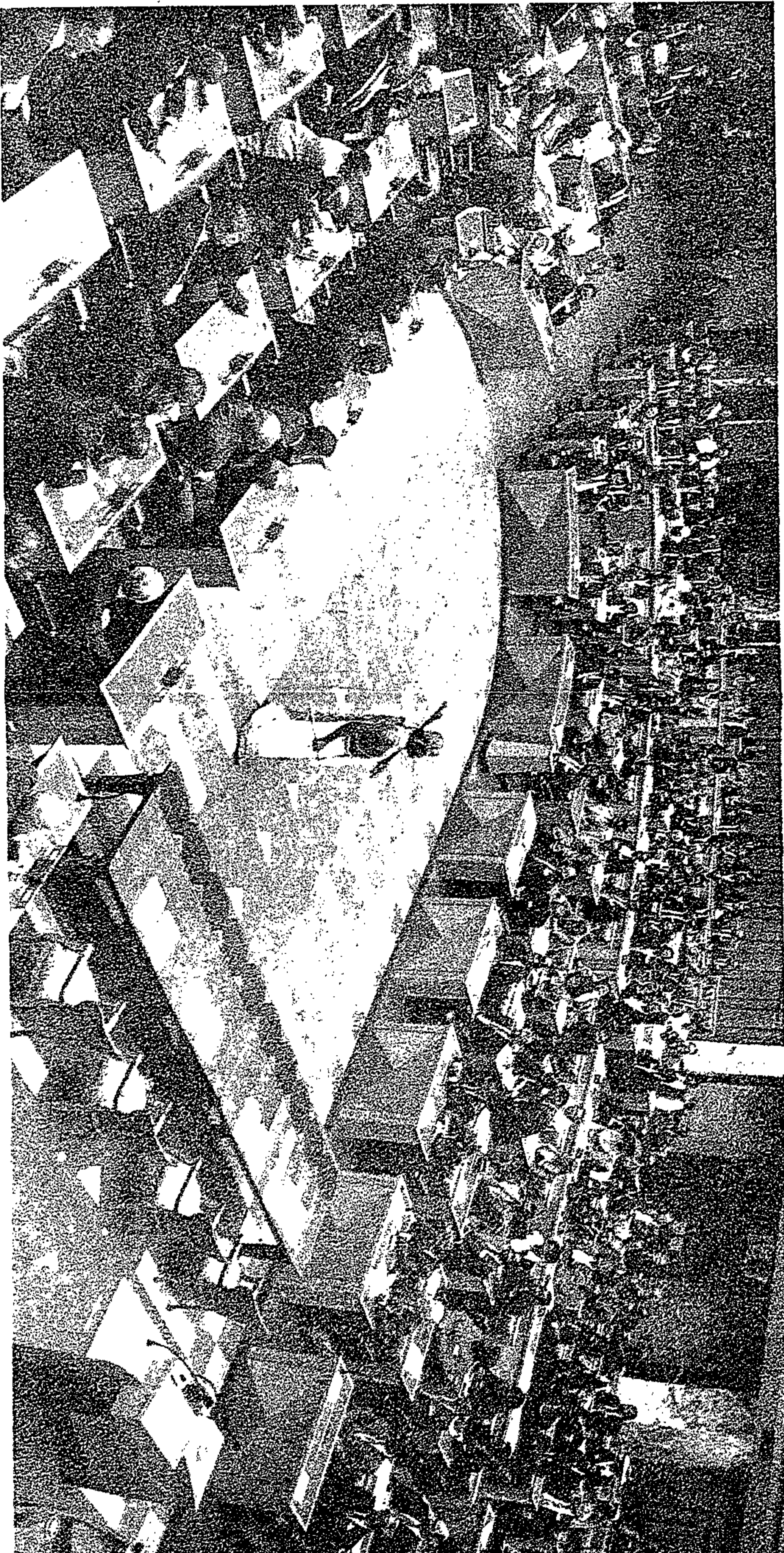
The praise singer said that he had been invited by

President Mandela to attend the function.

ANC cultural worker Miss Fortune Tshiloane said that it would have been "strange" if a praise singer had not attended parliament to sing the praises of the new president.

Traditionally praise singers dedicated their unheard verse to their chief, king or great leaders, she said.

There have been several recorded praise poems about President Mandela — the oldest dating back to 1954 — Political Staff Staff Reporter



SPIRITS CALLED ... Mr Thembile Mlangeni, official praise singer to President Nelson Mandela, invokes his ancestors in the parliamentary chamber yesterday.

Talks victory 'surprised' MK

By CHRIS BATEMAN

NEVER did uMkonto we Sizwe cadres think they would "complete the last lap of the revolution" through negotiation, they expected to forcibly eject the "regime" from Parliament, PWV Premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.



Removal of portraits urged

By CHRIS BATEMAN

PORTRAITS of former President P W Botha's cabinet, some former state presidents and other arch-supporters of apartheid did not belong in the new parliament and should be removed and put in a museum, MPs urged yesterday.

The suggestion was made by General Bantu Holomisa as he entered Parliament yesterday.

Minister of Trade and Industry designate Mr Trevor Manuel agreed, saying: "If you look, those people are turning in their frames as they see what's going on."

The Rev Allan Hendrickse (now ANC), felt the portraits should come down as they could "upset our appetites".

Inauguration: Stamps issued

THE Post Office will issue a special stamp series to commemorate the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela today.

President Mandela is depicted on the 45c stamp. The 70c stamp features the first stanzas of the two national anthems and the 95c stamp the new flag.

The Union Buildings are depicted on the R1.15 stamps. Two special commemorative envelopes will also be issued.

Dignitaries attending the inauguration will be presented with the new stamp series. — Sapa

Crush caused slight injuries

SEVERAL people were slightly injured yesterday as crowds waiting



THIS WAY . . . PWV Premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale escorts his wife, Judy, into Parliament yesterday.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

and political prisoner, said as he sat on Robben Island. "I never thought it would come to this". Asked what he had thought, Mr Sexwale replied: "We were committed to the violent overthrow, the removal of the regime by force. "Of course we were also committed to negotiation, but at no stage did we think we'd complete the last lap of the revolution through negotiation". He felt "victorious".

ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, felt like an "excited young schoolboy".

Confirming that he would not be accepting any cabinet position, Mr Ramaphosa said he would be focusing immediately on strengthening party structures for the next election in five years time. "There is a lot of work to be done outside."

For long-standing civic organisers such as Nyan-ga's Mr Roseberry Sonto, entering the imposing parliamentary building yesterday was unreal. "I have to pinch myself to see it's real," he said shaking his head.



CONCILIATORY GESTURE . . . President Nelson Mandela hugs Inkatha leader Chief Mangosho Buthelezi as others applaud inside Parliament yesterday.

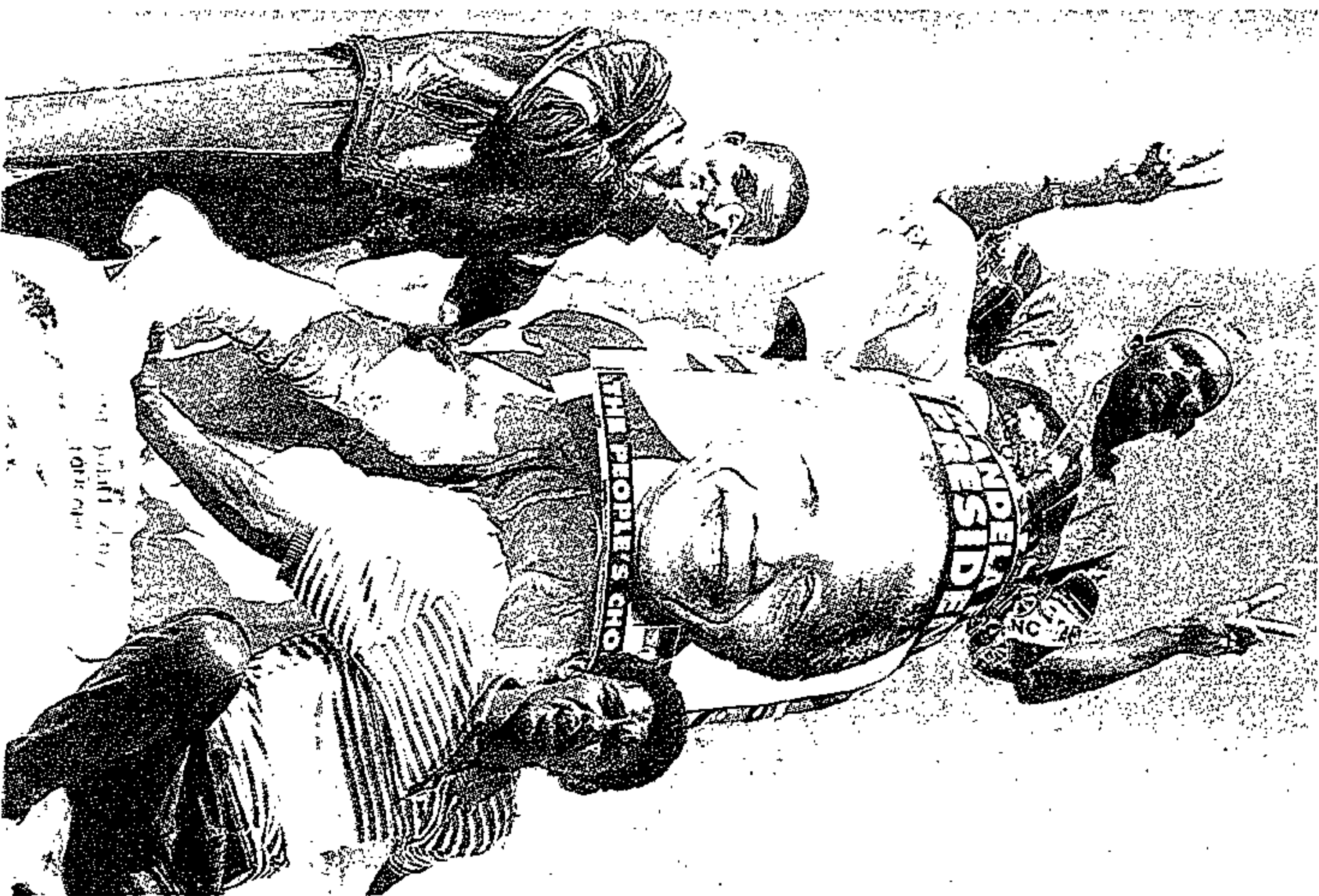
Picture: AP

Minor ills keep medics busy

Staff Reporter

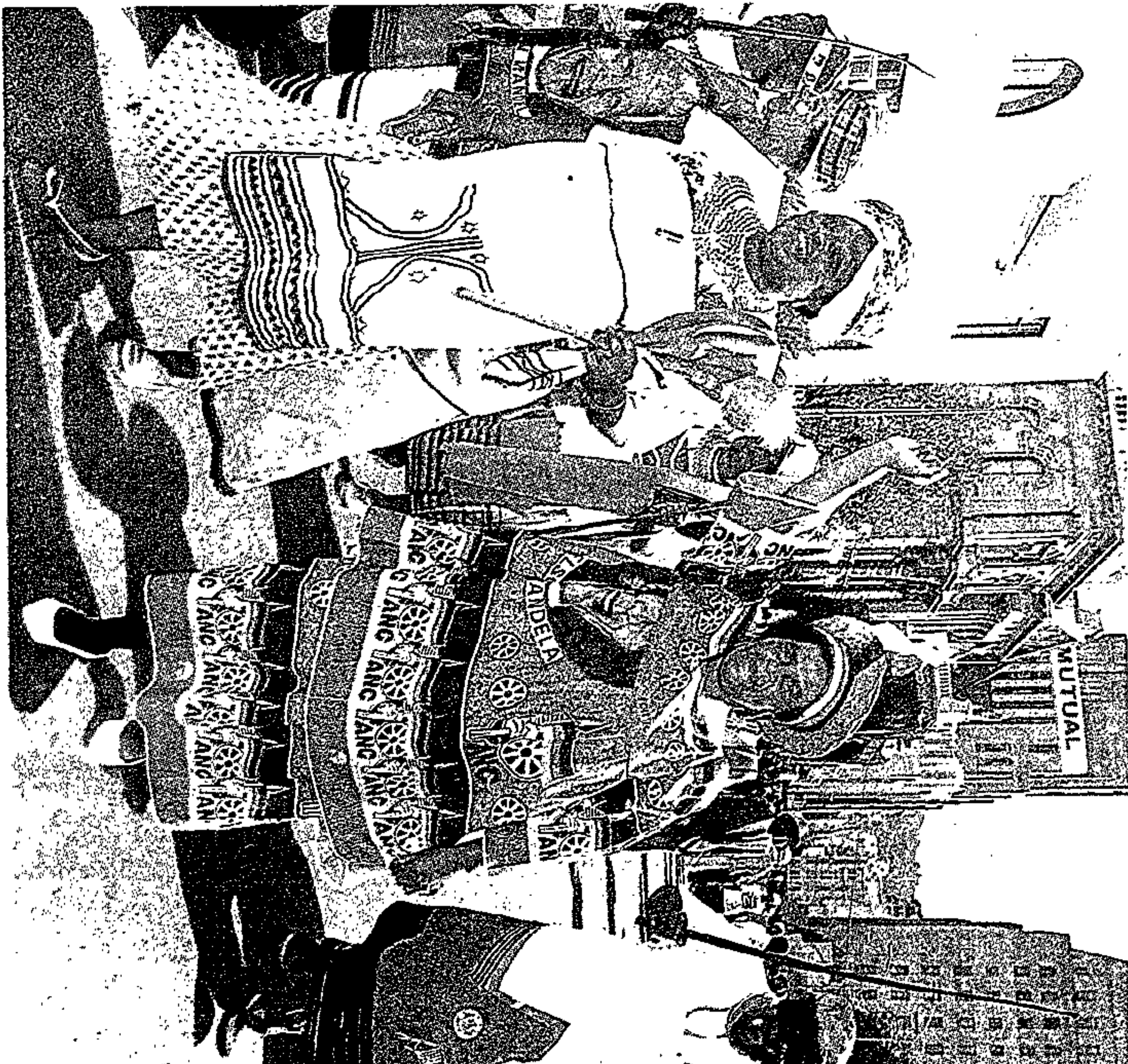
YESTERDAY's celebration on the Grand Parade was too much for some people who fainted, collapsed from exhaustion or had asthma attacks — emergency workers treated 133 minor cases.

In one serious incident Mr Lucas Shingo, 23, was severely shocked when he climbed up on to the roof of a train, while on his way to the celebration, and grabbed hold of the electrical cables overhead. No crimes were reported.



PEACE SONG . . . Enthusiasts clambered onto this statue for a better view and some hearty singing — including the man on the left who was overwhelmed.

Picture: ANDREW BROWN



TRADITIONAL DRESS . . . A happy group of ANC women, resplendent in their indigenous fashions, march past the Drill Hall in Darling Street during yesterday's presidential celebration.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

European fashion styles dominate

Staff Reporter

TRADITIONAL African dress gave way to European fashion styles at the first sitting of the National Assembly yesterday.

"There are few African outfits here today, but that will change with time," said Mrs Eleanor Sisulu, wife of the ANC's Mr Max Sisulu, whose African dress was made of cotton.

Mrs Lydia Mesthrie, wife of

Wide-brimmed hats and turbans were the order of the day as the smartly dressed dignitaries swept into Parliament.

Mrs Judy Sexwale, who was there with her husband PWV Premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale, topped the fashion stakes in a black and red linen suit lined with velvet.

Mrs Lydia Mesthrie, wife of

Party leader Mr Kenneth Meshoe, wore a shimmering pink lace and satin suit designed by a friend.

Dazzling in a purple gown, Mrs Thamsi Serote, wife of the ANC's Mr Wally Serote, said it was "very important" to be wearing African dress for such an occasion.

Mrs Lydia Mesthrie, wife of

the crowd in her flowing green silk suit.

"I have selected the colours of my party," she said.

Dr Allan Boesak's wife Elina wore a formal suit with a pill-box hat.

But 40-year-old Mr Harold Maats of Grassy Park, a spectator, stole the fashion show with an ANC umbrella, pill-

box

Jailer invited to the inauguration

Staff Reporter

HE was honoured to be invited to President Nelson Mandela's inauguration, his former jailer said yesterday.

Mr James Gregory, who retired as a lieutenant from the prisons service after spending more than two decades with Mr Mandela on Robben Island, said yesterday:

early today.

An elated Mr Gregory told the Cape Times from his Plumstead home that he had received an invitation from Mr Mandela's office at the weekend. "A lady telephoned to tell me we had been invited as personal guests. I am excited and honoured to be invited to the occasion but am not surprised

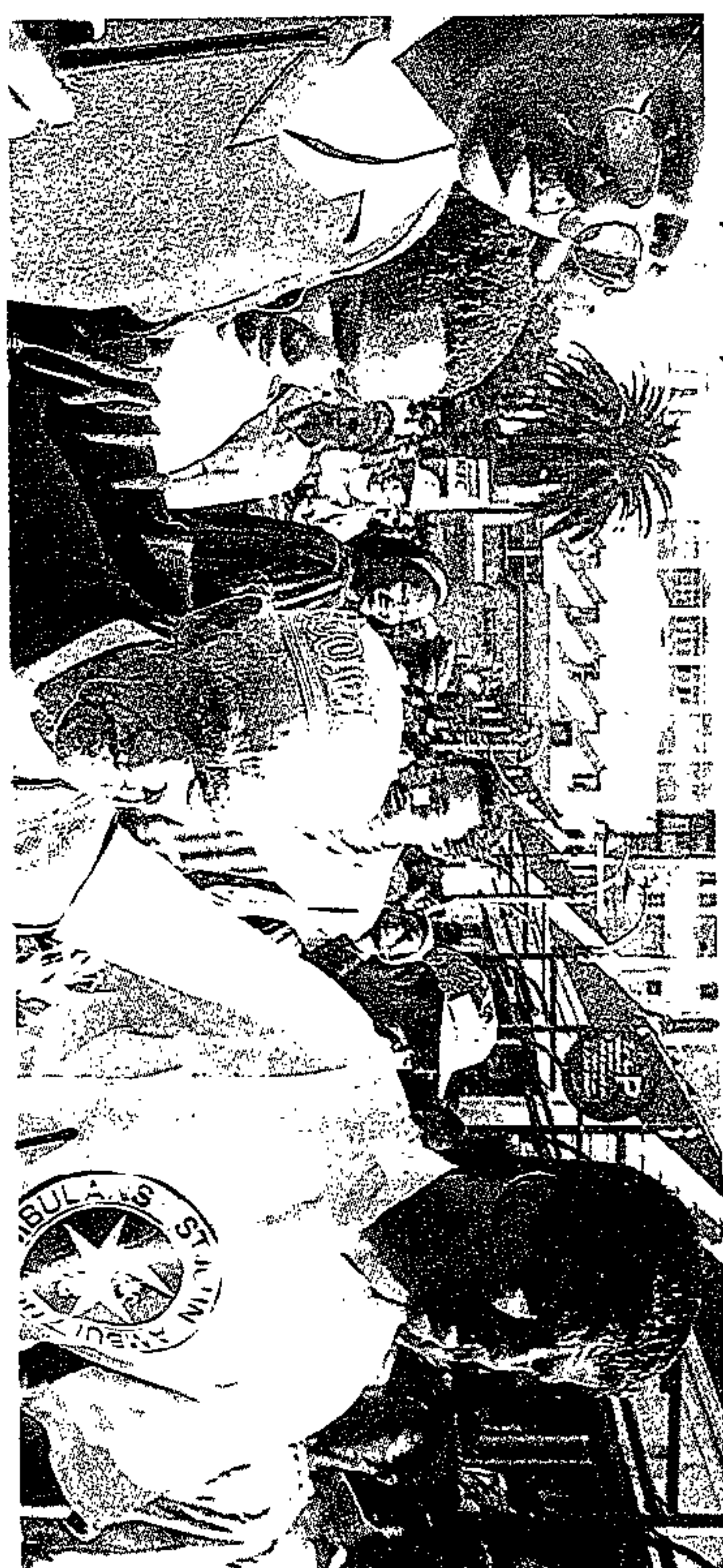
viting me."

Mr Gregory, who has received letters and telephone calls from Mr Mandela since his release from prison in 1990, said he was looking forward to seeing his friend again "but I have no idea whether I will be able to get near him."

"I will just have to do what I am told when I am there. My

HURT . . . Mr Abdurahman Karriem, 90, who came to the city to buy groceries, received a nasty head wound when running youths accidentally caused him to fall on the Parade yesterday. He was tended by St John Ambulance officials.

Picture: DENZIL MARENGE



ing to finally meet Mr Mandela."

He would wear a "shiny mohair suit" he had bought recently, brown shoes and a striped blue-and-grey tie.

Mr Mandela has also invited the warder who worked with Mr Gregory at Victor Verser prison, Major C F Marais, the prison's head chef Warrant-Officer Jack Swart and their

Mr T. H.

NEWS Buthelezi may be offered home affairs post • 'Fit of excitement



Some of the group of singers, including members of Izintombi Zeslmanje, rehearsing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday in preparation for the inauguration of African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first black President.
PIC: LEN KUMALO

Clash over Govt posts

Sowetan 10/5/94

■ HORSE TRADING Wrangle

between ANC, NP and IFP:

Sowetan Correspondent

NKATHA FREEDOM PARTY LEADER
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is likely to be offered the senior cabinet post of Minister of Home Affairs.

His party will also be offered the Correctional Services portfolio, African National Congress sources said yesterday. These initiatives come amid considerable last-minute horse-trading among Government of National Unity partners over the new cabinet. Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement of the ANC component of the cabinet last week took the National Party and IFP by surprise. It has resulted in a series of meetings to barter over portfolios. Of 27 posts the NP is entitled to six and the IFP three. Mandela also has the prerogative to offer cabinet posts to leaders such as the Freedom Front's General Constand Viljoen, who did not secure

the requisite number of votes in the election. It seemed clear yesterday that chief NP negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer would become Minister of Provincial and Constitutional Affairs, with the ANC's Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa as his deputy. Reliable sources said that the National Party intended to attempt to wrest control of the Foreign Affairs and Defence portfolios. The sources said Mr FW de Klerk wanted to retain both Mr Pik Botha and Mr Kobie Coetsee in two of the most powerful positions in the cabinet. A confrontation between the outgoing and future governments is expected. However, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said that as far as his organisation was concerned, the cabinet issue had not reached finality and cabinet positions would, in the spirit of the government of national unity and reconstruction, be negotiated with the NP, the IFP and other political players. (30449)

It was some party on the Grand Parade

□ Crowd screamed 'Viva, Mandela, viva!' as the president addressed the nation

(304A)

ARG 10/5/94

Staff Reporters

A SEA of faces, the rhythm of Africa and people joining leaders in savouring the rebirth of a nation, all set against a soaring mountain backdrop ... yes, it was some party.

Thousands came to Cape Town's Grand Parade to hear Nelson Mandela make his first address to the nation after his election to the office of president. Millions more saw the event around the world on their TV screens.

But you had to be there.

From the grand old City Hall, gaily decked out in national colours for the occasion, to the sweaty throng on the historic Grand Parade, everything was drenched in the festive spirit.

There was a deafening roar and a sea of tens of thousands of waving hands, many clutching the new South African flag, as Mr Mandela stepped forward at 1.35pm.

"Viva, Mandela, viva!" the crowd screamed.

Deputy president-elect Thabo Mbeki also received a warm welcome, but applause for outgoing president F W de Klerk was mixed with boos, derisory whistles and cries of "Phantsi (down), De Klerk, phantsi!"

And one man shouted at Cape Town Mayor Patricia Kreiner: "I don't know you!"

The crowd, "conducted" by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu waving rhythmically from side to side, took up the Peace Song, singing along with gusto: "South Africa, we love you ... Let's tell the whole world we can bring peace in our land!"

During the singing, there was more applause as Mr Mandela stepped forward again and raised both arms in the air in greeting.

By a minor miracle, no serious problems were caused.

The midday sun seemed to be the biggest problem. Newspapers, posters and umbrellas were pressed into service as shields against the warm autumn sun.

Before the dignitaries appeared on the balcony, a light aircraft flew overhead towing a banner sponsored by a radio station which read: "God bless you, Mr Mandela." Then another: "Cape Town congratulates Mr Mandela."

Scores of people climbed on the roofs of bus shelters at the Golden Acre terminus and lined the open ledges of the parking garage to get a better view of proceedings.

Earlier, "warm-up" acts — as if they were necessary! — had the crowd swaying to the music of, among others, Prophets of da City and Peto.

One of the singers exhorted the crowd to enjoy themselves.

"You must be happy — this

is a special day for everyone here!" he shouted.

There may have been free buses and trains for the Grand Parade thousands but the crowd forked out a small fortune to a host of entrepreneurs who sold food, drink and "new SA" memorabilia.

Thanks to the perfect weather there was a huge demand for ice creams and soft drinks and the fast-food merchants were kept busy too.

But it is merchandise bearing the country's new flag and the face of its new president which is proving to be something of a growth industry. Though in spite of the overwhelming National Party victory in the region, the black, green and gold of the ANC was everywhere in the form of banners, posters, placards, caps, T-shirts, scarves and flags.

Blue was a popular colour too — being particularly well-represented on this occasion as policemen, many in bullet-proof vests, stood around. But this time there was little for

them to do except look bored — gone were the shotguns and rifles, with batons taking their place on belts.

No, this was a party, where sweat, dagga smoke and the smell of vinegary chips intermingled where the flower sellers usually gather near the north-west corner of the Parade.

Though some took the opportunity to get a message across. A group of Rastafarians carrying aloft posters of Mr Mandela chanted, "Ahoy, we've got our freedom at last", and elsewhere a large banner proclaimed, "Viva gay rights in the new South Africa."

The gathering was in stark contrast to the day, a little more than a year ago, when the crowds also gathered there to mourn the death of Chris Hani.

Gone were the anger, the tension, the fear. No charging policemen, no sounds of smashing glass.

The police helicopter overhead was not a signal of trou-

OVERCOME: For some, the press of the crowd and the heat were too much. Victims were lifted over heads and fences and rushed away for medical attention.

ble in some part of town, as it always used to be in the past.

Instead, Cape Town's natural laid-back festive spirit came through like the sun from behind a cloud.

And afterwards, as people started filtering away in groups, the Parade was still the place to be to savour the moment.

People sat around in groups,

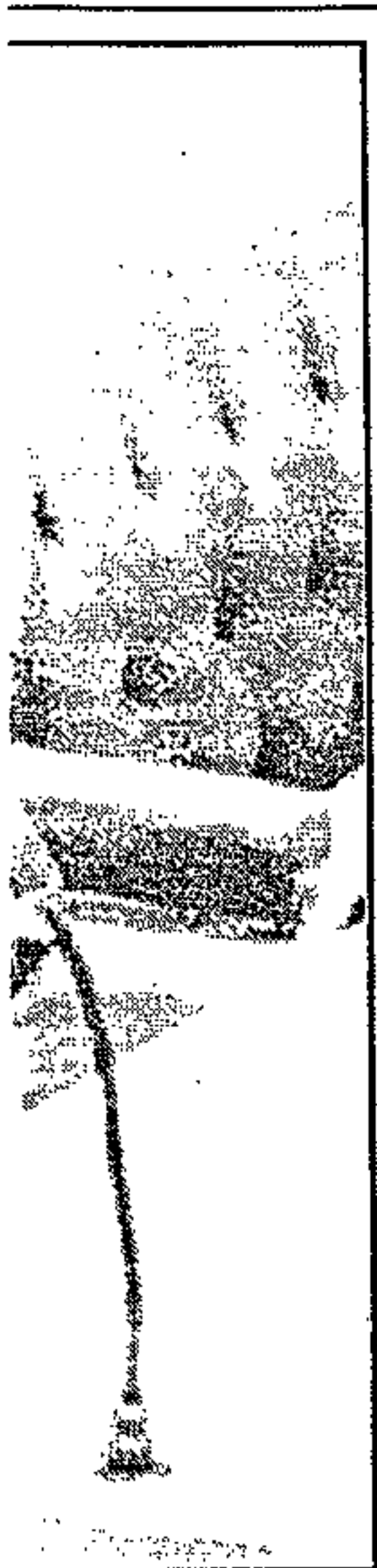
or strolled aimlessly, talking, looking and simply being there.

The Langa Adult Choir sang the crowd on their way. Fences surrounding the VIP and press enclosure came down, as did inhibitions, as people bopped, shuffled and swayed to the music.

By 4.30pm the show was over and city council cleaners already had the Parade cleaner than before the rally.



delala promises justice and opportunity for all



ion of Parliament
SOCIATED PRESS

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ene Ginwala for the
re Chief Justice called
conder, she sat down
and.

appear to acknowl-
s presence.
econds Mrs Mandela
er nomination form to
Parliament, and re-
bench seat. — Sapa.



History in Parliament

Sowetan 10/5/94

■ MANDELA ELECTED Deeply

moving scenes of racial reconciliation:

Sowetan Correspondent

BLACK South Africans took their seats in Parliament yesterday morning amid deeply moving scenes of racial reconciliation that will resonate in world history.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was elected unopposed as President of South Africa. (3044)

At 12:12pm Mrs Albertina Sisulu rose to nominate Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa seconded the motion. Chief Justice Michael Corbett named him duly elected President of South Africa.

With the entire chamber and gallery on its feet applauding, Mandela stood briefly, bowed deeply to each leader around the room and then sat as the cheers rang round the chamber.

Across the floor, outgoing State President FW de Klerk made a formal bow to his successor.

The cheers were echoed in the chamber itself as Mandela set foot for the first time in the inner sanctum of South African political power.

He was guided into the chamber by the man he is succeeding. FW de Klerk gestured that Mandela should precede him but the new president placed his arm around De Klerk and crossed the threshold together with the National Party leader.

As Mandela's feet moved off the plum-coloured carpet of the foyer and into the chamber proper, MPs and guests in the packed public gallery rose to their feet as ululations echoed around the chamber for the first time.

Emotions spilled over in the caul-

dron-like atmosphere, with laughter and tears intermingled.

Mandela and De Klerk embraced each other in the middle of the chamber and then separated — Mandela taking the seat that De Klerk and his predecessors had occupied, De Klerk moving into the leader of the opposition's bench.

A bare-chested, beaded praise-singer loudly extolled "Madiba's" history and virtues, chanting about Robben Island, the weeping of the nation, and its delivery from war. He was ushered gently from the chamber by Mbeki.

Then Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi rose from his bench across the floor and walked directly towards Mandela. The President-designate stood and walked to meet his rival. They embraced warmly as every person present rose to their feet in a standing ovation.

Moments later Mandela extended the gesture to Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen, also sitting in the opposition benches. It was returned enthusiastically. At the same time De Klerk embraced Buthelezi, and Mandela shook hands with the NP's front benchers, one by one.

Then the first batch of new MPs, led by Mandela, lined up in front of the Speaker's chair to take their oaths.

Mandela — a rose in the button-hole of his dark striped suit — was joined by deputy president-elect Thabo Mbeki, Ramaphosa, Albertina Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Jay Naidoo, Winnie Mandela, Mac Maharaj, Trevor Manuel and Parliamentary Speaker-elect Frene Ginwala. They raised their right hands and swore allegiance to South Africa.

Tears of joy from parliament's woman Speaker

(304A) **FRENE Ginwala** was very close to tears after becoming the first woman, and the first person of colour, to be elected Speaker of parliament.

MPs applauded when she took her seat in the Speaker's chair after her unopposed nomination by fellow-MP and head of the African National Congress Women's League Winnie Mandela.

It was a doubly historic occasion when Minister of Tourism Bahdra Ranchod, nominated by Danie Schutte, became her deputy.

The diminutive, sari-clad Dr Ginwala told the national assembly that it would be her duty to protect the right to free speech and to ensure that every voice was able to make itself heard.

She said the assembly had to become "the voice of the people of South Africa".

After announcing that the house would be adjourned until further notice, she left the chamber accompanied by President-elect Nelson Mandela and his two deputies, Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk.

She stood with them under the huge columns flanking the main entrance to parliament as a military band played *Die Stem* and *Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika*.

As the last strains of the music died away, she shook hands with the three men, then moved back into the group of officials and well-wishers standing behind them.

There, out of the public eye, she emotionally embraced friends, and behind her dark

glasses came very close to tears of joy.

Earlier, she told the assembled MPs that she deemed it a great honour to be elected Speaker of the first democratically elected parliament.

At the same time it was a grave responsibility.

"I thank honourable members for the confidence they have reposed in me by appointing me to this high office.

"I shall do my utmost to vindicate their trust by carrying out my duties in a spirit of fairness, justice and impartiality towards each and every member of this house."

The right of free speech was the essence of parliamentary debate.

"It will be my duty to protect that right and to ensure that every voice is able to make itself heard here. A spirit of tolerance and good humour in spite of difference of opinion is conducive to good debate."

This parliament differed from its predecessors in its composition. It was more representative in terms of the significantly larger number of women, and of people of all races, creeds, economic status and political persuasion.

It would operate in the framework of a constitution that was the supreme law of the land.

Dr Ginwala asked a Muslim cleric, Shiekh Gabier, to close the sitting with prayer.

The Sheikh said yesterday was a special day in that South Africa now had its first democratically elected president, elected by all the people of South Africa. — Sapa.

'Right out of the box'

10/5/94

THIS was the day the Lord had made, Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu told the cheering throng on the Parade waiting patiently to hear President Mandela.

The Archbishop's style as merry master of ceremonies was perfect for the moment, as he reminded the crowd — as so many times before — they were the rainbow people.

"Welcome the first black president in South African history, Comrade Nelson Rohlhlala Madiba Mandela," he told the crowd, as cheers rose in thousands of throats.

But first there were other introductions, including one for the man standing almost in the background on the City Hall upper balcony.

Told to welcome F W de Klerk, many in the crowd cheered dutifully, but many fists rose with thumbs pointing down, and booing rumbled across the Parade.

The greeting for first vice-president Thabo Mbeki was considerably more rousing.

Archbishop Tutu said it was the day "for which we have waited for 300 years, the day of liberation for all of us, black and white together".

A new South Africa had been born. Its people had said no to racism.

And led by Archbishop Tutu, the crowd yelled a resounding "no" to many other things — injustice, oppression, hatred, violence, domination and alienation.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu led the Rainbow People on the Parade in welcoming the man he hailed as our brand-new, out-of-the-box State President — Nelson Mandela. Staff Reporter **CLIVE SAWYER** was there to see it.

"They said a reverberating "yes" to freedom, reconciliation, forgiveness, peace and unity.

Archbishop Tutu said one man embodied the new spirit of reconciliation and unity: "Welcome our brand new out-of-the-box state president, Nelson Mandela."

He led the president forward, their hands clasped in the air as a fighter's hand is lifted in victory.

Moments later, a choir led the crowd in the peace song, flags and hands — now not clenched in fists — waving in time to the tune.

Even as the song was sung, elderly and injured people were lifted out of the crush and taken for medical treatment. But the few injuries did not spoil the mood.

Mayor Patricia Kreiner had her moment to welcome the new president.

Cape Town had been home to many of apartheid's foes, and ironically it was here that "apartheid sent its enemies for incarceration".

It was in Cape Town that the new South Africa had been born, when Mr Mandela spoke to the world from the City Hall steps on February 11, 1990.

"We are on the threshold of a brave new world, of a united nation which stands as in-

spiration for all humankind," Addressing Mr Mandela, she said: "You inspire with your vision of a vibrant post-apartheid society."

Archbishop Tutu led the crowd in its third, and untalingly enthusiastic, welcome of Mr Mandela: "Give your best welcome ever to the man of the hour, of the decade, of the century!"

Mr Mandela said the day was the start of a new era for South Africa.

"Today we celebrate not a victory for a party but a victory for all the people of South Africa."

His government was committed to national unity, but was determined to introduce economic and social policies to improve the lot of the disadvantaged.

Bound by the constitution, the government would not run the country as it pleased — but Mr Mandela left in no doubt his determination that there should be change.

Some messages drew particular applause: "The people of South Africa have spoken in this election. They want change, and change is what they will get."


The crowd dispersed after Mr Mandela's traditional praise singer boomed out from the balcony where the object of his praises had stood.



THE WINNER: To wild acclaim from the throng on the Parade, Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu holds aloft President Mandela's hand.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.



	<p>GOLD PRICE</p>	<p>CURRENCY RATES</p>	<p>All share, Gold Industrial</p>
<p>Hong Kong latest.....</p>	<p>\$381.95</p>	<p>Sell Buy</p>	<p>R3,5970 R3,5770</p>
<p>Kruggerand.....</p>	<p>R1 420</p>	<p>R3,5970 R5,3740</p>	<p>R5,3115</p>
<p>R/£.....</p>	<p>R/£.....</p>	<p>R/£.....</p>	<p>R/£.....</p>
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JOHANNESBURG STOCK

Use your computer to receive News, Shares, and Dividends. At home/work. Details/Accuracy questions call 1-800-445-4454.

Quoted at yesterday's close:			
Security	Ruling Day's price	Div move	Div yield
MINING			
MIN. - COAL			
WYOMING	16100	2.9	11.1
WYOMING	5500	5.0	5.0
WYOMING	430	5.9	7.5
WYOMING	1325	+100	7.5
WYOMING	1900	+25	4.2
WYOMING	1500	+25	4.2
WYOMING	115	4.7	18.3
MIN. - DIAMONDS			
DE BEERS	11850	3.1	7.1
DE BEERS	55	18.2	45.1
DE BEERS	55	18.2	45.1
DE BEERS	1725	+325	2.7
DE BEERS	3500	1.0	5.5
DE BEERS	165	2.7	14.3
DE BEERS	150	3.3	10.5
DE BEERS	2100	3.3	10.5
MIN. - GOLD - OTHERS			
DE BEERS	50	+5	3.0
DE BEERS	80	+2	3.0
DE BEERS	5500	+400	
DE BEERS	800	6.2	5.4
DE BEERS	380	-10	3.4
DE BEERS	975	+50	10.3
DE BEERS	450	+35	
DE BEERS	140	2.1	11.8
DE BEERS	21	+2	14.4
DE BEERS	41	+2	11.1
DE BEERS	950	+50	11.1
DE BEERS	50	5.5	9.3
DE BEERS	70	6.5	4.9
DE BEERS	4250	-25	10.8
DE BEERS	35	+5	
DE BEERS	13	2.2	21.2
DE BEERS	180	+20	13.9
DE BEERS	160	-35	
MIN. - GOLD - EVANDER			
EVANDER	210	19.0	19.9
EVANDER	7400	+100	4.9
EVANDER	645	+35	10.3
EVANDER	1400	+100	5.8
EVANDER	100	4.8	12.0
MIN. - GOLD - KLEBSORP			
KLEBSORP	4200	7.5	11.2
KLEBSORP	690	+20	
KLEBSORP	450	+30	
KLEBSORP	2075	+75	6.7
KLEBSORP	13700	+400	3.5
KLEBSORP	780	13.1	6.1
KLEBSORP	38500	+1000	3.6
KLEBSORP	370	6.1	6.2
MIN. - GOLD - O.F.S.			
O.F.S.	2350	+100	3.9
O.F.S.	6050	+350	6.4
O.F.S.	2325	+35	5.7
O.F.S.	335	+35	4.5
O.F.S.	1450	+150	7.7
O.F.S.	310	+15	
MIN. - GOLD - WEST WITS			
WEST WITS	800	+50	
WEST WITS	850	+50	
WEST WITS	340	+10	
WEST WITS	9500	+350	3.1
WEST WITS	4200	+100	4.2
WEST WITS	4500	+50	2.8
WEST WITS	4100	+100	3.3
WEST WITS	1600	+100	3.4
WEST WITS	320	+10	6.1
MIN. - GOLD - CURT			
CURT	100		
CURT	15		
CURT	20	+3	
CURT	10	SUSP	ENDED
CURT	545		10.4
CURT	80		4.4
MIN. - COPPER			
COPPER	55		
COPPER	55		
COPPER	30		
COPPER	7100		
COPPER	400		
COPPER	22500		
COPPER	550		
COPPER	55		
MIN. - PLATINUM			
PLATINUM	75		
PLATINUM	6650	+50	2.1
PLATINUM	280		1.3
PLATINUM	7400		1.5
PLATINUM	600		3.3
PLATINUM	400		3.3
PLATINUM	500		3.3
PLATINUM	2500	+25	1.5
PLATINUM	8075	+125	2.0
MIN. - OTHER			
OTHER	800	+25	2.2
OTHER	175		32.0
OTHER	310		4.8

BRAND



PEACE OF PEACE: As the Peace Song resounds over the Parade, the raised fists are reinforced by thousands of peace signs.

1003



Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

SIGNS OF PEACE: AS

SIGNS OF PEACE: As the Peace Song resounds over the Parade, clenched fists are replaced by thousands of



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, *The Argus*.

PARTNERS: First vice-president Thabo Mbeki; above left, assistant president

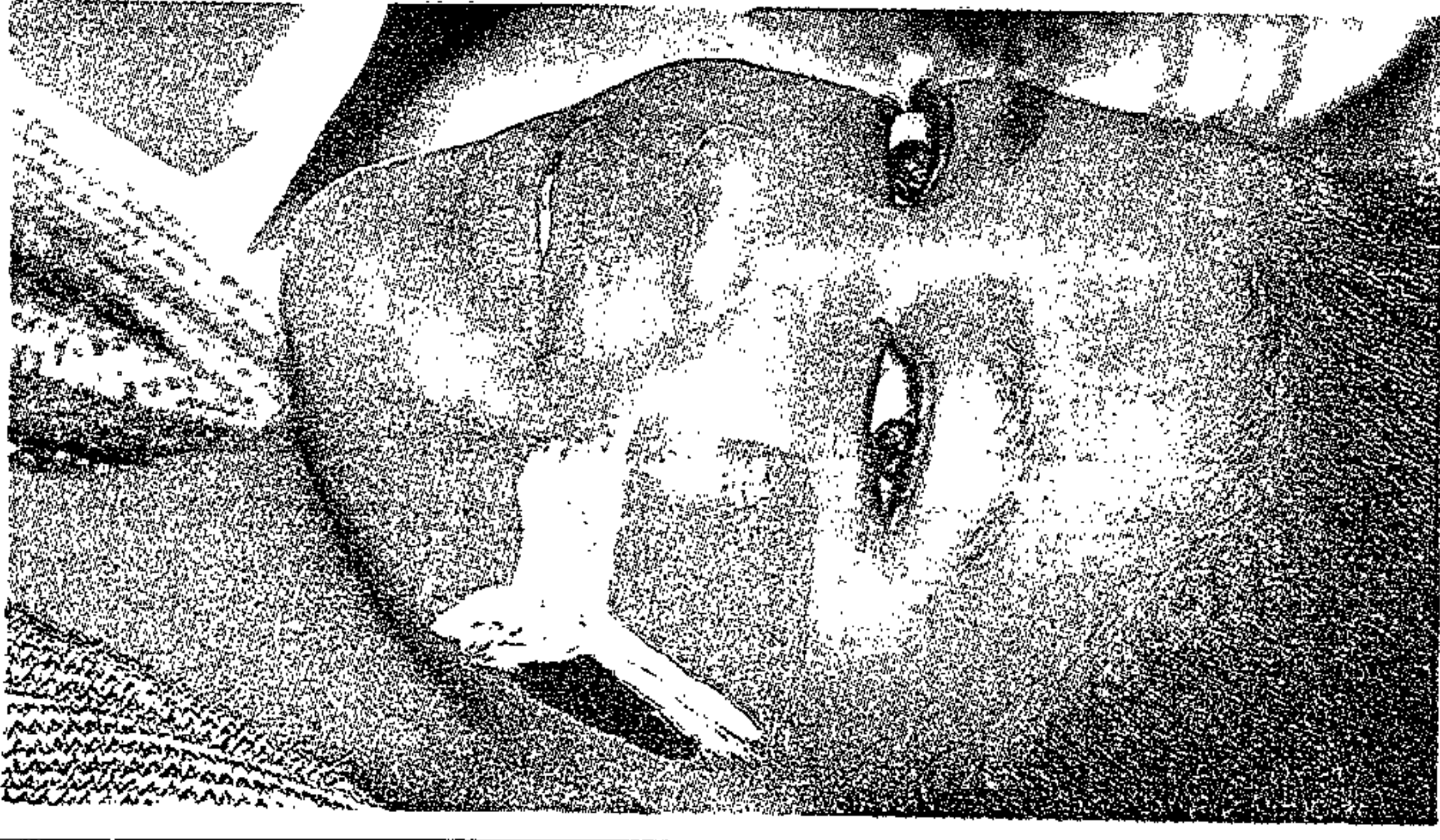
league F W de Klerk as a smiling President Mandela looks on.

100

Vips: PWV premier Tokyo Sexwale, left

centre, escorts his wife Judy, left, to parliament. With them is Limpho Hani, widow of Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.



P|icture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

De Klerk names NP Ministers

Post-apartheid Cabinet fills up

Star 10/5/94

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON
CHRIS WHITFIELD and
KAIZER NYATSUMIBA

Cape Town — President Nelson Mandela's first post-apartheid Cabinet came close to the 27-member limit yesterday when Deputy President F W de Klerk announced the names of six Ministers from his National Party.

The six, all former Cabinet

Ministers until last week, will now take their seats in Mandela's Cabinet.

Former government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer becomes Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, former Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha is now in charge of Mineral and Energy Affairs, and former Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers assumes re-

sponsibility for the Environment Ministry.

Finance Minister Derek Keys and Agriculture Minister Dr Kram van Niekerk retain their respective portfolios, and former Sports Minister Abe Williams becomes Minister of Welfare and Population Development.

Van Niekerk, who is not an MP, will be named as a senator.

This brings to 22 the number of Ministers in the new Cabinet, with the IFP — which is entitled to three Cabinet seats — yet to name its Ministers.

Mandela will still have two Cabinet positions to fill. He might offer them to any two of the following parties, each of which failed to get the 5 per cent required for a Cabinet position: the DP, the PAC and the Freedom Front.

Senior post
(34A)

The Star understands IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi might be offered the senior post of Minister of Home Affairs.

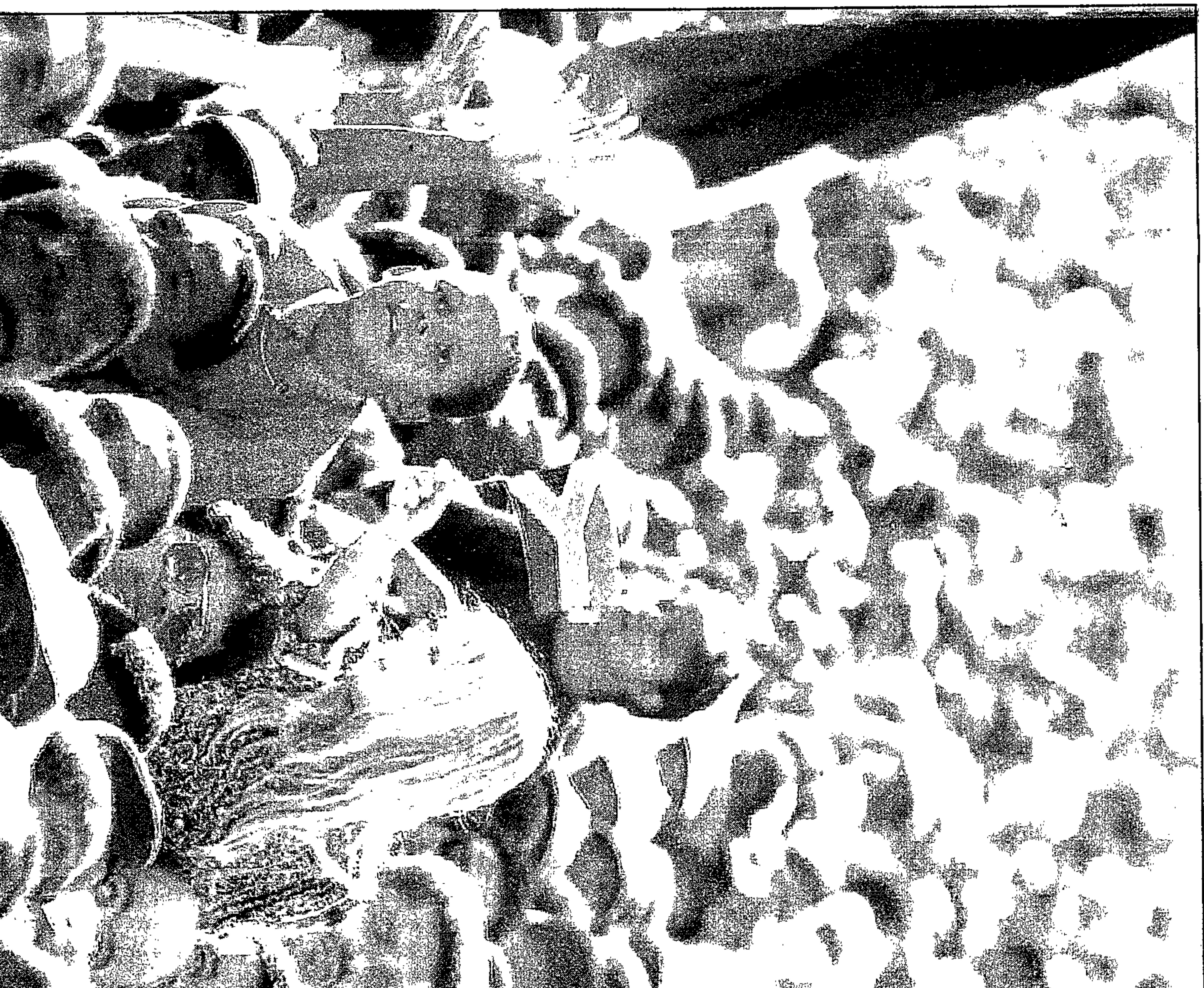
Botha has a key portfolio in which he will be required to handle some of South Africa's most delicate problem areas — petrol pricing and the mining industry.

Meyer will also have a key role as the constitution is remapped over the next few years. His deputy is likely to be the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa.

The NP is entitled to three deputy Ministers, and they will be Tobie Meyer, Renier Schoeman and Chris Fiesner.

De Klerk also announced that former Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee will be nominated by the NP for the office of president of the Senate.

These initiatives come amid considerable last-minute horse-trading among Government of National Unity partners over positions in the new Cabinet following Mandela's announcement of the ANC component last week.



A nation reborn . . . youngsters wave flags as the crowd cheers President Mandela.

PICTURE: AFP

ANC set to tackle PWV imbalance

The present system of unequal power and economic accumulation in the PWV region cannot continue, the ANC said yesterday in its first draft of its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) for the region.

The draft document said the problem could not be addressed by simply taking from those who have and giving to the have-nots, as this would not spread assets meaningfully, nor would it necessarily enhance economic capacity.

The ANC said there might, however, need to be reconstruction levies and special taxes levied on especially the small group of monopolistic corporations.

The ANC document proposed a vast expansion of infrastructure in all sectors to reorientate the PWV economy as well as new investment in productive capacity.

It said large amounts of funds were required for the RDP and a detailed analysis of sources still had to be undertaken. — Sapa.

We're on top of the world

◀ From Page 1

zens to heal the wounds of the past with the intent of constructing a new order based on justice.

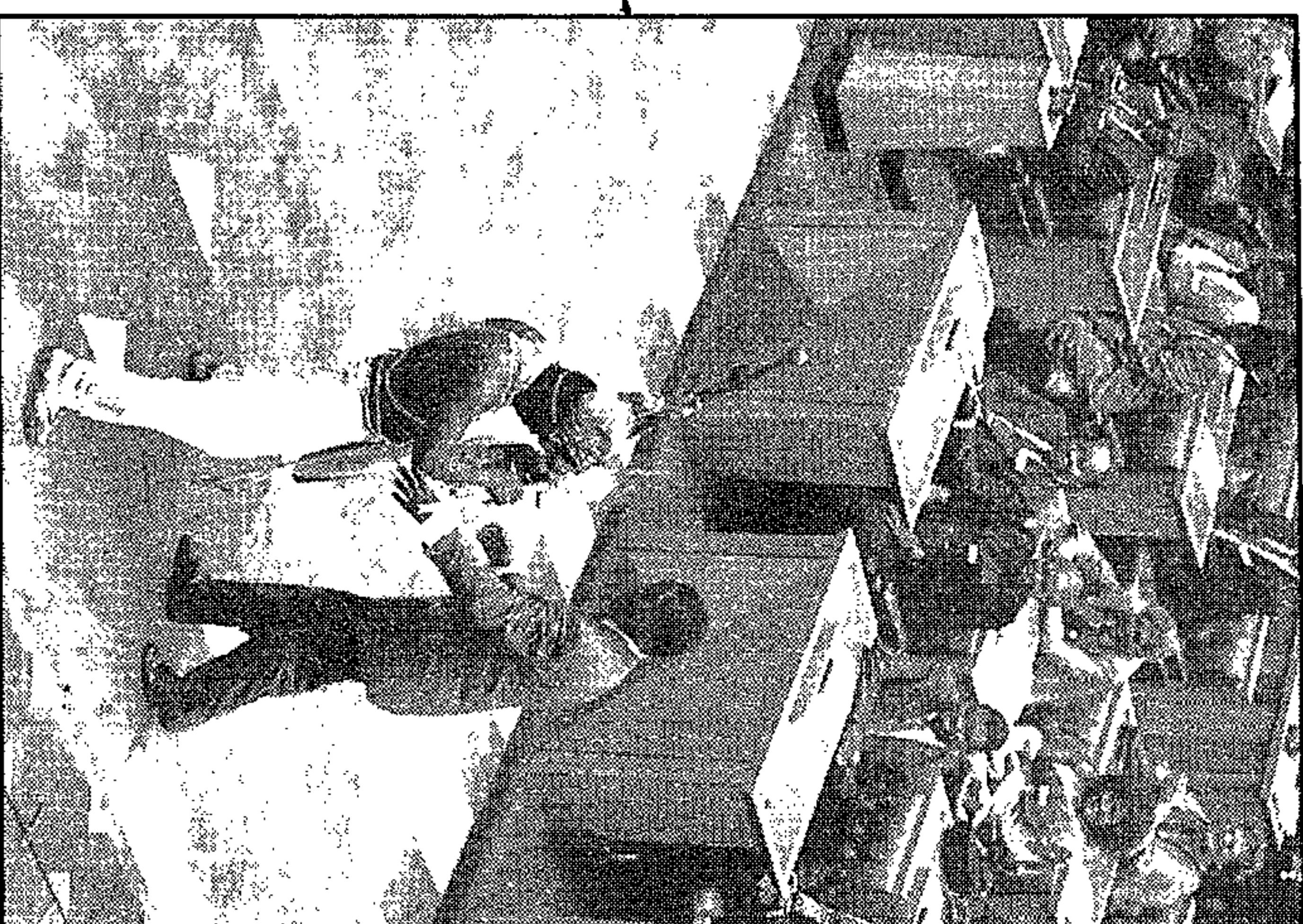
"This is the challenge that faces all South Africans today, and it is one to which I am certain we will all rise."

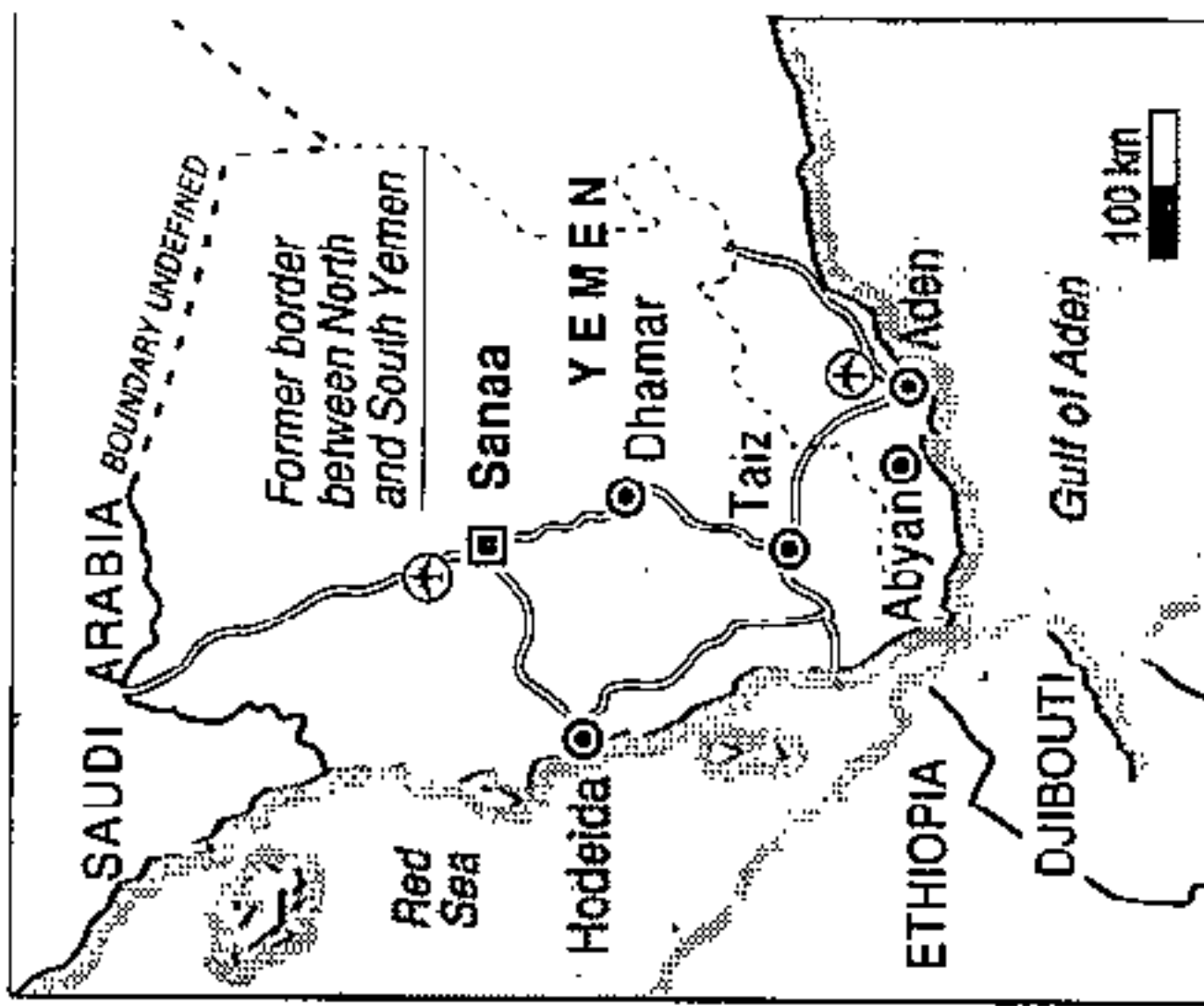
He warned that the task would not be easy.

"But you have mandated us to change South Africa from a country in which the majority lived with little hope, to one in which they can live and work with dignity, with a sense of self-esteem and confidence."

Making a plea for "unity of purpose", he said challenges "require us all to work together

Touch of tradition . . . Deputy President Thabo Mbeki thanks a praise singer after his performance. PICTURE: AFP





Troops advance on Aden

North seizes South Yemen's main air base

Baid have a second air base in the Hadramaut, 700 km to the east of Aden.

The south has been counting on its warplanes and Scud missiles to hold off the north since civil war has broken out on Thursday, after several months of political bickering and feuding between Saleh and Baid.

Foreign governments from Asia to Europe have urged the warring sides to preserve unity and topple al-Baid had reached Aden's outskirts.

The battles could decide whether the country survives intact four years after its two halves were merged by Saleh and al-Baid.

Southern Yemen said a key northern brigade trying to impose Saleh's authority

off the fingers" of southern leaders, said its thrust southwards to preserve unity and topple al-Baid had reached Aden's outskirts.

Powerful hug . . . President Mandela hugs IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Parliament as the ANC's Joe Modise (left) and Alfred Nzo applaud.

PICTURE: AP



Enterprise

Poverty would be tackled, investors would be encouraged to support job-creation projects, and the country would be changed from a net exporter of raw materials to one that exported finished products.

The Government would devise policies to encourage and reward productive enterprise in disadvantaged communities. It would ease credit conditions to "assist them to make inroads into the productive and manufacturing spheres and break out of the small-scale distribution to which they are confined."

While the majority principle was vital in a country where the "vast majority have been systematically denied their rights . . . democracy also requires that the rights of political and other minorities be safeguarded."

As Mandela ended with the words "I thank you", an elated Archbishop Desmond Tutu shouted: "We are free today. We are free today. All of us, black and white together, free today."

Israeli president, PLO chief meet in Pretoria

Israeli President Ezer Weizman and Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat met on South African soil yesterday when they paid a courtesy visit to President Nelson Mandela.

Commonwealth

Scheduled to visit Mandela last night were representatives of a selected Commonwealth group, including Canadian Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps, Malaysian Minister of Foreign Affairs Datuk Abdullah Ha Baidawi, Singaporean Minister of Finance Dr Richard Hu and Sri Lankan Minister of Foreign Affairs A C S Hameed.

The southern African group included Botswana President Festus Mogae, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Namibian President Sam Nujoma, Zambian President Frederick Chiluba, Basotho King Letsie III and Swazi King Mswati III.

The South African Communications Service said in a statement last night that King Constantine of Greece was in South Africa in his private capacity, and not to represent the Hellenic Republic of Greece. — Sapa.

Let's shake . . . PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli President Ezer Weizman shake hands yesterday while President Nelson Mandela looks on.

PICTURE: AP



Huge snarl-up as tanker overturns

Police diverted international dignitaries heading to Pretoria for President Mandela's inauguration after a fuel tanker overturned and spilt petrol on the Pretoria-Johannesburg highway yesterday afternoon during rush hour.

Thousands of commuters were snarled up in what is believed to have been the country's biggest peak-hour traffic jam. The Ben Schoeman Highway

was sealed off in both directions.

The accident, in which several people were injured, occurred at 4.45 pm on a downhill stretch between the Oltfontein and Alandale Road turn-offs.

Emergency services from five municipalities — Midrand, Johannesburg and Sandton — assisted by the police were called in to help. — Pretoria Bureau, Sapa.

George Peppard dies at 65

Los Angeles — Actor

Panama City — Presidential candidate and singer/actor Ruben Blades, here with wife Lisa Lebron, yesterday refused to concede defeat in Panama's election until all the votes had been counted. Wealthy businessman Ernesto Perez Balladres appeared set for victory in the seven-way race for the presidency of Panama.



Singing candidate fights on



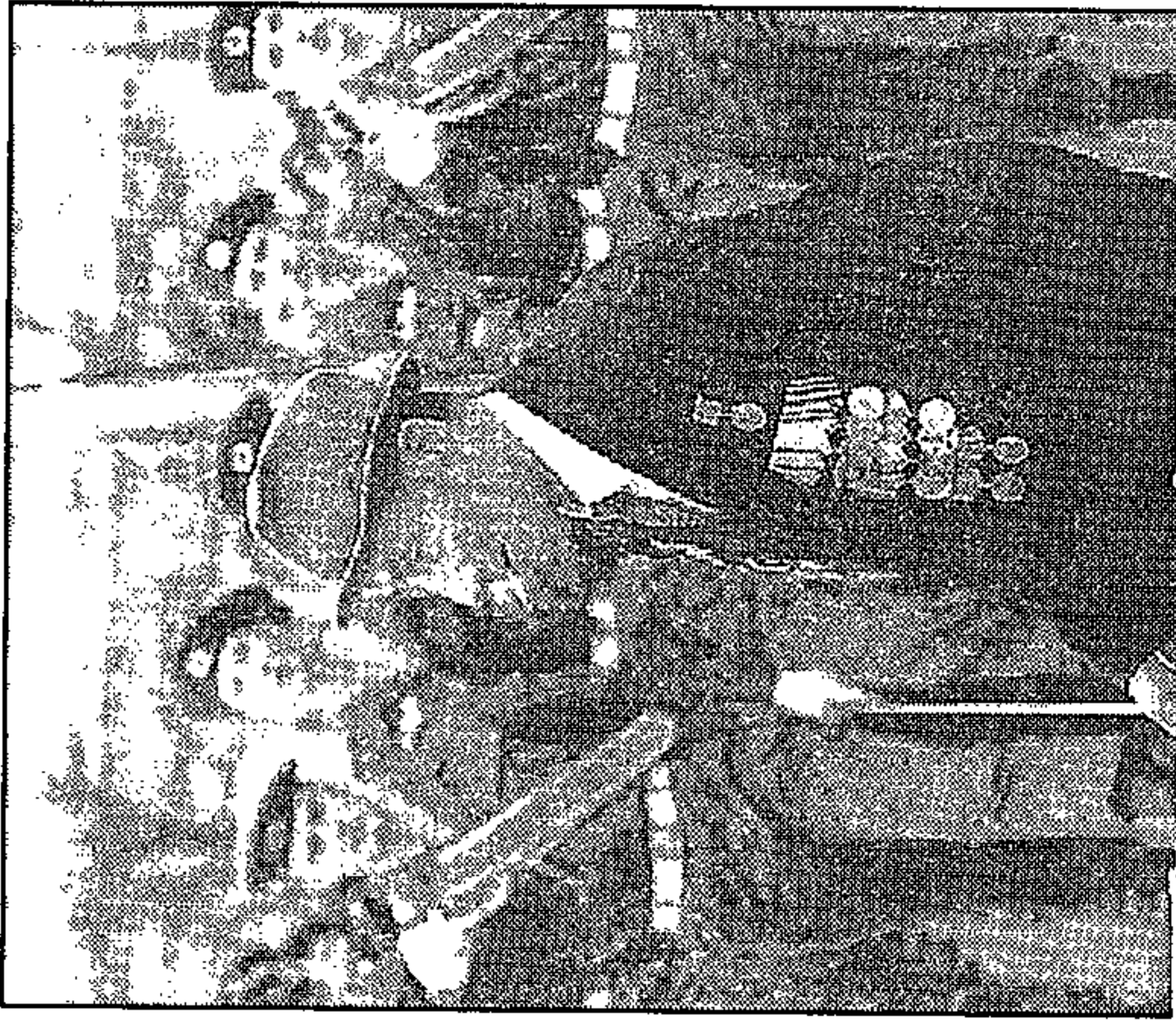
Serbs in blue try to con UN

Sarajevo — About 100 Bosnian Serb troops disguised as police remained in a 3 km exclusion zone around Gorazde yesterday despite pledges by their leader that they would be pulled out, the UN said.

A UN spokesman said Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic had assured the UN at the weekend that the troops would pull out of the Muslim enclave, but nothing happened.

He said the Serb police were actually soldiers who had changed their green uniforms for blue.

Bosnia's Muslim-led government has refused to restart peace negotiations with the Serbs until they fully comply with a Nato ultimatum.



Flower of remembrance

In Cape Town to witness the election of Nelson Mandela as the country's new president, Shaun Johnson and Chris Whitfield reflect on one of the most emotional mornings any South African could have lived through.

We have overcome — finally



Dr Frene Ginwala

Tearful Star 10514 Ginwala SA's new Speaker

Cape Town — Dr Frene Ginwala was very close to tears yesterday after becoming the first woman, and the first person of colour, to be elected Speaker of Parliament.

MPs applauded when she took her seat in the Speaker's chair after her unopposed nomination by fellow-MP and ANC Women's League head Winnie Mandela.



As Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela stood on the steps of Parliament to receive the accolades of the gathered crowds and the world, it was tempting to imagine that the strains of *Mkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* were carrying across Table Bay to the shores of Robben Island.

The symmetry of South Africa's greatest moment of catharsis was extraordinary: the man who had stared longingly across the water from the prison island to the twinkling lights of Cape Town now looked the other way in solemnity and celebration.

In a brief moment of silence, ears were suddenly trained on a sound far across the cobblestones, from behind the steel gates enclosing Shapleton. From there came a clear voice: "Amandla, Viva President Mandela", and then a variation on the famous song *We Shall Overcome*. It became *We Have Overcome*. Yet another voice rose up to adapt the phrase still further: *I am overcome*. Mandela smiled, gave a brief wave, and hurried to leave.

This brought to an end an unforgettable morning in the life of South Africa. Early on already, new MPs and their spouses, chattering excitedly and unsure of where to go, had milled around inside and out.

The lobby of the erstwhile House of Assembly, once a holy of holes in the years of white power, was packed with multi-coloured faces of new MPs and spouses. Toddlers gambolled about in a final symbol of the new having replaced the old.

Along with the guests at the occasion, Cape Town put on its finest clothes for the great day: warm and windless with Table Mountain slightly shrouded in cloud.



Brave man... Naude, a fighter against apartheid.

Today's the day of days for Beyers

Today will be etched in the hearts of all South Africans, but it is of special significance to Dr Beyers Naude, who celebrates his 79th birthday.

"It's a wonderful birthday present for me," he said. Naude and his wife, Ise, attend the inauguration of Nelson Mandela today, and it seems appropriate that the day will have extra meaning for the dominee who has dedicated his life to opposing apartheid.

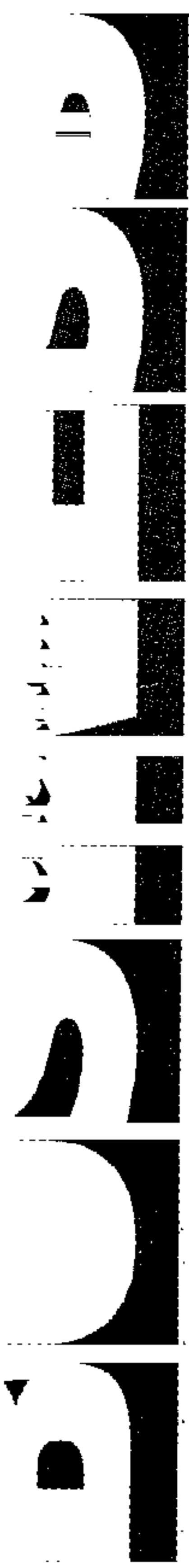
After opposing apartheid in the Dutch Reformed Church in the 1960s, Naude was deprived of his status as minister by the white DRC, hounded by the security police, investigated by the Schlebusch commission, tried for refusing to testify before the commission, and later banned by the Government.

HE was one of the first leading Afrikaners openly to take the side of the 'enemy' and paid dearly for it over the years, writes Colleen Ryan

Schnur talks with the Government.

After Groote Schnur, Naude could have taken an active role in politics. But he declared that, as a minister, he was not in a position to join any political party, and so he faded from the formal negotiation process.

Perhaps closest to his heart has been his involvement in the recent unification between the black and coloured Dutch Re-



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welcome the smooth transition. The rise of \$7 in the bullion price pushed the gold index up 65 points. Industrials gained 95 points to a new high.

Edited by John Spira

BRIEFLY

Loss for ZCCM

Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) has reported a loss of 49.9 billion kwacha for the quarter to December 1993 (12.55 billion kwacha profit in the same period in 1992).

Forecast beaten

Growthpoint Properties reports 38c per unit has been paid for the year to March, significantly up on the 24.3c per linked unit forecast by the directors last December.

UK spending spree

British consumers took on a record amount of credit in March, suggesting people remained confident ahead of a huge increase in personal taxes in April. Britons took on a net \$516 million of new credit, the highest monthly figure on record.

Surplus at new high

Record account surplus rose to a record \$130.04 billion for the year to March, topping the previous high of \$125.90 billion set in 1992/93.

Reports Sapa-Reuters-AP-ATP and Business Staff

Subsidiary helps double PGSI earnings

Belron delivers

BY STEPHEN CRANSTON

Plate Glass and Shatterproof Industries (PGSI) has at last received a meaningful contribution from its international interests held through Belron International.

Belron, which made a negative R8 million contribution last year, contributed R78 million in the year to March.

This was the main reason that PGSI's attributable profit increased by 101 percent to R158.6 million. Fully diluted earnings per share were up 68 percent to 512.3c.

This is welcome news for PGSI's parent company, SA Breweries, which desperately needs the extra profit to offset the expected losses from OK Bazaars.

PGSI chairman Ronnie Lubner says that Glass SA, the local manufacturing and distribution business, was unable to

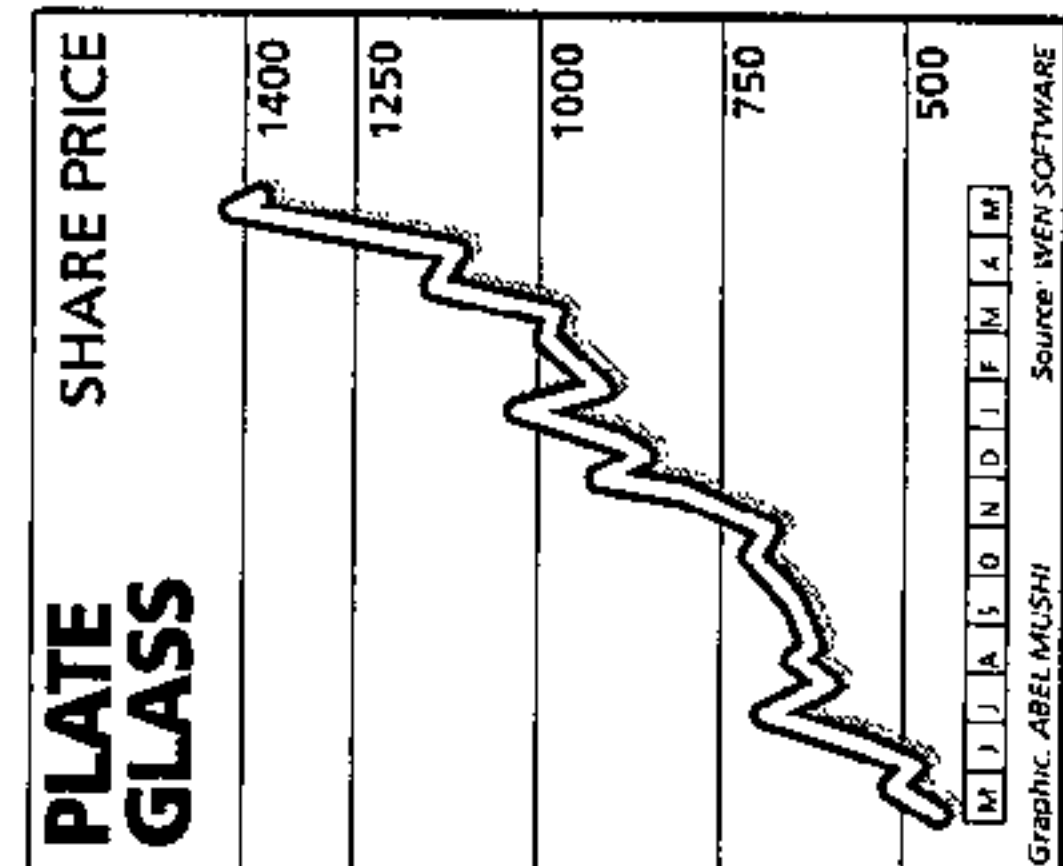


Ronnie Lubner... not in fashion business.

increase volumes or margins as it faced increased competition from imports and weak construction and motor industries.

But the local board and liquidates business, PG Bison, had a major reorganisation, which led to a significant improvement in profit.

Zimbabwean associate PG Industries, which was pre-



results was the return to profitability of US subsidiary, Windshields America, and of Australian subsidiary O'Brien Glass.

Belron has substantial assessed losses in both these companies, which can now be used.

Belron's French subsidiary was ahead of expectations, though not yet profitable. Though the German subsidiary was below expectations, it showed an improved trend.

Lubner says Autoglass continues to hold a small share of these markets, which are still dominated by car dealers.

The more mature Autoglass UK operation remained very profitable, and the Benelux operations made useful contributions.

Lubner says that PGSI is not in the fashion business. There are enormous opportunities from the demand for glass —

the goods

and for boats and laminates — in housing, which is a priority of the new government.

If demand increases according to expectations, PGSI will have to consider a second float glass plant to supplement its Springs plant. But in the meantime, PGSI would be happy to import excess requirements.

Since the removal of sanctions, Glass SA has been in a position to sell to its sister companies in Belron, but it does so on an arm's length basis.

Its sales to Belron have increased, but in order to do so costs have been trimmed.

Lubner says that Glass SA prices are now lower than they were two years ago.

Cash flow from operations was up 105 percent to R293.1 million, which enabled gearing to fall from 62 to 27 percent.

Share market makes excellent advances

BY DEREK TOMMEY

The JSE advanced off a broad front in fairly heavy trading yesterday after the steep rise in the gold price and the return of foreign investors.

The overall soared 131 points to close at a new record of 5440.

Gold shares surged in early trading after the \$7 jump in the gold price to above \$381. Later in the day, golds experienced some profit-taking and closed below their best.

Dealers said the jump in gold was the result of a bear squeeze in New York on Friday night, which pushed up the price more than \$13 at one stage.

However, as the gold price could ease once the squeezed ended, some prudent investors took profits.

The gold index closed 65 points higher at 1891.

Gold shares attracting strong buying included Fregold and Dries, which both rose R3.50, Southvaal (R4), Kloof

(50c) and Freddev (40c). Odd-man out was Randfontein, which dropped 25c.

Foreign buying following the higher gold price and the better sentiment overseas pushed up De Beers by R3.25 to R106.25 in a R25.4 million turnover. Anglo rose R5 to R227. Gencor was 30c better at R9.55.

Overseas interest contributed to good performances by several blue-chip industrials. Barlows gained R1.25 to R40.25, Sappi was 50c higher at R46, Sasol gained 50c to R24.75 and SAB was R1.75 up at R101.25.

There was continued buying of construction companies, which are expected to gain considerably from the new government's housing programme. Murray & Roberts rose 50c to R106, Stocks gained 40c to R3.90 and Basil Read 5c to 260c.

SBIC, which has been a laggard in the banking sector, rose R7 to R115.

Nande, who is a co-minister of the DRC in Alexandria, points out that the unification will only be complete when the white Dutch Reformed Church becomes a part.

He believes it has a role to play in South Africa. "The Church must develop a culture of justice, true democracy and tolerance."

"It must also see as one of its priorities the need for reconciliation, but true reconciliation can only be based on justice. Crucial to this is the issue of land in South Africa. Some form of restitution must take place."

"What we initially sacrifice will be small compared to what we will gain in South Africa in the long run," he said.

Colleen Ryan is author of the biography, *Beyers Nande — A Pilgrimage of Faith*.

PICTURE: AP

Within the roped-off areas, MPs embraced each other excitedly, and former foes threw their arms around one another without hesitation. In the chamber itself, the gestures of reconciliation which the world saw on its television screens made the emotional temperature in the room soar.

New MPs and gallery onlookers struggled to restrain themselves from bursting into song. The moment at which black South Africans took their seats in Parliament for the first time, finally setting the seal on the miraculous transition, surpassed expectations.

Jubilation... ANC supporters cheer as the new president emerges on to a balcony of Cape Town's City Hall yesterday, shortly after being elected to the post by a sitting of South Africa's first multiracial Parliament.

Dr Bhadra Ranganod, nominated by Dannie Schutte, became her deputy.

The diminutive, sari-clad Ghwala told the National Assembly that it would be her duty to protect the right to free speech and to ensure that every voice was able to make itself heard.

After announcing that the House would be adjourned until further notice, she left the Chamber accompanied by President Nelson Mandela and his two deputies, Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk.

She stood with them under the massive columns flanking the main entrance to Parliament as a military band played *Die Stem* and *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, and scores of photographers took pictures — Sapa.





"I will be warm and dry this winter"

reporter's quip — a signum averten version of a 1970s pop song by the Eagles.
 "Welcome to the Hotel California, you can check in any time you like, but you can never leave."

Local journalists became even more despondent when their foreign colleagues came to the theatre, thinking they were on a big TV screen.
 But soon enough the scene changed. The theatre where scene town and two rec charmed the audience icans and South Afri

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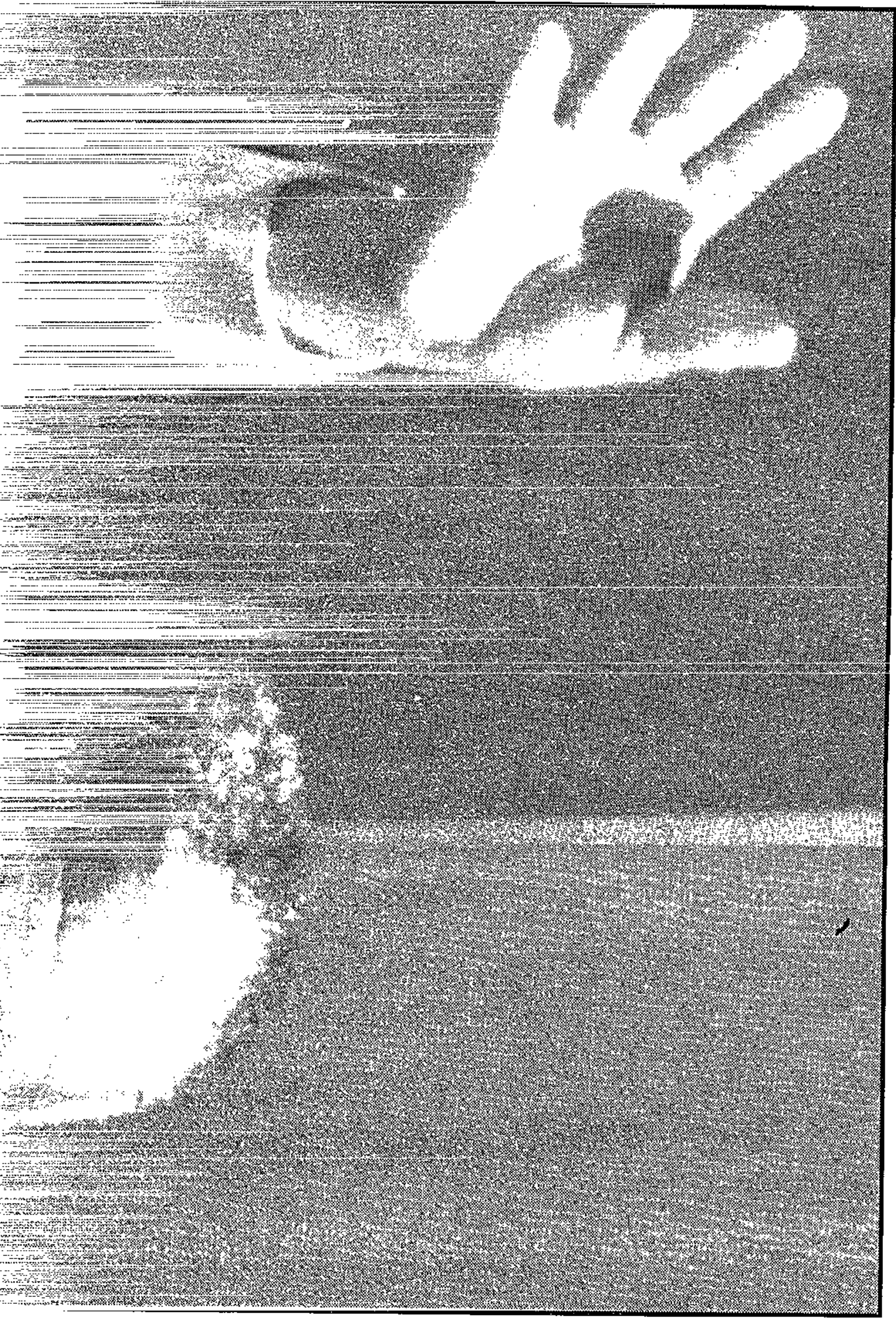
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MTR President

Smiling crowds join in joyful festival

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Thousands of smiling people flocked to the Union Building lawns today in a joyful celebration of the New South Africa.
 They came from all over — from the Witwatersrand by train, from the far reaches of the Eastern Transvaal, the sprawling settlements around Pretoria.
 Some had slept overnight in stations, many had started their journey in the cold early hours of a new day for a new country.
 The focus was firmly on a man and an occasion many believed impossible four short years ago.
 And in contrast to the almost repressive inaugurations of National Party presidents, today's event was a relaxed, colourful and festive celebration of a new era.
 Speculation that many whites would remain behind closed doors today was shown to be



AR25 10/5/94 (304A)

Mandela pledges a broad amnesty

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela held the attention of South Africa and the world today in a stirring, often lyrical address, committing his government to renewal and the preservation of liberty.
 He reached out to all South Africans to join him, working together "as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world".
 As a matter of urgency, the government of national unity would consider a broad amnesty for prisoners "as a token of its commitment to the renewal of our country".

He addressed a huge throng of South Africans and a panoply of princes, presidents and world leaders after his emotionally charged inauguration as the country's first democratically elected State President.
 Mr Mandela declared: "We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, without any fear in their eyes, without any fear in their minds, without any fear in their spirits, without any fear in their souls."
 "To my compatriots, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld."
 He paid tribute to the "masses of our people", to the security forces, and leaders in all fields.
 "Not least among them is my second Deputy President, the Honourable F.W. de Klerk."

"that there is no easy road to freedom".
 Mr Mandela began his historic address: "Your majesties, your highnesses, distinguished guests, comrades and friends," covering the extraordinary spectrum of an audience charged with hope and wonder at an event for which so many had strived for so long.
 "Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty."
 "Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud."
 It was up to South Africans to "reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes".

unfounded. Huge numbers of whites from pensioners to children joined the crowd on the lawns, many wearing equally colourful clothes and waving flags, dancing and singing with their fellow South Africans.

Nelson Mandela memorabilia and the new flag dominated hawkers' wares at the Union Buildings.

Most of the hawkers, a good mix of the variety of cultures in South Africa, seemed to have anticipated a killing in terms of flags, the president's bust, T-shirts and other wares.

Among the slogans on the T-shirts, caps, balloons and bathmats were: The world says Nelson Mandela for president, Free at last, One culture one nation and I survived the '94 elections.

There are about 20 different T-shirts bearing New South African flags. Mr Mandela's face, Nkosi Sikele and Peace symbols on sale together with caps, scarves, posters and balloons. Clocks with symbolic decorations are also being sold by enterprising entrepreneurs.

The rooftops of apartment buildings in Church Street were taken over by photographers and TV camera crews.

At the Presidense, where the world's leaders met for breakfast, it became a VIP traffic jam with the queue stretching to 400 cars.

According to officials at Civil Defence headquarters the traffic jam at the gate of the Presidense was caused by a crush of media and VIPs.

The backlog of VIPs was exacerbated by a traffic jam at the Koeksuster interchange. During the morning three vehicles — including one transporting a delegation from the Nicaraguan embassy — were involved in an accident in Pretorius Street near Duncan Street. The vehicles were fairly seriously damaged but according to Civil Defence no one was injured.

US Vice President Al Gore's nine car cavalcade took top honours, but the focus of attention was the arrival of PLO leader Yassar Arafat and Cuban leader Fidel Castro.



PRESIDENT'S SALUTE: Nelson Mandela was inaugurated before an immense crowd which gathered for the occasion in Pretoria today.

THE MAKING OF PRESIDENT MANDELA

WE loudly proclaim from the rooftops — Free at last! — from Nelson Mandela's victory speech to the people of South Africa after the general election.

NOW stand by for The Argus special souvenir edition on **The Making of President Mandela.**

It is the incredible story of the world's most celebrated leader, the man who cast aside 27 years in prison to lead the country into the dawn of a new democracy. Today Nelson Mandela became president of South Africa before hundreds of thousands of people in an historic ceremony at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. The event was shared by millions of television viewers worldwide.

To commemorate this great event The Argus will publish a souvenir, **The Making of President Mandela**, in words and pictures tomorrow.

AVB terror acts 'to stop' Pretoria

PRETORIA. — The little-known underground rightwing group, the Afrikaner Volkstaabeweging, has said it will cease all deeds of terror and back Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen.

AVB leader Dries Kriel, who has been linked to bombings at a school and post offices in Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Verwoerburg, the Western Transvaal, Free State and Northern Cape, said General Viljoen and the Freedom Front's successful attempts to establish a volkstataat council had led to the AVB's decision to stop all acts of terror.

Mr Kriel is on R2000 bail after appearing in court in connection with terror charges, including sabotage. — Sapa.

'Frosty' Mandela gives Winnie cold shoulder

NELSON MANDELA snubbed his estranged wife Winnie during the first sitting of parliament and the personal divide between them seemed as wide as ever.

Moments after Mr Mandela was chosen president he refused to acknowledge Mrs Mandela when she sat briefly beside him to nominate Frene Giniewala as the country's first woman Speaker of parliament.

When Mrs Mandela stood to announce the nomination, she was required to walk over to where her husband sat.

Sitting less than an arm's length apart, he never looked at her. Mr Mandela stared straight ahead as his wife read out Dr Giniewala's name and then returned to her seat.

Mr Mandela's reaction showed the extent of his aloofness toward Mrs Mandela since their separation in 1992.

While Mr Mandela often smiled proudly at some new MPs who were sworn in, he did not congratulate his wife and she did not try to approach him directly.

Dedicating the day to "all the heroes and heroines" who had sacrificed so much in the name of freedom, he said: "Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward."

He was "humbled and elevated" by the honour and privilege the people of South Africa had bestowed on him, but added that he still understood "God bless Africa!"

Char

The Argus Co

PRETORIA. — already singing, cha the lawns of th early this mon

Among the se were copies of dela's s' inaugu glossy assing and flags. To the occasion, 10 million R5 and silver co coins.

Among the st the concert a the Black Mambazo Nico Carstens. Miriam Makeba

Other notables included Irish President Mary Robinson, Greek King Constantine and Pehin Dato Abdul Rahman Taib, industry minister of Brunei, the richest country per capita in the world.

President F W de Klerk's inauguration in Pretoria 4 1/2 years ago provides an appropriate contrast: the event at the University of the North West was attended by only four heads of state — from Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Official delegations from the Republic of China and Lesotho were present and 17 countries were represented by their ambassadors.

Mr De Klerk was also sworn in by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Michael Corbett, but that is just about the only similarity between the two events.

Included in the delegation were those who arrived to pay tribute to the late President Julius Nyerere among those who were former President and Tanzanian former Organisation chairman Yasser Arafat and

It be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world. Let freedom reign. The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement! God bless Africa!"

be justice for all. Let there be peace for all. Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.

"Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world. Let freedom reign. The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement! God bless Africa!"

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Eyes of the world on Pretoria and Nelson Mandela

Cold front from over Peninsula.

knols.

20 C. MN wind

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INAUGURATION

Generals salute their new leader

PRETORIA. — A moment of stark reality, different from the mass-singing and ceremonial pomp, marked the beginning of President Nelson Mandela's term of office yesterday.

A series of benedicted South African generals, once the guardians of white power, saluted the first black leader of their country — their new commander-in-chief.

The ultimate symbol of power — armed might — had passed to a one-time outlaw who was the world's best-known political prisoner until his release four years ago.

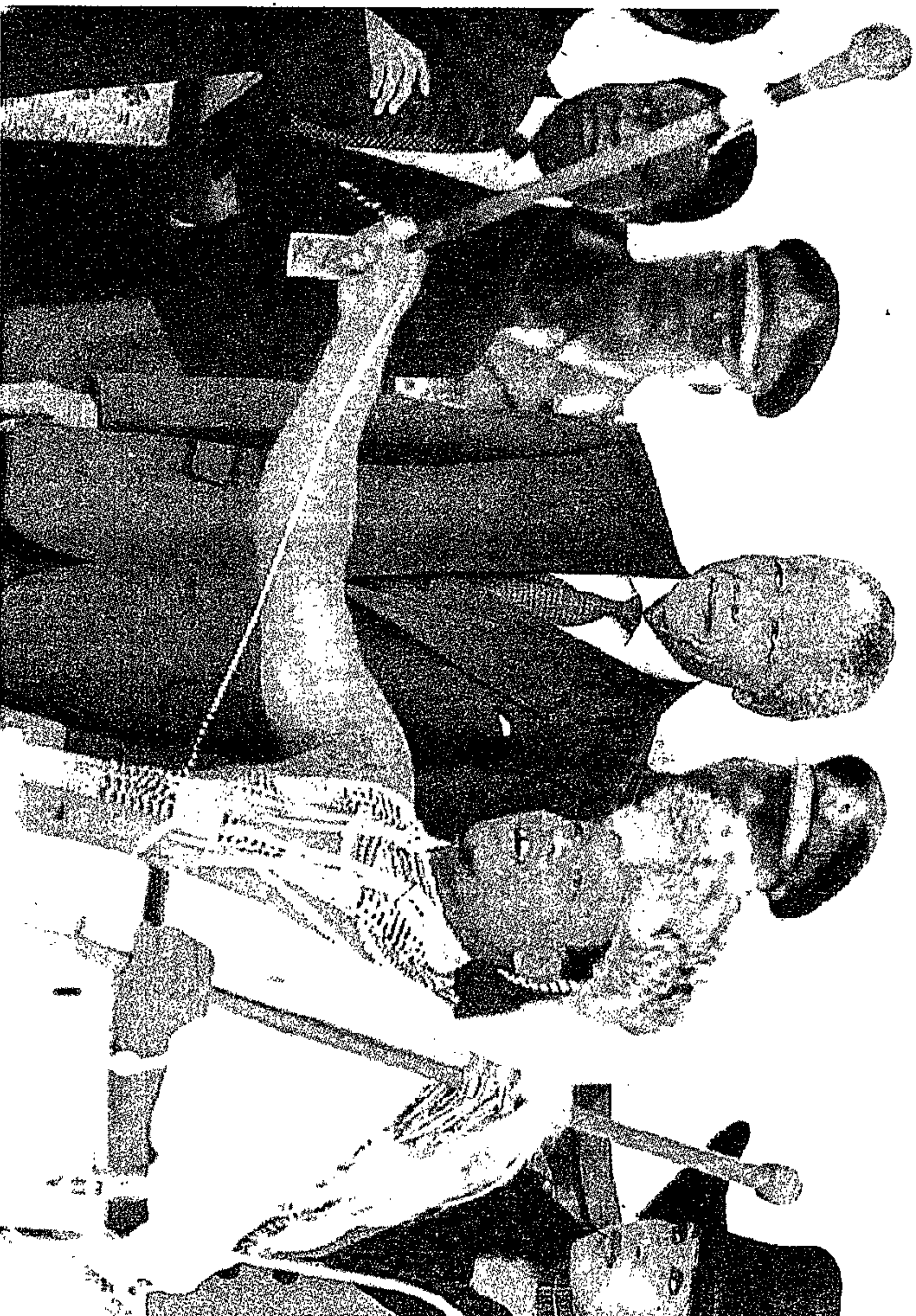
President Mandela watched a display of military strength which the former apartheid state had once used against him and his African National Congress.

He was once known as the Black Pimpernel for his solo, elusive guerrilla tactics in evading pursuit.

Now, within seconds of signing a goatskin parchment inserted into the State Bible, he commanded a potential fighting force of half-a-million troops, when fully mobilised.

President Mandela paid tribute to the country's security forces he now commands — "In all their ranks, for the distinguished role they have played in securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy from bloodthirsty forces which still refuse to see the light".

The highlight of the afternoon, which had crowds roaring in admiration, was a flypast of Mirage jet fighters, helicopter gunships and paratroop-carrying transport planes, displaying the colours of the new national flag. — Sapa-Reuter



SING PRAISES ... A praise singer, dressed in costume and wielding a ceremonial cane, sings praises as President Nelson Mandela stands behind him at the start of the presidential inauguration ceremony in Pretoria yesterday. On the right is Mr Mandela's daughter, Princess Zinani Dlamini Mandela.

Picture: AP



MUSICAL EXPRESSION ... A man blows a tune through a Kudu horn early yesterday in a park near where President Nelson Mandela was inaugurated. A concert was held after the inauguration at the Union Buildings.

Picture: AP

Ex-foes FW, Castro meet

PRETORIA. — Former arch-enemies Cuban leader Mr Fidel Castro and South Africa's Deputy President F W de Klerk and the chief of the Defence Force, General Georg Meiring, chatted amiably at lunch yesterday.

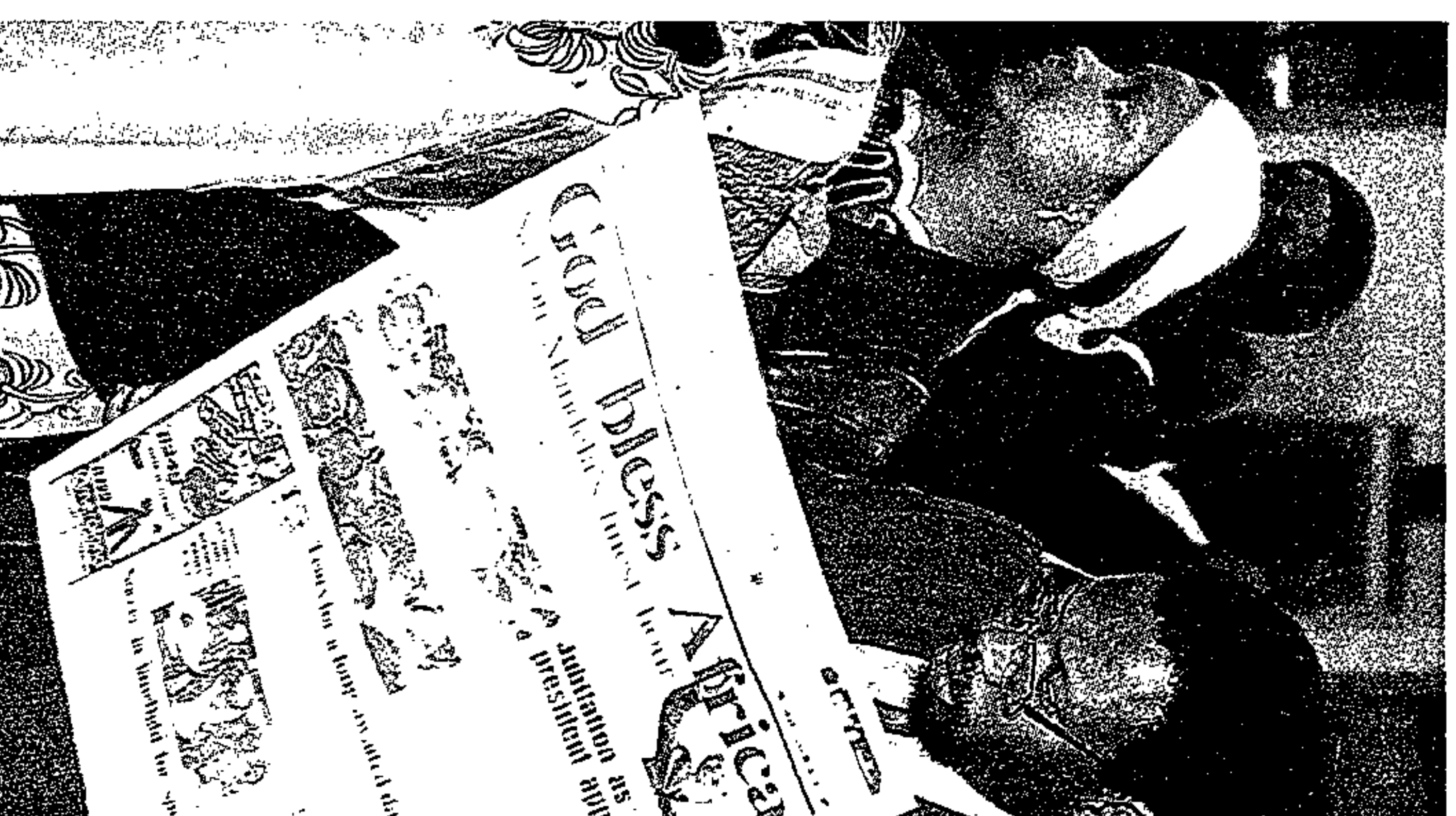
"Welcome to South Africa," Mr De Klerk told the Cuban leader on being introduced by President Nelson Mandela at his inauguration lunch at the Presidential Palace.

Mr Castro replied, through an interpreter, "I hope you are successful". Mr De Klerk then introduced Mr Castro to General Meiring. The two uniformed men shook each other's hands warmly. — Sapa



UNIFORMED VISITOR ... Cuban leader Mr Fidel Castro waves as he arrives for the inauguration.

Picture: AP



FLYING TO PRETORIA ... Mr George Mashamba reads the Cape Times as he waits in the queue to get his free ticket to the presidential inauguration.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

700 guests line up for free trip

By PETER DENNEHY

MORE than 700 of the new President's guests gathered at D F Malan airport early yesterday morning to fly to the ceremony in Pretoria, free of charge courtesy of the National Inauguration Committee.

Much of the crowd queuing in several long lines at 5.30am in the airport lounge consisted of Members of Parliament and their wives, and members of various provincial assemblies and their wives.

There were also several judges and lawyers, activists, newspaper editors, family members of prominent ANC persons, and friends and associates.

Cape Town has been particularly full of politicians, because many of them had been sworn in to Parliament or to provincial assemblies here.

Mr George Mashamba said he was a Northern Transvaal regional representative.

UK protesters finally come in from the cold

LONDON. — The long-shunned demonstrators came in from the cold yesterday, crossing the threshold of South Africa House here after years of anti-apartheid protest outside.

The mission on Trafalgar Square threw a party to celebrate Mr Nelson Mandela's inauguration.

Hundreds of guests crowded into a ballroom to watch TV replays of the inauguration and celebrate.

"This is our building now", jubilant ANC workers said as they entered.

"Congratulations," said one to ambassador Mr Kent Durr, adding as he embraced mission deputy chief Mr Gert Grobler: "You are my brother".

Impromptu tribal dancing and singing broke out as ANC London office chief Mr Mandla Langa took the stage and said: "I have never been in here until two or three weeks ago. Today is

a happy day. I feel exhilarated."

In Washington, South Africans and Americans gathered outside the embassy for the hoisting of the new SA flag and to celebrate the inauguration. Among them were Ms Molly Biehl, sister of slain US civil rights worker Ms Amy Biehl, and Mr Thabang Seleoane, who claimed to be the youngest prisoner on Robben Island. He was there from 1975 to 1980.

Applause greeted ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz's description of Mr Mandela as the leader now of all South Africans, not just the ANC.

Ms Nenzi Plaatje, formerly of Saldanha Bay and studying for a doctorate in African studies at Howard University, said: "We and Afrikaners are much closer than people think. Between us, we will make it work." — Sapa-Reuter, Own Correspondent

Germany pledges its support

(3047) CT 11/5/94
PRETORIA. — Nowhere on the African continent were the prospects for progress and vigorous and sustained growth as good as in South Africa, Federal Republic of Germany Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Klaus Kinkel said yesterday.

Pledging his government's full support and active assistance, he said Germany would do everything in its power to help South Africa in "this new epoch of chal-

lenge".

"We aim to play our part in helping South Africa's engine work up steam and get the whole train, that is to say the whole of Southern Africa, moving," Dr Kinkel told a reception at the German embassy here.

But reason and prudence, especially in the economic sphere, had to remain the guiding principle, he added.

"We hope that the conference

with the nations of Southern Africa, scheduled to take place in Berlin in September, will generate fresh impulses for co-operation between the two regions."

He appealed to German nationals and South Africans of German origin not to relent their efforts to develop Southern Africa.

"Show the world that this country, this whole region, this Africa, has a future and knows how to shape it." — Sapa

Watch for spies in ANC woodwork

By ANTHONY HOLIDAY

WE ARE in a season of rituals, baptisms, first birthday celebrations, inaugurations, sacraments of passage. Our first democratic election was such a ritual, its ultimate outcome wholly predictable as the outcome of all decent rituals ought to be. Ditto the presidential installation, the parliamentary openings, the myriad "maiden" speeches. The list of such rites seems almost endless.

All this is as it should be. Rituals are not useless things. Indeed, in political as in other spheres of life we can hardly do without them. To call something a rite is not to deny that it is right to engage in it and to point out that some or other activity is really a ceremony is not the same as calling it a charade.

Some commentators (myself included) have said that the election was really a kind of coronation for Mr Mandela. But that is entirely different from saying that there was no need to hold an election. Ceremonies dignify our comings and goings, give them a necessary solemnity. Funerals help us to distinguish a corpse from a carcass and weddings make the difference between loving commitments and mere liaisons.

Rituals can be revelatory. They may change nothing but they can help us to see things in a new light.

The elections, for instance, enabled us to see that what many thought impossible could be done. They showed us millions of citizens of all races voting peaceably together for the political parties of their choice. Moreover, the election result in the Western Cape dispelled once and for all the myth of the region's vaunted liberality when the voters chose as their governors members of a party who had once been their oppressors and the architects of apartheid rather than elect representatives of a movement which had engineered the downfall of that hated system.

But rituals can also obscure certain features of political reality. They can be used to camouflage the true anatomy of power and disguise for the citizens of modern democracies the facts about how terribly powerless they often are. The customary genuflections to the will of the majority, the rights of minorities and of the individual can serve to conceal the moves made by the faceless mandarins who — acting

of course under the banner of democracy — really run the show.

There is every likelihood that this could happen here; that the bold slogans on the posters and the banner headlines, the brave speeches and post-election ballyhoo will blind us to the small print of what the new parliament says and enacts in regard to our intelligence services.

Already certain well-publicised facts seem to have dropped out of the public consciousness:

It is a fact, never denied by the African National Congress, that in August last year, Mandela presided at a "workshop" in Broederstroom, also attended by such ANC luminaries as Thabo Mbeki, Alfred Nzo, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Jacob Zuma and the head of the organisation's department of national intelligence and security, Joe Nhlanhla.

This gathering discussed a carefully phased plan to integrate with existing intelligence structures, like the National Intelligence Service, while also strengthening the ANC's own intelligence wing with a view to effecting "fundamental structural changes" in the post-election period. The aim of this project, unsurprisingly, is to infiltrate intelligence operatives into the public service, security forces and the news media with a view to "securing the democratisation process".

There is nothing new or startling in this. Most modern democracies in the First World and many in the Third World have similar arrangements. The chief difference between rich countries and poorer ones is that the influence exercised by the intelligence agencies in the latter is less subtle than it is in the former.

It is a myth that intelligence agencies in traditional Western democracies such as Britain do not infiltrate and have no hand in directing the organs of civil society. There is, for instance, scarcely a single Oxford college which can claim to have no links with the recruiters for the main military intelligence agencies, MI5 and MI6, and nobody in the upper reaches of British society connected with such venerable institutions as Buckingham Palace or Lincoln's Inn will seriously claim — when they are speaking frankly and in confidence — that they are immune from surveillance, and even influence exercised by these organisations.

What is alarming is that the ANC's main experience of interaction — hostile or friendly — with other intelligence apparatuses — has been of agencies with a heavy interventionist track record — the KGB, MI6 and more recently the South African NIS, whose former head, Neil Barnard, not only co-operated with but acted as tutor to his ANC counterparts in the skills of handling state of the art intelligence technology.

The tragic irony of the situation is that South Africa, poised as it is on the brink of a new political era, does not have to compromise with these perversions of the democratic spirit. We now have the option of allowing or disallowing professional spies to interfere in our domestic political processes as they do in most countries on this planet. It is even probable that many of the members of our own intelligence gathering "community" — Joe Nhlanhla himself, for example — do not want the responsibility and the approbrium such power to interfere confers.

But if we allow ourselves to be hypnotised by the pagentry and pomp of the transition to democracy, if the legislators we have ceremonially elected are inattentive to the laws or the Budget items touching this matter they pass once Parliament begins its sitting, the unprecedented chance to be democratic in a defiantly new and different way will have been lost.

□ Anthony Holiday teaches philosophy at the University of the Western Cape.

SOUTH AFRICA'S GREAT DAY

Historic

(304A)
CT 11/5/94

birth of new order

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Centuries of white rule ended at 12.19pm yesterday when Mr Nelson Mandela was sworn in as South Africa's first democratically-elected President.

The historic birth of a new political order at the Union Buildings amphitheatre here was marked by a cathartic outpouring of emotions and the celebration of a fresh spirit of national reconciliation and unity.

After taking the oath of office before a glittering array of cheering South Africans and world leaders, Mr Mandela proclaimed: "The time for the healing the wounds has come."

"The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come — the time to build is upon us."

After urging South Africans of all races to forge "a rainbow nation at peace with itself", the new President expressed his deep appreciation for the role played by his chief political rival and now second deputy president, Mr F W de Klerk, in ushering in a non-racial democracy and building peace in South Africa.

Significantly, Mr Mandela also used his first brief address as President to praise the security forces for the "distinguished role" they played in securing the country's first democratic election.

He said the new government of national unity would have to address urgently the issue of amnesty for certain prisoners as a token of its commitment to the reconciliation process.

The reconciliation and nation-building themes were echoed shortly after the moving inauguration ceremony — which saw hardened politicians across the spectrum freely shed tears of pride and joy — when Mr Mandela addressed tens of thousands of expectant members of the public attending a "many cultures — one nation" all-day concert on the lawns of the Union Buildings.

The struggle against apartheid had been costly in terms of human lives.

"But let us forget the past," he said, speaking in Afrikaans. "What is past is past," he urged.



SO HELP ME GOD . . . President Nelson Mandela takes the oath of office as Chief Justice Michael Corbett swears him in at the Presidential inauguration ceremony in Pretoria yesterday.

focus on new hope

Sowetan 11/5/94

Statement of the president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, at his inauguration as President of the democratic Republic of South Africa, Union Buildings, Pretoria May 10 1994:

(304A)

YOUR MAJESTIES, your highnesses, distinguished guests, comrades and friends. Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty.

Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too, too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.

Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all.

All this we owe both to ourselves and to the peoples of the world who are so well represented here today.

To my compatriots, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld.

Personal renewal

Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal.

The national mood changes as the seasons change.

We are moved by a sense of joy and exhilaration when the grass turns green and the flowers bloom.

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlawed and isolated by the peoples of the world, precisely because it had become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression.

We, the people of South Africa, feel fulfilled that humanity has taken us back into its bosom, that we, who were outlaws not so long ago, have today been given the rare privilege to be host to the nations of the world on our own soil.

Take possession

We thank all our distinguished international guests for having come to take possession with the people of our country of what is, after all, a common victory for justice, for peace, for human dignity.

We trust that you will continue to stand by us as we tackle the challenges of building peace, prosperity, nonsexism, nonracialism and democracy.

We deeply appreciate the role that the masses of our people and their political mass democratic, religious, women, youth, business, traditional and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my second deputy President, the Honourable



Nelson Mandela ... South Africa's new President.

FW de Klerk.

We would also like to pay tribute to our security forces, in all their ranks, for the distinguished role they have played in securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy, from blood-thirsty forces which still refuse to see the light.

The time for the healing of the wounds has come.

Bridge the chasms

The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us.

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination.

We succeeded to take our last steps to freedom

in conditions of relative peace.

We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace.

We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity — a rainbow nation which is at last at peace with itself and the world at large.

Commitment to renewal

As a token of its commitment to the renewal of our country, the new interim government of national unity will, as a matter of urgency, address the issue of amnesty for various categories of our people who are currently serving terms of imprisonment.

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free.

Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward.

We are both humbled and elevated by the honour and privilege that you, the people of South Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial and nonsexist South Africa, to lead our country out of the valley of darkness.

No easy road to freedom

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success.

We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world. Let there be justice for all.

Let there be peace for all.

Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.

Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves.

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.

Let freedom reign.

The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!

God bless Africa!

Thank you.

'Glory, hope to new liberty'

Speech of the president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, at his inauguration as President of the Republic of South Africa, at the Union Buildings, Pretoria on May 10, 1994.

YOUR Majesties, Your Highnesses, distinguished guests, comrades, and friends.

Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty.

Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too, too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.

Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all.

All this we owe both to ourselves and to the peoples of the world who are so well represented here today.

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We thank all our distinguished international guests for having come to take possession with the people of our country of what is, after all, a common victory for justice, for peace, for human dignity.

We trust that you will continue to stand by us as we tackle the challenges of building peace, prosperity, non-sexism, non-racialism and democracy.

We deeply appreciate the role that the masses of



INAUGURAL ADDRESS ... President Nelson Mandela said at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, that out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.

Picture: AP

our people and their political mass democratic, religious, women, youth, business, traditional and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my Second Deputy President, the Honourable F W de Klerk.

We would also like to pay tribute to our security forces, in all their ranks, for the distinguished role they have played in securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy from blood-thirsty forces which still refuse to see the light.

The time for the healing of the wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us.

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination.

We succeeded to take our last steps to freedom in conditions of relative peace. We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace.

We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity — a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.

As a token of its commitment to the renewal of our country, the new Interim Government of National Unity will, as a matter of urgency, address the issue of amnesty for various categories of our people who are currently serving terms of imprisonment.

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free.

Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward.

We are both humbled and elevated by the honour

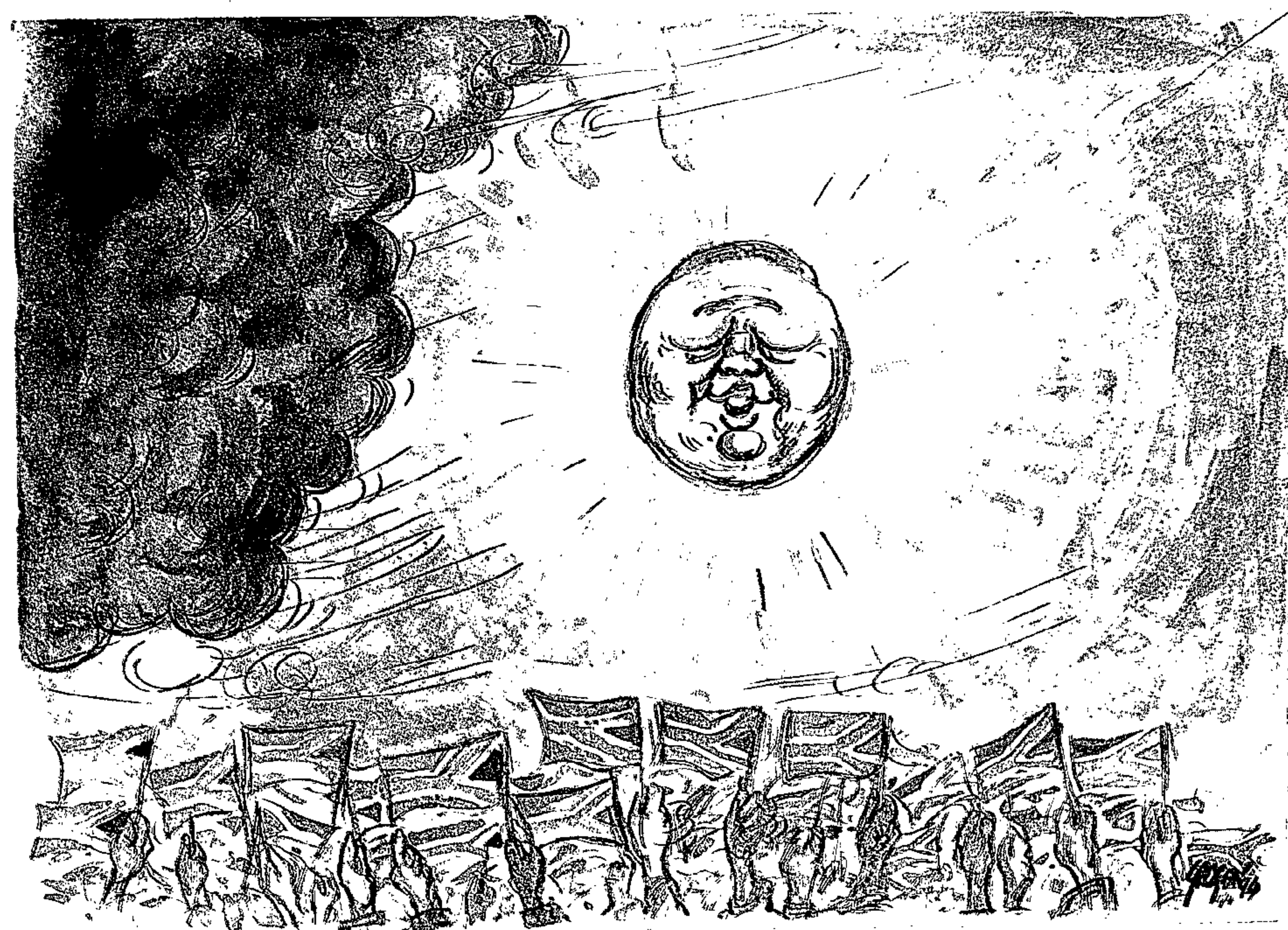
Roaring trade in memorabilia

Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Vendors on the lawns of the Union Buildings here cashed in on the euphoria of the Mandela inauguration yesterday by doing a roaring trade in memorabilia.

Among the hottest items were Mandela medallions (R10), Mandela balloons (R5) and R10 certificates proclaiming that the owner "had the pleasure of being present at the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela".

Also popular were flag caps with the logo "Free at last" (R15).



and privilege that you, the people of South Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, to lead our country out of the valley of darkness.

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success.

We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all.

Let there be peace for all.

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Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves.

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.

Let freedom reign.

The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!

God bless Africa!

Thank you.

Mandela misses ritual offering to ancestors

PRETORIA. — President Nelson Mandela missed an important part of his inauguration ceremony yesterday — a ritual offering to ancestors.

At mid-afternoon about 200 sangomas took to the stage in the Many Cultures, One Nation concert. Wearing bead-embroidered dresses and kilts made from animal tails, the sangomas sang and danced to the beat of cowhide drums, while lighting containers of dried herbs that wafted smoke across the stage.— Sapa

Back to the

It's in interests
of our country —
President Mandela

Commonwealth

ALY 11/5/14 (3049)

PRETORIA. — President Mandela said today he was applying immediately for South Africa's re-admission to the Commonwealth of Britain and its former colonies.

"We are immediately applying for readmission to the Commonwealth because that is in the interest of our country, and we believe of the Commonwealth as well," said Mr Mandela after a meeting with New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger.

Former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd withdrew the country from the organisation during the 1961 Commonwealth conference in London.

He did so in the face of threats from a majority of Commonwealth countries that South Africa's application to remain a member of the organisation following the decision to become a republic would be rejected.

Both Mr Mandela and Mr Bolger suggested that with Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku in the country re-entry could be achieved within a matter of weeks, if not days.

"We would like firstly to take part in the Commonwealth Games in August and, of course, if we are admitted we will be in New Zealand next year," Mr Mandela said.

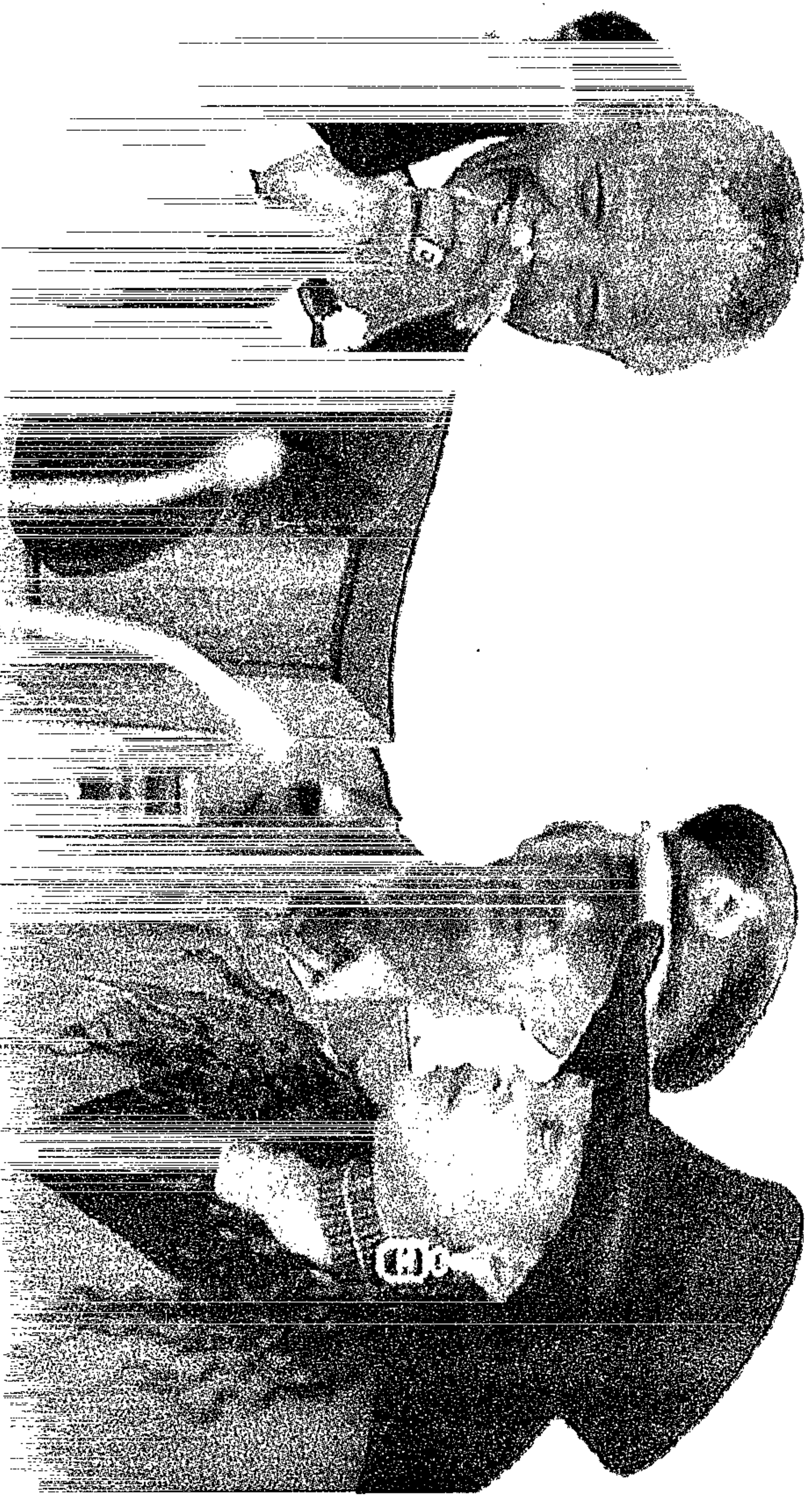
New Zealand hosts the two-yearly Commonwealth heads of government meeting late next year. The Commonwealth Games will be held in Canada.

The Commonwealth has a standing invitation for South Africa to rejoin — issued with the condition that it must have completed its transition to democracy.

Mr Mandela's inauguration as the country's first black president yesterday fulfilled that condition.

Mr Bolger said he would meet Chief Anyaoku in Johannesburg today and could see no reason why South Africa's readmission should not take place as soon as possible.

"We'll see that move quite quickly. I don't know of any likeli-





THE MAKING OF PRESIDENT MANDELA



The day that dreams came true

For a shining moment on a brilliant day, the country that had been disowned by the world became its favourite child

SHAUN JOHNSON, KAIZER NYATSUMBA and CHRIS WHITFIELD report from the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

PRESIDENT Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela officially has assumed the highest office in the land amid once-unthinkable pledges of support and loyalty to his new government.

His presidency was ushered in before the largest gathering on South African soil of international leaders, and was offered the unequivocal backing of the country's military machine.

In a powerful inauguration speech in the amphitheatre of the Union Buildings — where Mr Mandela will occupy the presidential office — the new president entered into what he described as a "covenant" with all South Africa's people.

"We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people," he said. "We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall... a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world."

Dedicating the historic day to "all the heroes and heroines" who had died in pursuit of freedom, Mr Mandela said: "Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward."

In a ringing appeal for reconciliation, the President said "the time for the healing of the wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us."

Mr Mandela reaffirmed the right of all races to consider themselves equally South African. "To my compatriots I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the Bushveld.

One was when the country's top military and police generals — accompanied by Ukhonto weSizwe chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda — saluted their new president, and then put on a display of the military might now at his command.

The military capabilities deployed for decades against Mr Mandela's organisation and its frontline states allies were now demonstrated in his honour.

To disbelieving cheers and ululating, South African Air Force jets, fighter planes, helicopters and troop carrier aircraft swept in formation over the Union Buildings.

A squadron of jets left a bright vapour trail in the colours of the new flag. Four helicopters then appeared in single file, each trailing a new flag.

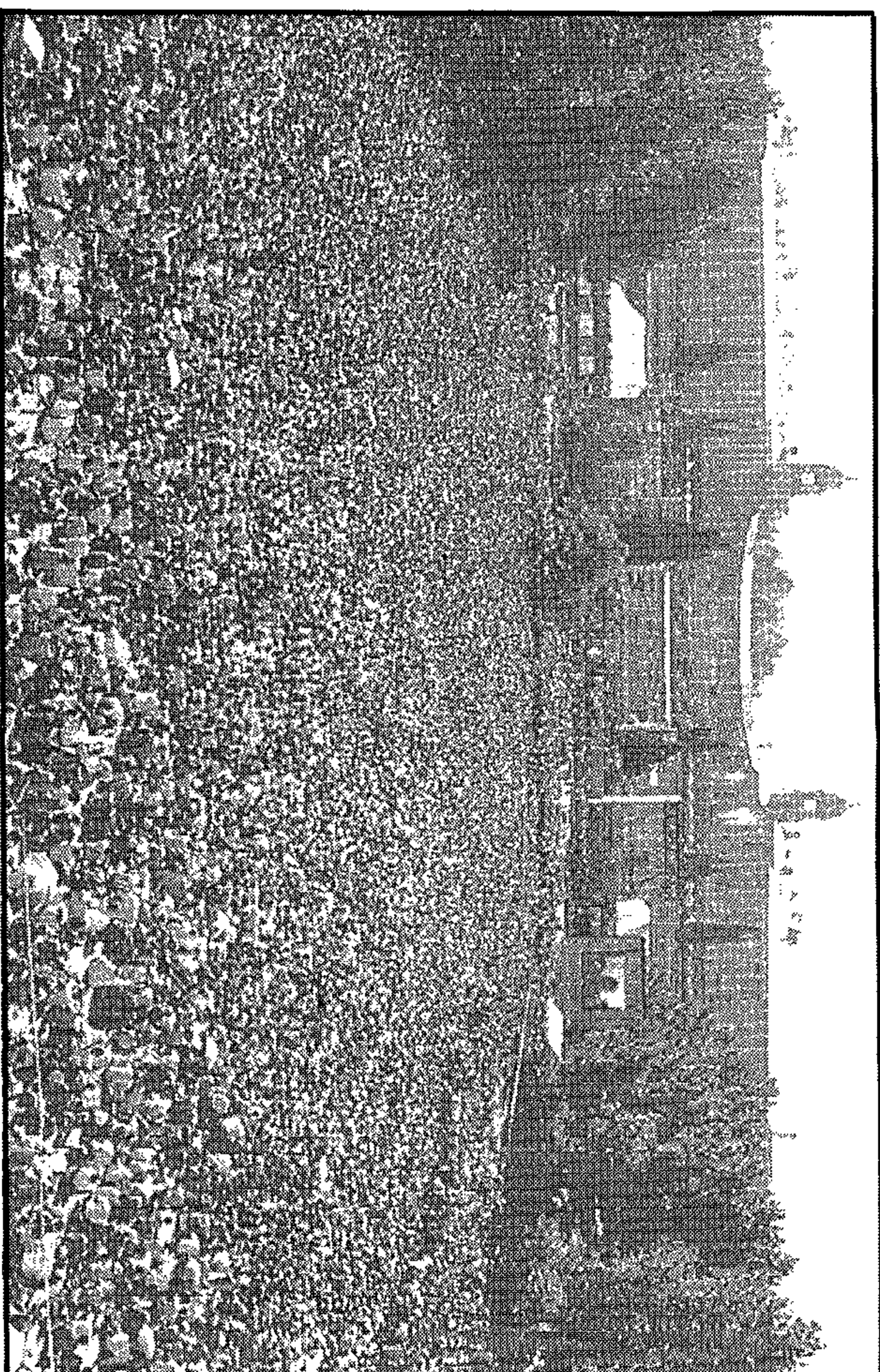
In his speech Mr Mandela singled out the security forces for praise. "We would like to pay tribute to our security forces in all their ranks for the distinguished role they have played in securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy."

President Mandela took the oath and signed the goatskin parchment document of office at 12.18pm, minutes after F W de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki had been sworn in as his deputies in terms of the interim constitution.

The ceremonial affirmation of each man's new office was met by standing ovations and thunderous applause.

The day's events in Pretoria — the most ambitious party the city has thrown — were hailed as a resounding success for South Africa, and an example to the world of potential race reconciliation.

In the morning, Africa had arrived at the Union Buildings in peaceful exuberance, bright colours and full voice.



GRASSROOTS SUPPORT: Jubilant thousands gather in the sunshine on the lawns in front of the Union Buildings to witness an historic event — the swearing-in of Nelson Mandela as State President.

Union Buildings.

It began to flutter at the very moment that *Die Stem's* notes gave way to those of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. In a striking tableau, Mr Mandela could be seen at the podium with the flag flying above — and on the distant horizon, the squat and stolid Voortrekker Monument.

The colonnades of the amphitheatre were draped with 50 of the country's new seven-colour standards, grouped in batches of 10.

Within the horseshoe-shaped amphitheatre the new South Africa's glitterati milled about delightedly, shielding their eyes from the

the tall central domes, while way down below the inauguration podium, tens of thousands gathered on the sweeping lawns to be near history in the making.

In the distance, the top storeys of Pretoria's skyscrapers were dotted with spectators sheltering under umbrellas and watching proceedings through binoculars.

The choice of musical entertainment in the amphitheatre was eclectic, to say the least — pagentry gave way easily to protest songs, jazz and much else besides.

So overwhelming was the number of foreign dignitaries

moved to more appropriate seats.

Earlier in the morning, on the slip road below the specially-constructed podium, wave upon wave of VIP convoys pulled up, disgorging the most cosmopolitan group of leaders seen in South Africa.

There were African generals in camouflage uniform. Their South American counterparts sported starched dress uniforms, weighed down with medals. Middle Eastern potentates queued for seats, as did power-brokers from every corner of the globe. Each was welcomed by a multi-racial choir of young South African children, wear-

the stage again. He addressed his polyglot audience as "magabane", comrades, and no one seemed to mind.

Once the formalities concluded shortly before 1pm, Mandela made his way down the hillside to greet the tens of thousands who had gathered on the lower lawns.

Flanked by Mr Mbeki and Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela lifted the two men's hands into the air. He hailed Mr De Klerk as "one of the greatest reformers, one of the great sons of the soil" who had turned his back on apartheid and pulled South Africa back from further confrontation.

low us, the opportunity to

The party's over — now for the grim challenges

Sapa-Reuter reports from Pretoria

PRESIDENT Mandela literally had the world at his feet, standing on stage before princes, presidents and prime ministers. But behind him, isolated by chain-link fences and bulletproof glass, stood the regular people Mr Mandela must face when the lights go out and the celebrities leave — people expecting jobs, houses, education, health care and peace.

The problems facing Mr Mandela and the African National Congress are staggering: unemployment of more than 40 percent; illiteracy at 50 percent; crime and political violence; ethnic polarisation; the impatience of tens of millions of blacks demanding a better life now that apartheid is over.

If Mr Mandela manages to satisfy blacks and maintain sufficient economic prosperity to please whites, his five-year term will be seen as a near miracle on a continent littered with black-ruled nations struggling to overcome the effects of colonialism.

If Mr Mandela fails, South Africa could be dismissed as another African basket case destroyed by civil strife, corruption and mismanagement.

The pressure is on to become a shining example to disasasters like Mozambique, Angola, Haiti, Rwanda and Bosnia. Mr Mandela was being reminded of the fact yesterday.

"The nation that was pariah will now become a beacon of hope," said United States Vice President Al Gore. "It will allow us, the opportunity to

to the white minority. Throughout the campaign Mr Mandela appealed for patience, warning that riches would not come overnight and could take as long as a decade.

"There is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success," he said in his inauguration speech.

"We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world."

That reconciliation may prove one of Mr Mandela's biggest challenges. While the election was the result of negotiations among diverse political factions, animosities remain. Mr De Klerk says Mr Mandela will not be able to keep his promises to blacks without raising taxes for whites, and he accuses Mr Mandela of not being able to control his followers in the ANC.

Mangosuthu Buthezi's Inkatha Freedom Party boycotted the poll until the last week of the campaign and came in a distant third, but with more than 40 seats in the 400-seat parliament, it is likely to continue pressuring Mr Mandela to give in to Chief Buthezi's demand for a sovereign Zulu homeland.

The Freedom Front wants a white homeland. With Inkatha, it could bog down the new parliament over the issue at a time when Mr Mandela would rather focus on keeping his campaign promises. If political violence linked

...act. The one of us touch-
es the soil of this land, we
feel a sense of personal re-
newal."

Many moments during the
extraordinary day under-
scored the revolutionary na-
ture of the change that has
occurred in South Africa
since 1990.

...and, I say, the country that
had been disowned by the
world became its favourite
child.

Symbolism was rife. Short-
ly after midday, two perfect-
ly turned-out Navy men —
both black — unfurled the
new flag and raised it on the
main flagpole in front of the



FROM THE EAST: Palestinian leader
Yasser Arafat greets well-wishers as he
arrives at the ceremony.



FROM THE WEST: American First
Lady Hillary Clinton chats to children
before the inauguration.

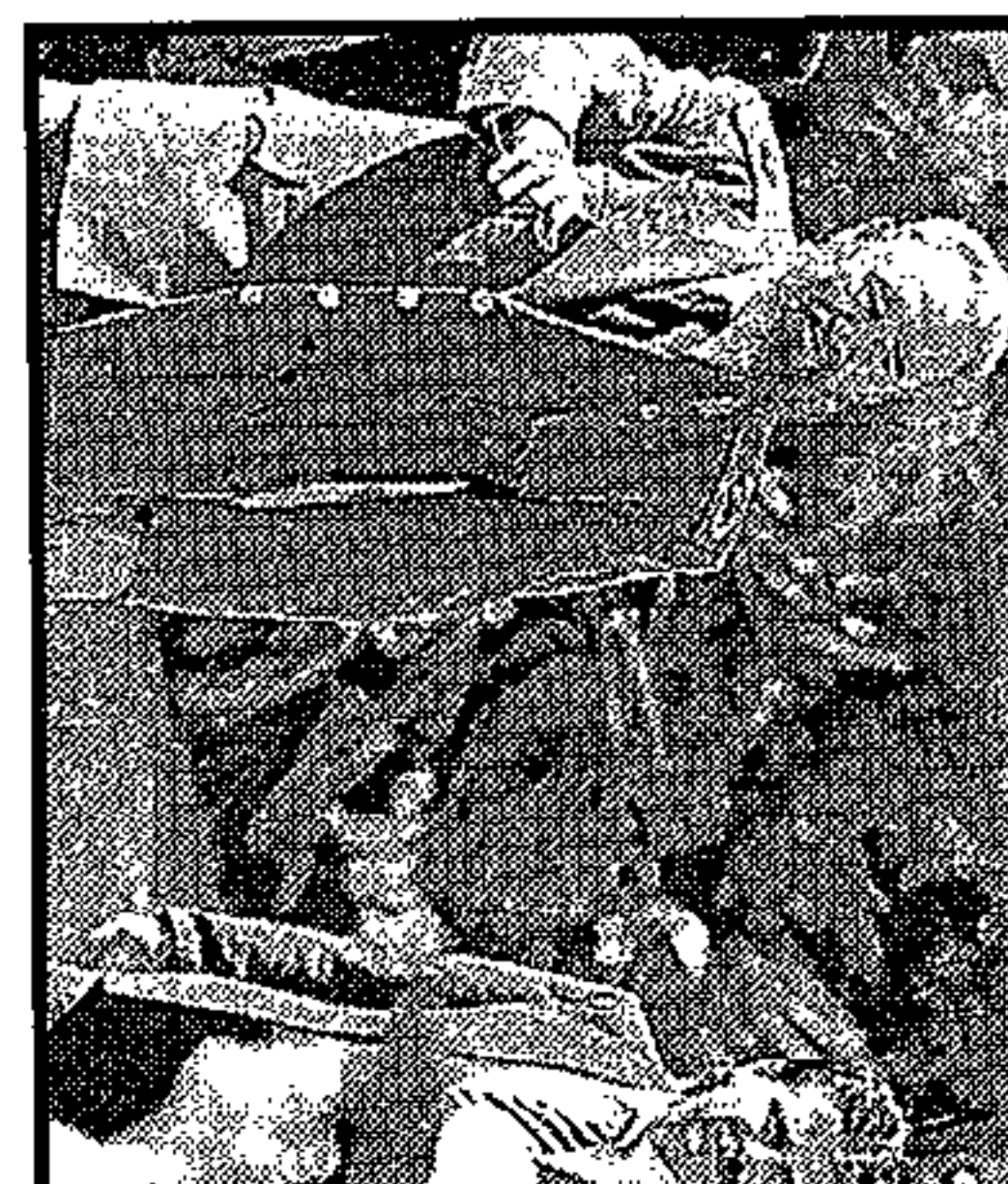
famous world figure after an-
other made their appear-
ances.

Sir Herbert Baker's deli-
cate terraces stood as never
before under hundreds of hap-
py stamping feet singing
"Mandela, Umlunkho".
A helicopter buzzed above



FROM GEORGIA: The Rev Jesse Jack-
son from Atlanta has a word with Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At 11.10am, with the pro-
gramme beginning to slip off
schedule, the praise singer
who had performed in parlia-
ment the day before took to



FROM HAVANA: Cuba's Fidel Castro
waves to the crowd. He was one of
many heads of state attending.

'Black and white together... everybody happy'

MICEL SCHNEHAGE and JONATHAN REES of Sapa.

A SEA of tiny flags rip-
pled among the estimat-
ed 50 000 people who sang and
danced in elation on the Bo-
tha Lawn as the new leader
took his vows of office.

"It was supposed to be like
this years ago. Black and
white together, everybody
happy," said a woman in the
crowd.

The jubilation reached fe-
ver pitch with the crowd
roaring "ANC, ANC," as
squadrons of aircraft droned
overhead in a spectacular fly-
past.

Emotional scenes were
seen as nine Mirage jets flew
over.

"I never thought I would
cry when I saw a Mirage,"
said a man.

Nelson Mandela delighted
the throng with a short ad-
dress, describing F W de
Klerk as "one of the greatest
sons of South Africa".

Switching briefly to Afri-
kaans, he urged forgiveness:
"Wat is verby is verby (What
is past is past).

"Now is the time for us to
busy ourselves with healing
the wounds of the past. Let us
work together to make this
country a great country."
Police and troops mounted
Pretoria's biggest security

Whisks wielded for ancestors

Sapa reports from Pretoria

PRESIDENT Mandela
missed one of the most
important parts of his inaugu-
ration ceremony — a ritual
offering to ancestors.

In the afternoon, well after
Mr Mandela had made his
speeches and left for a state
lunch, a group of about 200
sangomas took to the stage in
the Many Cultures, One Na-
tion concert.

The sangomas, most of
them women, wore bead-em-
brodered dresses or kilts of
animal tails and carried dec-
orated flywhisks.

As they sang and danced to
the beat of cowhide drums,
three lit containers of dried
herbs and moved around to
spread the smoke.

Afterwards one of the
three, Peggy Mokeetsi of
Soweto, said the herb was a
"wild bush" with medicinal
qualities, named mpepho.

It was also used in ceremo-
nies connected with ances-
tors.

"We burnt it today because
we do appreciate our father
is going to take the seat of
president."

It was a gesture of appre-
ciation and respect to ances-
tors, she said.

"It is a holy plant, especial-
ly for sangomas and for black
people."

Mrs Mokeetsi, who was
wearing a leopard skin head-
band, said her sangoma whisk
also had ritual significance.

"When we dance, we praise
our ancestors with the
whisk," she said.

First faltering notes of a united nation

Political Staff

A ROW of people stood respectfully on the
terraces, mouthing along to the unfamiliar
words as best they could while the band played
Die Stem.

What made the sight riveting was the fact that
they were all black South Africans — ANC offi-
cials in fact, people who in earlier times would
have refused even to listen in silence to the
"apartheid anthem".

In just one instance of the heartfelt gestures of
reconciliation which have elevated these past
two days, black South Africans reached out in
forgiveness to their white compatriots.

They might not have known the words, but
they followed the lead of President Mandela and
Deputy President Mbeki in showing respect to
that which was precious to others. The two lead-
ers stood bolt upright when the first strains of
Die Stem floated across the amphitheatre, and
held their right hands to their hearts.

In the singing of the transitional society's dual
anthems at the presidential inauguration, South
Africans of different races came face to face
with the gulfs their history has created — and
the means to bridge them.

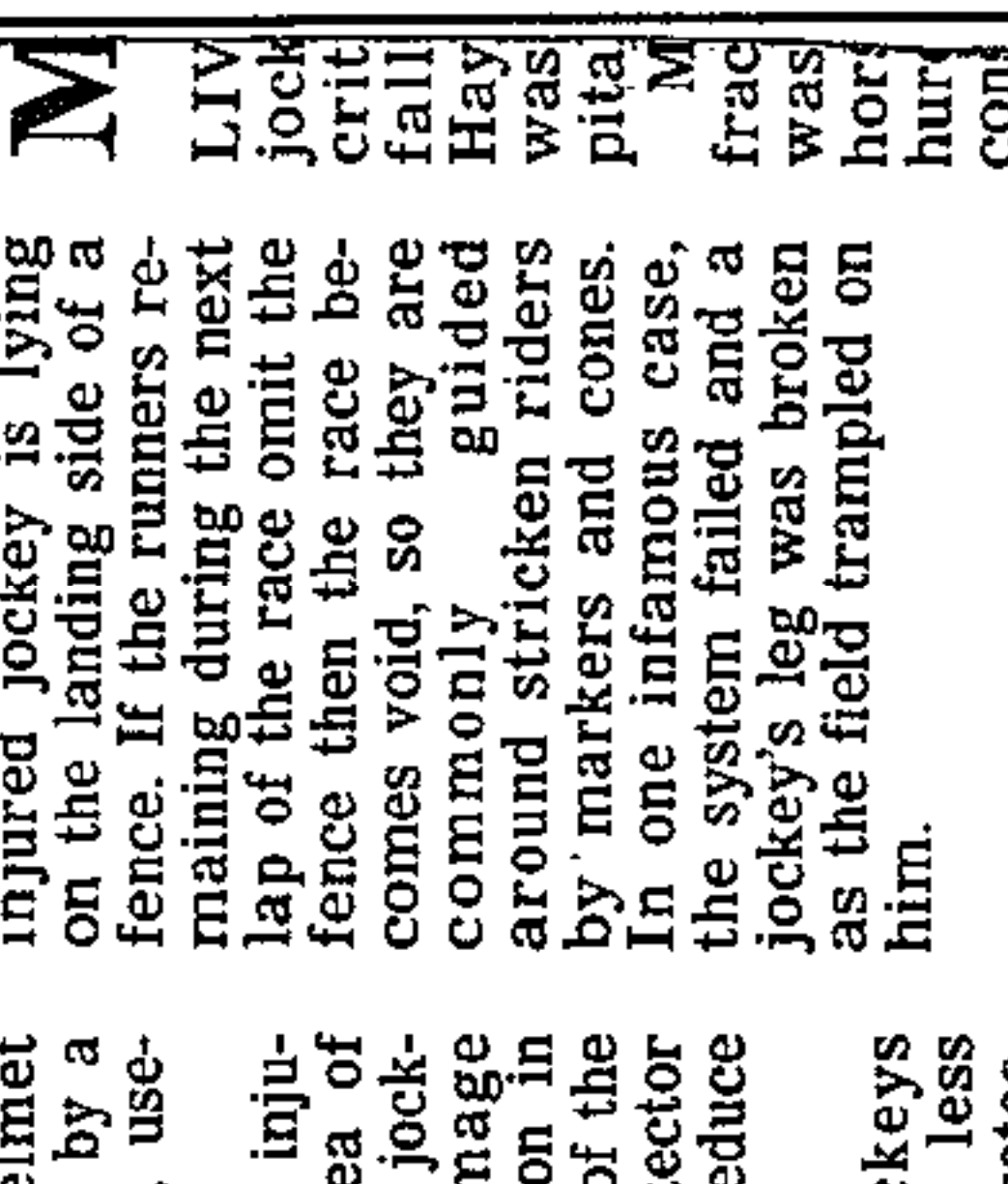
The difficulty some blacks had in singing *Die
Stem* was mirrored in hundreds of white faces,
as they battled to get beyond the first few words
of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* — but both were try-
ing their utmost, studying their song sheets with
the determination of cram-students.

Coy glances were exchanged as people who
had lived their lives in the same country — but
were still strangers in so many ways — looked at
one another for guidance. Many normally conser-
vative whites raised their fists while *Nkosi* was
played, and some blacks even did the same dur-
ing *Die Stem* — surely a first in South African
history.

New South African norms will take a while to
develop, but in this week of reconciliation the
will was on display.

riticised his youth to work for
liberation, and he and his two
deputies would work feverish-
ly for reconciliation.

"We have forgotten our dif-
ferences and are now healing
the wounds of the past. It's
for you to help us," Mr Man-
dela said.



FROM HAVANA: Cuba's Fidel Castro
waves to the crowd. He was one of
many heads of state attending.

South Africa we love you

The Argus Correspondent

SHINE South Africa shine,
said veteran actor Joe
Mafela. And we did.

It was a vibrant occasion,
one which fore the previously
stead inaugurations of presi-
dents and prime ministers of
South Africa to shreds and
mended black and whites to-
gether in a new nation in a
way which had even the cyn-
ics reaching for their hand-
kerchiefs.

"You're my sister now"
was the message as three
black women swept their
arms around a white woman
and held tight.

The beauty of the moment
when people looked at one an-
other and, for the first time,
could declare themselves one
nation, was almost too diffi-
cult to describe.

Faces wet from emotion,
faces laughing with joy...
the faces of people who had
experienced an event unlike
any other — the birth of a
new nation.

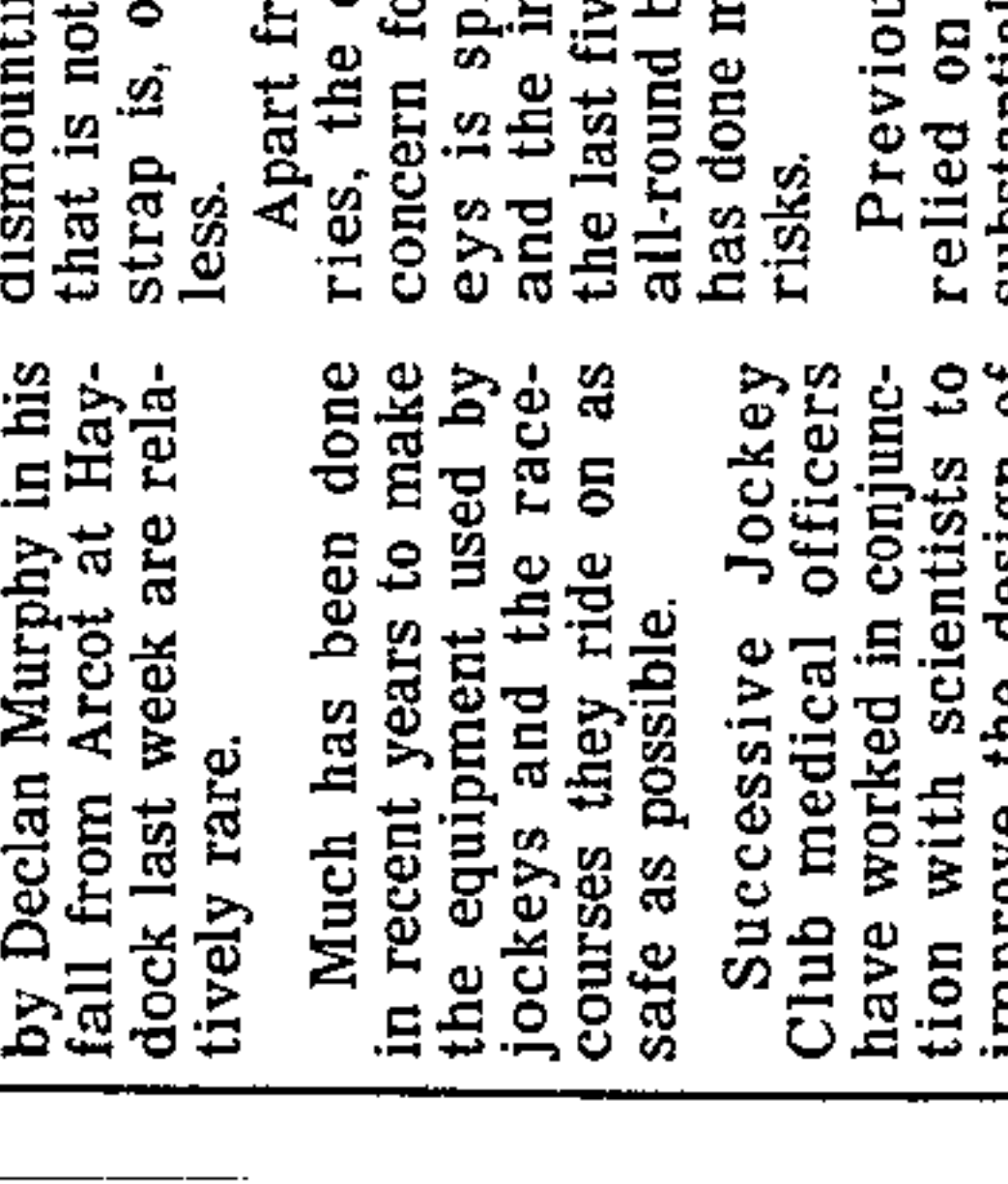
As soon as the magnificent
flypast was over, the dancing
and toyi-toying and singing
and loving began as every-
body suddenly knew every-
body else and nobody minded
how high they had to lift their
knees to keep up.

It was an exhilarating mo-
ment for black and white
South Africans, to wave their
flags into the blue as one, to
sway together as the national
anthems were sung.

South Africa, we love you
was the feeling, and we
meant it.

crushes hope."

The ANC swept the election
with a campaign promising
2.5 million new jobs, two mil-
lion new houses, free educa-
tion, and a nationalised health
plan aimed at ensuring all
people the top-notch health
care now accessible mainly



FROM HAVANA: Cuba's Fidel Castro
waves to the crowd. He was one of
many heads of state attending.

are seiunfu peeh

in March.

factory is

...little

...care now accessible mainly

mands returns. Mr Mandela
will have a tougher time than
ever gaining the investment
needed to revive the econo-
my. And if he doesn't bring in
new investment, wealthy
whites — many of them al-
ready fearful of black rule —
will be inclined to leave.

...will be inclined to leave.

...will be inclined to leave.

...will be inclined to leave.

...will be inclined to leave.

...will be inclined to leave.

...will be inclined to leave.

...will be inclined to leave.

...will be inclined to leave.

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9661 in in Derby for a for a door the peno sesgange

RACING

The Argus, Wednesday May 11 1994

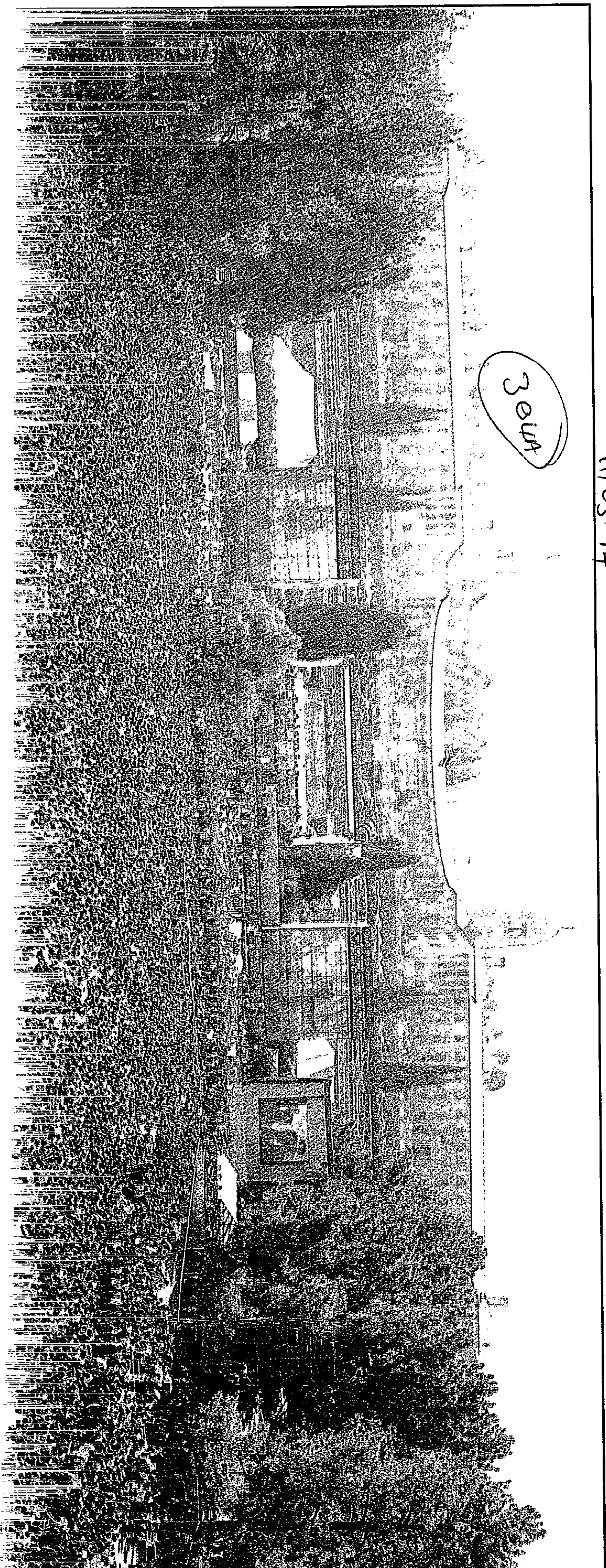
41

‘ We enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity — a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world. ’

The rainbow covenant

11/05/94

3044



and OWN CORRESPONDENT

A newborn baby was stolen from a Matatiele hospital at the weekend by a woman who earlier inquired about buying a baby from nursing staff.

Police said Nthabiseng Tshabalala gave birth to a boy at the Tayler Legaat Hospital in Matatiele, in KwaZulu/Natal, at about 8 am on Sunday.

At about 6 pm the mother discovered her baby was missing when she visited the nursery.

It is believed a black woman aged between 30 and 40 who introduced herself as Mrs Ngcobo, earlier approached nursing staff about buying a baby.

The woman was about 1.75 m tall and was wearing a blue and brown sweater. Anyone with information should phone their nearest police station.

Police yesterday contacted doctors, nurses and pharmacists to be on the look out for Micaela Hunter, the baby stolen from the Marymount Maternity Hospital in Kensington eight days ago, when she was only 19 hours old.

The best identification mark is a blood blister on the back of her ear which doctors say should last about 10 days.

a x action of baby Micaela Hunter was planned very carefully.

Major Willie Botha of the Child Protection Unit said yesterday. Police, along with the baby's Benoni parents, Bruce and Allison Hunter, are also pleading with whoever is keeping the baby to have a change of heart.

Botha said that while psychologists had offered to give a profile of the perpetrator's personality, they did not have enough information about the woman who worked and took the child under the pretext that she needed a baby to give a bathing demonstration to unmarried mothers.

Two psychologists have been asked to draw a profile. "We know it is that this was a very carefully planned."

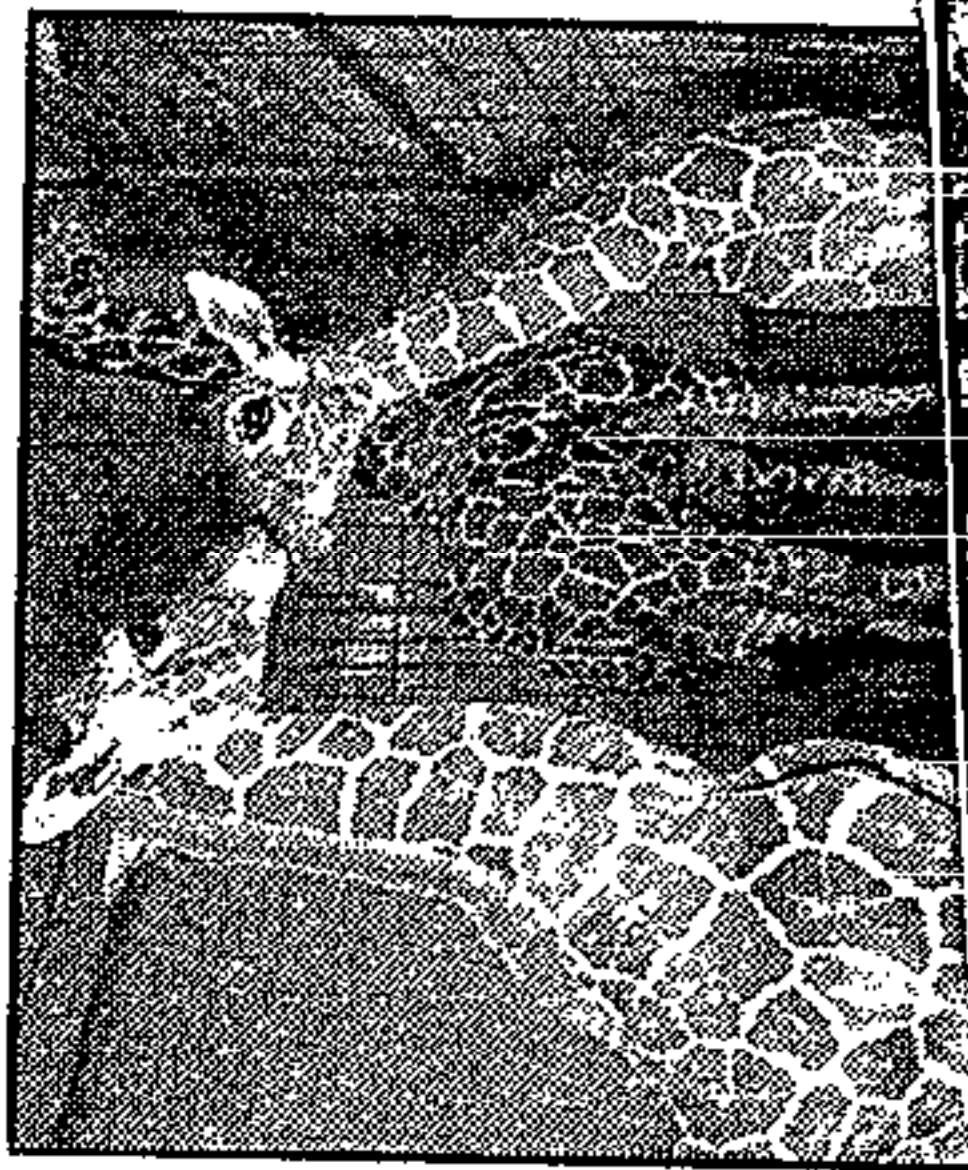
Anyone with information can call police on 011-11-12-13. They can also be reached by giving information to the police toll-free number 0800-11-12-13.

The Hunters' number is (011) 696-1975.

THE RAINBOW COVENANT: President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela officially assumed the highest office in the land amid once-unthinkable pledges of support and loyalty to his new government. His presidency was ushered in before the largest gathering on South African soil of international leaders, and was offered the unequivocal backing of the country's military machine.

MAJOR, MINOR: Queen Elizabeth is likely to visit newly democratic South Africa, British Foreign Secretary

Wednesdays Brie



SILLY WILLIE: Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, dressed in a traditional Zulu outfit, danced with the anti-apartheid activist group, the Black Consciousness Movement, during his inauguration ceremony.

NEW FLAVOUR: Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, the first black president of South Africa, is expected to bring a new flavour to the country's political scene.

Vantage point . . . son
the African son and g
Buildings in Pretoria ye



Top: Tens of thousands gather on the grounds of the Union Buildings to witness Nelson Mandela being sworn in as president. Above: Deputy Presidents F W de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki flank Mandela yesterday.

Start 11 May
to bridge the chasms that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us."

Mandela reaffirmed the right of all races to consider themselves equally South African. "To my compatriots," he said, "I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this

Freedom is their reward."

In a ringing appeal for reconciliation, the president said:

"The time for the healing of the wounds has come. The moment

The MK cadres, who came in 31 minibuses from Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape to be integrated into the country's new national defence force, were last night penniless and with-

Johannesburg without the knowledge of the ANC's leadership. Since the cadres arrived in Johannesburg on Friday, the have slept in the minibuses tax and had ran out of money to buy food, said Dikana.

being sworn in as president of South Africa yesterday, 300 members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were stranded outside the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters.

**BY SHAUN JOHNSON
KAIZER NYATSUMBA and
CHRIS WHITEFIELD**

President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela officially assumed the highest office in the land yesterday amid once-unthinkable pledges of support and loyalty to his new government.

His presidency was ushered in before the largest-ever gathering on South African soil of international leaders, and was offered the unequivocal backing of the country's military machine.

In a powerful inauguration speech in the amphitheatre of Pretoria's Union Buildings — where Mandela will soon occupy the presidential office — the new president entered into what he described as a "covenant" with all South Africa's people.

"We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people," he said. "We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall . . . a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world."

Dedicating the historic day to "all the heroes and heroines" who had died in pursuit of freedom, Mandela said: "Their dreams have become reality."

The rainbow covenant

◀ From Page 1

To disbelieving cheers and ululating, South African Air Force jets, fighter planes, helicopters and troop carrier aircraft swept in formation over the Union Buildings.

A flight of Impala jets left a smoke-trail in the colours of SA's new flag. Four helicopters appeared, each trailing a flag.

In his speech Mandela singled out the security forces for praise. "We would like to pay tribute to our security forces in all their ranks for the distinguished role they have played in securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy," he said.

Mandela took the oath and signed the goatskin parchment document of office at 12.18 pm, minutes after F W de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki had been sworn in as his deputies.

The ceremonial affirmation of each man's new office was met by standing ovations and thunderous applause.

The day's events — the most ambitious party Pretoria has ever thrown — were hailed as a resounding success for SA, and an example to the world of potential race reconciliation.

In the morning, Africa had arrived at the Union Buildings in

peaceful exuberance, bright colours and full voice. For a shining moment on a brilliant day, the country that had been disowned by the world became its favourite child. (2044)

Symbolism was rife. Shortly after midday, two perfectly turned-out navy men — both black South Africans — began to unfurl the new flag and raise it on the main flagpole.

It began to flutter at the very moment that the notes of *Die Stem* gave way to those of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. In a striking tableau, Mandela could be seen at the podium with the flag flying above — and on the distant horizon, the squat and stolid Voortrekker Monument.

Within the horseshoe-shaped amphitheatre the new South Africa's glitterati milled about delightedly.

History

Sir Herbert Baker's delicate terraces shook as never before under hundreds of happy, stamping feet as people sang "Mandela, Umkhonto".

Way down below the inauguration podium, tens of thousands gathered on the sweeping lawns to be near history in the making.

So overwhelming was the

number of foreign dignitaries that local ones had to sit in distant seats for a time. King Goodwill Zwelithini sat alongside Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Winnie and Zinzi Mandela sat nearby, in striking sartorial creations.

Both groups were later moved to more appropriate seats.

At 11.10 am, with the programme beginning to slip off schedule, the praise-singer who had performed in Parliament the day before took to the stage. He addressed his polyglot audience as *magabane*, comrades, and no one seemed to mind.

Once the formalities were concluded shortly before 1 pm, Mandela made his way down the hillside to greet the people who had gathered on the lawns.

Flanked by Mbeki and De Klerk, Mandela lifted the two men's hands into the air. He hailed De Klerk as "one of the greatest reformers, one of the great sons of the soil" who had turned his back on apartheid and pulled South Africa back from further confrontation.

Mbeki, he said, had sacrificed his youth to work for liberation.

"We have forgotten our differences and are now healing the wounds of the past. It's for you to help us," Mandela said.

This is the full text of President Mandela's speech, heard by millions worldwide, after his inauguration at the Union Buildings yesterday.

A time for healing the wounds

Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty.

Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.

Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all.

All this we owe both to ourselves and to the peoples of the world who are so well represented here today.

To my compatriots, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld.

Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal. The national mood changes as the seasons change.

We are moved by a sense of joy and exhilaration when the grass turns green and the flowers bloom.

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlawed and isolated by the peoples of the world, precisely because it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression.

Privilege

We, the people of South Africa, feel fulfilled that humanity has taken us back into its bosom, that we, who were outlaws not so long ago, have today been given the rare privilege to be host to the nations of the world on our own soil.

We thank all our distinguished international guests for having come to take possession with the people of our country of what is, after all, a common victory for justice, for peace, for human dignity.

We trust that you will continue to stand by us as we tackle the challenges of building peace, prosperity, non-sexism, non-racialism and democracy.



In the presence of those assembled here and in full realisation of the high calling I assume as President in the service of the Republic of South Africa, I, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, do hereby swear to be faithful to the Republic of South Africa, and do solemnly and sincerely promise at all times to promote that which will advance and to oppose all that may harm the Republic; to obey, observe, uphold and maintain the Constitution and all other Law of the Republic; to discharge my duties with all my strength and talents to the best of my

masses of our people and their political mass... democratic, religious, women, youth, busi- ness, traditional and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my Second Deputy Pre- sident, the Honourable F W de Klerk.

We would also like to pay tribute to our security forces, in all their ranks, for the dis- tinguished role they have played in secur- ing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy, from bloodthirsty forces which still refuse to see the light.

The time for the healing of the wounds has come.

The moment to bridge the chasms that di- vide us has come.

The time to build is upon us.

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liber- ate all our people from the continuing bor- dage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination.

We succeeded to take our last steps to freedom in conditions of relative peace. We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace.

Amnesty

As a token of its commitment to the renew- al of our country, the new Interim Govern- ment of National Unity will, as a matter of urgency, address the issue of amnesty for various categories of our people who are cur- rently serving terms of imprisonment.

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world who sacrificed in many ways and sur- rendered their lives so that we could be free.

Their dreams have become reality. Free- dom is their reward.

We are both humbled and elevated by the honour and privilege that you, the people of South Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first president of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, to lead our country out of the valley of dark- ness.

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom.

We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success.

We must therefore act together as a uni- ted people, for national reconciliation, for na- tional building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all.
Let there be peace for all.
Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.
Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfill themselves.
Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.
The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!
Let freedom reign.
God bless Africa!

Smile, there's hope for the beloved country

WHAT will South Africa be like in 30 years' time? As inequitable as Brazil? As pessimistic as Russia? Or is it heading for peace and prosperity, asks Jonathan Steele

The South Africa which Nelson Mandela inherits is caught between the affluence of the First World and the poverty of the Third. It is the North-South conflict in one country. What will it look like 30 years on?

Are we seeing a new Brazil in the making, an allegedly multiracial country in which skin colour still plays an enormous but un- discussable role and whites — give or take some tokenism — remain in charge? Or a version of the United States where blacks can advance to almost any position provided they become middle class and cut their links to their roots? Or will the new South Africa go the way of Kenya, remaining, half-urban, half-rural society, in which the weight of numbers and a shaky economy prevents any appreciable growth, except for a tiny and corrupt minority?

The collapse of official racism has left a society with a host of daunting problems. It has a highly skewed income distribution, with the per capita income of whites estimat- ed to be eight times that of blacks.

Jobs

According to the National Manpower Com- mission, South Africa has a jobless rate of 39 percent. During the 1980s only one out of every 20 youngsters who came on to the job market found work in the formal econ- omy.

The deliberate restraint on schooling, caused by the Bantu Education Acts, has left half the population functionally illiterate. Two-thirds have no access to electricity, and in the rural areas close to 70 percent scratch an existence below the Department of Na- tional Health's minimum living level.

Restrictions on African movement prevent- ed an explosion of urban bidonvilles of Rio or Jakarta proportions, but only at the expense of keeping misery out of sight in the coun- try-side. The squatter camps of Cape Town are the new face of South Africa poverty. A wall of huge concrete slabs is slowly going up along the motorway which connects the air- port with the city. At intervals of every hand- red yards, gun towers and mental stiffs brood over the miserable camps in the scrub land on either side of the spreading wall.

The optimistic scenario for South Africa, outlined by Nedbank, Anglo-American Cor- poration and other business think-tanks, foresees a pick-up in growth, fuelled by in- vestment in low-cost housing, education and on-the-job training. Foreign investors will take advantage of what is already Africa's

best industrial infrastructure, and tourists will bring in hard currency. South Africa will shift from being an exporter of fruit and mi- nerals to Europe and Japan and become a manufacturing base for consumer goods to be sold in the expanding market of its own black townships and the sub-Saharan region.

The ANC's current leadership shares this vision. Where it differs is in the techniques for getting there. The ANC has a more inter- ventionist, Keynesian approach to the role of the domestic state and, after seeing the ex- perience of the rest of Africa, is wary of tak- ing excessive loans from international insti- tutions for fear of the effects of the subse- quent debt burden on its sovereignty. The ANC leadership's experience of personal sac- rifice in the name of change also makes it wary of the notion that the creation of a middle class is a virtue in itself. A black bourgeoisie that turns its back on the mil- lions below it will leave half of society still in poverty.

What matters is a value system of fairness and equity, and ANC leaders want to strike the balance between personal incentive and social re-distribution differently from old South Africa. This will be the crucial battle ground of the next decade, as the ANC's "basic needs" approach competes with the conservative trickle-down philosophy.

South Africa is luckier than Latin Amer- ican states like Argentina and Uruguay, which moved from authoritarianism to civil- ized rule 10 years ago. They expected an in- ternational reward in the form of debt for- giveness and aid, but did not get it. South Africa's current indebtedness (thanks to sanctions) is relatively low, and Western gov- ernments are offering large amounts of aid.

Civics

The country has a better basis for building a political system of grassroots participation than Russia, the other large country which has just thrown off minority rule. A key fea- ture of the South African liberation struggle was the development of civic associations, which conducted political education, or ran rent strikes and tax boycotts to resist apart- heid. Although over-romanticised as "em- byos of people's power", they form the basis of a civil society where people articulate and resolve their own group interests, and lobby their rulers.

Russia's new democracy has failed be- cause decades of authoritarianism before and under communism left a vacuum be- tween the all-powerful state and the un- consulted individual. South Africa is more fortunate, and the old anti-apartheid "civics" will defend the "basic needs" approach from its critics.

In overcoming the legacy of racial oppres- sion, South Africa is better placed than the nearest parallel, the southern states of the

conscience, to do justice to all, and to devote myself to the well-being of the Republic and all its people. So help me God.

US. Because blacks are in the majority, their achievement of the vote has given them a confidence, and a certainty of rule, which is still denied to American blacks. In the Deep South, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ended not by putting blacks even closer to power in Washington but making it possible for recon- structed Southern whites, like Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, to occupy the White House — as though F W de Klerk rather than Nel- son Mandela had won in South Africa.

Africans outnumber whites by six to one. This changes the power equation, and means that there is hardly a white without expert- ence of working with them. There is still a surprisingly small-town atmosphere, allow- ing personal contact between individuals to counter the indoctrination of group prej- udice. Today's incessant talk of "reconcilia- tion" is not an empty call.

South Africa, in short, will remain a spe- cial case. It will not be an Asian Tiger, leap- ing to prosperity, or another Brazil, trapped in apparently permanent and massive in- equalities in income. Nor, because of its rela- tive economic strength, will it be a pawn of the international neo-colonial system like Ghana or Zambia.

The likeliest bet is that in 30 years' time it will remain a hybrid. There will still be a substantial white minority with a bet- ter-than-Western-European standard of living, "with servants but no longer with guilt", as one delighted white put it. But "a majority of the majority" will have closed the gap. There will be less racism than in the US, less pov- erty than among its African neighbours, and less pessimism about the future than in Rus- sia. Smile, the beloved country. — The Guardian.

TWELVE DISCUSSIONS ON PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY

Those seeking an understanding of human existence and the world in which we live are invited to attend a course in practical philosophy. The course is centred on an enquiry into the underlying unity behind all the diversity and change in our daily lives.

Week 1: Philosophy: The love of wisdom. The need for self-knowledge. Observation and its degree of accuracy. A practical exercise in the refinement of observation.

Week 2: Activity and the underlying peace. The human condition. The need for presence of mind. The waking, dreaming and sleeping states and the highest state of consciousness.

Week 3: Movement and rest. What am "I"? The need to awaken out of day dreams.

Week 4: Purposeful activity. The emotional claim put on activity. Negative thinking. The real nature of Man. Being yourself. The potential of man to develop.

Week 5: The subtle aspect of Man and the creation. Refinement of the mind and heart. Increasing the mo- ments of awareness. The door to the finer world.

Students are asked neither to accept nor reject any of the ideas, however appealing, but rather to test them for themselves in the light of their own experience. No previous knowledge of the subject is necessary.

VENUES

- BELGRAVIA — St Mary's Building**
67 Berg Street, Johannesburg
Wed 11, Thurs 12 May at 7.30 pm
Sat 14 May at 9 am
 - LENASIA — Recreation Centre**
cor Lib/Savia Streets, Lenasia Ext 3
Sat 14 May at 2.30 pm
 - RAEDBURG — Variety Place**
Cor Jan Struss Ave/Bordeaux Road
Tues 10 May 9 am and 7.30 pm
Wed 11 May at 7.30 pm
 - KEMPTON PARK**
Kempson Park Conference Centre
Thurs 12 May at 9 am and 7.30 pm
 - ROOSEVELT PARK**
Recreational Centre
Wed 11 May at 9 am
 - PRETORIA NORTH — Club Randava**
Bris Road, Pretoria North
Tues 10 May 7.30 pm
 - ROSEBANK — ISM Building**
30 Baker Street, Rosebank
Tues 10 May at 7.30 pm
 - NORWOOD — Cor Hendrick/Great Ave**
Tues 10 May at 9 am
- TELEPHONE: JOHANNESBURG (011) 614-3838, PRETORIA (012) 47-5545**
Enrolments take place 30 minutes before commencement of the lecture.
Fees: R200 per student. (Attendeeville — R70, Lenasia — R120).
- The School of Economic Science (est 1957)*

UK press sets aside cynicism to praise SA's historic event

ARG 11/5/94 (304A)

Journalists deeply moved by inauguration

GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — British journalistic cynicism about the coming of majority rule in South Africa is all but set aside today following the spectacular inauguration ceremony of the country's first black president, Nelson Mandela.

While faint warnings about the future are still being sounded, the overall response to the historic event is gracious, generous and generally optimistic.

More than one correspondent reports being deeply moved by the coming of the long-awaited day and the evident affection and goodwill displayed by both the majority of the people of the country, as well as the high-profile guests, many of whom are as ill-disposed toward each other back in their

own countries as Inkatha's most virulent supporter was to the African National Congress.

Even the Daily Mail's Ann Leslie, not noted for sentiment, admits to a welling up of tears when President Mandela took the oath of office.

The Guardian embarks on its own version of a praise-song, describing yesterday as "an amazing carnival ... spectacle on the grandest scale ... symbolism of touching, joyous simplicity as the races of a nation once malevolently divided mingled in celebration".

Mr Mandela is greeted as "a true hero" with "a fervent sincerity that somehow reaches to his core".

The "puts..." follow, but only mildly, and The Guardian concludes that if South Africa can negotiate its "damnably difficult" route, "if this can be made to work ... then there is

something to be built beyond one country, for a region, and maybe for a desperate continent. The next story starts today," it adds.

"God Bless Africa."

The Daily Telegraph takes praise-singing to the outer edge, writing: "It was a coronation, a rebirth, the beginning of the second republic, an independence day, the joyful climax of an epic struggle".

Almost the only discordant note comes in The Daily Mirror, which warns that the snake in South Africa's newly created Eden is Winnie Mandela, whom they depict as "a prima donna with a vicious temper", waiting in the wings to take over.

"She wants her share of the spoils," writes the paper's foreign editor Mark Dowdney.

"And her ability to get her own way should never be under-estimated."

Madiba

Sowetan

reigns

11/5/94

By Josiah Charle

MR NELSON ROLIHLEHLA MANDELA, leader of the African National Congress, was sworn in, at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday as the first black President of South

Africa. It was a moving ceremony attended by heads of state from around the world and by thousands of South Africans and watched by millions on television.

Apartheid died with the transfer of power from National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk to Mandela and the world danced.

After taking the oath of office at about 12.20pm, Mandela, fondly called by his clan name Madiba, pledged the new government of national unity to liberating all people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation and suffering.

He also paid tribute to De Klerk and praised the security forces for their role in helping to deliver the new South Africa. Mandela called for unity: "The time for the healing of the wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has

come. The time to build is upon us."

He said South Africa had at last achieved political emancipation. (30/4/94)

"We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace," Mandela said.

As a token of its commitment to the renewal of the country, the new Government of National

Unity would urgently address the issue of amnesty for various categories of prisoners who are currently serving jail terms.

Mandela also called for national reconciliation, nation building and for the birth of a new world.

"Let there be justice for all. Let there be peace for all. Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all. Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves," Mandela said.

He concluded: "Never, never, never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world."

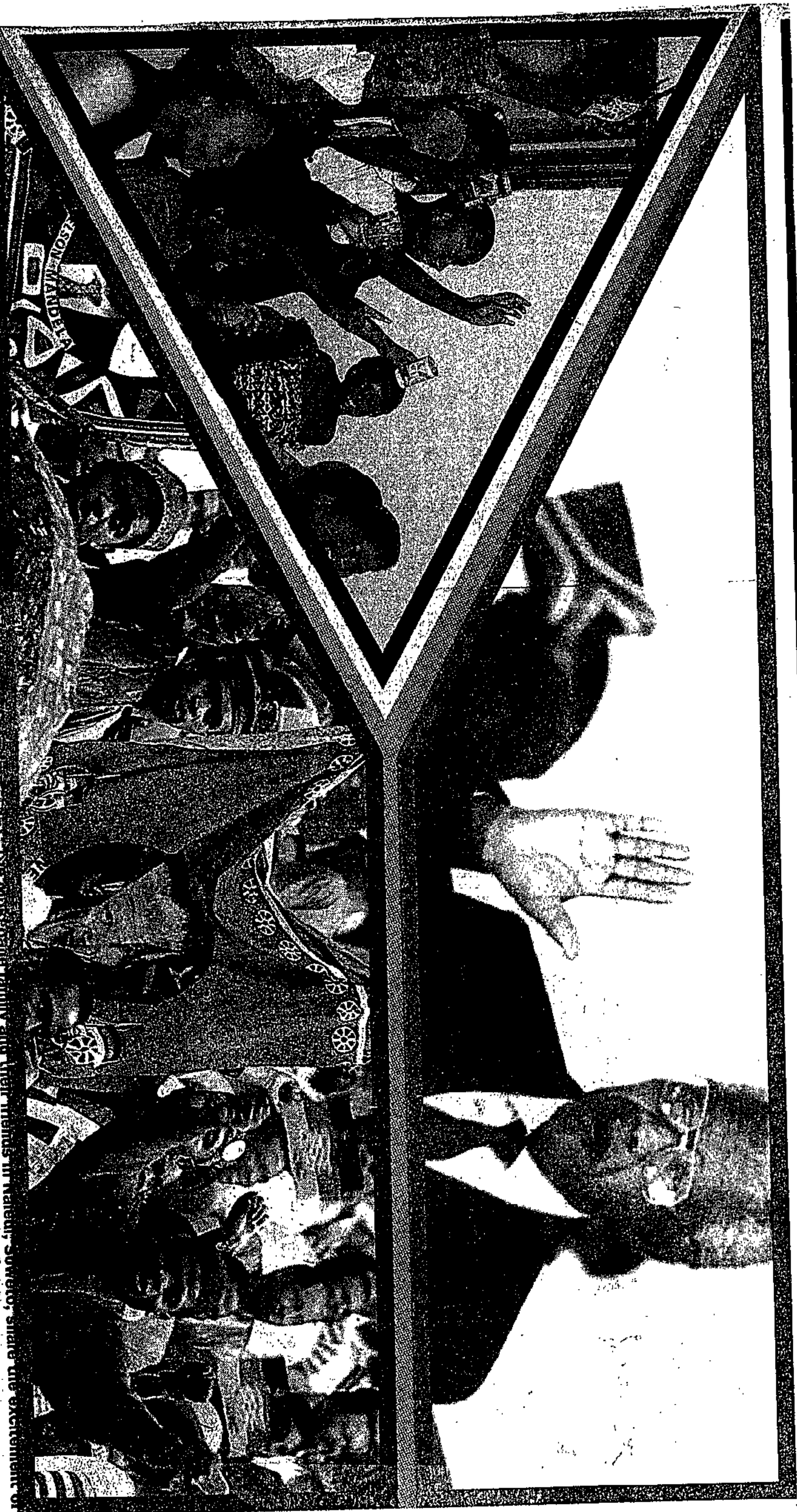
"Let freedom reign. The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement."

INSIDE

● What the President said
See page 8

● All the colour and the fashion
See page 9

TOP: Nelson Mandela takes the oath as South Africa's first democratically elected President. LEFT: The MORGANE family and their friends in Naitau, Suva, share the excitement of the day in front of their TV set. RIGHT: Soccer fans at the South Africa-Zambia match refused to be robbed of the inauguration celebrations.



3044

11/5/94

Mandela's team

Gervel 'to head Mandela office'

Political Staff

PROFESSOR Jakes Gervel, Rector and Vice Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, is set to resign with immediate effect to become the head of President Nelson Mandela's office.

His appointment still has to be officially confirmed, but it is reliably understood that this is a move formally pending his informing the university authorities.

Prof Gervel, who was in the Transvaal yesterday, could not be contacted for comment.

The head of the UWC liaison department, Professor Stan Ridge, said "there is no way of confirming anything at present".

It is understood, however, that Prof Gervel has accepted the appointment, the most senior and arguably the most demanding position in the civil service.

He had already announced his intention to retire by the end of next year — but his immediate departure from the campus will cause a vacuum that will be difficult to fill.

Cabinet post for Buthelezi

ST 12/5/94

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday unveiled his 30-member "rainbow" cabinet of national unity to guide South Africa through the next five years.

Also part of the multi-party executive — but not in the cabinet — are 12 Deputy Ministers, most of whom were sworn in at the Union Buildings yesterday by Chief Justice Michael Corbett.

The new look executive — drawn from the three most successful parties in the election — reflects South Africa's racial diversity and includes a broad cross-section of ideological and special interest groups.

However, women are severely underrepresented, capturing only two ministerial and two deputy ministers' posts.

The appointments, finalised after days of haggling and political in-fighting, also strive to achieve a balance by pairing deputy ministers with ministers from different parties.

Although a number of cabinet portfolios were released prematurely as part of an apparent power-play by the ANC's national executive committee last week, the new line-up reflects a number of changes and includes the



THE PRESIDENT'S MEN... New cabinet members Mr Thabo Mbeki, first deputy president, Mr Pk Botha, Minister of Energy and Mineral Affairs, and Mr Sibusiso Bengu, Minister of Education, are sworn in to the new cabinet yesterday.

IFP representatives.

Significantly, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been given the key Home Affairs portfolio, with IFP constitutional negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane brought in as Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

Dr Sipho Mzimela, the IFP official widely regarded as representing Zulu King Goodwill Zwelofini, has been made Minister of Correctional Ser-

vices, while IFP negotiator Mr Joe Matthews has been given the important security portfolio of Deputy Minister of Safety and Security (previous-ly Law and Order).

Among the new high-profile appointments are ANC Women's League president Mrs Winnie Mandela as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, and former Transkei military ruler Major-

General Bantu Holomisa as Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs.

Additions to the cabinet which were not known until the swearing-in ceremony late yesterday include ANC director of information Dr Pallo Jordan as Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting, and ANC agriculture specialist Mr Derek Hanekom as Minister of Land Affairs. His appointment appears to have been bal-

anced by the retention of Dr KwaZulu-Natal as Minister of Agriculture.

Other balancing acts include the National Party's Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, getting ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa as his deputy.

ANC trade union veteran Mr Alec

To page 2

From page 1

Erwin is deputy to NP Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys, while the IFP's Mr Matthews is deputy to the ANC's Minister of Safety and Security, Mr Sydney Mufamadi. (304A) CT 12/5/94

ANC legal expert Mr Pendell Maduna will deputise for Chief Buthelezi in the Home Affairs ministry.

A notable exception is Foreign Affairs, where the highly controversial appointment of ailing ANC veteran Mr Alfred Nzo as minister was complemented yesterday with the appointment of the able Mr Aziz Pahad, the ANC's former deputy head of international relations, as his deputy.

The cabinet is crammed with personalities who have been deeply involved in the negotiations process over the last four years and have built up a sound working relationship in the multi-party constitutional negotiation process and in the Transitional Executive Council.

The notable exception to this is ANC secretary-general and former chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who has opted to stay out of the cabinet. No reference was made in yesterday's announcement to speculation that Mr Ramaphosa might be given a position as a "super cabinet secretary", with the key responsibility of liaising between Mr Mandela and other ministers.

No positions were given to minority parties such as the Freedom Front, Democratic Party or PAC.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada drops out of the executive after being originally announced as Minister of Correctional Services, and Professor Kader Asmal loses Minister of Provincial Affairs and becomes Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry.

Prominent ANC stalwarts overlooked for appointment included local government expert Mr Thozamile Botha, elections expert Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim, former head of MK intelligence Mr Ronnie Kasrils and trade unionist Mr Salie Manie.

South Africa will have crucial role in Commonwealth

3049
ARG 12/5/94
□ 'Reputation of African states must be saved'

DAVID YUTAR
Staff Reporter

South Africa will have a crucial role to play as a member of the Commonwealth in redeeming the reputation of African states, says the S A Institute of International Affairs' new studies director, Greg Mills.

President Mandela has announced that South Africa will apply immediately for re-admission to the Commonwealth and expects to take part in the Commonwealth Games in Canada in August.

Both he and New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger agreed that, with Commonwealth Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku in the country, re-admission could be effected within a matter of weeks if not days.

New Zealand will host the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting late next year.

Former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd took the decision to withdraw South Africa from the Commonwealth during the organisation's conference in London in 1961.

In an interview Dr Mills said South Africa would have to "convince the international

community that it had an important role to play and would not follow the African route.

"If we get it wrong that may be the final nail in the coffin of Africa," he said.

Dr Mills said that at a stage when the country was about to rejoin the 50-member Commonwealth, it was imperative for South Africa to have a successful transformation and to become "a respected voice" for Africa and especially Southern African states.

He said the Commonwealth had undergone enormous changes since the 1940s and 1950s when it was composed of a "handful of dominions" and was seen by many as "the Queen's tea party".

The Commonwealth of today is an international forum of 185 culturally and politically divergent nations — nearly a third of the world's countries — with members representing a broad range of political systems "from monarchies to totalitarian states and democracies".

Dr Mills said the benefits of being a Commonwealth member had also changed considerably in the intervening years.

Previously there had been several trade benefits such as preferential or free entry into British markets and an "unwritten military alliance be-

tween members, in times of trouble".

Now, benefits revolved around the provision of an international forum for discussion and for lobbying about regional interests.

"It has the unique capacity to bring divergent nations together to discuss shared problems."

For South Africa this included the opportunity to cement relationships with other Southern African nations (with the exception of Angola and Mozambique, who are not members).

For example, South Africa would take part in the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government meetings.

Dr Mills said South Africa would be able to use its membership as an important platform to lobby on issues of national interest such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

● The S A Institute of International Affairs was established in 1934 with a view to bringing people together to discuss international affairs and foreign policy and disseminating information on related issues. Dr Mills, who has taught international affairs at Lancaster University and UWC, has recently been appointed Director of Studies.

THE CABINET

Mandela's govern

304A
ARLT 12/5/95

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Argus Political Staff

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is included in President Nelson Mandela's first cabinet and is among some surprises arising from last-minute horse-trading.

Also in the 27-member cabinet are senior IFP members Ben Ngubane, who will be Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, and Sipho Mzimela, Minister of Correctional Services.

Chief Buthelezi will be Minister of Home Affairs, an important portfolio dealing with some sensitive issues such as control of immigration and illegal immigrants. His department will also have the tough task of running elections.

Mr Mzimela has been a relatively low-profile figure in recent months, but is thought to be close to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The major surprises are to be found in the ranks of the deputy ministers. They include President Mandela's estranged wife Winnie, who will be Dr Ngubane's deputy, and former Transkei ruler Bantu Holomisa, who will be Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs.

The first post-apartheid cabinet was sworn in by Chief Justice Michael Corbett in the Union Buildings just before 5pm yesterday.

The moment marked the actual founding of the government of national unity, made up of representatives of the three major three parties. The cabinet then held its first meeting.

In spite of indications from President Mandela that members of smaller parties might be slotted in, Constand Viljoen of the Freedom Front was not included — he had indicated he would not accept a cabinet seat — and there was nobody from the Pan Africanist Congress.

The final list confirmed the shock exclusion of ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, who opted to head the party machine rather than go into the cabinet once he lost the race for First Deputy President to Thabo Mbeki. The other Deputy President is F W de Klerk.

Among the ANC changes to portfolios originally allocated last week are the shifting of veteran activist Kader Asmal from Provincial Affairs to the Water Affairs and Forestry portfolio, previously occupied by former Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Ahmed Kathrada was removed from the list, freeing the Correctional Services portfolio for Mr Mzimela.

Land Affairs was given to the ANC's Derek Hanekom, not on the ANC's original list, while Trevor Manuel had Tourism added to his Trade



Omar
(Justice)



Modise
(Defence)



Mufamadi
(Police)



Manuel
(Trade)



Nzo
(Foreign)



Mboweni
(Labour)

Mandela's Cabinet

At a glance

Full ministers:

President.....	Nelson Mandela
First Deputy President.....	Thabo Mbeki
Second Deputy President.....	F W de Klerk
Justice.....	Dullah Omar
Defence.....	Joe Modise
Safety and Security.....	Sidney Mufamadi
Education.....	Sibusiso Bengu
Trade, Industry and Tourism.....	Trevor Manuel
Foreign Affairs.....	Alfred Nzo
Labour.....	Tito Mboweni
Posts, Telecommunications, Broadcasting.....	Pallo Jordan
Health.....	Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma
Transport.....	Mac Maharaj
Provincial Affairs, Constitutional Development.....	Roelf Meyer
Land Affairs.....	Derek Hanekom
Public Enterprises.....	Stella Sigcau
Public Service and Administration.....	Zola Skweyiya
Housing.....	Joe Slovo
Public Works.....	Jeff Radebe
Correctional Services.....	Sipho Mzimela
Finance.....	Derek Keys
Agriculture.....	Kraai van Niekerk
Sport and Recreation.....	Steve Tshwete
Home Affairs.....	Mangosuthu Buthelezi
Water Affairs and Forestry.....	Kader Asmal
Environment Affairs.....	Dawie de Villiers
Mineral and Energy Affairs.....	Pik Botha
Welfare and Population Development.....	Abe Williams
Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.....	Ben Ngubani
Minister without portfolio.....	Jay Naidoo

Deputy ministers:

Foreign Affairs.....	Aziz Pahad
Provincial Affairs.....	Valli Moosa
Justice.....	Chris Fisser
Home Affairs.....	Penuell Maduna
Arts, Culture, Science, Technology.....	Winnie Mandela
Finance.....	Alec Erwin
Welfare.....	Sankie Nkondo
Environment Affairs.....	Bantu Holomisa
Land Affairs.....	Tobie Meyer
Education.....	Renier Schoeman
Safety and Security.....	Joe Matthews
Agriculture.....	Thoko Msane

and Industry portfolio.

Alfred Nzo retained the Foreign Affairs portfolio in spite of some controversy when it became clear he was in line for the job, and former Umkhonto weSizwe head Joe Modise is the new Defence Minister.

The Minister of Safety and Security, formerly Law and Order, is Sydney Mafumadi.

Some of the minister-depu-

ty minister combinations should make for interesting working relationships. Besides the Dr Ngubane-Mrs Mandela combination, they include Chief Buthelezi and former ANC legal affairs department deputy head Penuell Maduna.

The National Party has six members in the cabinet, including Roelf Meyer as Provincial Affairs and Constitu-

tional Development Minister and Derek Keys in the important Finance job, a move which is bound to increase business confidence in the new order.

The remaining 18 posts went to the ANC. Among their number are the only women in the cabinet — Nkosazana Dlamini (Health) and Stella Sigcau (Public Enterprises).

ment of unity



Jordan
(Post, SABC)



Zuma
(Health)



Maharaj
(Transport)



Meyer X
(Constitutional)



Sigcau
(Public ent)



Slovo
(Housing)



Keys X
(Finance)



van Niekerk X
(Agriculture)



Tshwete
(Sport)



Buthelezi X
(Home Affairs)



Asmal
(Provincial)



Naidoo
(No portfolio)



Williams
(Welfare)



De Villiers X
(Environment)



Ngubane
(Arts, Cult.)



Botha X
(Mineral)

IEC in process of counting cost

Stuur 12/18/94

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Independent Electoral Commission is busy reconciling its financial expenditure, which has run to much more than the R700 million initially budgeted for.

Its task completed, the IEC is also in the process of disbanding and some staff members have already left, according to spokesman Pieter Cronje.

Many IEC employees now find themselves without a job, having resigned from their previous positions to join the commission.

The biggest unexpected expenses were the last-minute printing of IFP stickers, the additional printing of ballot papers, and their distribution. The IEC has to submit its financial records to the Auditor-General for a final audit as soon as possible.

IEC staffers have now taken to analysing the IEC's imperfect performance in the election and identifying the weak links in the operation.

It is now generally accepted and confirmed by reliable IEC sources — that the administration directorate collapsed under the pressure of polling and that



Thanks and farewell . . . Helen Suzman, Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, Karin Pretorius and Viv Naicker at a function last night for IEC staff in appreciation of their work during the election.

PICTURE: KAREN SANDISON

the monitoring directorate did indeed come to the rescue despite earlier denials of this.

"It was not, however, a palace revolt," insisted one insider.

A core IEC staff could possibly

be kept on permanently to specialise in running elections here as well as in other African states, but this will be decided by the new Government of National Unity.

(3044)



Buthelezi ... given key Home Affairs post.



De Villiers ... Tourism added.



Holomisa ... unexpected appointment.



Mandela ... surprise appointment as deputy.



Nzo ... retained his nomination.



Tshwete ... last-minute appointment.



Ramaphosa ... still not in Cabinet.

All the president's men and women

Surprises in Cabinet

Star 12/15/94

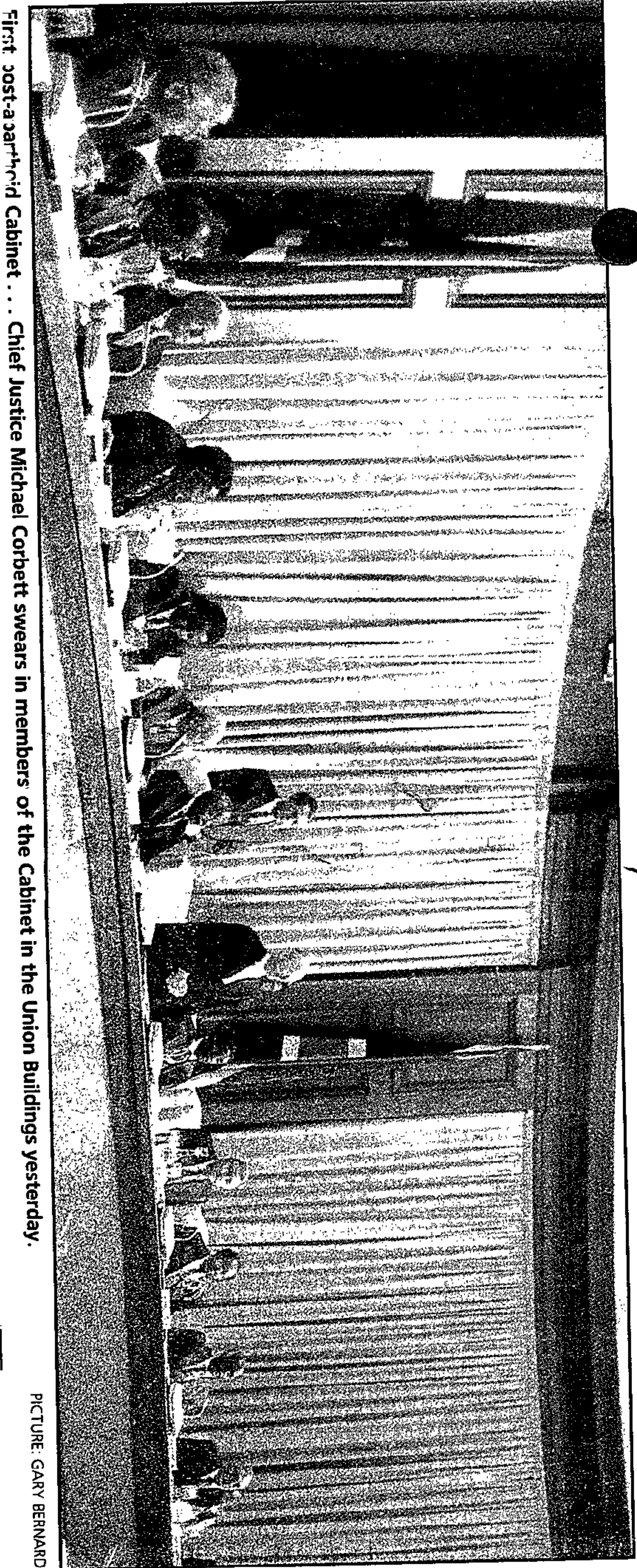
SWEARING-IN of first post-apartheid Cabinet marks the actual founding of the Government of National Unity

■ BY CHRIS WHITEFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been included in President Mandela's first Cabinet — among some surprises arising from last-minute horse-trading this week.

Also included in the 27-member Cabinet are two other IFP members — Dr Ben Ngubane as Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and Spho Mziamea as Minister of Correctional Services.

Buthelezi will be Home Affairs Minister, a key portfolio including sensitive issues such



First post-apartheid Cabinet ... Chief Justice Michael Corbett swears in members of the Cabinet in the Union Buildings yesterday.

PICTURE: GARY BERNARD

megar immigrants. The department will also have the tough task of running elections.

Mzimela has been a relatively low-profile figure, but is thought to be close to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The major surprises are to be found in the ranks of the deputy Ministers. They include Mandela's estranged wife Winnie, who will be Ngubane's deputy, and former Transkei ruler General Bantu Holomisa (Environment Affairs).

The first post-apartheid Cabinet was sworn in by Chief Justice Michael Corbett shortly before 5 pm in the Union Buildings yesterday. The moment marked the actual founding of the Government of National Unity, containing representatives of the country's three major parties. The Cabinet then held its first meeting.

In spite of indications from Mandela that members of smaller parties might be slotted in, the Freedom Front's General Constand Viljoen and a PAC member were not included. Viljoen had earlier indicated he would not accept a Cabinet post.

The final list confirmed the

shock exclusion of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who opted to head the party machine rather than go into the Cabinet once he had lost the race for first deputy president to Thabo Mbeki. The other deputy president is F W de Klerk. (3044)

Among the ANC changes to portfolios originally allocated last week were the shifting of veteran activist Professor Kader Asmal from Provincial Affairs to Water Affairs and Forestry.

Ahmed Kathrada was removed from the list, making way in the Correctional Services portfolio for Mzimela.

Land Affairs was given to the ANC's Derek Hanekom — not on the ANC's original list — and Dr Dawie de Villiers had Tourism added to his Environment Affairs portfolio.

Alfred Nzo retained the Foreign Minister's portfolio in spite of some controversy after he had originally been named by the ANC for the post, and former Umkhonto we Sizwe

► To Page 3

P.T.O.

The Cabinet

Full Ministers are:

- Dullah Omar — Justice
- Joe Modise — Defence
- Sidney Mufamadi — Safety and Security
- Sibusiso Bhengu — Education
- Trevor Manuel — Trade and Industry
- Alfred Nzo — Foreign Affairs
- Tito Mboweni — Labour
- Pallo Jordan — Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting
- Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma — Health
- Mac Maharaj — Transport
- Roelf Meyer — Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development
- Derek Hanekom — Land Affairs
- Stella Sigcau — Public Enterprises
- Zola Skweyiya — Public Service and Administration
- Joe Slovo — Housing
- Jeff Radebe — Public Works
- Sipho Mzimela — Correctional Services
- Derek Keys — Finance
- Kraai van Niekerk — Agriculture
- Steve Tshwete — Sport and Recreation
- Mangosuthu Buthelezi — Home Affairs

- Kader Asmal — Water Affairs and Forestry
- Dawie de Villiers — Environment Affairs and Tourism
- Pik Botha — Mineral and Energy Affairs
- Abe Williams — Welfare and Population Development
- Ben Ngubane — Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
- Jay Naidoo — Minister Without Portfolio

Deputy Ministers:

- Aziz Pahad — Foreign Affairs
- Valli Moosa — Provincial Affairs
- Chris Fisser — Justice
- Penuell Maduna — Home Affairs
- Winnie Mandela — Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
- Alec Erwin — Finance
- Sankie Nkondo — Welfare
- Bantu Holomisa — Environment Affairs
- Tobie Meyer — Land Affairs
- Renier Schoeman — Education
- Joe Matthews — Safety and Security
- Thoko Msane — Agriculture

Star 12/5/94 New Cabinet sworn in (304A)

From Page 1

head Joe Modise is the new Defence Minister.

The Minister of Safety and Security — formerly Law and Order — is Sydney Mufamadi.

Some of the Minister/deputy Minister combinations should make for interesting working relationships — such as that of Ngubane and Winnie Mandela, and Buthelezi and former ANC legal affairs department deputy head Penuell Maduna.

The NP has six members in the Cabinet.

This includes Roelf Meyer as Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister and Derek Keys in the important Finance job —

a move that is bound to increase business confidence in the new order.

The remaining 18 posts all went to the ANC. Among their number were the only women in the Cabinet — Nkosenza Dlamini Zuma (Health) and Stella Sigcau (Public Enterprises).

Of the 12 deputy Ministers, the ANC got eight, the NP three and the IFP one — Joe Matthews, as Deputy Safety and Security Minister.

Trade unionist Alec Erwin is Deputy Finance Minister, while Aziz Pahad got the important position of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Valli Moosa will be Meyer's deputy in Provincial Affairs.

these Working Papers published over 70 working papers Africa (including the Times) selected sample of 90 statistics on Living Standards Project where Saldru and Poverty and a book which culminated in the organising the 2nd Conference of Health Care in 1978 resulted in a book on In this field we would

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There are three major

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3. Saldru's role in

been Saldru's view that this taproot is fundamental to our work, not only from the point of view of Saldru drawing on students and other members of staff in that Department but also from the point of view of the teaching Department itself having a research unit to strengthen its own capacity. Indeed one part of the goal in establishing Saldru was to add a research dimension to the School of Economics in particular and to the Social Sciences generally.

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Al Gore: 'US keen to co-operate with SA'

PRETORIA. — United States Vice-President Al Gore, stressing US eagerness to get back into South Africa, outlined a series of options yesterday in a meeting with Deputy President F W de Klerk.

Mr De Klerk's spokesman Mr Richard Carter said Mr Gore, who spoke of "the beginning of a new partnership" when he arrived in SA on Monday, had made "a lot of very positive, very upbeat, very concrete

suggestions" during the meeting. Mr Gore had also met President Nelson Mandela after Tuesday's presidential inauguration.

The US was not the only country to approach South Africa with offers of assistance or diplomacy yesterday — Pakistan, Canada, Cuba and Angola were also on the list. Mr Carter said Mr Gore had made "a number of well motivated and

positive suggestions" on expanding co-operation at government level, through non-governmental organisations and via US influence with such organisations as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Mr De Klerk will meet with British Prime Minister Mr John Major during his visit to Britain next week to deliver the Nobel Peace Laureate lecture at the Royal Albert Hall on

May 20.

● The Pakistani government donated \$100 000 (about R350 000) to the African National Congress Women's League to assist the organisation's social upliftment programmes.

Pakistani Prime Minister Mrs Benazir Bhutto made the announcement at ANCWL president Mrs Winnie Mandela's Orlando West home in Soweto yesterday

morning.

In other developments: ● Canada extended general preferential tariff (GPT) treatment to SA on Tuesday, making it easier to export to Canada.

● Angola opened an embassy in Pretoria yesterday, and

● Cuba and SA established diplomatic relations. — Sapa-Reuters-AP-
AFP (30447) CT 12/5/94

Ministers fight for cash as work begins

Cabinet crunch

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Crunch meetings loom for South Africa's new cabinet ministers as they seek to come to grips with their portfolios and are told about their budget allocations, and several intend asking for more.

Ministers interviewed yesterday said the budget still had to be ratified by the cabinet, and some suggested that tough talking might be needed. The problems of integration were also high among many ministers' priorities, with amalgamation problems especially prevalent in the safety and security (police) and the provincial affairs ministries.

Optimism

They also spoke of the need to focus on the underprivileged and implement the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Deputy Finance Minister Mr Alec Erwin, who expressed optimism about capturing the "fantastic feeling" currently prevalent, said the provisional budget would be the major focus of the new government.

The budget had been a collaborative effort, but was "extremely complex and unusual". It would require "a lot of talking to get through".

He said there was no basic difference of approach to the deficit between him and Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys, although they had expressed different target figures. The major challenge would be to produce a budget that provided resources for the RDP while maintaining fiscal discipline.

Housing Minister Mr Joe Slovo said his department would need a larger allocation, as the current allocation of about R2.3 billion was too small.

Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi said his immediate task would be to weld the more than 10 police agencies into a single force. Police/community forums would play a crucial role in shaping the police force.

There was a general agreement that the police hierarchy should reflect the diversity of the country's population. Deputy Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said the provinces would probably not produce budgets for about a year.

The establishment of provinces was far from complete, and the interim constitution provided for the demarcation of final boundaries. He expected provincial governments — particularly those controlled

by the ANC — to demand sufficient powers to exercise their mandates, and predicted that this would lead to a process of negotiation.

Public Enterprises Minister Ms Silela Sigcau said her immediate responsibilities would include Transnet, Eskom and the transfer of assets from Namibia.

She adopted a non-committal stance on privatisation. The test was whether, and to what extent, services were a drain on state resources.

Sport and Recreation Minister Mr Steve Tshwete said he would convene an "indaba" of sporting bodies to discuss their priorities.

WESTERN CAPE BID FOR MORE POWER

— Page 2

There would, however, be a "major bias" in favour of the disadvantaged communities.

There would be a greater focus on minor sporting codes, such as netball, basketball and softball.

Sport would be generally promoted, as it had a crucial role in restoring the culture of learning at schools, creating jobs and promoting tourism.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha pledged his full support for the "team".

Minister of Justice Mr Dullah Omar is to meet Chief Justice Mr Michael Corbett and other members of the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein as part of what he described yesterday as a "massive job of consultation".

Apartheid

Mr Omar said consultation with justice officials country-wide and the speedy establishment of the Constitutional Court were two of his priorities. Changes were clearly necessary to break with the apartheid past in a meaningful way.

The justice system had a role to play in building a society that was humane and had a culture of human rights.

With regard to amnesty, he said President Nelson Mandela had "merely indicated a principle at this stage". The matter still had to be discussed.

MONACO GRAND PRIX



WRECKED ... Doctors and firemen gather around the car of Karl Wendlinger (right) after he crashed yesterday during the second free-practice session for the Monaco F1 Grand Prix. Wendlinger was rushed unconscious to hospital. ● Report — Page 3



Pictures: AP

CT 13/5/94 (2049)



Judge Kriegler ... Praised by colleagues

Not guilty verdict for Kriegler

Despite the barrage of criticism during the election, Judge Johann Kriegler's reputation as an outstanding legal mind remains intact, writes **Paul Stober**

THAT Independent Electoral Commission chairman, Judge Johann Kriegler, has not been made the fall guy for the election debacle is perhaps a sign that he is too good a judge to be sacrificed as a political pawn.

This week, Krieger's reputation as one of South Africa's best legal minds was still intact and his colleagues, both in the legal profession and the IEC, remained unstinting in their praise. Said an attorney, who cannot be named for

professional reasons: "He is a truly skilled advocate with a very fine intellect and knowledge of wide areas of law."

Head of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Dennis Davis, added: "Kriegler is a good judge. He is very much his own man and has a long record of upholding civil liberties and human rights."

During his time at the Johannesburg Bar, Krieger acted for the former minister of information, Eschel Rhoodie, and former anti-apartheid militant Breyten Breytenbach, among others. Krieger was also a founder member of Lawyers for Human Rights, in 1979.

It may have been his ardent defence of civil liberties and political activists of all shades at a time when the government had little respect for human rights which delayed Krieger's appointment to the bench.

He was confirmed as a member of the Apostol-

late Division in December 1993, after an acting appointment which lasted several years.

Kriegler's finding that overwhelming public interest could be a legitimate reason for publishing allegations — in the case of police general Lothar Neethling versus *The Weekly Mail* and *Vrye Weekblad* — was seen as a landmark ruling in the fight for press freedom in South Africa.

Although the Appellate Division later overturned this ruling, Davis commented: "Kriegler upheld press freedom in a way the Appellate Division did not even understand."

It was his reputation as a scrupulously fair but liberal judge that won Krieger the chair of the IEC.

It is perhaps a pity that Krieger was introduced to the public through the IEC, when faced with journalists demanding questions and not familiar with court room manners he is used to. "He has a sharp tongue and does not suffer fools gladly," observed an attorney who had watched Krieger tongue-lash journalists at a press conference. "And the press broke an unwritten rule and came back at him when they were not happy with an answer," he added.

But even when dealing with the press Krieger's old world manners and basic good nature came through. Apparently by reflex, Krieger unreservedly apologised to SABC journalist Linda van Tilberg, live on national television. "I am glad you asked me a question," he said at a press conference. "I was sharp with you yesterday and I apologise."

The legal fraternity described Krieger's aloof style of managing the IEC as "doing what he knew best, although he really is a warm human being. You can't expect a judge to bring people into decision making".

Davis recalled how, at legal conferences, Krieger would often break away from his fellow judges and go and talk to younger lawyers. "Particularly the black lawyers would sit on their own. Krieger would often go over to them and speak in an easy and relaxed way, not at all forced or contrived. He is not pompous and has a good understanding of what the real South Africa is about," said Davis.

It is perhaps his understanding of the real South Africa which left Krieger open to the charge of dabbling in politics while chairman of the IEC. The greatest attack on Krieger's integrity must be the accusation that he allowed the supposedly independent commission to be used as a pawn in a political game between the parties.

But, said an IEC lawyer: "If they did get him to do a deal, it's because they convinced him with cold logic that it was absolutely necessary and legally possible. It could be nothing else." Others are convinced that even if there was a deal, Krieger would not have had anything to do with it.

But, Krieglger had no qualms about openly using the letter of the law to legitimate political deals. "Let's not be overly squeamish about it. The parties are in a power game and if they want to settle on the basis that they withdraw objections, there's nothing wrong with it, ethically or legally. We have never been asked to certify that the results are accurate. We have been asked to certify that a particular process is substantially free and fair," he is reported to have said, when it became clear that only a political deal could save the election.

During the election debacle, Krieger's name became a mantra to those who had seen him manhandle the election machinery into place.

On the night of April 26, after the first disastrous day of polling and the prospect of a full day of voting ahead, the only good news a visibly nervous IEC official could give was: "Krieger's men were taking operational decisions for tomorrow but his thinking about what needs to be done is way beyond that."

Now the election is over, the qualities which made Krieger ideally suited for the IEC make him the likely candidate for the constitutional court. He is assured of the support of those who worked with him during the past four months.

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Mandela's cabinet juggling act

The ANC's national working committee, the Nats and Inkatha, all put pressure on Nelson

Mandela in his choice of cabinet. **Farouk Chothia, Stephen Laufer, Chris Louw, Paul Stober** report

UNMISTAKEABLY bearing Nelson Mandela's personal stamp, the national unity cabinet announced this week emerged after days of juggling during which the president was forced to keep his eye on a number of balls tossed to him by the coalition partners.

Perhaps most influential among the juggler's assistants was Mandela's own organisation, with the ANC's highest body, the national

working committee, insisting on retaining control over several key portfolios despite massive pressure from the National Party and Inkatha for him to relinquish them.

Among the cabinet positions the ANC was determined to hang on to were those related to security, including the defence, police, and justice ministries, and land, key to the party's reconstruction and development programme.

ANC members have also been named as deputies in key ministries the party relinquished to their coalition partners. Said one cabinet insider: "We have a watchman in any ministry with relevance to the future."

"Watchmen" include trade union heavyweight Alec Erwin as deputy finance minister to the Nat's Derek Keys, ANC legal advisor Pennell Maduna as deputy to Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Valli Moosa at Provincial Affairs

under Roelf Meyer, which will be key in the development of the federal system, and Thoko Msane at Agriculture, which is headed by the Nat's Kraai van Nieuwerk.

The ANC can expect to instal a second level of "watchmen" when the directors general are appointed. These could include Cheryl Carolus at welfare, and John Samuel at education. Lawyer Nicholas "Fink" Haysom was reportedly offered the top South African Police position, but turned it down in favour of a counsellor's post in the President's office.

The appointments of Winnie Mandela and Bantu Holomisa as deputies in the education and environment ministries respectively relates directly to their standing in the ANC. Mandela appears to have found it impossible to ignore their popular followings.

Buthelezi's appointment to the Home Affairs ministry — formerly

Interior — was criticised by Inkatha spokesman Ziba Jiyane as "the only substantial ministry we got". He said Buthelezi "was very hesitant right up to the last moment", but had told colleagues they could take cabinet positions if they wanted to.

Buthelezi had argued in Inkatha for an opposition role, saying the ANC would use the cabinet as a "rubber stamp" for its own policies, "messing up the country" and then holding everyone responsible. But the opposite view, that it was "important to have a foothold in decision making on things that affect people on the ground" prevailed, said Jiyane.

Although the home affairs ministry is regarded as a very senior portfolio and Buthelezi's appointment is a clear sign that Mandela intends to continue with his policy of national reconciliation, ANC insiders

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The cabinet juggling act

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insisted the Inkatha chief would not be allowed to run future elections. Although this function has traditionally resided within the interior ministry, several senior sources said a permanent independent electoral commission would be established.

The NP argued strongly for the defence, correctional services, justice and police portfolios, saying the appointment of one or more senior Nats who enjoyed the trust of the security forces would smooth the transition.

But the ANC's top committee was unwilling to relinquish the ministries, arguing that the NP's human rights record made it impossible to give them the justice portfolio.

Similarly, reservations surfaced on the Nats' willingness to root out the "third force" inside the security forces. "They want the security forces to know right away who is boss," said one Nat source.

Added to the equation was the ANC's intention of leaving General Johan van der Merwe in charge of the police and General George Meiring at the head of the military for the time being.

They are seen as powerful leadership figures, particularly for white members of the security forces who need to be led gently to integration and transformation.

Balance required ANC people to head these ministries as long as the old guard stayed in uniform, argued the NWC.

While Sydney Mufamadi's appointment to head the law and order ministry — renamed "safety and security" — was almost universally welcomed within the SAP and the ANC, former MK commander Joe Modise's nomination to the defence portfolio was more controversial.

Senior SANDF officers made their preference for Modise clear, but ANC members have criticised his endorsement of the generals' demands for an end to defence cuts.

He has also not fully lived down criticism of his failure to prevent



Joe Modise ... Controversial

human rights abuses in MK camps in Angola in the 1980s.

But Modise enjoys the loyalty of the MK hierarchy, many of whom can expect to take senior uniformed and defence ministry positions in the near future.

His conduct of the integration negotiations and TEC defence sub-council have been positively received.

The appointment of Inkatha's Joe Matthews as deputy minister of safety and security is both a concession to Buthelezi and a calculated strategy by Mandela, who is keen to show the kwaZulu Police that their long-term interests are best served by integration into South Africa's future security establishment.

A former ANC member, Matthews is seen as intelligent and flexible, and ANC security experts believe it will be possible to establish a good working relationship with him.

The ANC's insistence on retaining the main security portfolios — correctional services ultimately went to Inkatha's Sipho Mzimela

— cost constitutional affairs expert Kader Asmal a key position as provincial affairs minister. The portfolio, vital to shaping the federal relationship between central and regional government, went to the NP's Roelf Meyer in return for Nat acquiescence on the security ministries.

The land portfolio was almost lost to the ANC when the NP insisted on heading the agriculture ministry, which has traditionally included land matters.

Mandela was reportedly preparing to withdraw his nomination of Derek Hanekom last Friday when the NWC stepped in.

Saying the ANC was the only party with a coherent policy on land, and pointing to its central importance for the party's reconstruction and development programme, several NWC members insisted on splitting land and agriculture.

Hanekom's nomination to the portfolio was also contentious, with some arguing that a ministry responsible for the emotive issues of resettlement, land redistribution and compensation should go to a black. Former ANC Women's League general secretary Baleka Kgosisile was mentioned as a possible minister.

Although regarded as a political heavyweight, Kgosisile was felt to lack experience in land issues. Hanekom, whose expertise and struggle credentials are unquestioned, was championed by several NWC members. "Competence won out over political correctness," said one participant.

Inkatha is understood to have had its eye on at least one senior security position as well as health and housing.

The two departments are key to improving basic living conditions, and represent areas in which there is potentially much political hay to be made in the runup to the 1999 election.

Recognising their importance, Mandela stuck to his original choices of Joe Slovo for housing and Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma for health.



Seeking a role ... There are fears both Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa have been sidelined

PHOTOGRAPH: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

Ramaphosa seeks new role

Stephen Laufer

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa is being touted by senior party members for two potentially central parliamentary posts: chair of the Constituent Assembly, and ANC caucus chairman.

But others — including several cabinet ministers — say Ramaphosa will have his hands full reorganising and streamlining Shell House, which is renowned for its inefficiency and has run up huge debts since the organisation was unbanned in 1990.

The secretary general was by his own admission unable to devote sufficient energy to organisational issues as long as he was also chief negotiator, say the sources, and the ANC will benefit from a full-time, hands-on party leader. Ramaphosa is known to have been unhappy at the criticism of his management of Shell House, feeling he lacked heavyweight backing within the organisation while shouldering the negotiations burden.

Ramaphosa now appears determined to prove his ability by transforming Shell House into a well-oiled political machine. His first major test will come during local elections later this year.

One cabinet minister said it would be important to ensure "a strong and vibrant ANC outside parliament. We don't want all the leaders inside and the mass democratic movement to appear as something uninteresting and minor."

The position at the head of the country's major governing party would give Ramaphosa sufficient political prominence to ensure his prospects for a top job after 1999, say his supporters in the ANC leadership. "He is young enough to wait for next time around," said another cabinet minister.

"He was right not to take any old cabinet position and get lost in the crowd. Having lost the deputy presidency what could he have taken? The position of foreign minister offered to him is little more than a bit of gloss."

Ramaphosa will emerge as a major figure within the lifetime of this parliament, said a senior cabinet figure. However this happens, he will continue to be a major contender for the presidency if he can deliver the cities and local authorities in October.

Although his appointment to the deputy presidency marks Thabo Mbeki as a front runner in the stakes to succeed Nelson Mandela, his appointment is by no means a fore-

gone conclusion. Unlike the US constitution, the South African system calls for the election of the new president by the National Assembly.

As leader of the major party, and possibly caucus chairman, Ramaphosa could be a serious contender for the top job when the time comes to replace Mandela.

Several ANC leaders feel that he may chair the Constitutional Assembly, a position which would give him a place at centre stage, using his experience as a negotiator and his intimate knowledge of the issues and players. Others downplay the importance of the constitution-making body, saying its work was mostly done at the World Trade Centre.

Pointing to the role of caucus managers in many coalition governments worldwide, a senior ANC constitutional expert suggested Ramaphosa might become chairman of the ANC parliamentary group. "Given South Africa's essentially British parliamentary tradition of a single governing party, there is as yet little understanding of the importance of the caucus chairman as a hinge between coalition partners," he commented. "These functions will emerge as we gain experience with a multiparty governmental system."

AP Photo/About 10 people 2000 of the new

THE PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

IT WAS a fairytale ending, which suited the strange story of Nelson Mandela, the herdboy who became a convict and then the president.

The moment for which he seems to have been born 75 years ago finally arrived when, with the sun shining on the Bible in front of him and tons of bullet-proof glass protecting his back, he began the incantation: "In the presence of those assembled here, and in full realisation of the high calling I assume as president in the service of the Republic of South Africa..."

It was 12.16pm when he started speaking, which was a little embarrassing, because he was meant to become the president in the morning.

But by the time the clock-tower had signalled the noon-day hour with the Westminster chiming of a colonial past, the dignitaries assembled from around the globe were beginning to get used to the element of informality.

It was a day of contrasts, encapsulated in the setting: the grandiose Union Buildings — neo-classical in style, a mix of Italian and English Renaissance with a dash of Cape Dutch — hacked into the African hillside of Meintjieskop. When Sir Herbert Baker designed the building early this century, it was intended to be a symbol of unity, marking the coming together of the British colonies and the defeated Boer

Glitterati celebrate a fairytale ending

The world's leaders came to honour Nelson Mandela, the former convict who is now commander in chief.

David Beresford reports

republics — its two wings representing an equal marriage between English and Afrikaans. But for all that, it has never hosted a union like Tuesday's.

Winnie Mandela was among the first of the glitterati to arrive, resplendent in a long, green silk dress — a creation that her personal publicist had boasted would "astonish South Africa".

It was a poignant instant, as the woman for whom the occasion should have been her crowning moment was gestured towards the seats of lesser dignitaries. But, in response to some unseen summons, she suddenly materi-

alised with her family on the podium.

The TV announcer, a note of disapproval in his voice, assured the country that the one-time Mother of the Nation did not belong there, and would shortly be returning to her proper place. But Mandela was unexpectedly led to a position nine seats away from the leather-covered throne awaiting her estranged husband.

Yasser Arafat was another early arrival, bustling to the 13th row demanded by protocol of a not-quite head of state. A clutch of overweight bodyguards in grey suits glared at the barrels of telephoto lenses hanging dangerously from a photographers' rampart over the head of their charge.

The Duke of Edinburgh, clutching a Panama hat, came striding up the stairs trailed by a Foreign Office entourage. He seemed bemused as he was corralled off into a corner in the fourth row.

But as Al Gore, Hillary Clinton, Ron Brown, Jesse Jackson and the rest of the United States

contingent were crowded through to the same row, their bodyguards glared indignantly with the realisation that the world's leaders had not been allocated enough chairs to go round.

Enthusiastic chants of "Castro, Castro" from South African Communist Party MPs heralded the grandest looking figure of the day. The Cuban leader looked even grander bereft of cigar and forage cap, his uniform and silver hair sparkling imposingly in the sun.

And so the procession continued and a game of musical chairs went on... Ex-King Constantine, Jerry Rawlings, Mary Robinson, Boutros Boutros-Chali, Kenneth Kaunda, the Prince of Asturias, Danielle Mitterrand, Joaquim Chissano, Benazir Bhutto, Sam Nujoma, Prince Willem Alexander of Orange, Mario Soares, Julius Nyerere.

The Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, over-looked on the left embankment, was whisked front-right. Fidel, landing up deliciously close to the Americans on the right embankment, was whisked to safer ground front-left.

Up on the podium, meanwhile, the outgoing president and incoming second deputy president, FW de Klerk, had arrived to the first round of international applause — a celebration of the simple comment he had made as he

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NOWHERE has the unfolding drama of South Africa's heady sweep toward democracy been watched with as much pride, hope, expectation — and, on the part of some, apprehension — as in Africa.

"It was impossible for any black person in the world to feel true dignity and pride as long as apartheid continued," said human rights monitor Rakya Omaar. "Our whole self-worth is wrapped up in that, whether you are a black African or a black Belgian or a black American."

Omaar, a Somali who heads the London-based African Rights group, and other activists said the moving scenes of black South Africans lining up peacefully to vote present an important, positive image of Africa to the world that adds some balance to a coinciding but horrific image of the continent.

There is also pride in the image of Nelson Mandela the statesman, a true leader for all black people, they say. South Africa's first black president can finally counter the outdated, unfair but persistent image of black African leaders as buffoons like Uganda's Idi Amin or cannibals like the Central African Republic's former "emperor", Jean-Bedel Bokassa.

To be sure, Africa is still replete with military thugs in khaki uniforms and aviator sunglasses — dictators who run their countries' economies into the ground while amassing wealth abroad

Africa greets new SA with hope... and fear

Africa has greeted Nelson Mandela's triumph with hope — and apprehension. **Keith Richburg** reports from Nairobi

and building lavish edifices to glorify their names. At the same time, however, democratic politicians who have taken over in Uganda and other long-suffering places are hardly noticed.

"Look at the statesmanship and superiority of leadership that Nelson Mandela and people like (Anglican Archbishop) Desmond Tutu have shown" in South Africa, said Michael Chege, a Kenyan scholar at Harvard University. "That's something that gives heart to an awful lot of us."

Besides pride, there is expectation — hope, really — that South Africa, with its strong industrial base, can become the long-envisioned "engine of growth" that jump-starts Africa's languid economies, particularly in the "frontline

states" bordering South Africa. But there is also fear that South Africa, far from being a source of potential growth, may actually become an economic and professional drain.

Already, the best African doctors, professors and engineers in countries as close to South Africa as Zambia and Zimbabwe and as far away as Nigeria and Ivory Coast are flocking to the former pariah state, where pay is higher and working conditions better. Many African governments are worried that the "brain drain" to the south will accelerate.

And there are other concerns. One is that Western donors may divert badly needed aid from the rest of the continent to the new government in Pretoria. Another is that South Africa is "too big" in the words of one political scientist, and that a black-run South Africa could become "a hegemonic economic power" in the region.

"There will be some businesses where South Africa will always have the advantage, which might delay (black Africa's) industrialization.

That's always a fear," said Harvard's Chege. "Do we want to go back to a situation where South Africa is the economic strength of the region?"

But perhaps the greatest anxiety about the changes in South Africa is felt by black Africa's remaining autocrats, military dictators and old-style "Big Men," who continue to resist democratic change in their own countries.

The emergence of a multi-party, multiracial democracy in the former land of apartheid would appear to undercut the argument that Western-style democracy is unsuited for Africa. And with the end of white-minority rule, black African dictators are robbed of their most convenient shield, which for three decades they used as political cover for their abuses.

"The passing away of apartheid will also be accompanied by the passing away of those African leaders who stayed in power because there was an enemy next door," said Jonathan Moyo, a Zimbabwean who heads the Ford Foundation's international affairs and governance program in Kenya.

Omaar, of African Rights, said: "The other important consequence of South Africa's independence and freedom is that it will completely deprive the Organization of African Unity of its excuse that nothing else could be accomplished as long as apartheid continued. That was always a line of hypocrisy to begin with." — The Washington Post

FM 1315194

KwaZulu/Natal whites show the way

In the post-electoral glow of reconciliation and celebration, the double ballot may seem like an electoral footnote, if it is thought about at all. In fact the double ballot was crucial to the success of the election and it will be central to the consolidation of democracy.

Originally, there was to be only a single ballot: a person's vote for a particular party would have been counted for the national and provincial assemblies. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi objected strongly to this, as did important business leaders and the FM. Eventually, the ANC and NP conceded a double ballot. Not only did this partly clear the way into the election for Buthelezi and Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front, it introduced tactical options to the voting.

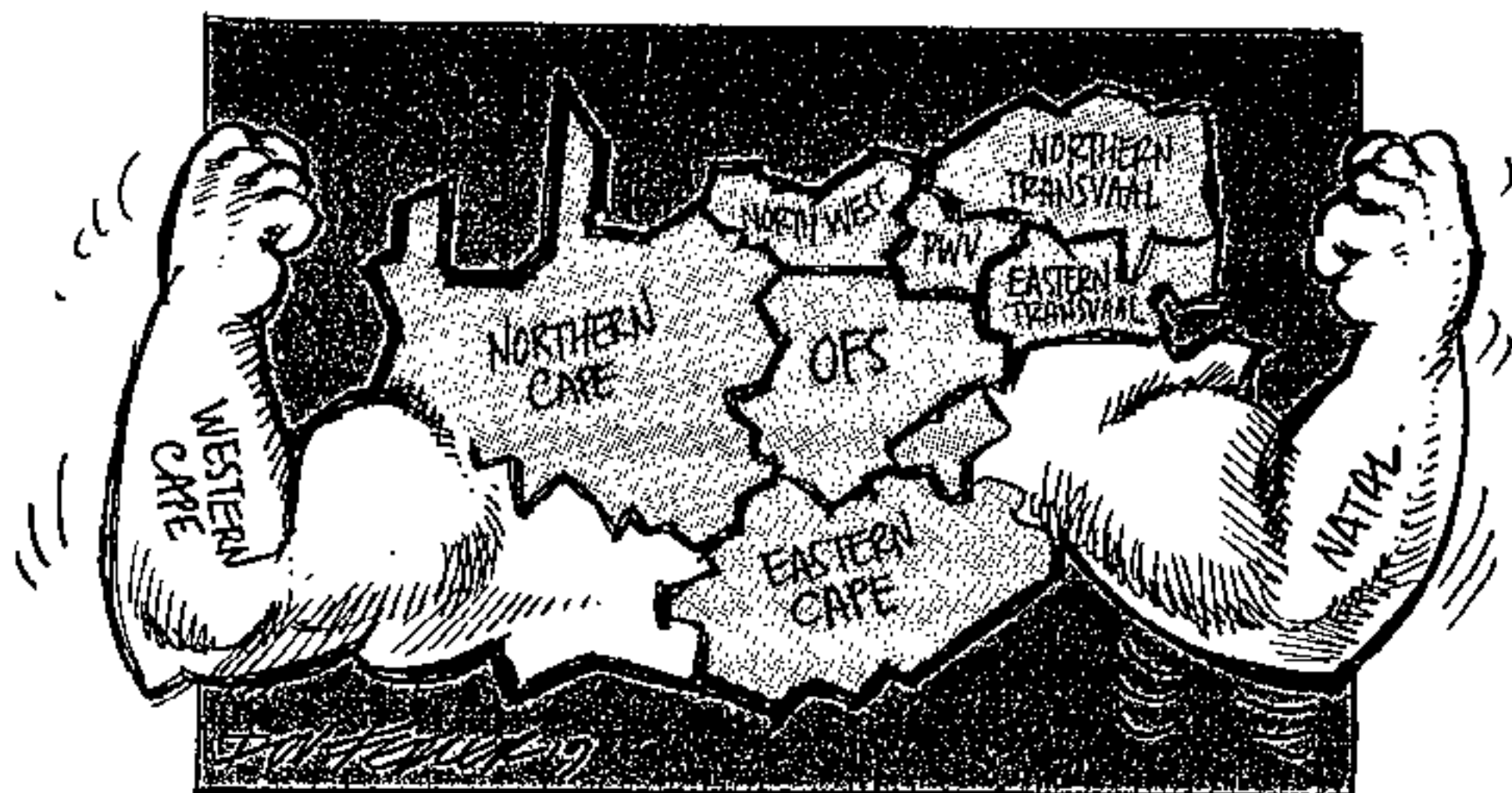
It is clear from the election results that significant variations occurred as a result of the double ballot. The DP, for instance, gained 535 655 votes at provincial level but only 338 426 for the National Assembly — a disparity of nearly 200 000. The thinking is obvious: many DP supporters perceived a need to strengthen President F W de Klerk nationally but saw no reason to support their local Nats.

Most of the provincial support for the DP was found in just two provinces, the PWV (223 548) and Western Cape (141 970) — specifically, the old DP/Prog heartland in the Cape Peninsula and the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. They provided 68% of the provincial votes cast for the DP. Another 59 644 (11%) came from the Eastern Cape and 78 910 (14%) from KwaZulu/Natal. None of the other five provinces delivered more than 8 000 provincial votes for the DP.

The provincial total for the DP in KwaZulu/Natal seems low when compared with the PWV and Western Cape, but the reason for this was tactical voting of a different kind. Voters in Natal were confronted with a battle for control of the province between Inkatha and the ANC. Many DP voters supported Inkatha, not only provincially but to strengthen Buthelezi in the National Assembly. This would explain why Inkatha's national total was only about 55 000 votes fewer than its provincial total, with both figures well over 2m.

KwaZulu/Natal peculiarities also seem to have persuaded Freedom Front supporters to

go against the national trend. The Freedom Front got only 18 625 provincial votes in KwaZulu/Natal, a mere 7% of its total in the PWV and fewer than in any other province. Like the DP, the Front gained much greater support provincially (637 643 votes) than nationally (424 555). KwaZulu/Natal was the exception: it seems certain that conservative whites voted mostly for Inkatha.



Should the DP be so disappointed? After all, it had to contend with the De Klerk factor nationally, yet still kept the loyalty of 338 000 people; on the provincial level it actually polled nearly 100 000 votes more than the 450 000 its candidates attracted nationally in the 1989 all-white general election. What the DP failed to do was break out into the black African electorate — but then so did De Klerk. The compensation for the Nats was the deep electoral salient established in the Indian and coloured communities.

What all whites, not least those in the DP, have to come to terms with are the statistics of black majority rule. The DP actually did reasonably well in the election, given its historic support base — but it was swamped by the ANC. The shock was too much for DP leader Zach de Beer, who resigned as if his party had lost millions of votes — whereas it had failed only to gain them.

The heart of the matter is that white-dominated parties have no future in SA. The whites of KwaZulu/Natal are, so far, the only ones who seem to have demonstrated that they understand this new reality. Liberal or conservative, they apparently voted overwhelmingly for Inkatha.

So Inkatha, as a black African-dominated party and with that formidable total of over 2m votes, would seem to be the only party with long-term prospects in opposing the ANC. But 90% of its support came from KwaZulu/Natal and another 7% from the PWV. Can it have potential for growth elsewhere?

This does not mean the ANC will remain

unchallenged at elections. Apart from Inkatha (the only remaining nationalist grouping), the present parties are dinosaurs, with identities formed through the need to support or oppose apartheid. Fundamental realignment must take place — though it is not clear how this can be reflected in parliament before the next election, with MPs unable to cross the floor to other parties.

Sooner or later the ANC will split, partly for ideological reasons and partly because no party could sustain such unnaturally huge majorities in five of the nine provinces. The NP and DP must adapt to the imperatives of a black majority or die, except as minor groups with nuisance value. New alliances will form.

Meanwhile, it is comforting that the provincial premiers are already flexing their muscles. They are able to do this because of the double ballot. In the next election, unless the National Assembly decrees otherwise, provincial legislators will have to answer to the voters in their regions. This knowledge will concentrate their minds wonderfully, while their colleagues in the National Assembly stagnate on the back benches and walk in fear of party headquarters. ■

Tough Cabinet meetings ahead

Ministers set to fight for funds

B1 Day 13/5/94

(304A)
TIM COHEN and
WILSON ZWANE

CRUNCH meetings loom for SA's new Cabinet Ministers as they seek to come to grips with their portfolios and are told about their budget allocations. Many of the Ministers said yesterday they would ask for more.

Ministers interviewed yesterday stressed that although a provisional budget had been drawn up it still had to be ratified by the Cabinet. There were suggestions that tough talking might be needed.

Integration problems were also high on many Ministers' lists of priorities, especially in the Safety and Security (Police) and Provincial Affairs ministries.

They also spoke of the need for a new focus on the underprivileged and tackling implementation of the ANC's reconstruction and development programme (RDP).

Deputy Finance Minister Alec Erwin said the provisional Budget would be the major focus of the new government.

The Budget had been a collaborative effort but was "extremely complex and unusual". It would require "a lot of talking to get through".

He said there was no basic difference of approach between him and Finance Minister Derek Keys to the deficit, although they had expressed different target figures. The major challenge would be producing a Budget that provided resources for the RDP while maintaining fiscal discipline.

Housing Minister Joe Slovo said although there was a need for a balanced Budget, the current allocation of about R2,3bn was too small for his department.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney

Mufamadi said he was not moving into an altogether new area as he had a fair amount of knowledge about policing through his involvement in the peace structures and the Transitional Executive Committee's subcouncil on law and order.

His immediate task would be to weld the more than 10 police agencies into a single force. Police/community forums would play a crucial role in shaping of the police force. There was a general agreement that the police force hierarchy should reflect the diversity of the country's population.

Deputy Provincial Affairs Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa said the wide variety of previous provincial administrations would make it unlikely that provinces would produce budgets for about a year. The establishment of new provinces was far from complete, with the interim constitution stipulating mechanisms for the demarcation of final boundaries.

He expected that provincial government, particularly those controlled by the ANC, would demand sufficient powers to exercise their mandates, predicting that a process of negotiation would ensue.

Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau said her immediate responsibilities would include focusing on Transnet, Eskom and the transfer of assets from Namibia. She adopted a noncommittal stance on privatisation, saying in some cases it was inimical to the interest of labour. As Trans-

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New Cabinet

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kei's posts and telecommunication minister, she had proposed commercialisation of these services. The test was whether and to what extent these services were a drain on state resources.

Sport and Recreation Minister Steve Tshwete said although he "had ideas" he would not want to impose them. He intended convening an "indaba" of sporting bodies soon to discuss their priorities. There would be a "major bias" in favour of the disadvantaged communities and a focus on minor sporting codes. However, this did not mean major sports would be neglected.

Sport would be promoted generally as it played a crucial role in restoring the culture of learning at schools, creating jobs and promoting tourism.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pik Botha said he appreciated the trust Deputy President FW de Klerk had placed in him and pledged full support for "the

team". SUSAN RUSSELL reports that Justice Minister Dullah Omar will meet Chief Justice Michael Corbett and other Appeal Court members in Bloemfontein as part of a "massive job of consultation".

Omar said consultation with justice officials countrywide and the speedy establishment of the Constitutional Court were two of his priorities.

Changes were necessary to break with the apartheid past in a meaningful way.

The justice system, he said, also had a role to play in building a society that was humane and had a culture of human rights.

Asked whether government had decided who would benefit from an amnesty, Omar said President Nelson Mandela had "merely indicated a principle at this stage" and that the matter still had to be discussed.

● See Page 5
● Comment: Page 10

Mandela names new Cabinet

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela on Wednesday announced his Cabinet as follows:

Cabinet Ministers:

Dullah Omar — Justice;
 Joe Modise — Defence;
 Sidney Mufamadi — Safety and Security;
 Sibusiso Bengu — Education;
 Trevor Manuel — Trade and Industry;
 Alfred Nzo — Foreign Affairs;
 Tito Mboweni — Labour;
 Pallo Jordan — Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting;
 Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma — Health;
 Mac Maharaj — Transport;
 Roelf Meyer — Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development;
 Derek Hanekom — Land Affairs;
 Stella Sigcau — Public Enterprises;
 Zola Skweyiya — Public Service and Administration;
 Joe Slovo — Housing;
 Jeff Radebe — Public Works;
 Siphó Mzimela — Correctional Services;
 Derek Keys — Finance;
 Kraai van Niekerk — Agriculture;
 Steve Tshwete — Sport and Recreation;

Mangosuthu Buthelezi — Home Affairs;
 Kader Asmal — Water Affairs and Forestry;
 Dawie de Williers — Environmental Affairs and Tourism;
 Pik Botha — Mineral and Energy Affairs;
 Abe Williams — Welfare and Population Development;
 Ben Ngubani — Arts, Culture, Science and Technology; and
 Jay Naidoo — Minister without portfolio.

Deputy ministers:

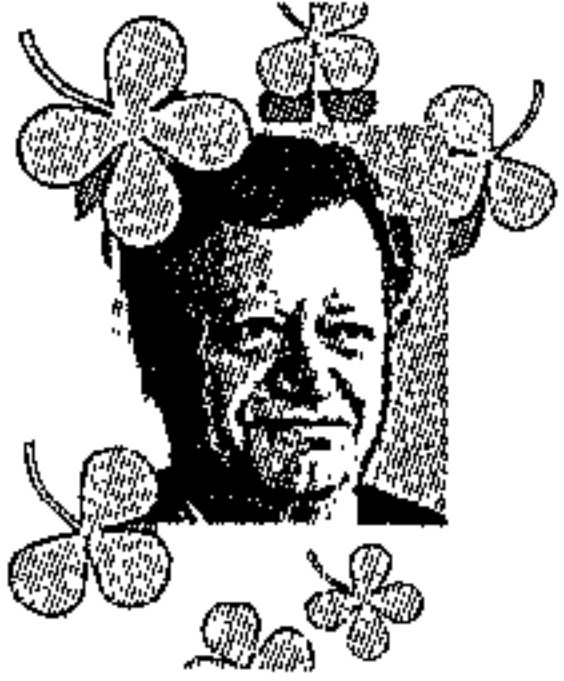
Aziz Pahad — Foreign Affairs;
 Valli Moosa — Provincial Affairs;
 Chris Fisser — Justice;
 Penuell Maduna — Home Affairs;
 Winnie Mandela — Arts, Culture, Science and Technology;
 Alec Erwin — Finance;
 Sankie Nkondo — Welfare;
 Bantu Holomisa — Environment Affairs;
 Tobie Meyer — Land Affairs;
 Renier Schoeman — Education;
 Joe Matthews — Safety and Security; and
 Thoko Msane — Agriculture. — Sapa.

Keys to the cockpit

Is he a man who can still say no?



(304A)



Finance Minister

Derek Keys is the only senior member of the last De Klerk Cabinet to get the same job in the first Mandela Cabinet. That is a rare political achievement — but then Keys is a man of rare

talent and perceptive insight.

President Nelson Mandela has seen fit to recognise that talent, because he understands the need to reassure businessmen and potential investors. And that is enormously encouraging.

Seen in tandem with Mandela's acceptance that Chris Stals will continue at the Reserve Bank, it is an appointment that even optimists were wary of expecting.

There must have been considerable pressure within the ANC for the post to go to someone senior in the organisation. Presumably the tradeoff that Mandela had to make was to give both security portfolios to ANC men — Sydney Mufamadi (Law & Order) and Joe Modise (Defence).

Whatever other skills a Finance Minister may have, his political job is essentially to say no. Every other Minister wants to get as much of the cake as possible — and there is never enough to satisfy everyone. Keys has already demonstrated his expertise and capacity for resistance in a Nat government once notorious for its profligacy.

It helps enormously that Keys has also earned the respect of senior ANC leaders. This is partly because he is naturally warm and empathetic, partly because he was never an old-style Nat — he came into the Cabinet only after it was clear that apartheid would be abolished. And Keys never fought an election under the apartheid banner. De Klerk noted his successful stewardship at Gencor and he was nominated to parliament two years ago, becoming Finance Minister immediately without having to claw his way up from the back benches.

Thanks largely to Keys, the economy that Mandela inherits is in much better shape than it was when Keys took over. Fiscal and monetary discipline has reduced inflation; modest growth is already evident. Keys, a natural optimist, has said that SA now has the chance to emulate the US of the Thirties in rising to prosperity from the depths of the Great Depression. Obviously he believes that the way to do this is through growth, minimal taxation and unfettered markets, not through government interference and redistribution.

There are many in the ANC, almost certainly a majority of the Cabinet, who will be

ideologically at odds with Keys on the means to the end. They include the communist Housing Minister, Joe Slovo, whose portfolio threatens to become a bottomless spending pit and substantial embarrassment.

Generally, the ANC's Reconstruction & Development Programme (RDP) proposes a major public works scheme to create 2.5m jobs in 10 years and 1m houses in the next five years, not to mention ambitious plans for health and education. Whatever the cost of such a programme — the NP claims it will cost 15 times more than the ANC's estimate of R39bn — we can be sure that SA cannot afford it in the time allocated. Keys has already said that the RDP needs pruning and that priorities will have to be determined.

Keys, a man of vision and an administrator with a talent for delegation, may be able to win the trust of the new Cabinet. But it seems inevitable that the pressure to make money available will be enormous. Even those ANC members who understand the need for discipline may argue for short-term spending to head off disappointment among the masses. When the crunch comes, the crucial factor will not be whether Keys is right or wrong but whether Mandela supports him.



Keys... a talent for delegation

But Keys is in an unusually strong position. He is not a professional politician and will not strive, we presume, to remain in office at the cost of personal principle. If he finds that he cannot support the policies he is being asked to implement, he will be readier than most politicians to resign. That would be a blow to Mandela and it would unsettle the businessmen and investors who have been reassured by Keys's appointment. It would not be in the interests of an ANC Cabinet to make his position untenable.

The composition of much of the Cabinet

was not settled by Monday, even though many portfolios seemed to have been allocated. For some reason the ANC saw fit to release its list of "candidates" for appointment, as if this were some kind of election.

The choice of Thabo Mbeki as first Deputy President was no surprise — but the reaction of the other contender, Cyril Ramaphosa, is startling. He asked to remain outside the Cabinet — apparently he wanted to be Deputy President or nothing — and he intends to run the party and serve as an MP.

The first sign that Mbeki had triumphed over his younger, perhaps more dynamic rival came during the ANC's victory party in Johannesburg, where a distinctly upbeat Mbeki acted as master of ceremonies. Though on the podium, Ramaphosa was clearly in the background — at one point having to endure what to the initiated seemed a slight barb, when Mbeki alluded to "someone with a microphone" who had been at Mandela's side on his release from prison.

Within the ANC, there is disappointment at Ramaphosa not being in the Cabinet. He is admired as a good manager who gets things done; he is also perceived as the one who rescued the situation three weeks ago over the international mediators' terms of reference regarding Inkatha's participation in the election. By insisting on the sanctity of the election date, which Mbeki had appeared to leave open, Ramaphosa is credited with having called Buthelezi's bluff.

Few in the ANC seem to have realised that the man who controls the party could have greater power than most of the Cabinet, given that the new parliamentary system means that it is party HQ — not individual MPs — who will call the shots.

On the other hand, Ramaphosa's absence from the Cabinet could easily prove dangerous to his political career; certainly no Nat politician would have dreamt of taking such a course, which would have been regarded by the party as disloyal.

What also seems clear is that a powerful group among the old guard leadership — including figures such as former secretary-general Alfred Nzo (named as Foreign Minister) and MK commander Joe Modise (Defence Minister) — threw their weight solidly behind the candidacy of Mbeki, who has the lineage and was groomed as crown prince by former ANC president Oliver Tambo. "Who is Cyril? We don't know him. We know Thabo," a senior ANC man, named for the Cabinet himself, was saying in private a week before the ANC's list of Ministers was announced.

But the apparent divide, between former exiles/prisoners represented by Mbeki and

Continued on page 25

Continued from page 20

the younger internal leadership associated with Ramaphosa, is not that simple. It is said that among those who back Ramaphosa are key figures of the SA Communist Party who provide the leadership core of the ANC. Specifically, Joe Slovo (Housing & Welfare Minister) and Mac Maharaj (Transport) are said to be Ramaphosa backers — not least because Mbeki (who chaired the SACP's last major conference in exile, in Havana) cut his links with the party soon after the unbannings. To old communists, this is the worst of sins.

It has been argued in the ANC that Ramaphosa should have taken Foreign Affairs, as a risk-free opportunity to bide his time and build his image as a statesman. Others say that Ramaphosa was reluctant because he feared being undercut by Mbeki, whose forte has always been international relations.

It seemed on Monday that old time-server Alfred Nzo had been given Foreign Affairs. Arguably, it should have gone to a Nat (Pik Botha?); though big, the post does not lend itself to powerbase building. Nzo's record shows some talent as an administrator; but, though he may be a good bureaucrat, he has never evinced a special flair for diplomacy.

Modise seems the obvious choice at Defence, where he can be relied upon to resist any military budget cuts. He likes guns and was, we hear, the choice of the generals, which is just as well. His appointment could well mean that present SANDF chief General George Meiring will stay on.

Sydney Mufamadi will take charge of the police. Though he is a communist, the police are apparently happy with the appointment, following Mufamadi's contributions on the TEC subcommittee on Law & Order. He is a conciliator and a hard worker, with organisational experience as a former Cosatu deputy vice-president.

Slovo (Housing & Welfare) is a trusted Mandela adviser and a heavyweight in the ANC and SACP. He will be involved in housing, which is at the core of ANC election promises. But he hasn't been associated much with the subject and his benevolent image will be tarnished among the masses if expectations are not met. This may have been an inspired appointment by Mandela, in the sense that exploded socialist dreams may best be explained by a trusted commissar.

Trevor Manuel (Trade & Industry) will be the ANC's most senior Minister involved in economic affairs.

He is no longer seen as particularly ideological and he seems increasingly acceptable to business. His working and personal relationship with Keys will be decisive if he is to be a success.



Nzo



Ginwala

Dullah Omar's appointment to Justice is an old debt paid — he was one of Mandela's legal team while he was in prison. As a lawyer he has some independent claim to the post, though it more likely reflects his efforts in the old Cape Marxist Unity Movement. Omar is one of five Indians appointed to Cabinet. (118) (304A)

Maharaj has been given Transport, which is described by some as below his talents. As a communist, he may be tempted to reverse the important steps taken towards freeing the transport market. He was one of a two-man team (with Fanie van der Merwe) who ran the multi-party negotiations process; he was significant in the TEC secretariat.

Kader Asmal (Provincial Affairs) is an international law specialist. He was for many years a professor at Dublin; recently he has been at the University of the Western Cape. He is likely to use his constitutional skills to deflect any federalist tendencies from KwaZulu/Natal.

Ahmed Kathrada (Correctional Services) was one of the Rivonia Trialists and was imprisoned for 26 years. No Nat Minister of prisons can have had such prolonged and intimate experience of the portfolio.

Jay Naidoo (Minister Without Portfolio) had been expected to get the Manpower position, because he was former general secretary of Cosatu, an important component of the ANC tripartite alliance. He is credited with having built up the union movement and contributed to the "struggle." Following his leadership of the anti-Vat campaign, he increasingly became associated with the RDP. He is charged with ensuring that the ANC delivers on its promises to improve the quality of life for the masses, but it is not clear what authority he will have.

For all its emphasis on nonsexism and the role of women, the ANC list names only two women to the Cabinet. Stella Sigcau (Public Enterprises) is a former Chief Minister of Transkei who was deposed by her subsequent ANC colleague, Major-General Bantubonke Holomisa (a notable absentee). Cynics say the appointment of Sigcau shows how little importance the ANC attaches to public enterprises. Sigcau, who comes from the Xhosa gentry, sat in the negotiations as a delegate of the traditional leaders. Dr Nkosazana Zuma (Health) is little known outside the ANC; she is the wife of ANC KwaZulu/Natal leader Jacob Zuma.



Modise



Manuel

tal leader Jacob Zuma.

A feature of Mandela's Cabinet is the number of people who have not distinguished themselves in the field to which they have been appointed — but then that is nothing new for SA Cabinets.

There may be exceptions. Tito Mboweni (Manpower) could be a good appointment, with his economics background; it remains to be seen how he will handle the delicate relationship between an ANC government and the unions. But he lacks mature judgment. Sibusiso Bhengu (Education, Arts & Culture) is an odd choice for the important task at Education, though he has experience in the field as a former vice-chancellor of the University of the North.

There are several others in the ANC with more experience in education policy. But they may, with justification, regard the portfolio as a poisoned chalice. The crisis in black education will defy anyone for years to come; the portfolio threatens to become a graveyard of political careers. It may help that Bhengu has no political profile.

Jeff Radebe (Public Works) is another KwaZulu/Natalian and another communist. He is popular and energetic, in what must be a key portfolio under the RDP. Zola Skweyiya (Public Services & Administration) is known as one of the ANC's constitutional experts but has not yet developed into a political heavyweight.

At the time of going to press, announcements still had to be made for the portfolios of Home Affairs, Information & Broadcasting, Tourism, Youth and Women. There was a strong rumour that Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be asked to take Home Affairs.

The vital position of Speaker will be taken by the ANC's Frene Ginwala.

The NP is entitled to six Ministers and three Deputy Ministers. The Ministers were announced on Monday as follows: Derek Keys (Finance); Pik Botha (Mineral & Energy Affairs); Dawie de Viliers (Environment); Kraai van Nierkerk (Agriculture, operating from the Senate and comforting to farmers); Roelf Meyer (Constitutional Development); and Abe Williams (Welfare & Population Development), representing De Klerk's acknowledgment of his electoral support within the coloured community. The Nat Deputy Ministers were named (without their portfolios) as Tobie Meyer, Renier Schoeman and Chris Fisser.

The talents may vary but the Ministers will all want to spend. Keys, if he is to succeed, will have his time cut out restraining ministerial exuberance. But he has had some success in that endeavour. With ministerial tails bushier and newly empowered egos untested, he will need luck too. ■

Gerwel's job now official

(30447)
ET 4/5/94

By PETER DENNEHY

PROFESSOR Jakes Gerwel, rector and vice-chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, confirmed yesterday that he had been offered, and had accepted, the post of Director-General of the President's office.

"It would have been arrogant of me to say 'no'," he said. "To be asked this is a sort of honour, an unearned honour."

He will live in Pretoria if he must, but he hopes to be able to remain in Cape Town if work here justifies that.

Some pressure had been put on him earlier to stand for Parliament but he had declined.

He has resigned from his post at the head of UWC as from this coming Monday. Professor Jaap Durand, the present deputy, will become acting rector until he re-

Rector to work for Mandela

tires at the end of the year and a new rector is appointed.

In effect, Professor Gerwel will be taking over Mr Dave Steward's job. Mr Steward has accepted a job in Deputy President Mr F W De Klerk's office.

Professor Gerwel was unable to say yesterday what Ms Barbara Masekela would be doing after the changeover (she ran Mr Mandela's office before he became President).

Asked whether running the President's office would be easier than running the university,

Prof Gerwel laughingly replied that he had not really found the university to be a "hot spot".

"It has reflected the turbulence of our society, often being less turbulent," he said. He had had so much support from his colleagues, the university council, the students and staff that he had not found running the university particularly arduous.

The period 1985-6 had possibly been "the worst period in terms of internal conflicts of the university, and the potential for tearing itself apart," he added.

His understanding of the new job was that it would be less involved in the "nitty-gritty" of governing the country than Mr De Klerk's office had been, he said. However, the new President would take a keen interest in the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and in nation-building.



PRESIDENT'S MAN ... Professor Jakes Gerwel (centre), who will head President Nelson Mandela's office from next week. Congratulating him yesterday were (left) Mr Gilbert Thomas, who chairs the UWC council, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, UWC chancellor.

Picture: Alan Taylor

4.1 people

THE NEW CABINET: WE COULD HAVE DONE WORSE. IN FACT, WE DID

The bad old daze

Start 14/5/94

It's the most remarkable cabinet we've had, a marvellous mix of skills, backgrounds and ideologies. We'll have to wait to see how our new Ministers will shape. If you're worried about how they'll perform, remember they'll have to be

geniuses to outshine many of those who used to rule and ruin the lives of millions. We remember them well... and looking back over those dark years it's hard to believe that they really did what they did and said what they said

(304A)

THE MEN AT THE TOP





THE NEW:
NELSON MANDELA, the first head of government to be elected by all the people of South Africa.



THE OLD:
P. W. Botha, SA's first executive president, was father of total onslaught, two states of emergency and the tricameral. A bully who threatened foe and friend alike, including P. W. Botha when he said he could work under a black president, his departure was unannounced – even though he initiated talks with Mandela.



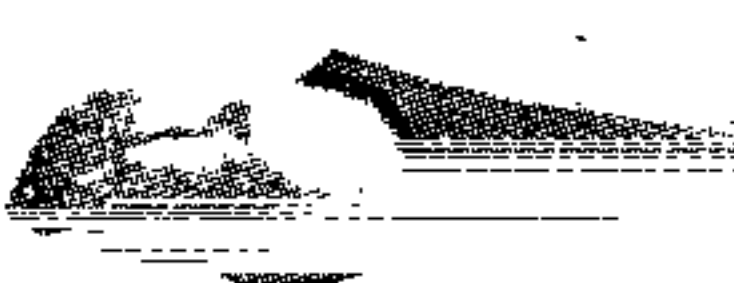
THE OLD:
JOHN VORSTER, perhaps the most feared Prime Minister, who earlier had introduced detention without trial. Among highlights of his reign: Angola invasion, cross-border raids, Soweto uprising, Biko, the scores of other deaths in detention and the Info Scandal which led to the lion going out like a lamb.



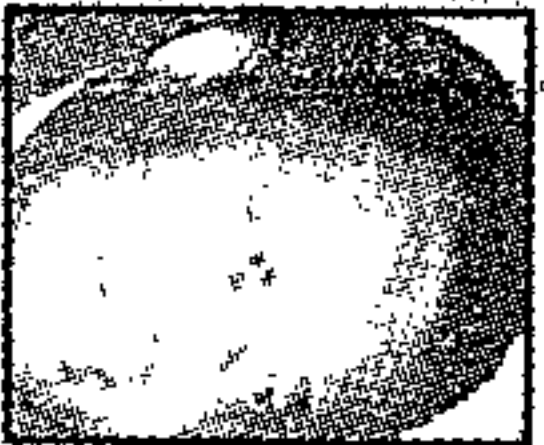
THE OLD:
HENDRIK VERWOERD, humorless, cold, idolised but unloved, the racial visionary, who believed if you changed apartheid into separate development, it would smell a lot sweeter. Fatalist, no matter the cost in lives and misery, in his pursuit of his dream of building a white South Africa.



THE OLD:
J. G. STRIJDOM, the man who introduced the jackboot into the philosophy of apartheid and gathered around him the professional henchmen of apartheid... Verwoerd, Vorster and M. C. Botha and the first of the security policemen who rose to the highest ranks and terrorised a nation for decades.



THE OLDEST:
D. F. MALAN, swept into power on the promise of



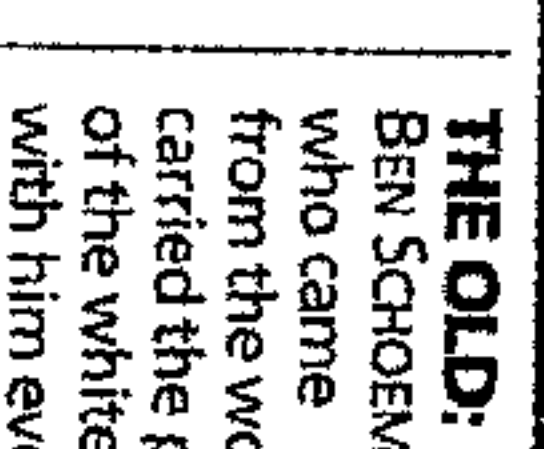
THE NEW:
JOE MODISE former commander of MK. Under a cloud because of his alleged knowledge of ill-treatment in ANC camps.



THE OLD:
MAGNUS MALAN, A brilliant soldier, he became the youngest head of the SADF in history. But P. W. needed a political flagbearer for total onslaught. Malan paid the price and was sent to the backwoods of Forestry after the SADF was tarnished with the CCB scandal and other dirty tricks operations.



THE NEW:
TITO MBOWENI, who headed the ANC economics desk before his appointment. Has slowly won respect outside ANC.



THE OLD:
BEN SCHOEMAN, who came from the working ranks and carried the prejudices and fears of the white blue-collar worker with him even when he became Minister of Labour. Defending job reservation against an attack by Helen Suzman, who said these laws put industry into a straitjacket, he told parliament: "What is our first consideration? Is it to maintain the economic laws or is it to ensure the continued existence of the European race in this country?" For him it was a rhetorical question.



THE OLD:
CONNIE MULDER The Minister of the Information held one of the most powerful positions in the country during the seventies. We couldn't fight the whole world, so we tried to win the propaganda war and when that failed we tried to buy our way back to respectability. Connie Mulder was the Minister who masterminded the Info war. But when it became the Info Scandal, he slipped. People might forgive, and even praise, a Minister who ruined the lives of millions, but Mulder broke the rules of The Club – he lied to Parliament about funding The Citizen and that ended the high hopes of the man who nearly became Prime Minister. Mulder then fought his way back to parliament as a Conservative but died soon afterwards. There is no specific information post but this portfolio will be handled by P. J. Jordan, the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications and Radio.



apartheid. He neither invented nor perfected apartheid but this dour domineer sanctified it and gave to the nation a hundred new bibles containing thousands of laws that led to millions of miseries.

* Much of the information for this article is taken from Helen Suzman's memoirs, *In No Uncertain Terms*. Suzman, who knew all the Nat Cabinet Ministers, describes Botha, Vorster and Verwoerd as "as nasty a trio as you could encounter in your worst nightmares".



THE NEW:
DEREK KEYS, F. W.'s ex-Minister who has won world and ANC recognition for his handling of this tough portfolio.



THE OLD:
OWEN HORWOOD Signed infatigable authorisations and then displayed selective blindness when the chickens came home to roost. As chairman of Nedbank (the Finance Minister) he called for an urgent reduction government share of the economy, yet while Minister of Finance that share rose inexorably. In December 1985 (when he was no longer Finance Minister) he strongly criticised a tax change which he himself announced as Minister of Finance in March 1984. Horwood has the dubious distinction of having been responsible for South Africa's highest ever inflation rate.



THE OLD:
ALBERT HERTZOG His role as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs will be a hard act to follow. He refused to allow South Africa to have television, calling it the "devil's box", and said this would be fatal for the intellectual future of the country. Then something far worse than TV was introduced to this country – a Maori in a rugby team and Hertzog quit the NP in disgust.



THE NEW:
WINNIE MANDELA Winnie Mandela has been appointed deputy minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology – an honour she shares with the man who probably, more than anyone else, did more to hound, imprison and banish her: John Vorster.

POLICE



THE NEW:
SIDNEY MUFAMADI, ex-UDF and trade union leader who heads Safety and security.



THE OLD:
LOUWRENS MULLER AND JIMMY KRUGER If blacks were second-class citizens to the Nats, prisoners were hardly human at all. One hot day on the Reef, prisoners were being transported in a closed van without ventilation. Several died. Helen Suzman asked the Minister of Police, Louwrens Muller, if his department would not



THE NEW:
PALLO JORDAN, head of the ANC's information desk. Described by all as brilliant.



consider making an ex-gratia payment to their dependants. He replied: "The South African police cannot adopt the attitude of Father Christmas." But there's no doubt the champion of all Nat police ministers was Jimmy Kruger. Shortly after the death of Steve Biko in the hands of his own men, he told a Nat congress: "It leaves me cold".

POSTS, TELECOMMUNICATIONS & RADIO

ARTS AND SCIENCE



THE OLD:
JOHN VORSTER In 1961, while he still held this portfolio, Vorster, commenting on South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth, told the House: "I do not know what awaits South Africa. I do not know whether we will continue to exist as a nation. I believe we shall do so, because we were placed in South Africa for that purpose. But if it should happen that this nation must go under, let us then go under because it is our fate and not because it is our fault."

'Y' flag design shows 'road ahead together'

JOHANNESBURG. — As the new flag fluttered over Nelson Mandela's inauguration ceremony, Fred Brownell felt a deep emotion stirring.

"Relief," said Mr Brownell, a heraldry expert and civil servant who succeeded in bringing South Africans together around his design for the country's post-apartheid flag.

Several other proposals were put forward before negotiators from the African National Congress and the National Party chose Mr Brownell's geometric design in black, gold, green, white, red and blue.

The response was subdued at first. But by the time the inaugural ceremony was held on Tuesday South Africans were waving the flag enthusiastically, happy to have a common symbol of the changes.

"I've forgotten what the old flag looked like," said Soweto resident Nthabiseng Motoai. "I dream new flag. I dream new president. I dream new South Africa."

The design "can be seen ... as representing the convergence of diverse elements in South African society, which then take the road ahead together," Mr Brownell said yesterday in a telephone interview from Pretoria, where he has worked for 17 years designing university seals and city government shields.

The first proposals for a new national flag were offered last year by a commission of historians and artists who combined suggestions offered by ordinary South Africans. When public and Press rejected these ideas, advertising companies were

asked to try. They were no more successful.

Early this year a multiparty authority set up to oversee the transition from apartheid to democracy asked Mr Brownell to chair yet another design committee.

"We were told: 'Solve the problem pronto'," he said.

The key figures on the transitional executive, Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC and Roelf Meyer of the NP, then chose a design from among five offered by Mr Brownell's committee.

Mr Brownell attaches no particular significance to the colours. But people have been eager to find symbolism: black and white for the country's people; green for its land; red for the blood of those who died fighting apartheid.

Few have missed the fact that the black, gold and green at the heart of the flag are the ANC's colours — prompting some white extremists to dismiss the design as the devil's work.

"They can actually put in it what they like," Mr Brownell said. "As far as attaching symbolism to a colour is concerned, you're treading on dangerous ground."

He's more forthcoming on the pattern — a central green area shaped like a Y lying on its side, surrounded by lines and fields in the five other colours. He said he had been toying with the idea for a year, even before he was given the task of solving the problem.

"I just had a feeling something like this was coming," he said. — Sapa.

Winnie misses swearing-in as deputy minister

(304A)

WCT 14/5/94

PRETORIA. — Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of South Africa's new president, did not turn up to be sworn in as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology, officials said.

Mrs Mandela, who bounced back from the disgrace of a sinister kidnapping scandal that threatened to relegate her to the political wilderness, missed the ceremony due to "an urgent meeting in Pondoland" in Transkei, they added.

President Mandela's right-hand man, deputy president Thabo Mbeki, said Mrs Mandela, 59, would have a chance to be sworn in next week.

Former military ruler of Transkei Bantu Holomisa also was absent from the ceremony at which five of the seven deputy ministers in the African National Congress-dominated national unity government were sworn in yesterday.

General Holomisa, deputy minister for environment affairs, was busy handing over his former homeland to the new South African authorities.

Mrs Mandela, according to one source close to her, was taken aback by the appointment. "She was quite surprised at the appointment. When I told her she thought I was joking," said the source.

Five deputy ministers who missed Wednesday afternoon's swearing-in of the cabinet were sworn in at the

Union Buildings by Transvaal Judge President Fritz Eloff on Friday afternoon. The ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa (provincial affairs and constitutional development), Pennell Maduna (home affairs), Alec Erwin (finance), Sankie Nkondo (welfare) and Thoko Msane (agriculture).

PWV premier Tokyo Sexwale, announcing his 10-member cabinet yesterday, said he had created three extra positions.

Speaking after the swearing-in ceremony at Sandton, he said Ben Turok would head a desk responsible for implementing the ANC's reconstruction and development programme.

The other two desks, for youth affairs and gender rights, were still unnamed.

The members, sworn in by Transvaal Judge President Mr Justice Frikie Eloff, were:

- Jabu Moleketi (ANC) — economic affairs and finance.
- Amos Masondo (ANC) — health.
- Mary Metcalfe (ANC) — education.
- Johannes Blanche (National Party) — social welfare.
- Daniel Mofokeng (ANC) — housing and local government.
- Sicelo Shiceka (ANC) — urban and rural planning and development, land reform and the environment.
- Olaus van Zyl (NP) — public transport and roads.
- Jessie Duarte (ANC) — public safety

and security.

■ John Mavuso (NP) — conservation and agriculture.

■ Peter Skosana (ANC) — sports, recreation, arts and culture.

■ The 10 cabinet members for the Northern Transvaal provincial legislature were announced by premier Ngoako Ramathodi in Pietersburg yesterday. All except one, Johan Kriek of the Freedom Front, are ANC members. They are:

■ Thaba Matumadi — economic affairs, commerce and industry.

■ Aaron Motsaedi — education and culture.

■ Thine Burgers — agriculture.

■ John Dombro — local government, housing and land affairs.

■ Marie-Stella Mabiyje — environmental affairs and tourism.

■ Dikeledi Magadzi — public works.

■ Seth Nthai — police and protection services.

■ Edgar Mushwane — finance.

■ Mr Kriek — public transport.

■ The ANC's 84 percent election victory in the Eastern Cape was sealed with the appointment of a 10-member cabinet for the provincial legislature yesterday.

The 10-member cabinet of the unified Eastern Cape provincial legislature is:

■ ANC Border leader Smuts Nkonyama — economic affairs.

■ Fort Hare University economics professor Shepherd Mayatula — finance.

■ Tertius Delport — agriculture.

■ University of Transkei lecturer Ezra Sigwela — land reform, administration and departmental planning.

■ Dr Trudie Thomas — health and welfare.

■ SA Communist Party stalwart, Neala Hoosain — education.

■ Mandisa Dona Marasha — transport and telecommunications.

■ SA National Civic Organisation official Max Mamase — housing and local government.

■ Maliza Mpehle — justice and police services.

■ ANC Port Elizabeth deputy chairman Khobhe Mhlaho — public works.

■ Orange Free State premier Patrick Lekota announced eight of his nine-member executive committee in Bloemfontein yesterday.

They were:

■ C Human — agriculture and environmental affairs.

■ L Kubushe — policing.

■ T Belot — education and culture.

■ S Ntshabathi — health and welfare.

■ G Ntshatsi — public works and roads.

■ T Makgoe — finance and expenditure.

■ A Magashule — economic opportunity.

■ L van der Watt — public transport.

The post for housing and local government has yet to be filled. — Sapa.

S. Times 15/5/94 (304A)

By MARLENE BURGER

SEVERAL thousand metres above the earth, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi turned to the two men sitting behind him in the aircraft ferrying them from Ulundi to Pretoria.

"So, have they told you what your portfolios are?" the Inkatha Freedom Party leader asked with a smile.

It was early on Wednesday afternoon, and this was the first inkling Dr Ben Ngubane and Dr Sipho Mzimela had that their destination was the cabinet room at the Union Buildings.

"We looked at one another, mystified, and shook our heads. Then Chief Buthelezi told us which posts he had nominated us for. It came as a complete surprise," said Dr Mzimela, 59.

The engaging former teacher, who has been a friend of Chief Buthelezi's for 39 years, brings to the Correctional Services portfolio a wealth of experience in diverse fields — and he's no stranger to life behind bars.

An ordained Episcopalian priest, he served as a prison chaplain at various institutions in the US, his home for the past decade.

And, had he not fled into exile 33 years ago, he would almost certainly have become intimately familiar with the inside of one or more of the prisons he now controls.

A staunch ANC supporter at the time, Dr Mzimela made his way to what was still Tanganyika, via Swaziland, Rhodesia and Zambia.

An 18-month period of study in Czechoslovakia, led to him severing all ties with the ANC when it forged formal links with the SA Communist Party in June 1985.

"I found the lectures on Marxism interesting, from an academic point of view, but the reality of life under communism convinced me that it was not only an unworkable system, but an evil one."

After a 10-year spell in West Germany, he returned to Africa to teach in Kenya and then fulfilled a childhood dream by studying theology in the US.

Still an active ANC member, he was a member of the team that provoked former foreign affairs minister Pik Botha into walking out of the UN in 1974.

"Recently, on a trip to the Ivory Coast, I reminded him of that. We had a good laugh."

Disillusioned by the ANC-SACP alliance, he retired from politics until 1990.

"Shortly after the February 2 unbanning of political organisations, I came home for the first time in 29 years. Renewing my old

Prisons chief no stranger to life behind bars

friendship with Chief Buthelezi, I went to Ulundi, where he persuaded me that the IFP was my political home... so I became a member."

His first task was to represent the IFP in the US — "a difficult assignment as all my contacts were ANC-based, so for a long time I was something of a pariah". Dr Mzimela persevered, serving in this capacity until his return to South Africa eight weeks ago.

During his sojourn in the US, he obtained a doctorate in ethics from New York University, a qualification which he laughingly says will help him "keep these Correctional Services guys in line".

After a hectic past week, shuttling from Ulundi to Cape Town and Pretoria, he spent his first day in office being "walked through" his department.

"I don't believe there is any easy portfolio in this cabinet. We are starting at base level, hoping we will get the support we need to make the government of national unity work, and gain the experience we need along the way."

Clearly impressed with the "homework" done by his staff in preparation for the change of administration, Dr Mzimela believes it is yet too early to identify the "burning issues".

However, high on the agenda are the incorporation of prisons officials from the former indepen-

dent homelands and self-governing states.

Other matters that will demand urgent attention are the questions of children in detention and the overcrowding of prisons.

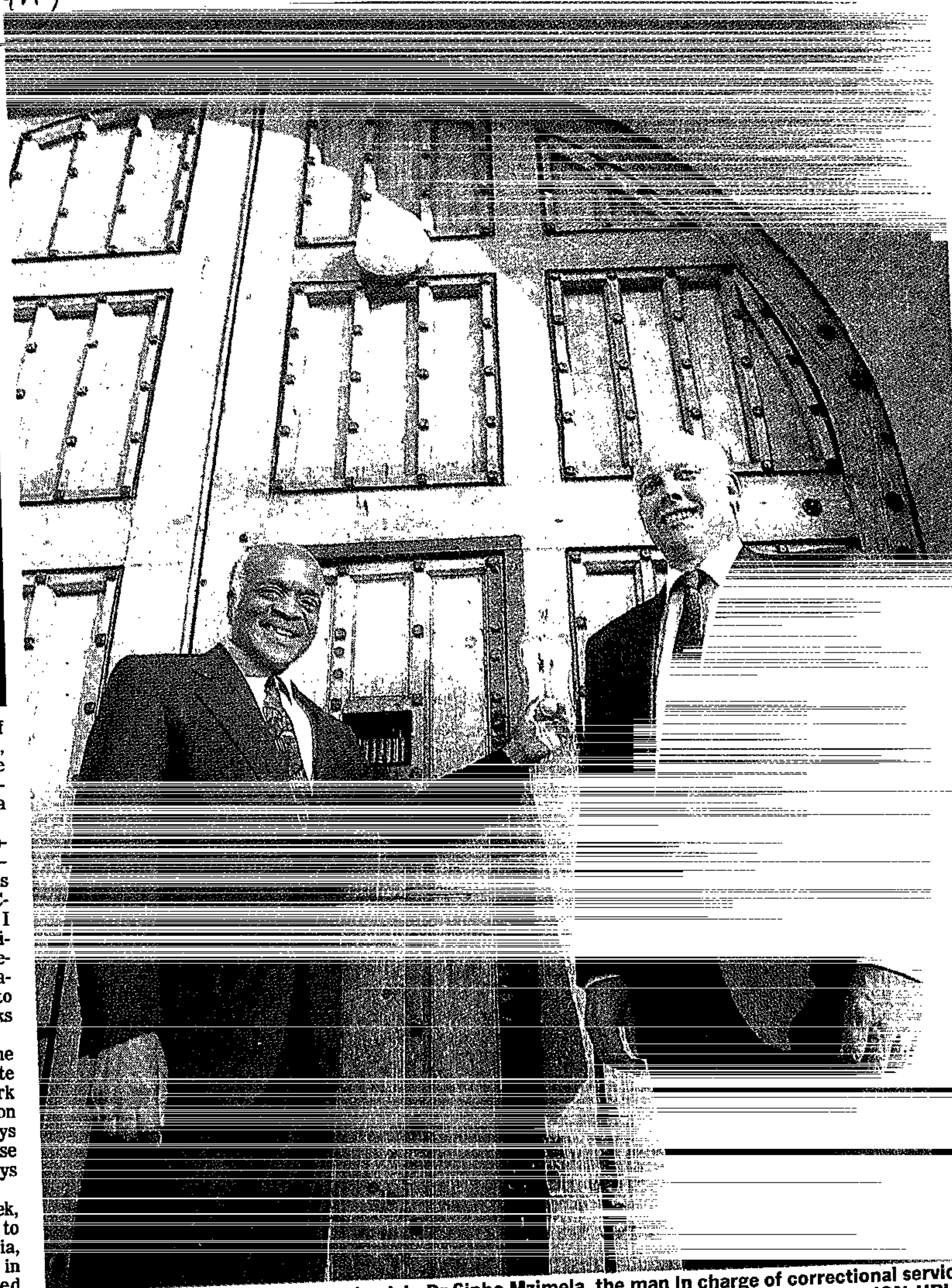
Today his wife, Gail, flies to the US to prepare their daughter Julie, 17, for admission to college. Dr Mzimela's eldest daughters, Nomusa, 24, and Lindiwe, 23, are also students in the US.

His schedule for the next 10 days includes a cabinet meeting on Tuesday in

Cape Town, the parliamentary sitting on Friday and the first meeting of the National Assembly on May 23.

In the next few months, he plans to visit as many prisons as he can and expects to be putting in long hours as he masters the complexity of a department whose goal, he says firmly, is "to serve".

"This is a new field for me, and there is a great deal to learn. For the moment, my number one priority is to listen."



AT THE HELM... former prison chaplain Dr Sipho Mzimela, the man in charge of correctional services, and commissioner General Henk Bruyn at the gates of Pretoria Central
Picture: JON HRUSA

Libyan ambassador for SA

TRIPOLI — Libya announced agreement with the South African government on Saturday to establish full diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors.

CT 16/5/94
In a dispatch from Pretoria, official Libyan news agency Jana said foreign minister Mr Omar al-Muntasser reached agreement on relations in talks with South African Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo. (304A)

It said the two countries would work through the Organisation of African Unity "to look after the economic needs of Africa and encourage bilateral economic and political relations at all levels".

Attempts to reach SA officials for confirmation were unsuccessful.

President Nelson Mandela has expressed gratitude to Libya and other allies that support-

ed the ANC while it was banned. Diplomatic ties between the two nations were expected after the ANC won last month's election.

● The Japanese government plans to send a mission to South Africa later this month to assess ways of boosting economic assistance, a newspaper said yesterday. The mission would identify areas where Japanese economic aid could be put to best use, the Sankei Shimbun said. — Sapa

THE Independent Electoral Commission's (IEC) administrative woes produced one happy by-product — it distracted attention from its decision to declare the election "substantially free and fair".

Indeed, by the time the country staggered to a final result, no one seemed to care whether the election had been free and fair. There is a lesson in that: and it is not the one hinted at around suburban dinner tables in the weeks before the election when it was popular to declare knowingly that the IEC would declare the election free and fair whatever the evidence.

That, of course, it did, despite significant irregularities. But what should that tell us? That the IEC's ability to evaluate an election was no better than its ability to deliver ballot papers or Inkatha Freedom Party stickers? Or that it should never have been asked to pronounce on the question in the first place?

It is not a standard feature of elections that someone decide whether they are "free and fair". In most countries, "freedom and fairness" is not an issue, even when, on the surface, it should be; and we are not talking of "Third World" countries either. It certainly was not an issue in the US in 1960 when Chicago's Mayor Daley is said to have manufactured enough votes to win Kennedy the presidency. Usually, the "freedom and fairness" of elections is assumed — unless a losing party blows the whistle on alleged fraud.

It is only in recent years that it has become popular to pronounce on whether some elections are free and fair — and, even then, only in specific circumstances.

The free and fair industry has arisen largely out of the desire of major industrial countries to make the democratisation of dictatorships an ostensible condition for trade and aid. Since an undemocratic government can appear to hold free elections but ensure that the "choice" is a sham, a need arose to watch over these first elections to ensure they were more

'Free and fair' directive was unfair to the IEC

STEVEN FRIEDMAN

Editorial 16/5/94

than smoke and mirror shows.

And there have also been cases — such as Zambia — in which local citizens' groups have been nervous about the presumed rigging abilities of the outgoing government and have therefore felt a need to apply their own "free and fair" tests.

But a need has been seen for free and fair tests only where the society is presumed to be incapable of holding fair elections without supervision. If our society was seen to be capable, through the IEC, of running its own election, why ask it to declare it had done so freely and fairly?

In keeping with some of their other eccentricities, the World Trade Centre negotiators seemed unaware of this — and so they chose both options: a local commission would not only run the election, but decide whether it had done so freely and fairly. The absurdity of asking the commission to watch over the process for which it was responsible becomes more apparent when we reflect that pronouncing on the freedom and fairness of elections is not as simple as some believe it to be. There has probably never been an election which was not, in some sense, unfair. Even in the most established democracies, ruling parties use the state machine to gain unfair

advantage — or as in Italy recently, powerful interests use control over mass media to tilt the playing fields in their direction.

So democracies agree to live with some degree of unfairness in elections. But what degree? And who decides when the playing field is so skewed that the game ought to be abandoned?

3045

If we insist that the decision ought to rest with an election commission, we should ponder the effect this might have had here. By the time the IEC came to make its pronouncement, the electorate and the parties had largely delivered their verdict. The parties had agreed to drop their objections in exchange for similar gestures from rivals. And the voters, even those supporting losing parties, had accepted the results.

Had the IEC, on the basis of some principle devised by a lawyer or commentator, then decided to overturn the result, it is hard to see anyone, loser as well as winner, rushing to thank it — the result would more likely have been fresh violence.

And on what criteria would the

boxes at pirate stations? If so, were they enough to influence the result? These questions could not be answered within hours of the vote count. An attempted answer was possible only if the country was prepared to wait weeks or more for a result. That it was not is confirmed by the irritation directed at the IEC for announcing the result a week late but well within the legal limit set by Parliament, and by the fact that parties withdrew objections rather than delay the result.

The parties' response raises perhaps the most important point of all — that an election is "free and fair" if the major interests in the society, losers and winners, say that it is. An election is not an end in itself — it is a means of ensuring that the government is accepted as the legitimated authority by those who do not support it as well as those who do.

If the major parties and the organised interests in society accept the outcome of an election, the society would, quite properly, have little patience with an electoral commission which presumed to contradict it.

The overzealous lawyers and negotiators who insisted the IEC pronounce on whether the election was free and fair also seem to have forgotten that, in contrast to some other societies which hold first elections, we do have channels which aggrieved parties could have used had they wished to contest the results.

Any party which felt cheated could have asked the courts for relief. Given this, why ask an electoral commission to answer a question which could have been addressed elsewhere?

The desire of our negotiators and lawyers to insist that the IEC answer questions which its equivalents elsewhere are not even expected to ask created a red herring which society thankfully chose to ignore.

Whichever institution is charged with holding our next election should not be asked the question in the first place.

□ Friedman, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, headed the IEC's analysis department.

LETTERS

Holomisa, Winnie sworn in as deputies

17/5/94 (304A)



SWORN IN ...
Bantu Holomisa



SWORN IN ...
Winnie Mandela

PRETORIA. — President Nelson Mandela's estranged wife, Winnie, and former Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa were sworn in as deputy ministers at the Union Buildings yesterday.

They were the last of the deputy ministers to be sworn in and are both African National Congress members.

Mrs Mandela will serve as deputy to the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr Ben Ngubane in the Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Ministry.

Gen Holomisa is deputy to the National Party's Dr Dawie de Villiers in the Environment Affairs portfolio.

Mrs Mandela and Gen Holomisa took the oath read by Judge President F Eloff.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki officiated at the ceremony.

Deputy President F W de Klerk also attended the swearing-in as did Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys and Dr De Villiers. Dr Ngubane was absent.

Mr Mbeki congratulated the two new deputy ministers and said he hoped they would be at their desks later in the day. — Sapa

Mandela set for summit

Political Staff (304A)

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela is expected to attend a summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Tunis next month, at which South Africa is likely to become a member formally.

The summit will be held on June 13 and 14.

Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahia has announced that Mr Mandela will attend the summit, but this was not confirmed by the president's office.

Department of Foreign Affairs sources said today that there were tentative plans for such a visit but that a final decision had not been made.

AR 4/7/5/94

Rush to name Senate members

Sowetan 17/5/94

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

POLITICAL parties are finalising lists for a new Senate which will be inaugurated on Friday.

Each of the nine regions is entitled to 10 members in the 90-member Senate. Elections for president and deputy-president of the Senate will be held at Friday's sitting. This will precede the first session of the Constitutional Assembly (joint sitting of National Assembly and Senate) next Monday.

The African National Congress has named six people in the PWV provincial senate. Its six-member team is topped by veterans Mrs Rita Ndzanga and Mr Henry Makgothi. Other senators are Mr Simon Makana, Ms Joyce Kgoadi, Mrs Mosheen Moosa and Mr Indres Naidoo.

The remaining four senators for the PWV will be from the National Party (two), Democratic Party (one) and the Freedom Front (one).

The DP has nominated Mr William Mnisi for the PWV, Mr Errol Moorcroft for Natal and DP executive director Mr

James Selfe, for the Western Cape.

NP spokesman Mr Danie du Plessis said the party would release its full lists once nominations had been received nationally.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said all senators had to have been election candidates.

The names of the 10 PWV senators would be finalised at the PWV parliament's next sitting on Thursday.

The NP has nominated former Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee for president of the new Senate.

President Nelson Mandela is expected to outline the Government's programme in his State of the Nation address. (2014A)

The speech will be followed by an open debate expected to last three days.

The Constitutional Assembly is also expected to elect a chairman and vice-chairman with the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa tipped for the chairmanship.

The Parliamentary session is expected to last until July 1. June 22 is earmarked as Budget day.

National Party *Sowetan 18/5/94* names its senators

THE National Party yesterday released its full list of senators and reaffirmed its commitment to the establishment of strong provincial government.

The list is headed by Free State representative and former Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who is being touted by the NP as Senate chairman (BOHA)

A statement issued from the office of Deputy President and NP leader FW de Klerk listed the NP's Western Cape senators as Mr Alex van Breda, Mr Neels Ackerman, Mr Stan Fisher, Mr

MGE Wiley, Mr AJ Williams and Mr Charles Redcliffe.

For the Northern Cape, it listed Dr AI van Niekerk, Mr Attie Jooste, Mr AE van Niekerk and Mr A Balie.

Mr Rae Radue was named for the Eastern Cape, while the NP's KwaZulu/Natal senator is Mr Sathie Naidoo.

The PWV list included Dr Org Marais and Dr Gerhard Koornhof. In the Eastern Transvaal, the NP named Mr David Malatsi and in the North-West province Mr Louis Swanepoel. — Sapa.

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Coetsee heads the list of NP senators

FORMER defence and justice minister Kobie Coetsee, who is being touted by the NP as Senate chairman, heads the NP list of senators from the provinces released by Deputy President FW de Klerk yesterday.

The NP, reaffirming its commitment to establishing strong provincial government, also included in its list former trade and tourism minister Org Marais (also a former deputy finance minister) as sena-

THEO RAWANA

tor for the PWV. 18/5/94

The list of NP senators gives Western Cape senators as Alex van Breda, Neels Ackerman, Stan Fisher, Mark Wiley, former sports minister, Abe Williams and Charles Radcliffe.

The Northern Cape will be represented by Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk, Adrian van Niekerk, Jan Jooste and Abra-

ham Balie.

Former King William's Town MP Rae Radue was named for the Eastern Cape, while the NP's Kwa-Zulu/Natal senator is former Durban Bay MP Sathie Naidoo, who did not obtain a seat in the elections.

The PWV list includes Marais and Gerhard Koornhof. In the Eastern Transvaal, the NP named David Malatsi and in the Northwest province Louis Swanepeel.

ANC picks 3 stalwarts for Senate

CT19/5/94 (3049)

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC yesterday nominated three local stalwarts to the Senate — veteran activist and former political prisoner Mr Christmas Tinto, activist lawyer and local information chief Mr Bulelani Ngcuka and trade unionist Mr Joe Vorster.

A delighted Mr Tinto, 69, the former UDF president, who spent 16 years in jail in three spells from 1963 to 1987, and who was regularly jailed during the UDF campaign years, said: "This is what I've dedicated my entire life to."

He added: "We sincerely and honestly want peace and reconciliation — even with the security police who harassed us, we've shaken hands with them — there is no other way than to forgive to build a real united nations of SA."

Mr Ngcuka, a former Terrorism Act

detainee jailed for three years for refusing to testify in the Maqubela Ngaba treason trial in mid-1981, holds a master's degree in international relations.

He is best known as the regional ANC information chief and is a respected local lawyer.

Mr Vorster is the national education officer for the National Union of Mines (Numsa), and a well-known trade unionist.

Former justice minister Mr Kōbie Coetsee yesterday remained the leading candidate for the Senate presidency.

Swearing in takes place tomorrow morning.

The National Party Western Cape candidates are: Mr Alec van Breda, Mr Neels Ackerman, Mr Stan Fisher, Mr Mark Wiley, Mr A J Williams and Mr Charles Redcliffe. Mr James Selfe has been nominated by the Democratic Party.

Auditors named for IEC spending check

LT 20/5/94 (304A)

By ISOBEL KOCH

THE auditor-general has appointed a private firm of auditors to investigate the expenditures of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), which at this stage is estimated to total about R1 billion.

Professor Bertie Loots, the deputy auditor-general, confirmed that the firm of Price Waterhouse has been appointed to conduct the audit on behalf of the auditor-general's office.

The audit was required in terms of the law and would become a public document once it had been tabled in Parliament.

Prof Loots said that he was anxious to have the audit completed while all the accountable officials were still in the employ of the IEC.

IEC director of media services and public relations, Mr Pieter Cronje, last night said that the IEC had also ap-

pointed its own firm of auditors, Coopers and Lybrand, to examine the organisation's financial affairs.

"The impression that the IEC's money matters were a free-for-all business or a gravy train, is wrong.

"We want to make certain that the IEC's business is concluded in a proper manner," said Mr Cronje.

Meanwhile Dr Dennis Davis, director of the centre for applied legal studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, yesterday made a strong appeal that adequate exposure be given to audit reports about the IEC's expenditure.

"Unfortunate rumours about the Commission's spending are flying around while stories about the salaries paid to staff seem extraordinary...

"The public is entitled to know whether the spending was prudent and if accountability was taken care of in a proper manner," said Dr Davis.

Senators to CT 20/5/94 (304A) be sworn in

THE ANC has a marginally higher percentage membership in the Constitutional Assembly than in the National Assembly, although it is still short of the two-thirds majority which would have enabled it to unilaterally rewrite the constitution.

The Constitutional Assembly, to be constituted on Tuesday, comprises the 400 National Assembly members who were sworn in last Monday, sitting together with the 90 senators to be sworn in today.

The ANC will have 252 National Assembly members and 60 senators, giving it 63,67% of the seats in the Constitutional Assembly compared with 63% in the National Assembly.

The NP will have 20,2% of seats in the Constitutional Assembly, the IFP 9,8%, the FF 2,85%, the DP 2,04%, the PAC 1,02% and the ACDP 0,4%.

On Wednesday the Senate and National Assembly resume sessions.

The full list of senators is:

EASTERN TRANSVAAL

Bhaba, Mr Mohammed (ANC)
Chiwayo, Mr Lassy (ANC)
De Ville, Mr Rosier (FF)
Gamndana, Miss Thembeke (ANC)
Grove, Mr Stephanus (ANC)
Lubisi, Mr Sipho (ANC)
Mahlangu, Mr JL (ANC)
Malatsi, Mr David (NP)
Mthembu, Mr Jackson (ANC)
Nobunga, Mr Boy (ANC)

PWV

Kgoali, Ms Joyce (ANC)
Koorhof, Dr G (NP)
Makana, Mr Simon (ANC)
Makgothi, Mr Henry (ANC)
Marais, Dr Org (NP)
Mnisi, Mr William (DP)
Moosa, Mr Mohseen (ANC)
Naidoo, Mr Indres (ANC)
Nzanga, Ms Rita (ANC)
Werth, Mr Carl (FF)

NORTH-WEST

Bruwer, Mr Andries (FF)
Khobe, Ms Olive (ANC)
Makhuba, Mr Tommy (ANC)
Mohammed, Mr Michael (ANC)
Mothoage, Ms Kereng (ANC)
Motsuenyane, Mr Sam (ANC)
Rasmoni, Mr Solomon (ANC)
Sifora, Mr Victor (ANC)
Surty, Mr Mohammed (ANC)
Swanepoel, Mr Louis (NP)

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

Diale, Mr Nelson (ANC)
Fanyane, Mr Sentle (ANC)
Mashamba, Mr George (ANC)
Mashile, Chief M (ANC)
Mogale, Mr Elphus (ANC)
Moloto, Mr Sello (ANC)
Mushwana, Mr Lawrence (ANC)
Mutsila, Ms Irene (ANC)
Tolo, Bishop (ANC)
Tshivase, King (ANC)

EASTERN CAPE

Hendrickse, Rev Allan (ANC)
Lamani, Emmcie (ANC)
Mbeki, Mr Govan (ANC)
Mdutyana, Nolutando (ANC)

Metela, Mr Alfred (ANC)
Mkwayi, Mr Wilton (ANC)
Nogumla, Mr Robert (ANC)
Radue, Mr Ray (NP)
Tonjeni, Templetan (ANC)
Tyobeka, Vuyiswa (ANC)

NORTHERN CAPE

Belie, Mr Abraham (NP)
Bogacwi, Mr Khuza (ANC)
Botha, Mrs Yolanda (ANC)
Groenewald, Major-General PH (FF)
Jooste, Mr Jan (NP)
Lubidla, Mrs Evelyn (ANC)
Mongwaketse, Mr Julius (ANC)
Sulliman, Mr Mohamed (ANC)
Van Niekerk, Mr Adriaan (NP)
Van Niekerk, Dr Kraai (NP)

WESTERN CAPE

Ackermann, Mr Neels (NP)
Fisher, Mr Stanley (NP)
Foster, Mr Joe (ANC)
Ngcuka, Mr Bulolani (ANC)
Redcliffe, Mr Charles (NP)
Selfe, Mr James (DP)
Tinto, Mr Christmas (ANC)
Van Breda, Mr Alex (NP)
Wiley, Mr Mark (NP)
Williams, Mr Abe (NP)

ORANGE FREE STATE

(One ANC nominee to fall away)
Bloem, Mr Dennis (ANC)
Coetsee, Mr Kobie (NP)
Direko, Ms Isabella (ANC)
Gous, Dr Piet (FF)
Lebona, Mr Holoma (ANC)
Lausberg, Ms Cheryl (ANC)
Lusaba, Ms Kimmy (ANC)
Marais, Mr Anthony (ANC)
Motshabi, Caleb (ANC)
Mononyane, Mr Barnard (ANC)
Taunyane, Mr Lintoe (ANC)

KWAZULU/NATAL

Bhengu, Mr Gooffrey (IFP)
Cwele, Dr Siyabonga (ANC)
Mchunu, Prof Ernest (ANC)
Moorcroft, Mr Errol (DP)
Naidoo, Aruisivanathan (NP)
Nowitz, Dr Rabi (IFP)
Powell, Mr Phillip (IFP)
Singh, Mr Naren (IFP)
Sosibo, Miss Jabu (ANC)
Zondi, Musa (IFP)

Land deal: The king's ransom

In a secret deal before the elections a third of kwaZulu/

Natal was ceded to King Goodwill Zwelithini, report **Estelle Randall and Farouk Chothia**

FORMER state president FW de Klerk ceded control of a third of the land in kwaZulu/Natal to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in a highly secretive deal the day before he was voted out of office last month.

The transfer of three million hectares scattered throughout the province was effected in terms of the kwaZulu Ingonyama Trust Act, passed by the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly and assented to by De Klerk on April 25 this year.

In terms of the legislation, King Goodwill Zwelithini, the sole trustee, will administer all tribal land in the province — with the cost of administration being borne by the new regional government. It covers all the land for which the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly was established in 1971 and land acquired by the kwaZulu government under various proclamations and laws since then.

It appears that under pressure from the kwaZulu government, De Klerk moved to prevent kwaZulu-administered tribal land from falling under state control — the automatic effect of the new constitution, which kicked in on April 27 — in an apparent sop to the Inkatha Freedom Party in exchange for its participation in the April poll.

A source close to Andre Fourie, the former minister of regional and land affairs, said the land transfer had been part of negotiations between the National Party government, the ANC and the IFP.

But ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who played a key role in the negotiations leading to the IFP's participation in the elections, denied this: "The Ingonyama Trust doesn't mean a thing to me; I'm hearing about it for the first time. I doubt very much that Nelson Mandela would have known about it. You are drawing a blank from me."

President Nelson Mandela's office was yesterday unable to comment, as was the office of Zwelithini.

ANC leaders in kwaZulu/Natal also appeared dumbfounded when approached this week. Regional supremo Jacob Zuma said he knew nothing of the transfer, and knew of no one else in the ANC who was aware of it. "It is surprising that this happened just before the election."

And in a furious reaction, ANC Midlands spokesman Blade Nzimane said: "The fact that this was done behind the backs of people and through an illegitimate bantustan structure seems to indicate that was aimed at undermining any constitutional accommodation of the king by the ANC."

"It seems to have been aimed at ensuring that kwaZulu retained actual control of the land



FW de Klerk ... Made the secret deal

even if it was disbanded."

Also unaware of the transfer was Roelf Meyer, the NP's central constitutional negotiator; Coenle de Villiers, director-general of land affairs — who said "nobody consulted me about this Act" — and the new Minister of Land Affairs, Derek Hanekom, who said he was "shocked" by the move.

"Effectively the land that was kwaZulu is no longer state land," Hanekom said. "It's in private ownership, held in trust by the king."

He added: "My ministry will be raising the issue politically and will be carrying out a full investigation to find out on whose ultimate authority the transfer was effected."

"We have consistently tried to get a moratorium on the transfer and sale of state land, but we never thought bantustan land would be transferred."

"There are potentially grave political implications and we're deeply concerned." He hinted that the National Assembly might overturn the legislation.

Some IFP sources described the formation of the Ingonyama Trust as a "house-keeping arrangement" between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and De Klerk's governments before their demise — and an attempt to protect the monarch from possible ANC rule in kwaZulu/Natal.

"The chances of the land ever being alienated (from the king) are now remote in the extreme," said an IFP source.

Zuma insisted the formation of the Ingonya-



Goodwill Zwelithini ... Administer tribal land

ma Trust was not part of the agreement that brought the IFP into elections. "We made an elaborate proposal for the monarchy so far as kwaZulu/Natal is concerned which we still have to iron out in the provincial constitution."

Observers believe the legislation has far-reaching implications: it means that future governments in the province will have to gain Zwelithini's permission — or the permission of his chiefs or any other representative he charges with decision-making responsibility over the trust land — before engaging in any development on the land in question. It means that land earmarked for redistribution in terms of the ANC's land reform plans is no longer available to the central state.

Barely 300 000ha of state land is now available for redistribution.

The formation of the trust also consolidates the relationship between Zwelithini and chiefs, as they will now be reliant on him for development in their areas — and will reduce the prospect of an ANC-led government in kwaZulu/Natal winning major support among IFP-aligned traditional rulers.

Lawyers contacted yesterday stressed the land deal had not gone before the Transitional Executive Council which had overthrown other land decisions.

They also said that a challenge to the land transfer could be mounted. In terms of court precedents, changes to the ownership status of state land could not be made without consultation with the affected parties.

The tables have turned

Farouk Chothia

THE ANC boycotted this week's swearing-in ceremony of government ministers in KwaZulu/Natal and refused to attend the first cabinet meeting of the provincial legislature.

ANC KwaZulu/Natal leader Jacob Zuma warned that the ANC will continue with its non-participation stance until the ruling Inkatha Freedom Party agrees to beef up its representation on the cabinet.

Zuma said the main area of dispute was the IFP's refusal to agree to "joint control of the police portfolio as this was vital in order to stem political violence in the province".

But IFP-nominated premier Frank Mdlalose indicated there was little prospect of this happening. He said Zuma was expressing his own opinion and the constitution does not state that the portfolio should be shared.

Mdlalose last week appointed former KwaZulu minister of justice Celani Mthethwa — a reputed hardliner — as minister of police.

In another sign this week that the IFP intends to take a hard line in KwaZulu/Natal, a leading moderate in the party, Mike Tarr, stepped down as a minister in favour of hard-

line royal family member Prince Gideon Zulu. Sources said Tarr relinquished his post as a result of jockeying within the IFP for portfolios: long-standing IFP members complained they had been overlooked for ministerial posts in favour of Tarr who joined the party only last year.

Mdlalose refused to discuss the reshuffle: "There is no reason I will give anybody for choosing anybody — or not choosing anybody — to the cabinet," he said.

Mdlalose added that he will meet Zuma early next week to discuss the ANC's grievances and hoped that areas of dispute would be resolved.

Earlier Zuma also expressed unhappiness at the fact that an IFP member, Prince Vincent Zulu of the royal house, holds the education portfolio.

Observers believe the cabinet row is an ominous sign for KwaZulu/Natal: it indicates that political instability in KwaZulu/Natal will continue — and despite his close relationship with Zuma, Mdlalose may already be yielding to pressure from hardliners within his own ranks.

Likewise, the moderate Zuma may be under pressure to toughen his approach in the face



Jacob Zuma ... Under pressure

of the ANC's defeat in last month's poll — and he will now be forced to take into account the views of Midlands hardliner Harry Gwala, who has been appointed ANC chief whip in the provincial legislature.

The IFP holds six, the ANC three and the National Party one cabinet seat in KwaZulu/Natal.

Kobie Coetsee elected to top post in senate

**MICHAEL MORRIS
and TOS WENTZEL**
Political Staff

FORMER Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and veteran communist Govan Mbeki were unanimously elected president and deputy president of the senate today after the 90-member body was sworn in at parliament. *AR 420/5/94*

The swearing-in ceremony — which was markedly solemn in contrast to the festive air at the convening of the national assembly — was presided over by Chief Justice Michael Corbett in the historic senate chamber, originally the home of the old pre-Union Cape Parliament, then the old senate, and more latterly used by the House of Representatives.

In a brief address, which earned applause from the senators, Mr Coetsee committed himself to maintaining the tradition of free speech and undertook to preside "in a spirit of fairness, justice and impartiality to each and every member".

Mr Coetsee, who said he was convinced the senate would play an important role in shaping the future of the country and in addressing the interests of the provinces and all people living in them, added: "Let us never forget that a spirit of tolerance and good humour, despite differences of opinion, is conducive to good debate."

The new senate — with 10 members for each province, appointed by parties in proportion to their performance in the election — will sit with the national assembly to form the constitutional assembly.

The African National Congress will have 60 senators, the National Party 17, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Front five each and the Democratic Party three.

The senators are:

● **Eastern Transvaal:** Mohammed Bhabha (ANC); Lassy Chirwayo (ANC); Rosier De Ville (FF); Thembeke Gamndana (ANC); Stephanus Grove (ANC); Sipho Lubisi (ANC); J L Mahlangu (ANC); David Malatsi (NP); Jackson Mthembu

(ANC) and Boy Nobunga (ANC).

● **PWV:** Joyce Kgoali (ANC); Gerhard Koornhof (NP); Simon Makana (ANC); Henry Makgothi (ANC); George Marais (NP); William Mnisi (DP); Mohseen Moosa (ANC); Indres Naidoo (ANC); Rita Nzanga (ANC) and Carl Werth (FF).

● **North West:** Andries Bruwer (FF); Olive Khobe (ANC); Tommy Makhuba (ANC); Michael Mohammed (ANC); Kereng Mothoage (ANC); Sam Motsuenyane (ANC); Solomon Rasmeni (ANC); Victor Sifora (ANC); Mohammed Surty (ANC) and Louis Swanepoel (NP).

● **Northern Transvaal:** Nelson Diale (ANC); Sentle Fenyane (ANC); George Mashamba (ANC); Chief M Mashile (ANC); Elphus Mogale (ANC); Sello Moloto (ANC); Lawrence Mushwana (ANC); Irene Mutshila (ANC); Bishop Tolo (ANC) and King Tshivase (ANC).

● **Eastern Cape:** Allan Hendrickse (ANC); Emmcie Lamani (ANC); Govan Mbeki (ANC); Noluthando Mdutyana (ANC); Alfred Meetele (ANC); Wilton Mkwai (ANC); Robert Nogumla (ANC); Ray Radue (NP); Templeton Tonjeni (ANC) and Vuyiswa Tyobeka (ANC).

● **Northern Cape:** Abraham Balle (NP); Khuza Bogacwi (ANC); Yolanda Botha (ANC); P H Groenewald (FF); Jan Jooste (NP); Evelyn Lubidla (ANC); Julius Mongwaketse (ANC); Mohammed Sulliman (ANC); Adriaan van Niekerk (NP) and Andre van Niekerk (NP).

● **Western Cape:** Cornelius Ackermann (NP); Stanley Fisher (NP); Joe Foster (ANC); Bulelani Ngcuka (ANC); Charles Redcliffe (NP); James Selfe (DP); Christmas Tinto (ANC); Alex van Breda (NP); Mark Wiley (NP) and Abraham Williams (NP).

● **OFS:** Dennis Bloem (ANC); Kobie Coetsee (NP); Winkie Direko (ANC); Pieter Gous (FF); Holoma Lebona (ANC); Cheryl Luasberg (ANC); Kimmy Lusabe (ANC); Anthony Marais (ANC); Caleb Motshabi (ANC); Barnard Mononyane (ANC) and Lintoe Taynyane (ANC).

(The ANC nominated one member too many in the OFS. This was expected to be corrected today. The ANC is entitled to eight senators in the Free State.)

● **KwaZulu-Natal:** Geoffrey Bhengu (IFP); Siyabonga Cwele (ANC); Ernest Mchunu (ANC); Errol Moorcroft (DP); Aruisiyanathan Naidoo (NP); Rabi Nowitz (IFP); Phillip Powell (IFP); Naren Singh (IFP); Jabu Sosibo (ANC) and Musa Zondi (IFP).



House call ... British Prime Minister John Major welcomes Deputy President F W de Klerk to 10 Downing Street yesterday.

PICTURE: AP

'Growth key to SA's progress'

Star 20/5/94

■ BY GARNER THOMSON
STAR BUREAU

London — South Africans can expect that the Government of National Unity will deliver a better quality of life for everyone in the country, Executive Deputy President F W de Klerk said in London yesterday.

Continuing on his declared mission to reassure and motivate the international community to continue supporting the new South Africa, and not to "tick it off and move on" now that the elections had been successfully held, he said progress would now depend upon the country's economic performance.

"If we achieve growth in real terms to the tune of 5 percent, if we get foreign investors, it will come sooner," he said.

Much of the success of reconstruction, he said, would also depend on concentrating on what was affordable, without harming the economy and running up inflation.

Speaking at the South African Embassy after meeting British Prime Minister John Major, Labour Party acting leader Margaret Beckett and other political leaders, De Klerk said "deep interest" was being shown in the way forward for South Africa.

"I am convinced that we have laid sound and firm foundations on which we can build a new nation, on which we can ensure the

reconciliation we seek, on which we can successfully ensure its sustained and dynamic economic growth to create new wealth, as a result of which we can address the pressing needs of millions of South Africans.

De Klerk stressed that the country was not looking for handouts, but would like, on the basis of competitiveness, to have full access to all markets.

"We intend to create an investor-friendly climate, to make it attractive and profitable for investors to invest in our country," he said.

De Klerk said he also discussed with the British leaders the role of South Africa in southern Africa and in the African continent as a whole.

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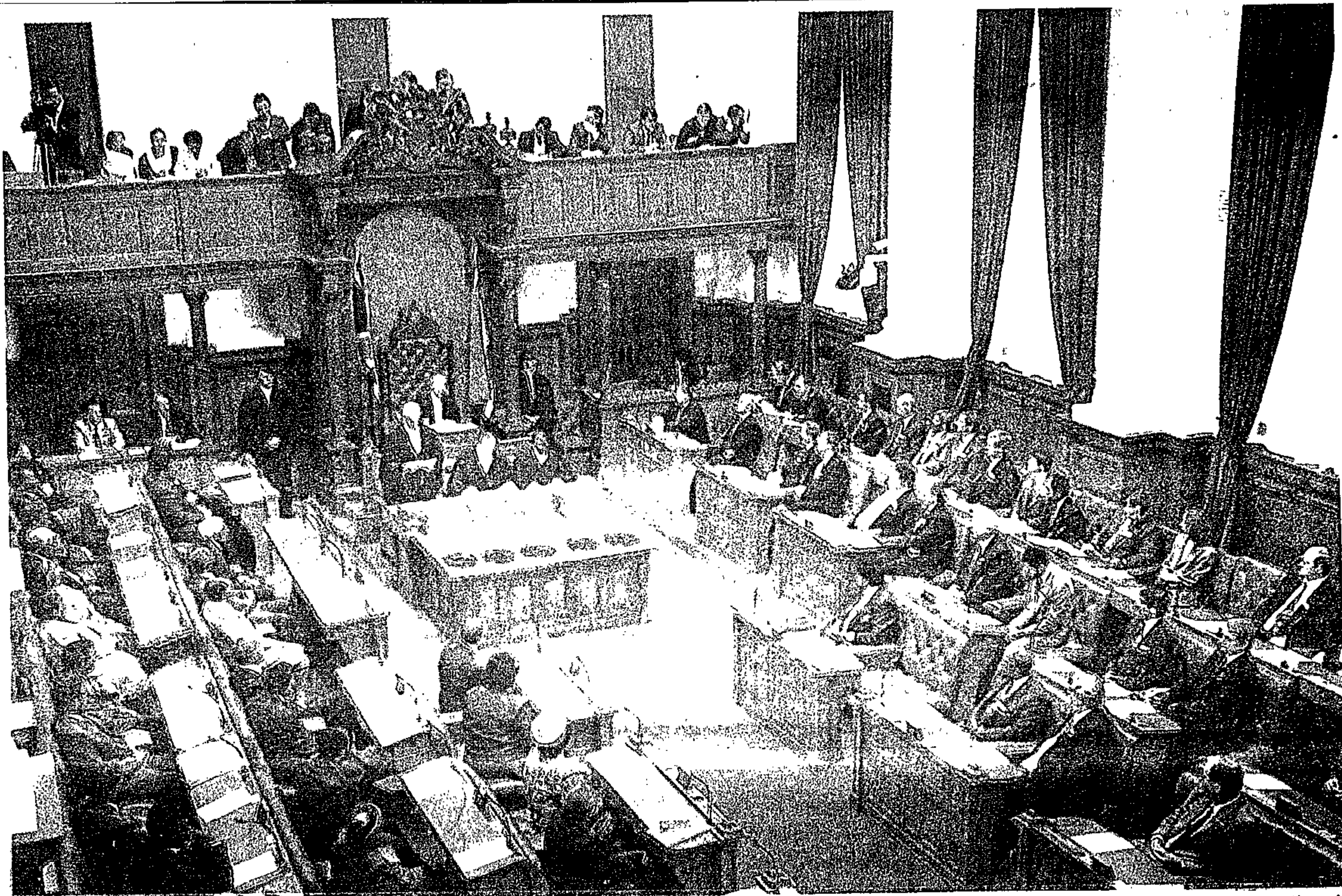
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BLOCK OF FLATS IN VIRGINIA FOR SALE

Tenders are invited for the purchase of the Virginia block of flats (Block A) on St (measuring ± 4519m²) situated on the corner of The Berra and Highlands Avenue.

3 x 1 bedroom flats, 6 x 2 bedroom flats, 3 x 3 bedroom flats and lock-up garages



□ **SWEARING IN:** Nationalist senators are sworn in at this week's first meeting of South Africa's new senate which together with the national assembly forms the newly-elected parliament and constitutional assembly.

Jumble of ministers take their seats

ARG 21/5/94
(304A)
MICHAEL MORRIS

Weekend Argus Political Staff

POLITICAL all-sorts — from tenacious hangers-on of the tricameral past to veteran activists and lesser-known 'struggle' cohorts — have joined hands to fill the burgundy leather benches of the 90-strong senate.

But, for all the colourful pedigrees in this second, crucial arm of the new parliament, the senate's swearing-in ceremony yesterday was formal to the point of being subdued.

An air of solemnity — the product more of awe, it seemed, than a sense of occasion — pervaded the half-hour ceremony as members came up in groups of five, or less, to take the oath before Chief Justice Michael Corbett.

There was some applause at the end, even a few muted "hoor, hoors", but none of the shouts of "viva!", the bear-hugging bonhomie or the praising which marked the festive convening of the national assembly two weeks ago.

For a good many in the house, it was all old hat anyway.

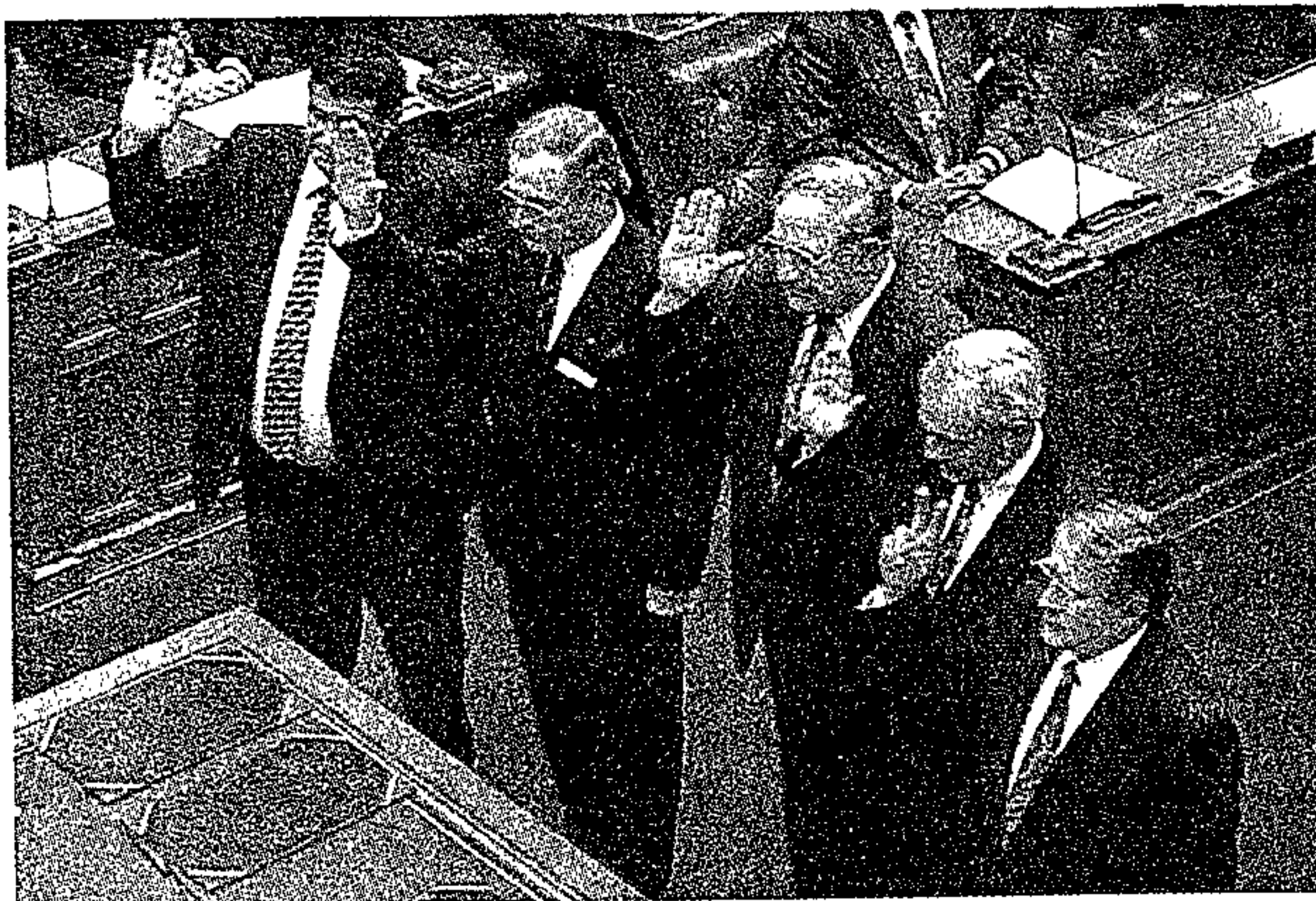
That is how it must have seemed to President of the Senate Kobie Coetsee.

He did not make it into the cabinet — despite suggestions that he was favoured by President Nelson Mandela — but now returns to the political centre stage.

His deputy is none other than veteran communist Govan Mbeki, a Rivonia trialist, long-time prisoner on Robben Island and father of first Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Their leadership of the senate symbolises the combination of the old and new orders in this house.

Among the most redoubtable survi-



□ **HISTORIC SETTING:** The new 90-member senate meets for the first time in its historic chamber which housed the original Cape parliament and later the old South African senate. More recently it was the home of the tri-cameral House of Representatives.

vors to make a comeback in the senate is former Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse.

Throwing in their lot with the African National Congress has secured many top Labour Party men positions in the new government.

He and his party were written off so often before and after the 1990 turnabout in South African politics, that his appearance in the senate took some observers by surprise.

The ANC has a chequered political team in the senate. Among them is Simon Makana. He was the movement's chief representative in Mos-

cow for two years — during which he learnt to speak Russian fluently — and served in various Eastern European capitals and in Uganda.

Former president of the National African Federated Chamber Sam Motsuenyane has an ANC seat in the senate.

Communist Idres Naidoo, who spent most of his years in exile in Germany, is a former Robben Island prisoner whose book *Island in Chains* describes his experiences there. Senator Wilton Mkwai is another Robben Islander in the house.

Henry Makgothi was among the

first of the ANC leaders to return from exile after the unbanning of the organisation in 1990. He headed the ANC's national secretariat in exile.

Among the ANC's Eastern Cape senators are Chief Templeton Tsonjani and Transkei Communist Party leader Robert Nogumla.

The National Party boasts the only cabinet minister in the senate — Minister of Agriculture Kraai van Niekirk who failed in his bid to become Northern Cape premier. The senate was his only route back to parliament.

The NP's other senators include the former chief whip of parliament, Alex van Breda, former deputy minister Org Marais and several former MPs — Neels Ackermann, former Mitchell's Plain MP Stanley Fisher, Charles Redcliffe, former King William's Town MP Ray Radue and Sathie Naidoo.

Gerhard Koornhof, chief secretary of the NP in Transvaal, is also among the NP's number in the senate.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's team includes Philip Powell, the hard-line former commander of the KwaZulu government's self-protection unit training camp at Mlaba.

Others are Naren Singh, a former Solidarity MP in the house of delegates and Musa Zondi, a respected youth leader in the IFP who is now a newspaper editor in Durban.

A newcomer to politics, but a key figure from the past is Freedom Front senator General Tienie Groenewald who, with General Constand Viljoen, caught the political imagination — and later, many of the votes — of the rightwing with the formation first of the Volkfront and latterly the FF.

HE sat with arms folded, occasionally nodding with approval or narrowing bloodshot-weary eyes as he listened to a briefing on the new water policy.

When Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo rose to leave, his colleague, Water and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, remarked to him: "Our door is always open to you. We will be knocking on your door."

The comment speaks volumes about Mr Naidoo's status in the new government and the relationship he will have with his colleagues in the cabinet.

Armed with the budget and a red pen, Mr Naidoo has the full backing of President Nelson Mandela to intervene in every area of government. No door will be shut to him and his team operating from the floor above Mr Mandela's office in the Union Buildings.

"I may be a minister without portfolio, but it does not mean I do not have a job," Mr Naidoo said this week.

His task is to ensure that the ANC's reconstruction and development programme (RDP) — a plan to provide millions of jobs, 10 years free education, health care for all, electricity, housing and water on a massive scale — is implemented.

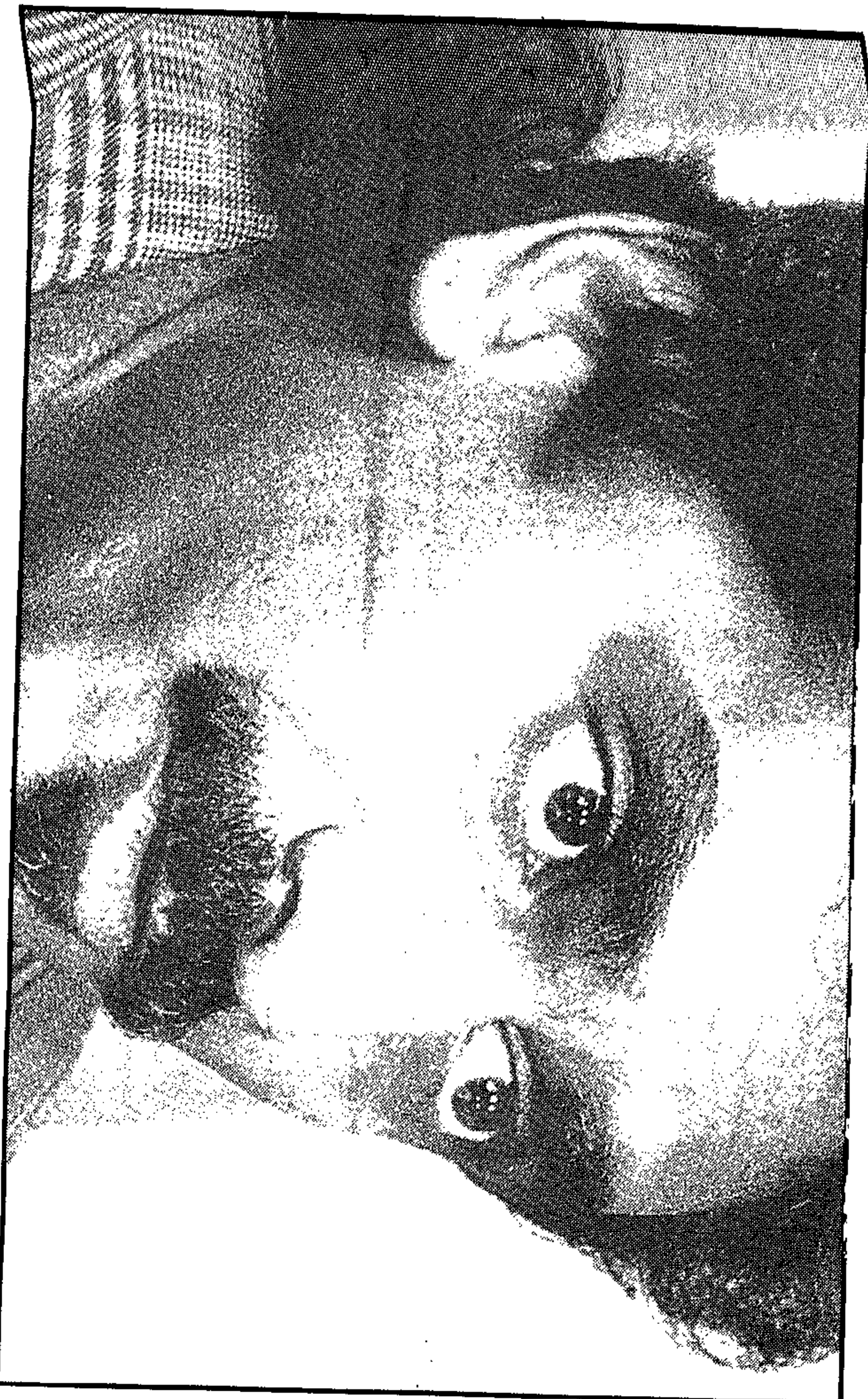
He has to bring together all the various departments into one coherent programme.

It is a job that involves "a lot of talking" with ministers, the provincial governments, and with civil society. Crucial to the success of his task is to build a partnership between the government, the private sector and the labour movement in a common national endeavour to better the lives of the people, he says.

TO carry out his task, he will have a transition team in his office and a cabinet sub-committee of ministers crucial to the RDP — those from labour, trade and industry, finance, housing, transport, telecommunications, provincial affairs, health, education and water — who will thrash out the programme's priorities before reaching the cabinet.

In implementing the RDP, Mr Naidoo is constrained only by four factors: he must maintain a macro-economic balance; retain fiscal discipline; he cannot fuel inflation; and he must be guided by the principle of not raising the level of taxation. He is the minister that will work closest with Finance Minister Derek Keys.

Former Cosatu boss Jay Naidoo has been given extensive powers by President Nelson Mandela to intervene in every area of government to ensure the implementation of the ANC's reconstruction and development programme. EDYTH BULBRING spoke to him



THE MINISTER OF

INTERVENTION

His task seems impossible given the constraints and the limited amount of money at his disposal.

But Mr Naidoo is contemptuous of scare stories of R80-billion in addition to budgetary allocations being spent on the RDP by the end of five years, the spectre of a debt-trap and rocking inflation.

The RDP is not an add-on programme. We are not talk-

ing about a new list of demands and adding on (to the Budget).

Instead, he says, each department's budget will be examined to see whether it fits the new priorities.

"Finance is not the problem. The government, having resolved (the RDP), made the funds available and set up a plan — the acid test is getting the plan working on the ground."

And Mr Naidoo believes it is nonsense that the government cannot deliver housing, infrastructure and services.

"There are communities out there that want the stuff. We have to break through the red tape of bureaucracy, go down and deal directly with the communities," he says.

He talks of using the unions, business expertise and other non-governmental organisations to do this in the

absence of effective delivery mechanisms.

"It takes a lot of organisation but it does not come overnight. That is what frustrates me. We can do all of this. There are people on the ground ready to do it. What is stopping us from doing it?"

It is all a question of reorientating the government departments towards effective delivery of services, establishing local government

structures and being ruthless with a bureaucracy that absorbs more than it delivers, he says.

"Part of my work is moving towards greater efficiency. Within five to 10 years, the framework in which the new government can operate will have been achieved and there will be no reason to have an RDP team."

There are four sources of funds for the RDP. The first comprises "wedges" from the Budget which will increase each year. One scenario, released by the National Institute for Economic Policy this week, is that R80-billion from the Budget will be spent on the RDP in the next five years. The other sources are: development aid; donations from the private sector; and resources from non governmental organisations.

Then there are always the "windfalls" that Mr Naidoo says he will have no reservation about using — selling off assets like the "tracho white glory projects of the past" that are not directly linked to delivering the RDP.

He is also confident that with the restoration of services, the rent and services boycotts will come to an end.

"Within these constraints, we are going to put forward a realistic plan, and we are confident that we have one. We have worked through mechanisms of harnessing resources, especially with the private sector, organised labour and other stakeholders. We are quite confident that we have drawn them into a real partnership," he says.

The first small signs of the RDP will be visible in the Budget that will be presented on June 22.

WORK has already been done with Mr Keys, former State Expenditure Minister Ami Venter, Deputy Finance Minister Alec Erwin and Mr Naidoo over the past several months on identifying sources of funding in the Budget.

They have examined expenditure patterns and carefully gone through the budgets of all the departments, arranging them in the order of priority for the RDP and assessing what could be achieved in this year's Budget.

They have taken their red pens and marked areas of saving, and put a line through those projects which are no longer priorities. This money will be spent on RDP priorities in the first year.

I may be a minister without portfolio, but it does not mean I do not have a job

"We are not so naive as to think that we are going to achieve everything that we talked about in the RDP this year. We have to prioritise, but we have a clear idea of what we can achieve in the first year," he says.

They will particularly focus on "kick-starting" the RDP, beginning with very visible programmes that will indicate to the electorate that the new government is different from the old.

These priorities are programmes in the areas of education, jobs, health and infrastructure. The plan will be discussed at the cabinet meeting tomorrow.

"It is only in the 95/96 Budget that we will begin in a more systematic way to reorganise expenditure along the lines of expanded priorities," Mr Naidoo added.

It is the beginning of a reorganisation process that will take at least 10 years to complete.

By then, Mr Naidoo says, "The entire Budget will be one of reconstruction and development. That is the ultimate goal."

"The government will be, the epitome of the RDP operating under the mandate of the people, and serving the people. My job is an interesting function — to get the government to become what it is supposed to be."

New cabinet brooms sweep into business

S Times

22/5/94

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

LAND Affairs Minister Mr Derek Hanekom — like his cabinet colleague Zola Skweyiya — was one of President Nelson Mandela's surprise choices.

Unlike their better-known colleagues, Mr Hanekom and Dr Skweyiya, Public Service and Administration Minister, have kept a low profile, preferring behind-the-scenes work on policy formulation than the glare of television lights.

But this is about to change. By the end of their first week in office, they both found themselves dealing with the new government's first flashpoints — the crisis over the Kwa-zulu land deal and a protesting civil service.

On Thursday the Kwa-zulu land deal, which effec-

tively handed over the homeland to a trust under King Goodwill Zwelithini, hit Mr Hanekom like a bolt from the blue. (3044)

"When I first heard about it I expressed my shock. It would run contrary to everything we had taken up politically before April 25," he said.

He responded by launching an investigation into the implications of the deal and convening a meeting with President Mandela.

Then he left for the Northern Cape in his bak-kie to celebrate the return of confiscated land to the community at Riemvasmaak.

Handing the community

their land back yesterday, Mr Hanekom said the return of property to its rightful owners should be accompanied by support programmes.

Speaking earlier in the week about the challenges facing him, Mr Hanekom said: "This department is brand new. At our first department meeting, I put it to the directors: Let's move on, let's change our image, let's make history," he said.

Dr Skweyiya has found himself dealing with a less dramatic, but no less threatening, crisis — disruptions of public administration in many homelands over pay parity.

But cooling the temperature in the homelands is only the first step he will have to take to fashion a public service fit to deliver his government's reconstruction and development programme.

He will also have to attend to affirmative action — recruiting more blacks and more women within the public service, and he will have to do this without firing anybody.

"It's a male-dominated administration; women are still doing menial jobs," he said. "The majority of women voted for the ANC and we are bound to ensure that their voice is heard."

If the pressures of office have been sudden and furious, both ministers have retained their sense of humour. Mr Hanekom wants to convert the rooms in his building where forced-removal negotiations took place into museums.

And Dr Skweyiya talked of the thing that has bothered him most since assuming office: "Everybody, when I call them on the phone, speaks to me in Afrikaans. One is tempted to answer them in Zulu — it's just as official."



INSIDERS ... Professor Jakes Gerwel, Mary Mxadana and Ahmed Kathrada

Mandela's inner political circle is now taking shape

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela this week began to gather around him personal staff who will be his voice, his ears and the guardians of the most privileged secrets of the highest office in the land.

Those appointed include:

● Professor Jakes Gerwel, the former rector and vice-chancellor of the University of the Western

Cape who has been appointed as Mr Mandela's director-general.

● Mr Ahmed Kathrada, the Rivonia trialist who was imprisoned on Robben Island along with Mr Mandela.

His job in the president's office involves acting as Mr Mandela's liaison with Parliament.

Mr Kathrada has a reputation for being a back-room worker totally loyal to Mr Mandela.

● Mr Joel Netshitenzhe, who is also called Peter Mayibuye, will be employed as the chief director of communications in Mr Mandela's office.

Mr Netshitenzhe, 38, is considered one of the bright young intellectuals in the ANC and served on the organisation's Negotiations Commission and the Electoral Commission. He edited the ANC's propaganda publication Mayibuye since 1980 and worked on Radio Freedom before then. He is also a member of the ANC's national working committee.

● Mrs Mary Mxadana, an employee of the SA Council of Churches for more than 10 years, has been appointed as Mr Mandela's private secretary. From 1992, she headed the Ecumenical Monitoring Programme in SA (Empsa), which brought

out 500 monitors from church organisations abroad to monitor violence and later the elections. She also has a good voice, having been one of the members of the choir which sang at Mr Mandela's inauguration.

DP to pick new No 1

THE Democratic Party meets in Cape Town today to elect a new leader, but the consequences of its election drubbing continue to undermine the morale of members.

Heading the race for the leadership post vacated by Dr Zach de Beer after the April election disaster are Transvaal leader Tony Leon and Western Cape-based party chairman Ken Andrew.

Five DP Durban city councillors this week resigned from the party's regional executive to protest against the appointment of an "outsider", Eastern Cape farmer Errol Moorcroft, as a Kwazulu Natal senator.

Leon now acting DP chief

DEMOCRATIC Party PWV leader Mr Tony Leon was elected acting party leader by the DP's federal council at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday.

He replaces Dr Zach de Beer, who has retired from politics.

Mr Leon, 37, will lead the party until it elects a new leader at its federal congress scheduled for Durban in September.

He is one of seven DP MPs in the National Assembly.

Mr Leon joined the Progressive Party youth wing at the age of 11, was a Johannesburg city councillor at 29, and succeeded Mrs Helen Suzman as MP for Houghton in 1989 at 32.

He is a son of Mr Justice Ramon Leon, head of the Independent Media Commission.

Mr Leon, who beat DP federal chairman Mr Ken Andrew to the position as acting leader, pledged to promoting liberal democracy as the "salvation of South Africa". CT 23/5/94

Saying he was "humbled but challenged" by his leadership appointment, Mr Leon added he wanted to "very rapidly and transcendently" expand the DP's base. (304A)

Tony Leon aims to make DP a power-packed party

(304A) ARG 23/5/94

□ New leader sets out his plans for policies, alliances

MICHAEL MORRIS
and CLIVE SAWYER
Political Staff

NEWLY elected acting leader of the Democratic Party Tony Leon says the party must be transformed into one packing a punch out of proportion to its size.

Mr Leon, 37, was elected acting leader by the party's federal council at a meeting in Sea Point yesterday, defeating national chairman Ken Andrew.

"Put out the word to our branches we are back in business," he told members of the federal council.

Parliamentarians and ordinary members would be expected to work energetically at expanding the party's base.

"The government of national unity is all very well, but there are groups such as professionals who need representation in parliament and as a party we will converge around that idea.

"We have to make the party an exciting and attractive proposition, and we have to make up for lost time."

The DP was committed to the national policy of reconstruction and development, but the programme would have to be made to be sustainable and cost-efficient.

The time had come for creative thinking on ways to renew the party and build new alliances, he said.

"The most creative and proactive time in the party's history was between 1971 and 1977,



UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT: Democratic Party federal council leaders hail newly elected Democratic Party interim leader Tony Leon, second from left in the foreground. With Mr Leon, from left, are his defeated rival Ken Andrew, federal chairman Dave Gant, and deputy federal chairman Chris April.

Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

when it built itself up from one MP to being the official opposition," he said.

Mr Leon is PWV leader of the party and one of seven DP member of the national assembly. He was MP for Houghton from 1989 until the change of constitution this year.

He succeeds Zac de Beer,

who retired from politics after the DP's poor showing in the election.

A new leader for the party will be elected at the party's federal congress in September or October.

Commenting on press speculation the party would consider electing a black leader for the sake of changing its image, Mr

Leon said the federal council had "comprehensively rejected" the idea of caretaker leadership.

"We are going ahead under new leadership," he said.

Mr Leon said the council meeting was "entirely without rancour" and described the leadership election as "a contest between friends".

Ramaphosa heads constitution body

THE African National Congress's parliamentary caucus has elected ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to chair South Africa's Constitutional Assembly which is to draw up the country's final constitution.

Ms Bridgit Mabandla is to be the ANC's nomination for deputy chair, but this post may still, in terms of government of national unity considerations, be given to a National Party member.

The Constitutional Assembly — consisting of senators

and National Assembly members — is to be constituted at parliament tomorrow.

ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile told a Press briefing after the caucus meeting that Mr Ramaphosa would act as a "political rudder" to ensure the principles laid down in the interim Constitution, as well as the ANC's own principles, were adhered to.

Mr Ramaphosa had been earmarked for the position "all along."

He would also remain ANC secretary-general, Mr Stofile

said.

The caucus had also decided to appoint its own sub-committee into political office-bearer's remuneration.

The view that the Melamet Commission had proposed high salaries for politicians was "not an accurate reflection", Mr Stofile said.

"We think the proposals are not market-related."

Caucus hoped the cabinet would move fast in appointing a commission into the matter, proposed by the Melamet Commission. — Sapa.

KwaZulu/Natal 'gives concern'

SAFETY and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi says he is "extremely concerned at increasing indications of an escalation of violence in KwaZulu/Natal and the East Rand."

In a statement yesterday, Mr Mufamadi said every possible step had to be taken by both the State and civil society to avoid a repetition of the destructive cycle of violence experienced before the elections.

"This madness must stop. It cannot be allowed to destroy or blight the future of our people," he said. — Sapa.

ANC secretary-general set to chair Constitutional Assembly

Top post for Ramaphosa

Sa

Star 23/5/94

MANDELA expected
to declare war on
poverty during
opening address to
Parliament
tomorrow (304A)

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Cape Town — The ANC parliamentary caucus yesterday named the ANC's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, as chairman of South Africa's Constitutional Assembly, which is to write the country's new constitution.

The Constitutional Assembly, comprising the 90-member Senate and the 400-member National Assembly, is due to meet for the first time tomorrow to elect a chairman.

As the ANC holds majorities in both Houses, Ramaphosa is certain to be appointed.

He turned down a Cabinet posting in President Nelson Mandela's Government of National Unity in order, he said, to strengthen the ANC.

The ANC caucus also nominated lawyer Bridgit Mabandla as deputy chairman of the Constitutional Assembly.

Nominated

ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile said last night that the possibility had been raised that the deputy chairman should be nominated by one of the ANC's Government partners.

However, this "might be a matter for negotiation" and be left to the leaders of the various parties to decide, he said.

Stofile said Ramaphosa would be the "political rudder" of the Constitutional Assembly and would ensure that the constitutional principles agreed to in the multiparty negotiating process would be followed in drafting the final constitution.

The caucus further agreed that the ANC's former representative in London, Mendi Msimang, would be its leader.

Spell out

Mandela opens the new Parliament with a state-of-the-nation address tomorrow.

He will spell out his vision for the next 12 months and will in effect declare war on poverty — he is expected to devote much of his speech to the implementation of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Sources say Mandela will also give indications of the new priorities for the Government of National Unity's Budget, to be unveiled by Finance Minister Derek Keys on June 22.

While the ANC-led Government is firmly committed to its RDP to alleviate crippling poverty, officials said yesterday it was also concerned about the spiralling national debt.

Party awaits its 'black messiah'

DP elects Leon as 'caretaker' leader

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Former Wits University law lecturer and Johannesburg city councillor Tony Leon was elected parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party (DP) yesterday.

Leon, whose strongest support comes from the "Young Turks" led by former Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs, defeated DP federal chairman Ken Andrew.

Although only chosen leader until the DP's national congress later this year, Leon is now the

firm favourite to succeed Dr Zach de Beer, on whose leadership the party's dismal performance in South Africa's first all-race election has been blamed.

De Beer's exit from politics shortly after poll results were announced triggered off an acrimonious battle for the leadership between Leon and Andrew.

Leon's supporters rallied behind their man's youth, combativeness and legal background, while the soft-spoken Andrew's followers said his firm grasp of economic issues made him the natural choice.

But before yesterday's leadership battle in Sea Point, others within the party — such as former Umhlanga MP Kobus Jordani — insisted only a "black messiah" could save the DP.

They argued that yesterday's national council served only to elect a caretaker leader until a black leader surfaced.

Potential black leaders mentioned included Institute for Multiparty Democracy head and former Inkatha Freedom Party secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo and former KaNgwane chief minister Enos Mabuza.

F

Ramaphosa named for key post

(E-48) (11-11)
CT 23/5/94
(3049)

THE ANC parliamentary caucus elected ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday evening to chair South Africa's Constitutional Assembly, which will draw up the country's final constitution.

Ms Bridgit Mabandla is to be the ANC's nomination for deputy chairman, but this post may still be given to a National Party member.

First time

As the ANC holds majorities in both houses, Mr Ramaphosa is certain to be appointed to the powerful position, which is equivalent in status to a cabinet posting.

Mr Ramaphosa's unanimous election at a special session of the ANC's parliamentary caucus effectively charges him with overseeing the process that will give South Africa's new constitution its final shape over the next five years.

Mr Ramaphosa, who turned down a cabinet posting in President Nelson Mandela's government of national unity in order, he said, to strengthen the ANC, was the party's chief negotia-

tor at the multiparty negotiations that drew up South Africa's interim constitution.

The Constitutional Assembly, comprising the 90-member Senate and the 400-member National Assembly, is to meet for the first time tomorrow before President Nelson Mandela opens the lower house's working session with a state of the country address tomorrow afternoon, to be followed by a four-day debate.

The assembly will then recess until June 20, when it will reconvene to pass the national Budget by July 10, then recess again to reopen in August.

Earmarked

ANC chief whip the Rev Arnold Stofile told a press briefing after the caucus meeting that Mr Ramaphosa would act as a "political rudder" to ensure the principles laid down in the interim constitution, as well as the ANC's own principles, were adhered to.

Mr Ramaphosa had been earmarked for the position "all along". He would also remain ANC secretary-general, Mr Stofile said. — Sapa-AFP

Cabinet meets under land-deal cloud today

Star 23/5/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Cape Town — Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom last night disclosed he had ordered a 24-hour police guard to be placed at his office in the wake of the KwaZulu land transfer scandal.

He said the move was to prevent any possible destruction or removal of documents, and added that some departmental employees might be suspended pending an investigation.

The issue would be discussed at the first meeting of the

new Cabinet to be held today.

President Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were scheduled to discuss the issue at a meeting to be held late last night or today.

Mandela said last night they would "discuss everything necessary to remove tensions".

The furtive transfer of land to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini by the former government just days before the election is likely to dominate the meeting.

Top constitutional lawyers have placed a question mark over the legality of the deal.

Buthelezi, whose KwaZulu Legislative Assembly passed legislation transferring 1.2 mil-

lion hectares of land to a trust held by Zwelithini, sits in Mandela's Cabinet as Home Affairs Minister. Former president F W de Klerk authorised the transfer of nearly all of KwaZulu's land to Zwelithini on April 25, only two days before the country's new constitution came into effect. (227)

Some sources have claimed that De Klerk's magnanimity to Zwelithini on the eve of his ousting from office was intended to bribe the IFP to participate in the election. (304A)

However, De Klerk, who is now second deputy president, has strongly defended the transfer.

Mandela's vision

SAAF chefs cook for Mandela

By GYNNIS UNDERHILL

FIVE SA Air Force chefs have been flown from Pretoria to cook for President Nelson Mandela at Westbrooke.

The chief instructor with the SAAF school of cookery, Mr Frans Van Rensburg, said yesterday that Mr Mandela had requested "very light food". In sharp contrast to his days on Robben Island, Mr Mandela is now presented with a menu that he alters at will.

His breakfast menu at Westbrooke had consisted of mielie meal and fruit, said Mr Van Rensburg.

Mr Van Rensburg and his chefs are hoping to be appointed to Mr Mandela's permanent team.

"At the moment, when we are needed they give us a tinkle," he said.

The chefs will remain in Cape Town with Mr Mandela until the end of the month.

Yesterday Mr Mandela defused a tense press conference he had called at Westbrooke with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi by breaking off to greet the gardeners in the grounds.



TUYNHUIS TALKS ... Minister of Home Affairs Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (left) and President Nelson Mandela in warm conversation at Tuynhuis yesterday after they met in an unsuccessful bid to resolve the controversial KwaZulu land deal. The discussion formed a major part of the first full meeting of the cabinet of national unity.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Silence replaces formal prayer in Parliament

By BARRY STREEK

THE traditional prayer at the start of daily Parliamentary proceedings has been scrapped.

The Speaker, Dr Frene Ginwala, said yesterday the rules committee had decided to replace it with "an opportunity for silent prayer and meditation".

And in a move towards legislative transparency, hearings of standing committees of Parliament will now be public.

The prayer ruling complies with the provisions of the interim constitution that all religions and the convictions of non-believers have equal status. The new system is regarded as religiously neutral. The constitution provides that existing rules and orders of Parliament remain in force until changed.

Amendments are being considered by a sub-committee. The rules committee had agreed, however, to immediate changes to enable

standing committees "to conduct their business in public unless they should decide otherwise".

The proceedings of these committees, because of media attention, could turn into US-style hearings and become major media events.

Government officials frankly admitted yesterday that chaos reigned in the hallowed halls of the Hf Verwoerd building, the departmental offices that

face Parliament, as new ministers moved into their offices.

Officials grappled with each other for control of precious computer equipment as departments were rearranged and office space re-allocated.

One official described the scene as "just chaos" with new ministers not able to get even close to discussing legislation but being forced to wage territorial wars for office space and equipment.

Focus will be social upliftment

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela will open the first democratically-elected South African Parliament today with a state of the nation address that will spell out his vision for a "kinder and gentler" South Africa. CT 24/5/94

He is expected to outline the ANC-led government's priorities for its Reconstruction and Development Programme.

The historic occasion, marked by pomp and ceremony that includes a 21-gun salute and Air Force flypast, will be broadcast live on CCV TV from 1.40pm.

On the eve of Mr Mandela's speech the government was formally informed yesterday that South Africa had been accepted as a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

MEMBERSHIP MAY BE COSTLY FOR SA

See PAGE 2

Before today's address, the Constitutional Assembly of 400 MPs and 90 senators will meet for the first time to elect a chairman and a deputy.

The ANC's chief negotiator, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, is set for the top job to oversee the process of shaping South Africa's final constitution.

The ANC may nominate Ms Bridget Mabandla for deputy chairwoman, but National Party sources were hopeful that former Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels, or former Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Fanus Scheeman would be given the post.

Government sources said last night that much of the task of reshaping the interim constitution would be placed in the hands of specialist working groups, with Mr Ramaphosa acting as ringmaster, coach and monitor.

The major focus in Parliament today will be on Mr Mandela's address, which is expected to provide signposts for the transformation of South Africa's socio-economic face.

In his address Mr Mandela is expected to focus chiefly on social upliftment. ANC sources said he was expected to set the tone for implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

SA accepted as 53rd member of the OAU

ARG 24/5/94 (3049)
☐ Flag to be hoisted in Addis Ababa tomorrow

ADDIS ABABA. — South Africa has been formally accepted as the 53rd member of the Organisation of African Unity after attaining the support of a majority of member states, the OAU has announced.

"To commemorate the admission of the Republic of South Africa as the 53rd member state of the organisation, a special flag-raising ceremony will be held tomorrow at OAU headquarters here," the office of secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said.

South African foreign minister Alfred Nzo will fly to Ethiopia tomorrow for the flag-raising ceremony, to be held on the international organisation's 31st anniversary.

The announcement came after a South African government official said President Mandela would make his first overseas trip as South African head of state to Tunis next month for an OAU summit.

Foreign ministry director-general Rusty Evans said Mr Mandela would attend the OAU summit from June 13 to 15.

The summit will be preceded by an OAU ministerial meeting from June 6 to 12 at which South Africa will be represented by Mr Nzo.

Mr Evans said Mr Mandela's first deputy-president, Thabo Mbeki, would also be in Addis Ababa tomorrow to attend the ceremony.

Mr Evans said South Africa's return to the Commonwealth was "a foregone conclusion" and that discussions were under way for the resumption of the country's full membership of the United Nations. — Sapa-AFP.

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Mr Evans said South Africa's return to the Commonwealth was "a foregone conclusion" and that discussions were under way for the resumption of the country's full membership of the United Nations. — Sapa-AFP.

Parliament to be more 'easy going'

ARG 24/5/94 (30419)

Political Staff

MORE openness and less stuffiness sums up changes to the way parliament will work in future, the first meeting of the new rules committee of the national assembly indicates.

It set up a sub-committee yesterday to look into the question of the dress of members of the national assembly and senators.

Political sources said the sub-committee was likely to favour smart-casual dress instead of suits for assembly members, parliamentary staff, senators and the parliamentary press gallery association.

The sub-committee is also looking into the need for assembly members to call each other "honourable member". This, too, could be changed.

Among the changes already decided by the rules committee, Speaker Frene Ginwala announced yesterday that parliamentary committee hearings on legislation and other matters would now be held in public, instead of behind closed doors.

It is often in committees that the most interesting aspects about new laws and other public issues are aired.

These can now be reported in the press.

Dr Ginwala also said that parliament's traditional prayer had been replaced by a few moments of silent prayer and meditation. This was the procedure at the multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

Meanwhile, many of the new assembly members are fast forgetting that they called the tricameral MPs "fat cats on the gravy train".

In terms of proposals put forward by Mr Justice Melamet, assembly members should be paid enough so that they do not need perks.

They are not happy, however, about paying 10 times more rent for official government accommodation than the tricameral MPs did, and want rents to revert back to what they were.

Also, the assembly members are not happy with the suggestion that they be allowed two free flights a month. They want the previous procedure to apply — when MPs had 36 free flights a year, and then paid just 20 percent of the fare of additional flights they took.

Cabinet's first meeting begins with laughter

□ Mbeki digs at Pik over minerals

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Staff

DEPUTY-PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki had a schoolboyish smile on his face as he rested his head on his hand and looked at former Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

"Are minerals all right? Is energy all right, Pik?" he asked, and the cabinet ministers around the horseshoe table — including President Mandela and Deputy-President De Klerk — laughed heartily.

Mr Botha, now responsible for mineral and energy affairs, smiled.

Such was the mood at the beginning of the first meeting of Mr Mandela's multiparty cabinet in Tuynhuis yesterday.

Mr Mandela sat at the head of the table, with Mr De Klerk on his left hand and Mr Mbeki on his right.

Banter was exchanged as photographers and cameramen recorded this fleeting moment in history.

Sydney Mufamadi (Police Services) sent a note to Mac Maharaj (Transport). When he received it the transport minister said: "Sydney, I thought you were my friend and therefore did not have to send me a note."

Another peal of laughter. And so it continued.

But not far from Mr Mbeki there was a vacant seat. It's intended occupant, Mangosuthu Buthelezi (Home Affairs), was the only cabinet minister missing.

About 10 minutes after the meeting had begun, Chief Buthelezi arrived at

the huge parliamentary complex, with a big entourage as usual. He got lost as he tried to find the meeting's venue, but was immediately directed to Tuynhuis.

Now Chief Buthelezi was in no good mood. Having earlier met Mr Mandela about the controversial land transfer deal he was defensive, and spent another 10 minutes talking to journalists before finally joining his cabinet colleagues.

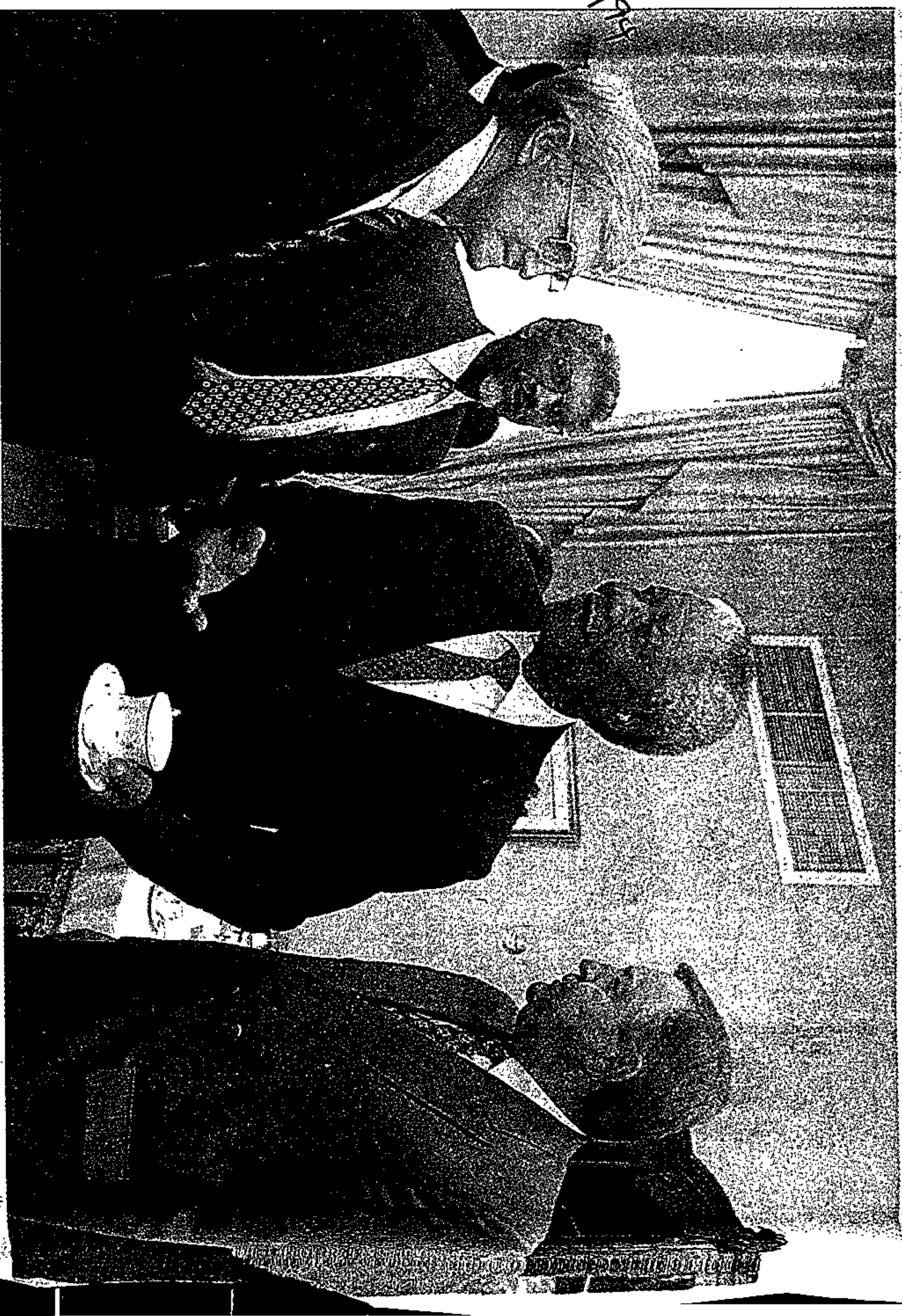
The ministers had come to Tuynhuis one by one for the meeting. Some, like Chief Buthelezi, arrived in big ministerial cars, while others — by far the majority — walked from the nearby H F Verwoerd Building, where they have their offices.

Tito Mboweni (Labour) arrived alone and without security, and joked with journalists about the fact that he had walked while others had been driven. Joe Slovo (Housing) was in deep conversation with Paillo Jordan (Posts and Telecommunications and Broadcasting) as they arrived.

Steve Tswhele (Sports) was surrounded by some hangers-on, while Joe Modise (Defence) preferred the company of some tough-looking military men.

Inside Tuynhuis the ministers first took tea in the cabinet waiting room under the watchful eye of Johannes Izaak Rhenius, acting governor of the Cape of Good Hope from 1791 to 1792, whose picture is the only one still on the wall.

Then they settled down for business lasting more than six hours.



PRESIDENT AND MINISTERS: President Mandela and ministers have tea before the first cabinet meeting at Tuynhuis. They are, from left, Dawie de Villiers (Environment Affairs), Mac Maharaj (Transport) and Pik Botha (Mineral and Energy Affairs).
Picture: DOUG PITHEI/The A

Constitutional top job goes to Ramaphosa

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa was today elected chairman of the new constitutional assembly which is to draw up a final constitution.

Former Minister of Labour Leon Wessels was elected vice-chairman. *ARL 24/5/94*

The inaugural meeting of the assembly, which consists of the national assembly and the senate sitting together, was held in the Great Hall of Parliament with the President of the Senate Kobie Coetsee presiding.

Mr Ramaphosa was the leader of the ANC's team at the negotiations which led to South Africa's new democratic parliamentary system, while Mr Wessels was one of the top negotiators on the government side.

The assembly has to draw up a final constitution within two years.

Mr Ramaphosa, who was given a standing ovation by the members of the assembly, said the inaugural meeting was the culmination of a bitter struggle by the masses to install democratic government in the country.

Having an elected body to decide on the final constitution embodied the ideal that the people should govern.

It had to strive to embody lasting democratic principles in the new constitution, including the reconstruction and development of the country, the achievement of national unity, reconciliation, and lasting peace.

There would be tough political bargaining ahead, said Mr Ramaphosa, but he hoped intellectual balance and good humour would be shown in the process, along with far-sightedness.

Integration with Africa the top diplomatic priority

TOS WENTZEL
Diplomatic Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's top diplomatic priority in the next few weeks is full political integration with the rest of Africa.

Efforts to fully rejoin the United Nations are being delayed while it awaits moves to scrap the country's huge debts to the world organisation.

In the next few weeks President Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo are going on missions to the Organisation of African Unity, the UN and the Non-Aligned Movement.

South Africa has become a member of the OAU after many years of enmity between the organisation and previous South African governments.

To mark this Mr Nzo will tomorrow — recognised as

Africa Day by the UN — attend a flag-raising ceremony at the OAU's headquarters in Addis Ababa. Foreign Affairs staff are taking the musical scores of the country's anthems and its flags with them.

Tomorrow Mr Mbeki will attend a meeting of the UN Security Council in New York, where a resolution lifting the 1977 arms embargo will be passed. He is taking a letter from Mr Mandela with him.

Mr Nzo will visit Cairo from May 31 to June 6 as guest of Egyptian Foreign Minister Amre Moussa for a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement. The body has to decide on its future now that the Cold War has ended.

From June 3 to 6 Mr Nzo will be in Tunis for a meeting of the OAU liberation commit-

tee. He will also attend a meeting of foreign ministers of the organisation which will draw up the agenda for the OAU heads-of-state summit in Tunis from June 13 to June 15.

Mr Mandela will attend this meeting, where South Africa will be welcomed as the 53rd member.

Foreign Affairs sources said the country owed the UN more than R300 million. It has not paid membership fees and its share of UN operations since 1974 after it was pushed out of the General Assembly.

There are strong pressures, especially from some Scandinavian countries, for the debt to be scrapped.

Joining the OAU will cost South Africa between R8 million and R13 million a year and Commonwealth membership, due to be resumed soon, will cost about R6 million a year.

Four-man commission to investigate controversial KwaZulu/Natal land deal

Cabinet in tightrope act

Star 24/5/94

3049

NOBODY keen to take up the cudgels as South Africa's new Cabinet makes its debut in conciliatory fashion

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA and ESTHER WAUGH

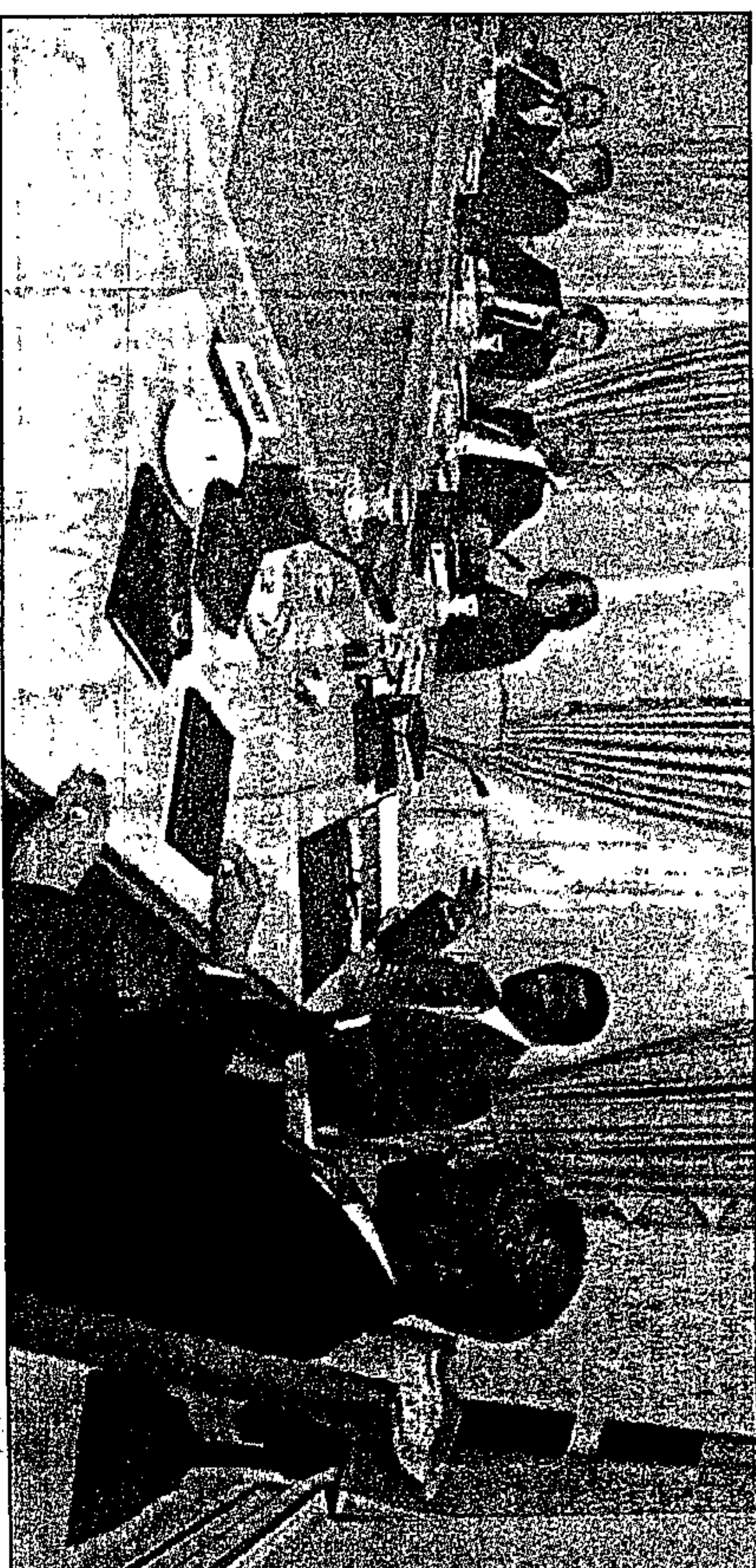
Cape Town — President Mandela's multiparty Cabinet engaged in a delicate balancing act yesterday in an attempt to avert a showdown over the controversial transfer of 1.2 million ha of land to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on the eve of South Africa's new political dispensation.

At its inaugural meeting, held at Tyhumbys, the Cabinet appointed a four-man commission to investigate the issue, effectively removing the potentially divisive issue from the Government's agenda for now.

The committee — made up of Ministers Derek Hanekom (Land Affairs), Dr Ben Ngubane (Arts, Culture, Science and Technology), Professor Kader Asmal (Water Affairs and Forestry) and Roelf Meyer (Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs) — will report on the background and reasons for the establishment through legislation of the Ingonyama Trust, into which almost all of KwaZulu has been transferred.

Overtuned

The land transfer, authorised by then-president De Klerk two days before South Africa's Interim Constitution came into effect and last month's election was held, has come under heavy fire from the ANC and various other parties, with Hanekom indirectly hinting that it might be



First Cabinet sitting... Nelson Mandela at the helm, and (from left) Trevor Manuel, Derek Keys, Derek Hanekom, Davie de Villiers, Kader Asmal and Thabo Mbeki.

overtuned.

It was the single most serious issue confronting the new Cabinet at its first sitting, but some delicate balancing has ensured that the matter will not pose an immediate threat to the coherence and unity of the Cabinet.

The Cabinet committee appointed yesterday will attempt to resolve the tension created by the land transfer while simultaneously ensuring that the move will not block land reform in the country.

In a joint statement issued on behalf of the Cabinet, Deputy Presidents Thabo Mbeki and

F W de Klerk said the committee would report on the background to the transfer, examine and report on the implications of the KwaZulu Ingonyama Trust Act and make recommendations to the Cabinet after its investigation.

The committee would also report on the possible implications of the Act for the security of tenure of residents in the area, the functioning of the Land Claims Court in the area, and the Act's possible impact on a future land reform programme.

The Cabinet approached the discussion with a view to

reaching a consensus that will contribute to the process of nation-building and reconciliation. All parties represented in the Cabinet reaffirmed their commitment to such an approach," the statement said.

Defiant

After a meeting lasting more than 10 hours, presidential spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said no further statement would be issued as the Cabinet did not want to pre-empt Mandela's speech to Parliament later today.

Earlier in the day, a defiant Chieftain Mangosuthu Buthelezi strongly defended the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's transfer of the land to the king, saying it was not as big an issue as the media had made it out to be.

He accused the media of making a big deal of the transfer because it "does not want peace in this country."

He said the matter, which had been discussed in his meeting with Mandela at the presidential Westbrooke residence in the morning, was one between himself and Mandela.

Yesterday the Cabinet was understood also to have discussed legislation which would lead to the establishment of the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights Commission, as well as the appointment of General George Meiring as Chief of the SA National Defence Force.

Before Mandela opens Parliament later today, the Constitutional Assembly meets for the first time.

The Constitutional Assembly, comprising the 90-member Senate and 400-member National Assembly, will draft the final constitution.

The new Cabinet rules, okay

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki smiled an impish smile, rested his head on his hand, and looked across at former foreign affairs minister Pk Botha.

"So are minerals all right? Is energy all right, Pk?"

The new South Africa's Cabinet Ministers were seated around the horseshoe table in Tyhumbys. All of them — including President Mandela and Second Deputy President F W de Klerk — laughed heartily while Botha, now Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister, smiled back.

The gentle exchange captured the mood at the beginning of the first meeting of Mandela's multiparty Cabinet yesterday morning. The new president, who looked like a man savouring the moment, sat at the head of the table with De Klerk to his left and Mbeki on his right.

As photographers and cameramen recorded this fleeting moment in history, friendly banter went around the table. Sydney Mufamadi (Safety and Security) sent a note to Mac Maharaj (Transport). Receiving it, Maharaj, said aloud: "Sydney, I know, it you were my friend. You didn't have to send me a note." Another peal of laughter, and the joshing

► To Page 3



HOWZAT? President Nelson Mandela with his daughter Zenani waves to the crowd at parliament yesterday.

Pictures: **LEON MÜLLER, ROY WIGLEY, OBED ZILWA and DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.**



CHEERS: A soldier isunmoved at the excited onlookers' joy during the presidential procession on the opening day of the country's first non-racial parliament.

All is joy in once stormy Stalplein

□ Stiff protocol and toyi-toying exuberance mark historic moment

Staff Reporter

IF Louis Botha could have turned around to have a good look he probably would have paled.

While the stiff-upper-lipped statesman, soldier and farmer gazed firmly ahead from his plinth on Stalplein yesterday, those behind his statue clung to the sturdy iron fence hoping for a glimpse of proceedings into song and toyi-toying.

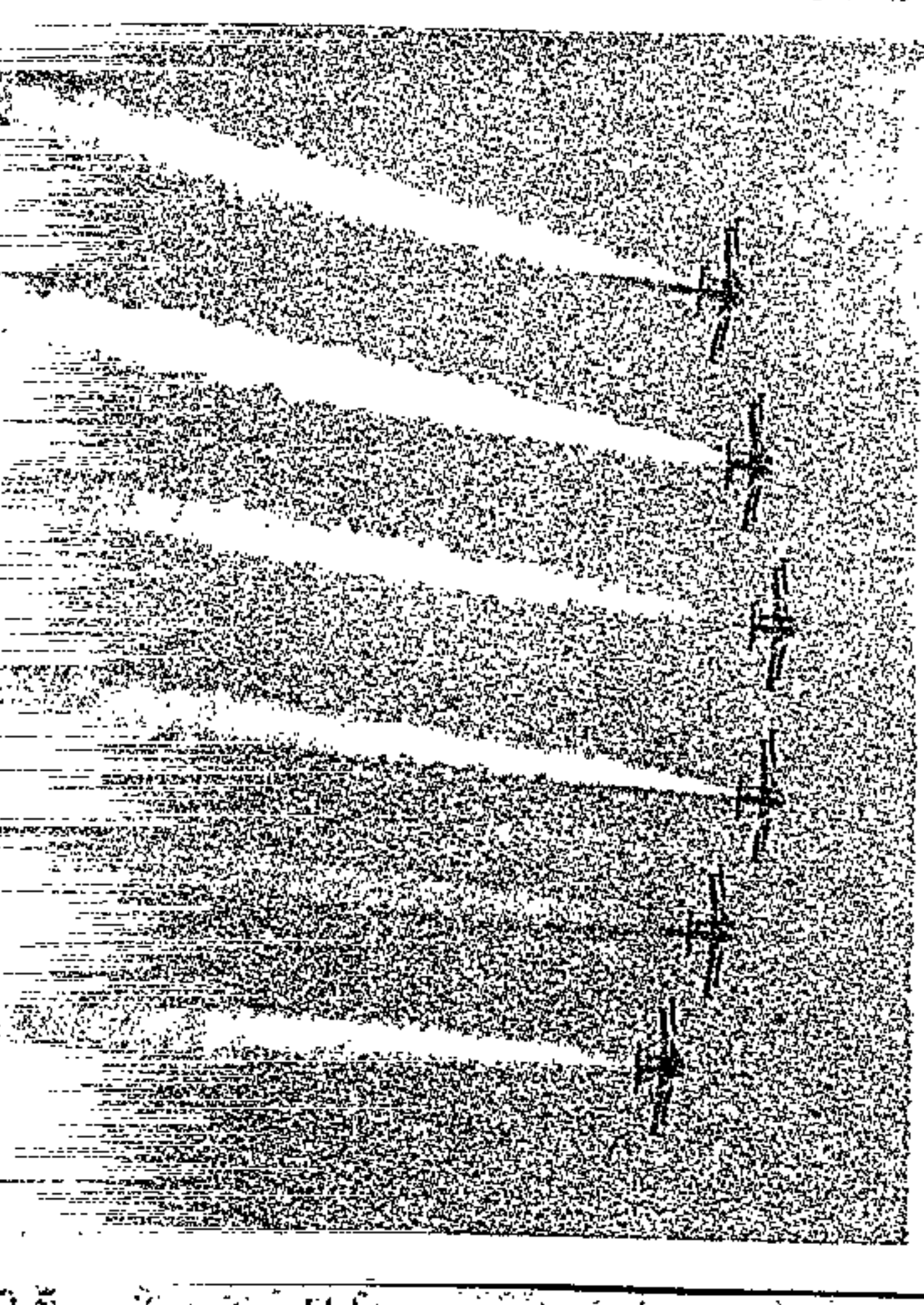
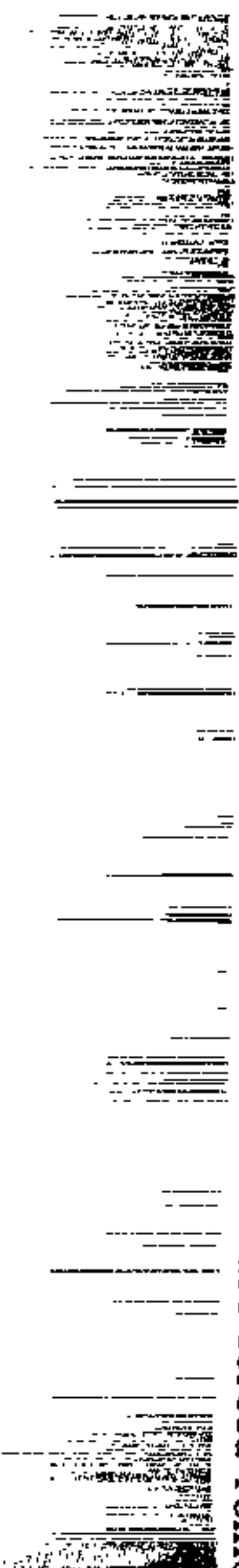
The crowd, which had waited patiently in glorious sunshine, was not satisfied with just a saw an impromptu celebration.

brief glimpse of the presidential motorcade.

But good views into the parliamentary enclosure to witness the parade for President Mandela's arrival were hard to find.

While the Stalplein crowd gazed firmly ahead from his plinth on Stalplein yesterday, those behind his statue clung to the sturdy iron fence hoping for a glimpse of proceedings into song and toyi-toying.

Often the scene of tense stand-offs in the past, this parliamentary access yesterday was not satisfied with just a saw an impromptu celebration.



DP caucus members walk out after call to disband

Municipal Reporter
DEMOCRATIC Party caucus members walked out of a Cape Town City Council meeting, leaving it without a quorum, when a motion was proposed calling on the caucus to disband.

The call was the sting in the tail of a motion by Jack Frost asking the council to congratulate the African National Congress and National Party on their respective national and provincial election victories.

Mr Frost made the call as a "motion of exigency" at the close of yesterday's meeting.

When he rose to ask permission to put the motion, Mr Frost told deputy mayor Llewellyn van Wyk it was to congratulate the ANC and NP on their victories.

Mr Van Wyk stopped Mr Frost's introduction of the motion to ask whether there was support for it.

After councillors voted to allow the motion to be put, Mr Frost repeated the introduction to his motion, then said the DP caucus should disband.

"I am ecstatic," said Mr Markovitz.

Mr Van Wyk adjourned proceedings, noting that there was a "quorum problem."

Councillors voted to deal with a confidential item and then resume the debate on the motion.

But when the council re-started in open session, the terraced seating in the chamber was all but deserted.

Mr Van Wyk said the meeting would have to end because there were too few councillors present.

Of the handful of councillors still in the chamber, the sole caucus members were exco chairman Clive Keegan, chief whip Rupert Hurly and Dick Friedlander.

When business was adjourned Mr Friedlander quipped: "A toast to absent friends."

on management committee allowances

Argus 25/5/94
"It is the supreme irony," Dr Sonnenberg said.

It was a "political ploy and a shabby trick".

Ruth Ortlepp, outlining the impact of the provincial administration order, cited the example of Scotsche Kloof management committee members who will be paid R69 000 each in back-pay.

She said she did not believe former Administrator Kobus Meiring realised what the impact of the scheme would be.

The millions of rands which would be spent on the move could have been better used on other projects, Ms Ortlepp said.

At yesterday's council meeting, Dick Friedlander said the scheme should be challenged afresh.

Backdated to January last year, the scheme will cost an initial R1.5 million.

Dr Sonnenberg said he objected in principle to the measure being retrospective.

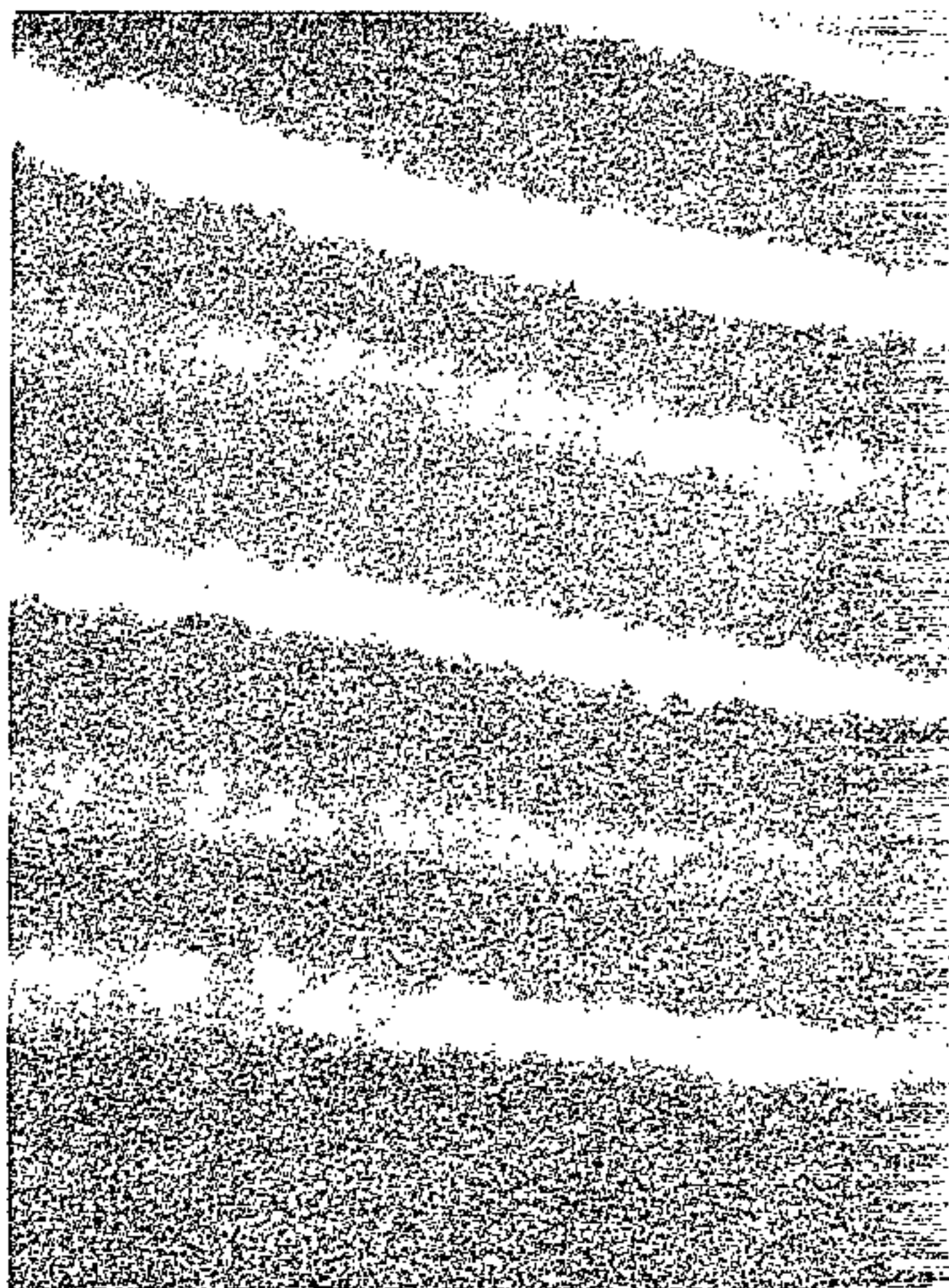
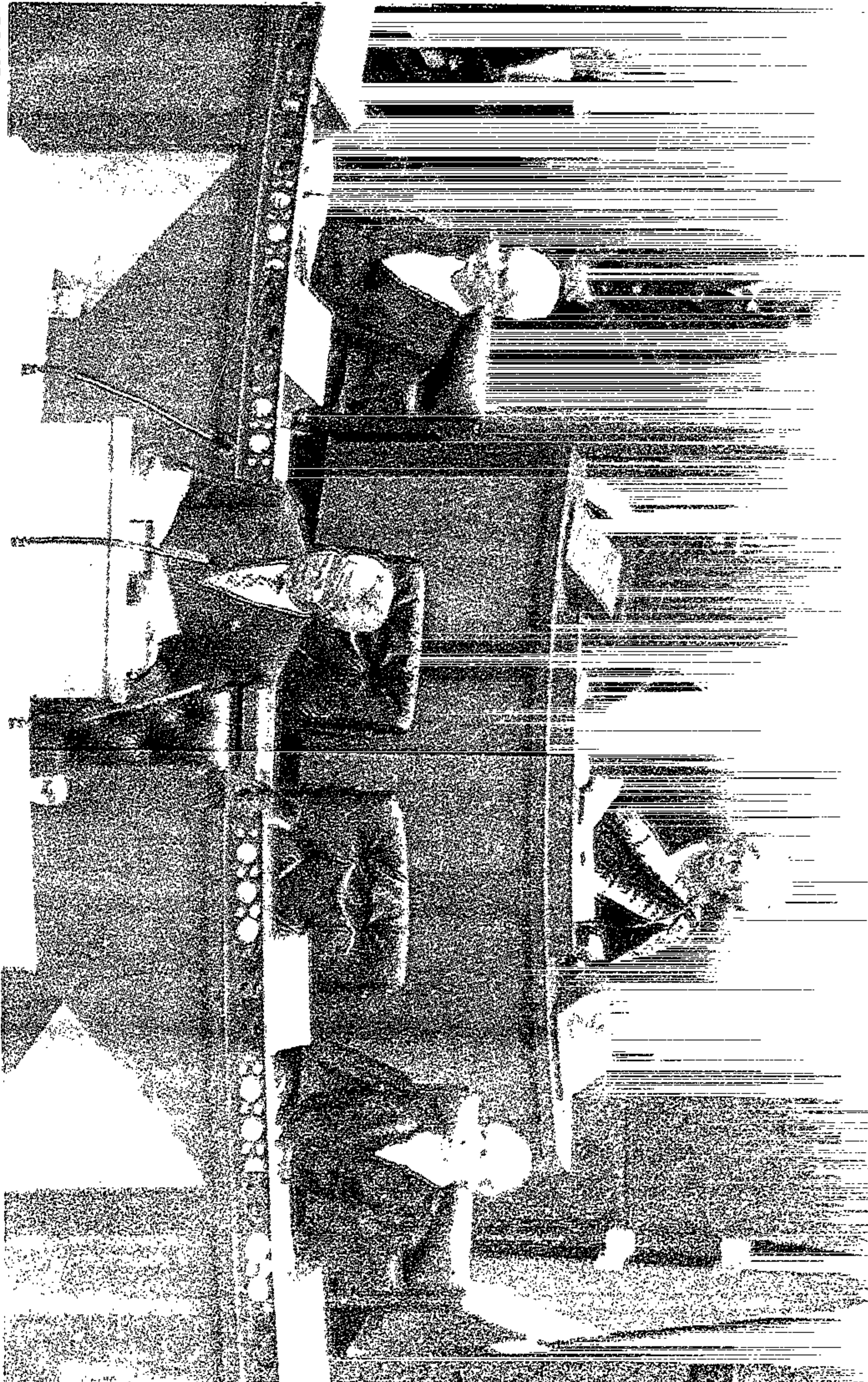
He said it was discriminatory to give councillors' allowances to management committee members because the committees' areas of jurisdiction were far smaller and they were merely advisory bodies.

Dr Sonnenberg quoted a press report in which the provincial administration claimed the move

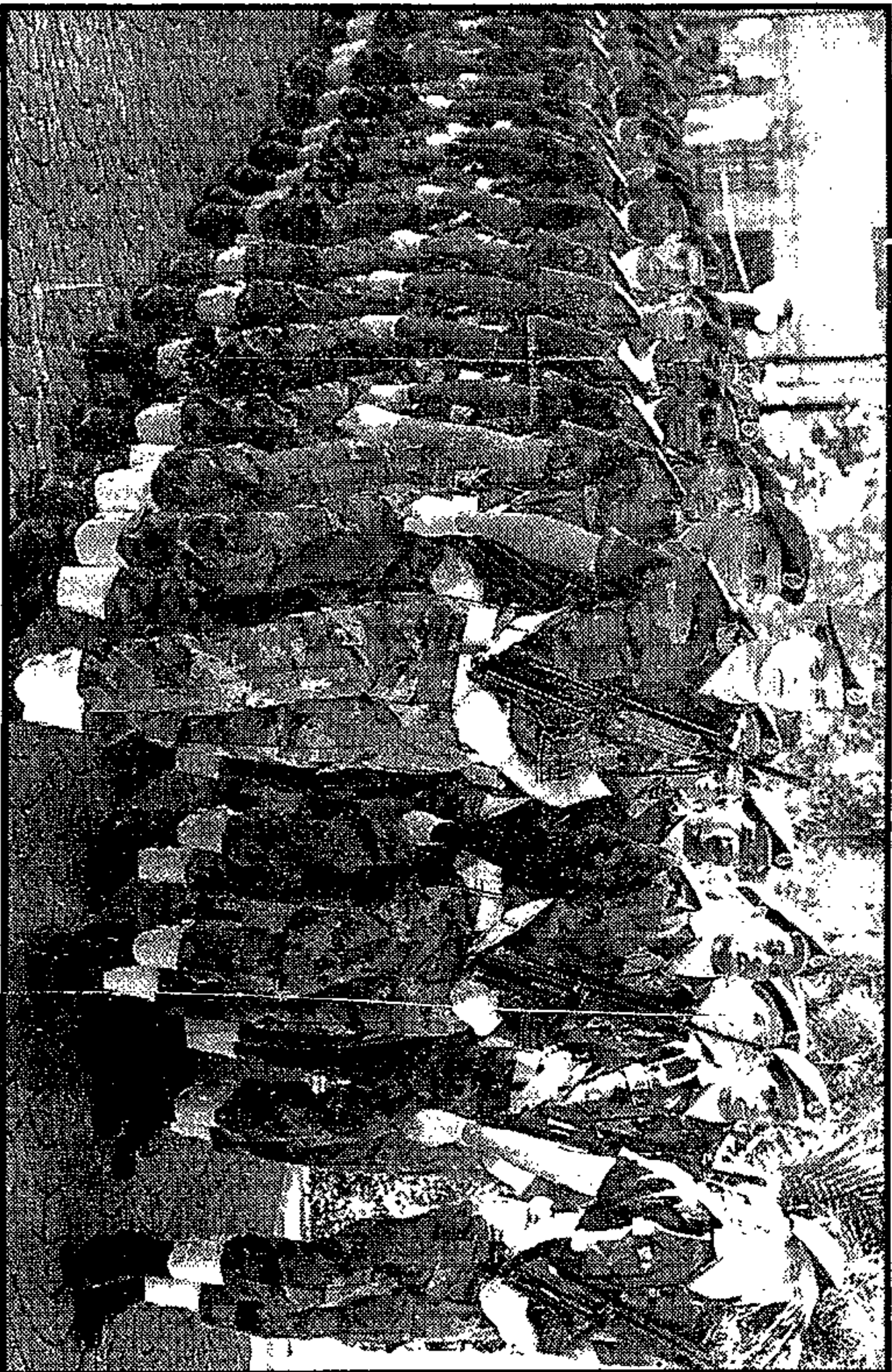
country.

Pool picture.

MAIDEN SPEECH: President Mandela delivers a historic speech which is aimed at eradicating poverty in the



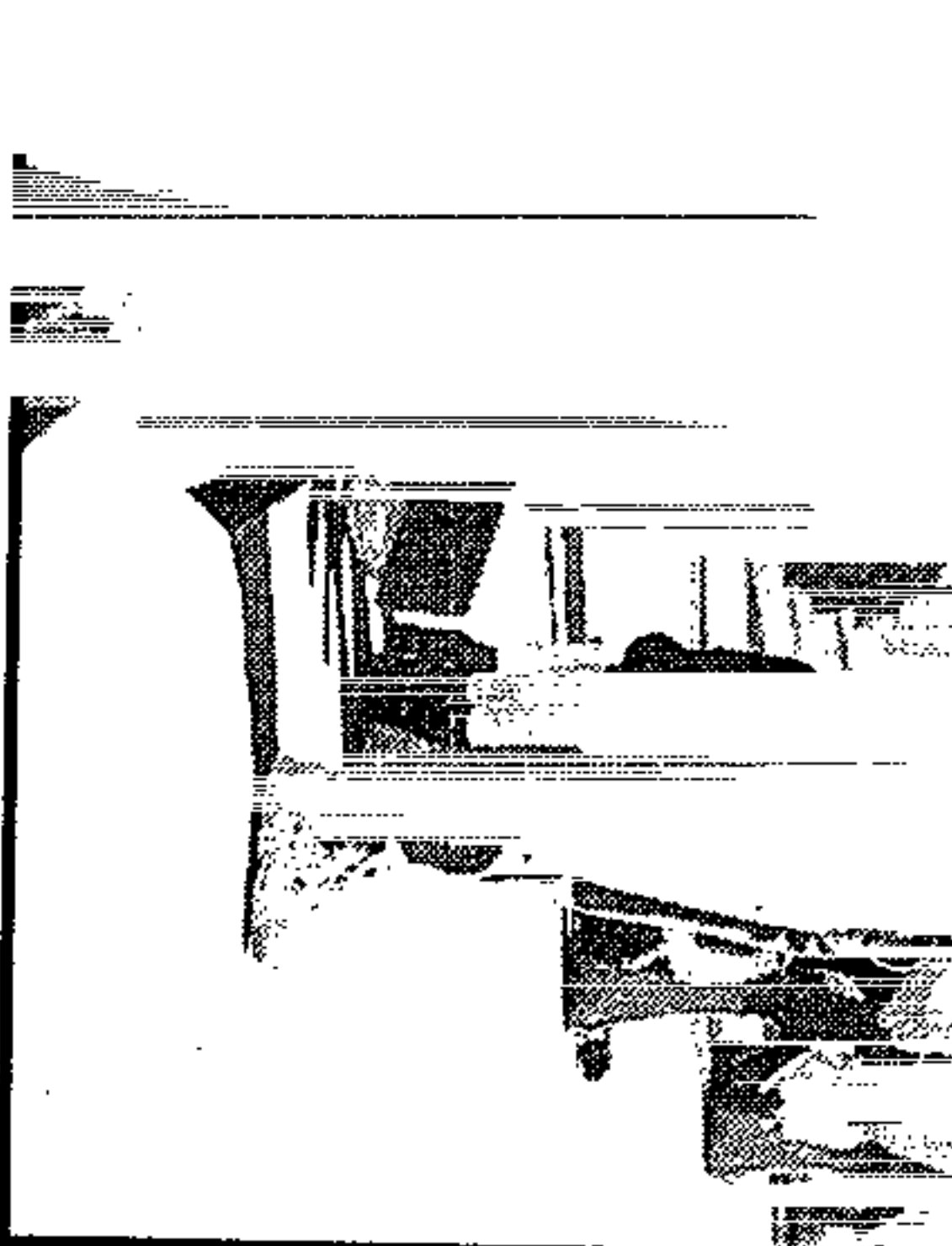
SMOKY SALUTE: Emitting multi-coloured smoke, Air Force Impalas streak across the city on the opening day of parliament.



MARCH: Stony-faced soldiers, above, march during the opening of the country's first non-racial parliament.

TRADITIONAL SALUTE: A praiser singer, top, salutes President Mandela as he arrives at parliament.

MINI-SOLDIER: A young boy "reinforces" the navy guard outside parliament.



Ramaphosa gets top post

Sowetan

25/8/94

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was yesterday elected chairman of the new Constitutional Assembly which is to draw up the final constitution.

Former Minister of Labour Mr Leon Wessels was elected vice-chairman. *(304A)*

The inaugural meeting of the

assembly, which consists of the National Assembly and the Senate sitting together, was held in the Great Hall of Parliament with the President of the Senate, Kobie Coetsee, presiding.

Ramaphosa was the leader of the ANC's team at the negotiations which led to South Africa's new democratic parliamentary system, while Wessels

was one of the top negotiators on the government side.

The assembly has to complete drawing up a final constitution within two years. Ramaphosa said the inaugural meeting was the culmination of a bitter struggle by the masses to install a democratic government in the country.

— *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Cyril wants public to help draft constitution

CAPE TOWN — Negotiations on a final constitution could be completed within a year — half the time provided for, Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said after his election yesterday.

He said in an interview that once the assembly was functioning his first job would be to establish formal "liaison structures" with interest groups such as business, trade unions, churches, and women's and student organisations.

"We want civil society to be thoroughly involved in the drafting of the final constitution," Ramaphosa said. "That is the only

DAVID GREYBE

way you can trust a new constitution."

Ramaphosa, who declined a Cabinet post after losing the Deputy Presidency to Thabo Mbeki, received a standing ovation from fellow MPs after his unanimous election in Parliament. The Constitutional Assembly is made up of the National Assembly and the Senate, sitting together.

His deputy, also elected unopposed, is NP MP Leon Wessels, a fellow veteran of the multiparty negotiations process.

Ramaphosa, in his acceptance speech,

said the final constitution "must reinforce the aspirations of our people on reconstruction and development, enhance national unity and reconciliation and achieve lasting peace." (304A)

"It is a document which must spell out the fundamental principles by which we South Africans wish to be governed. Such a constitution, if this assembly performs its task truly and well, will be an enduring legacy to future generations."

However, he warned that the process would inevitably entail tough political bar-

□ To Page 2

Constitution

gaining and the final product would ultimately depend "on the degree of intellectual and emotional balance, far-sightedness and wisdom that each one of us is able to bring to this task" (304A)

Wessels, speaking after his appointment, said he agreed that the assembly could meet the two-year deadline. "There is a much more constructive spirit in this Parliament than there ever was in any of the negotiating forums."

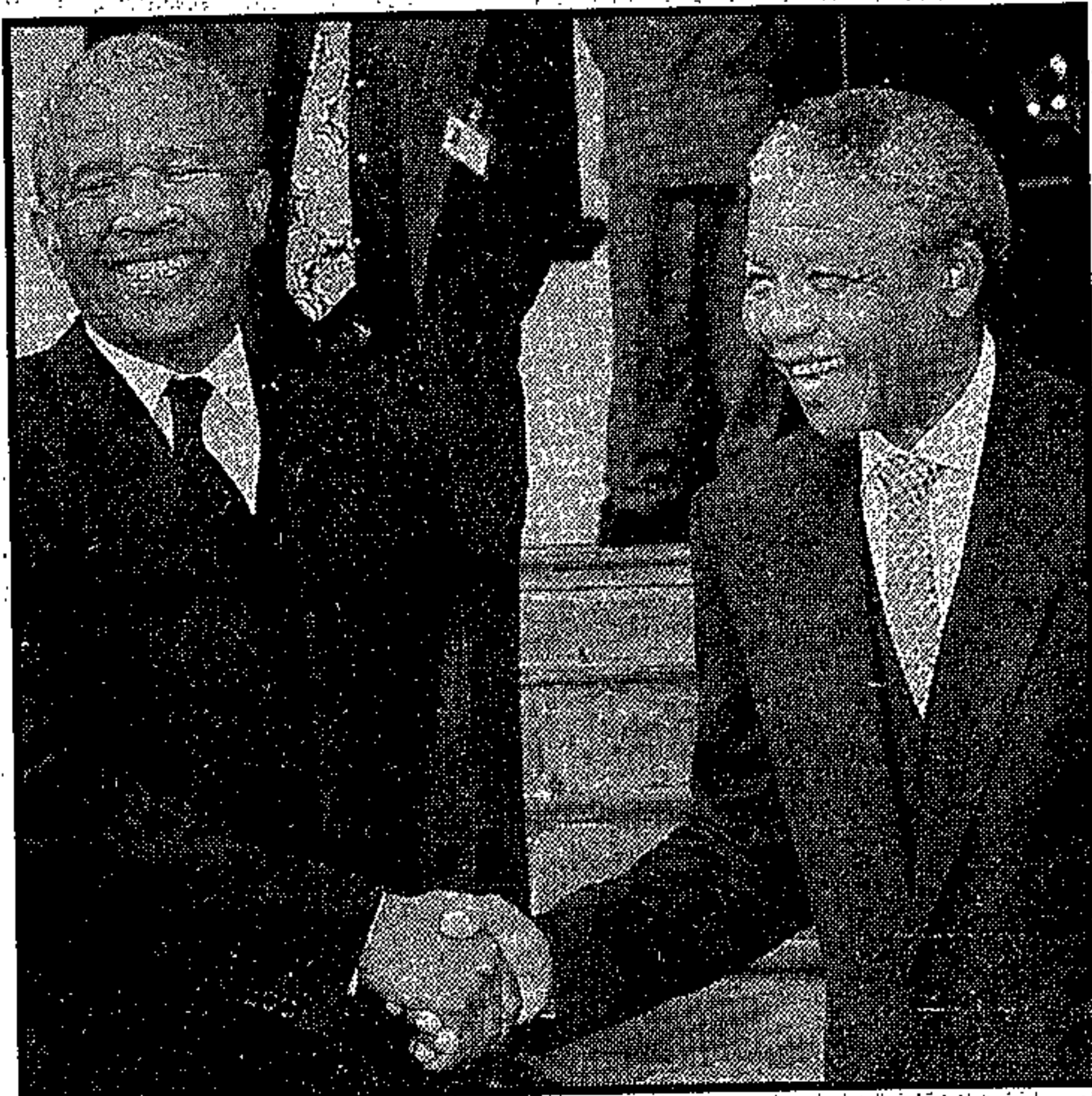
Ramaphosa said the advantage of for-

malising input from public interest groups was no time would be wasted in getting the project off the ground.

"It must not be like what we did at the World Trade Centre, where people sent in memos because they happened to be concerned about a specific issue."

"We will want civil society structures to know on an ongoing basis the various issues that are coming up (and) to make presentations to the panel of experts."

□ From Page 1



Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus

LEADERS TALK: President Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu in a jovial mood after talks at Tuynhuys today.

(304A) ARG 26/5/94

Mandela discusses PAC cabinet posts with Makwetu

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

APPOINTING Pan Africanist Congress members to government posts — even in the cabinet — and drawing Apla into the new defence force dominated talks at Tuynhuys today between President Mandela and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.

Mr Mandela — who also had comprehensive talks earlier with acting leader of the Democratic Party Tony Leon — said he had asked the PAC leader to draw up a list of names of members who could fill top posts.

PAC representation in the cabinet was on the agenda, but would depend on compliance with the constitution and negotiated agreements with all concerned.

Speaking at a briefing after his talks with Mr Makwetu, Mr Mandela said he was committed to bringing about "a unified approach in dealing with questions which are of concern to all the people of South Africa".

Discussions with the far right, with liberation movements and other parties were continuing.

He said it was important that a way be found to accommodate Apla combatants in the new defence force. This would be in the interests of national unity since they had "rendered an important service in regard to the changes" in the country.

Mr Makwetu, who noted that today's discussions were a continuation of talks he had with Mr Mandela on Robben Island, said he believed it was important for all leaders to put their heads together "as we begin this difficult phase".

Mr Mandela said the ANC had already "broached among ourselves" the question of cabinet positions for parties such as the PAC.

Amnesty was not discussed, but he was in favour of an "even-handed" approach to prisoners from all parties.

He was also particularly encouraged by progress in talks with the rightwing.

Peace role seen for S Africa

□ Mbeki's commitment at UN

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has firmly committed the South African government to playing a role in international peacekeeping and peacemaking, especially in Africa.

He told the United Nations Security Council on Africa Day yesterday as it lifted the last UN sanctions against South Africa — the 1977 arms embargo — that the country would help the world as it had been helped in its hour of need.

Mr Mbeki also said South Africa could reclaim its seat in the General Assembly almost immediately.

But the government would first hold discussions with the UN on the legal implications of restoring the credentials which South Africa lost in 1972.

Another matter that needed to be discussed was South Africa's outstanding UN membership dues, totalling more than R360 million.

But Mr Mbeki said he did not foresee any problem. "I think an agreed solution will be arrived at. Everyone has agreed we should start functioning as a full member of the UN as soon as possible."

Mr Mbeki told the Security Council: "We firmly commit our country, as a member of the United Nations and as a responsible citizen of the world, to live up to its obligations ...

and to contribute what it can to the making of the peaceful world which is the right of the peoples.

"We are ... ready to begin discussions with the OAU, the UN and all concerned with regard to what can and should be done concerning the tragic situation in Rwanda."

Mr Mbeki said at a press briefing there was a general expectation that South Africa would now play a role in peacekeeping and peacemaking, especially in Africa.

But there had been "no prior determination" to contribute South African troops to UN peacekeeping missions.

Mr Mbeki noted that South Africa was already playing an international role through its diplomatic intervention in the Lesotho conflict and its humanitarian and mine-clearing help to Mozambique and Angola.

Referring to Rwanda, Mr Mbeki said American Vice-President Al Gore had told the South African government that because of its history it would bring "a certain moral authority" to international conflicts either by adding its voice "or whatever else it could add".

Until the government's discussions with the UN, OAU and others were complete, he could not say whether South Africa would become involved in Rwanda.

He appealed for help in converting South Africa's military technology to civilian purposes.

New SA flag flies in Addis Ababa

ADDIS ABABA (Ethiopia). — The new South African flag took its place alongside those of 52 other African nations at the Organisation of African Unity's 31st anniversary gathering in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim presided over the flag-raising ceremony in a square outside OAU headquarters yesterday.

Congolese president Pascal Lisouba, Ethiopian foreign minister Syium Massfin and the entire diplomatic corps in Addis Ababa attended the proceedings.

Warmly welcoming the South Africans, Dr Salim said the country's membership marked the end of Africa's decolonisation. — Sapa.

Praise-singers in parliament a 'culture shock' to new minister

GARTH VERDAL
Tonight Reporter

Aug 26/5/94 304A

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

Martha Olickers

HAVING praise-singers ululating in parliament was a "terrible culture shock" to Martha Olickers, the Western Cape's new education and training minister whose portfolio includes cultural affairs.

She is determined to see that the arts and culture get a "substantially bigger" slice of the financial cake in the Western Cape.

This emerged in an interview with the province's immaculately groomed new minister. "I'm a sports lover but, yes, there is an imbalance be-

tween the amount of money that goes into sport as opposed to the arts and culture," she said.

The 52-year-old former Grahamstown mayor and president's council and Cape provincial executive committee member, has one of those firm-handshake, direct-looking manners, balancing seriousness with a sense of humour when answering questions.

"I haven't defined it (culture) for myself yet, except that there are certain things that some people see as culture that I don't. But it's a challenging portfolio because it can be a binding factor, or a minefield.

"In spite of good intentions one can hurt people. I mean a praise-singer in parliament, and dressed the way he is. And clapping and ululating. It used to be a very dignified

place and this is a terrible cultural shock for us."

By "us" she obviously meant conservative traditionalists, with whom she would probably class herself. Interestingly, she remarked during her comments on the new-look parliament that she wanted them published. Her manner was almost confrontational.

Mrs Olickers paused, looked at me, and added: "There are lots of adjustments to be made because cultures are deep-rooted and there are lots of new cultures to get used to. We must be tolerant of each other's cultures because there'll be friction unless we are."

One of her aims is to get youth programmes going that promote the arts and culture.

"The arts are very important in terms of bringing cultures together — and specifically because of this they need

not, must not, be neglected financially. Like sport they are a binding factor."

What about Euro-centric versus Afro-centric arts and culture?

"South Africa must not become an island, cannot only look to Africa. We can't completely forget our European connections, heritage. My philosophy is to have an holistic approach."

Part of culture was the acknowledgement of different languages "and this whole move towards diminishing Afrikaans is very sad. It'll have a divisive effect — and may just cause Afrikaners to get *harregat* (obstinate), go back into a larger mentality. How I hate that phrase, I get cross," she remarked.

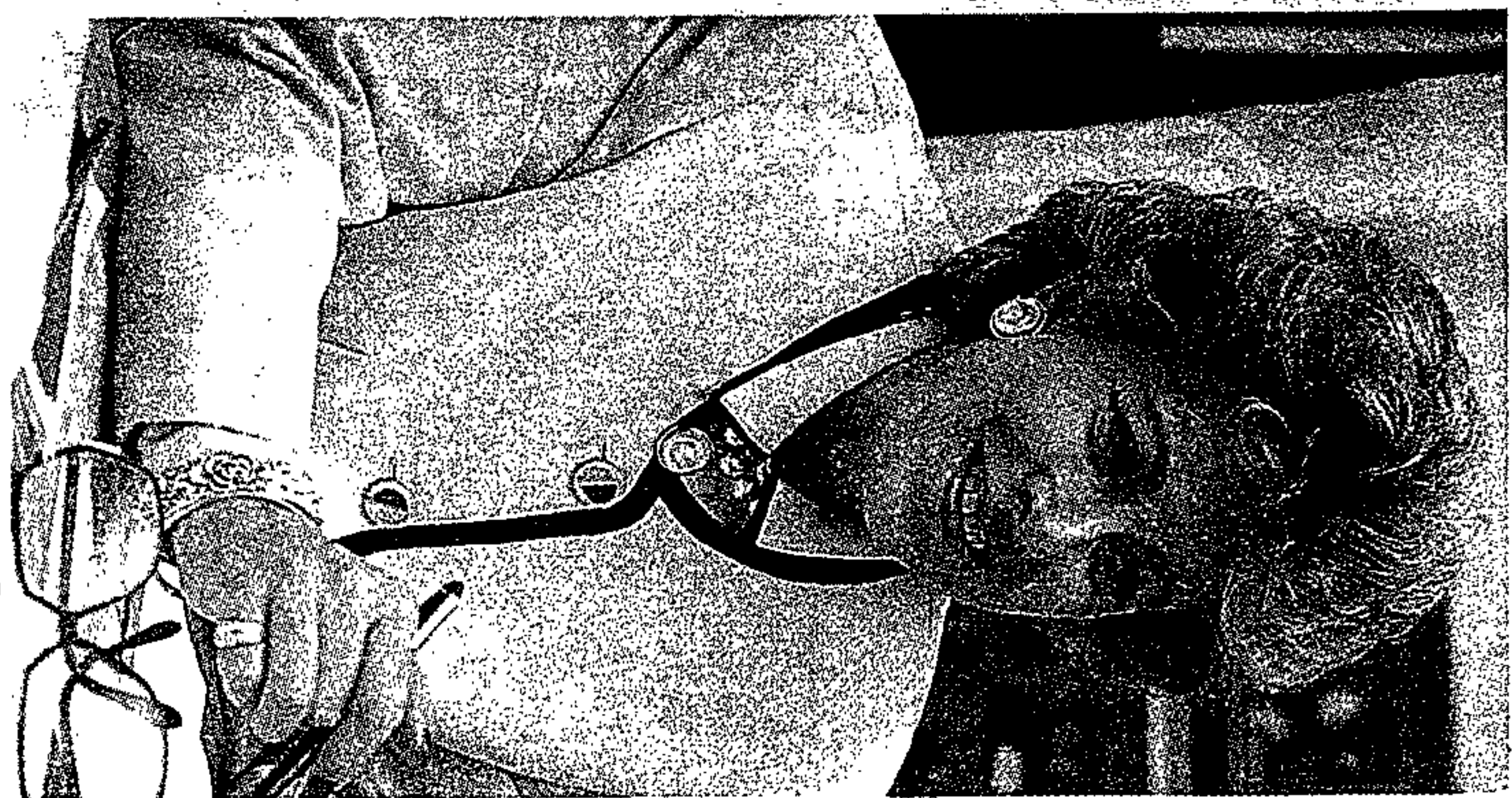
Mrs Olickers has only been in office for a few weeks and it's early days to talk specifics with her.

"Things are in limbo. Powers still have to be officially delegated to the provinces by the president — and then it will take time to implement ideas and plans."

AT THE HELM: Martha Olickers, left, the

Western Cape's new education and training minister ... she is determined that the arts and culture should get a bigger slice of the cake.

Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.



SA welcomed at UN, OAU

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia. — South Africa proudly took up its place in world affairs yesterday as its flag was raised at the OAU, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki prepared to address the UN, and the UN got set to lift its arms embargo.

South African representatives also took their seats alongside other UN members at the Yokohama conference for the first time since SA was expelled from the UN general assembly 20 years ago.

The new South African flag took its place alongside those of 52 other African nations at the Organisation of African Unity's 31st anniversary gathering in the Ethiopian capital.

Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo and OAU secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim presided over the flag-raising ceremony in a square outside OAU headquarters.

Dr Salim, who warmly welcomed the South Africans, said South Africa's membership marked the end of Africa's decolonisation.

The struggle against apartheid had finally come to an end and the OAU could now concentrate on development throughout the continent.

"We welcome South Africa, the 53rd member of our organisation, and we

say to our brothers and sisters in South Africa, black, white and brown, welcome to your African family."

The OAU chief paid tribute to President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk, and welcomed the new government's policy of reconciliation.

Mr Nzo said the government's foreign policy would be shaped by domestic needs and objectives, but South Africa would contribute to African development through continental and regional organisations.

Liberation

"We are now finally part of Africa. We are coming home to Africa, and together with our brothers and sisters throughout this vast continent we will work purposefully towards the ultimate goal of true liberation for all of Africa's people."

● The Yokohama conference on disaster reduction, set up by the assembly, is the first UN-related body since then to give South Africa a full role in its deliberations. The assembly appears certain to allow South Africa to resume its seat, suspended in 1974.

● SA ready for Africa peace role

— Page 5

Cabinet approves Bill on new court

THE Cabinet has approved in principle proposed legislation establishing a constitutional court and the judicial services commission.

Justice Department spokesman Werner Krull said yesterday the draft Bills had been referred to state legal advisers and were likely to be finalised by the end of the week.

The proposed legislation would then be submitted to Parliament.

With widespread calls for the establishment of the Constitutional Court and a growing number of issues awaiting its adjudication, pressure is mounting in political and legal circles for judges of the new court to be selected soon.

The draft legislation will have to be considered by the standing committee on justice at a public hearing — in terms of a recent ruling by the rules committee.

It is not yet clear when Parliament will debate the two Bills, but they are likely to be approved by the end of

Political Staff

next month.

After this, the thorny issue of selecting the Constitutional Court judges will have to be resolved before the court can start functioning.

DP leader Tony Leon, who led a fight at the multiparty negotiations for the judges not to be chosen by politicians, called yesterday on government to put an end to any doubts that Constitutional Court judges would be selected secretly.

Government should ensure that the selection of judges for the Constitutional Court — "the most powerful judicial instrument ever fashioned in this country" — was open, heard in public and in keeping with the dignity of the office, he said.

Any doubts about the openness of the selection process would "simply result in a marriage of convenience between legal conservatives and political lackeys".

Mandela meets provincial premiers

CAPE TOWN — President Nelson Mandela held his first meeting with the nine provincial premiers at his Tuynhuys offices yesterday.

Flanked by the nine premiers and Deputy President FW de Klerk, Mandela said afterwards there was a need for him and the provincial

leaders to exchange views.

Tuynhuys said earlier the discussion with the premiers would include matters such as the relationship between the central government and the provincial administrations, and reconstruction and development matters. — Sapa.

n news conference
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

DP announces its team of national spokesmen

CAPE TOWN — The DP has announced its team of national spokesmen, drawn from its 22 public representatives in Parliament and four regional legislatures.

Acting party leader Tony Leon has given his seven MPs and three senators various portfolios. He is the party's spokesman on human rights as well as justice, which includes the Bill of Rights and the Constitutional Court.

His older brother, Peter Leon, a member of the PWV parliament, is deputy spokesman on arts and culture.

The only black DP representative in Parliament, Senator William Mnisi, is spokesman for public works and deputy spokesman on health and welfare.

MP Douglas Gibson is chief whip and spokesman on administrative justice. Senator Errol Moorcroft is responsible for agriculture and land affairs and is also

Political Staff

DP leader in the Senate.

MP Kobus Jordaan handles the State and provincial affairs as well as post and telecommunications. MP Mike Ellis has sport and recreation and is social services spokesman, which includes health, education and welfare.

Natal regional MP Roger Burrows is deputy spokesman on education.

Other portfolios are: safety and security (Gibson); constitution-making, foreign affairs and housing (Colin Eglin); reconstruction and development, finance and economics (Ken Andrew); arts, culture, women, gender affairs and home affairs (Dene Smuts); labour, transport and correctional services (James Selfe); mineral and energy affairs (Brian Goodall); and local government (Ian Davidson).

White 'Zulu' makes history

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party's Jurie Mentz made history yesterday, delivering the first full speech in the National Assembly in one of SA's new official languages.

As he walked to the podium to speak in Zulu during the debate on President Nelson Mandela's address, an MP interjected: "Here comes the white Zulu."

As Mentz's measured tones resonated across the chamber, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi smiled his approval. MPs interrupted with applause.

Mentz said everyone in SA should be pleased that Inkatha had taken part in the election. It had saved SA from chaos. He stressed the importance of jobs, education, housing and land.

However, Mentz was not the first to use a language other than English or Afrikaans. Several other MPs started speeches in Xhosa before delivering the full import in English. — Sapa.

Mandela may meet ultra-right

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg will try to persuade Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche to meet President Nelson Mandela soon.

This was announced by Mandela and Hartzenberg following their meeting at the President's Westbrooke residence in Cape Town yesterday.

The possibility of a meeting between the ultra-right leader and Mandela arose during discussions on amnesty for AWB members.

Mandela said he considered the amnesty plea to be a bit premature as some of the AWB men could be acquitted by the courts.

However, the Government would want to review the amnesty situation to see if particular policies helped the country complete the task of national reconciliation and unity.

"The sole principle is whether a particular decision will contribute to

Sowetan 26/5/94
■ SOLE PRINCIPLE Whether a

'particular decision' will contribute to nation building and reconciliation:

nation building and reconciliation," Mandela said.

He said the October 8 1990 cut-off date for amnesty had to be observed, and those applications linked to incidents between October 1990 and December 1993 would be considered by the Government. *(30/4/94)*

While people implicated in politically related crimes after December 1993 were not covered by amnesty agreements, "we would not like to be governed by rules exclusively. There must be some flexibility to heal wounds".

Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar was preparing amnesty legislation which catered for organisations not

currently represented in Parliament.

The Government wanted an even-handed approach when dealing with those who had defended apartheid and those who had opposed it.

Mandela said he wanted to see Terre'Blanche "address the problems of the ultra-right so it can be included in the process of using peaceful methods" of negotiation and discussion.

Hartzenberg had said he would discuss the matter with Terre'Blanche and "we are planning a meeting between the three of us as soon as possible".

Hartzenberg confirmed this and would see if Mr Terre'Blanche was prepared to get involved with negotiations. — Sapa.

Council formed to fight for volkstaat

CT 27/5/94 (304A)

Political Staff

THE Freedom Front (FF) yesterday elected a 20-member volkstaat council to promote the formation of an Afrikaner homeland, FF leader General Constand Viljoen announced.

The council, established in terms of the interim constitution, will meet once legislation is piloted through Parliament by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer to set up its administrative structures.

It could start sitting within the next two weeks, Senator Rosier de Ville said yesterday.

The council was announced without the support of the CP, AWB or Boers-
taat Party.

The naming of CP member Mr Chris

de Jager may cause further divisions in the right-wing. CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg has refused to allow his party members to participate in the council.

Gen Viljoen said he hoped to draw other Afrikaner groups into the deliberations of the council.

The council members are: Mr Flip Buys, Professor Carel Boshoff, Dr Piet Liebenberg, Mr De Jager, Dr Wally Grant, Mr Nathan Luyt, Mr Koos Ren-
eke, Prof Pikkie Robbertze, Comman-
dant Douw Steyn, Gen Ernie Pienaar,
Mr Mars de Klerk, Mr Riaan Visagie,
Gen J C Visser, Prof Hercules Booy-
sen, Mr Dirk Viljoen, Mr Chris Jooste,
Mr Duncan du Bois, Mr Johan Win-
gard, Mr Herman Vercueil and Mrs
Anna Boshoff.

'DP can hold power balance'

(304A)

CT 27/5/94
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party could enjoy the balance of power in the constitutional assembly even if the Pan-Africanist Congress backs the ANC, DP finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said yesterday.

The DP has 10 MPs and senators in the 490-strong constitutional assembly — the Senate and assembly sitting together — which will draw up South Africa's final constitution.

The two liberation movements in Parliament — the ANC and PAC — can only muster 317 votes together — 10 short of the required two-thirds majority to draw up the constitution on their own.

Mr Andrew said although the DP had been reduced in size in last month's election its voice and votes would now be critical in Parliament.

The ANC has 312 legislators — 252 MPs and 60 senators — while the NP has 82 MPs and 17 senators. The IFP has 43 seats and five senators, the Freedom Front has nine MPs and five senators and the DP has seven MPs and three senators.

The PAC has just five MPs and the African Christian Democratic Party two MPs.

Assuming that the NP, IFP, ACDP and FF vote against the ANC and PAC, the DP could play a crucial role in breaking any logjam.

DP holds balance of power in assembly

□ 10 seats crucial for two-thirds majority

MICHAEL MORRIS (304A) Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party holds a balance of power in the constitutional assembly and could play a decisive role if disputes on federal issues go to the vote.

While the DP has only 10 of the 490 seats in the assembly — which is a combination of the 400-seat national assembly and the 90-seat senate — the likely voting alliances of the parties places it in a crucial position.

The African National Congress has 312 seats, the Pan Africanist Congress five, the National Party 99, the Inkatha Freedom Party 48, the Freedom Front 14 and the African Christian Democratic Party two.

If, as would be likely on certain key issues, the ANC and PAC joined forces in the assembly, they would have a combined total of 317, 10 short of the crucial two-thirds majority.

And if, as is equally likely, the other parties — the NP, IFP, FF and ACDP — voted together, their combined total would be 163, which is one short of what they would need to block a measure.

In either case, the DP's 10 seats will be crucial.

While DP strategists acknowledge that there will be no stopping a measure backed by the big parties — the ANC and NP, or, though it would be unlikely, the ANC and the IFP — its seats tally placed it in an important position in the next

round of constitutional negotiations.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said: "As with all our activities, we will work constructively with others to find solutions to our country's problems, but holding the balance of power does mean that on certain critical issues it may be that our votes will have to be taken into account."

● The DP appears to be considering its options after President Mandela raised the issue of party members being appointed to the government or diplomatic posts in talks yesterday with acting-leader Tony Leon.

Mr Leon said the "warm and cordial exchange" dealt specifically with the future relationship between the DP and the ANC.

First steps on a long road

27/5/94

Faced with the twin challenges of calming a nervous business community and placating impatient constituents, President Mandela this week mapped out a strategy for economic growth and social upliftment which he believes will satisfy both groups.

In his first major policy statement since assuming office on May 10, Mandela told parliament that he was committed to fiscal restraint and co-operation with the private sector. He also showed determination to tackle poverty by implementing a programme to:

☐ Give free medical care if needed, in State hospitals and clinics, to children aged under six and pregnant women, and;

☐ Introduce a feeding scheme at all primary schools where needed.

Though largely symbolic when judged against the wider needs of disadvantaged communities, the programme is an important indication of government's commitment to meeting its election promises. It is scheduled to be implemented within 100 days, under Mandela's direct supervision. In addition,

Mandela said a programme had already been implemented to electrify 350 000 houses this financial year. He said the Cabinet had reached broad consensus on "many elements" of a plan based on the reconstruction & development programme (RDP).

In next month's Budget, R2,5bn will be made available for the RDP. The amount will rise to R10bn within five years. The allocation has been compiled from a wide range of savings and will not mean a commensurate increase in the Budget (See *Economy*). The RDP budget will be controlled by Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo, who will work with a 15-member RDP committee and co-operate with other Ministers to identify and implement RDP projects.

Mandela said consultations with business leaders indicated that they were willing and able to make a "significant contribution" towards the structuring and management of the RDP funds and towards the effective identification and implementation of projects by supporting the financing of socio-economic development.

He said existing programmes of "fiscal rehabilitation" would continue in the interests of ensuring sustainable growth and development. Government was, therefore, de-

termined to make every effort to keep real general State consumption spending at present levels and to manage the Budget deficit "with a view to its continuous reduction." It has also been agreed that a "permanently higher" taxation level has to be avoided.

Though Mandela did not elaborate on this point, it seems higher taxes in some form could be an option as a temporary measure. At a press briefing on the speech, Finance Minister Derek Keys would not be drawn on the implications of the statement.

Mandela said the battle against inflation would continue, as would efforts to create

jobs, particularly for the youth. Government is also determined to tackle the housing crisis and to provide clean water and proper sanitation to all people. Health, he said, remained a fundamental building block of a humane society.

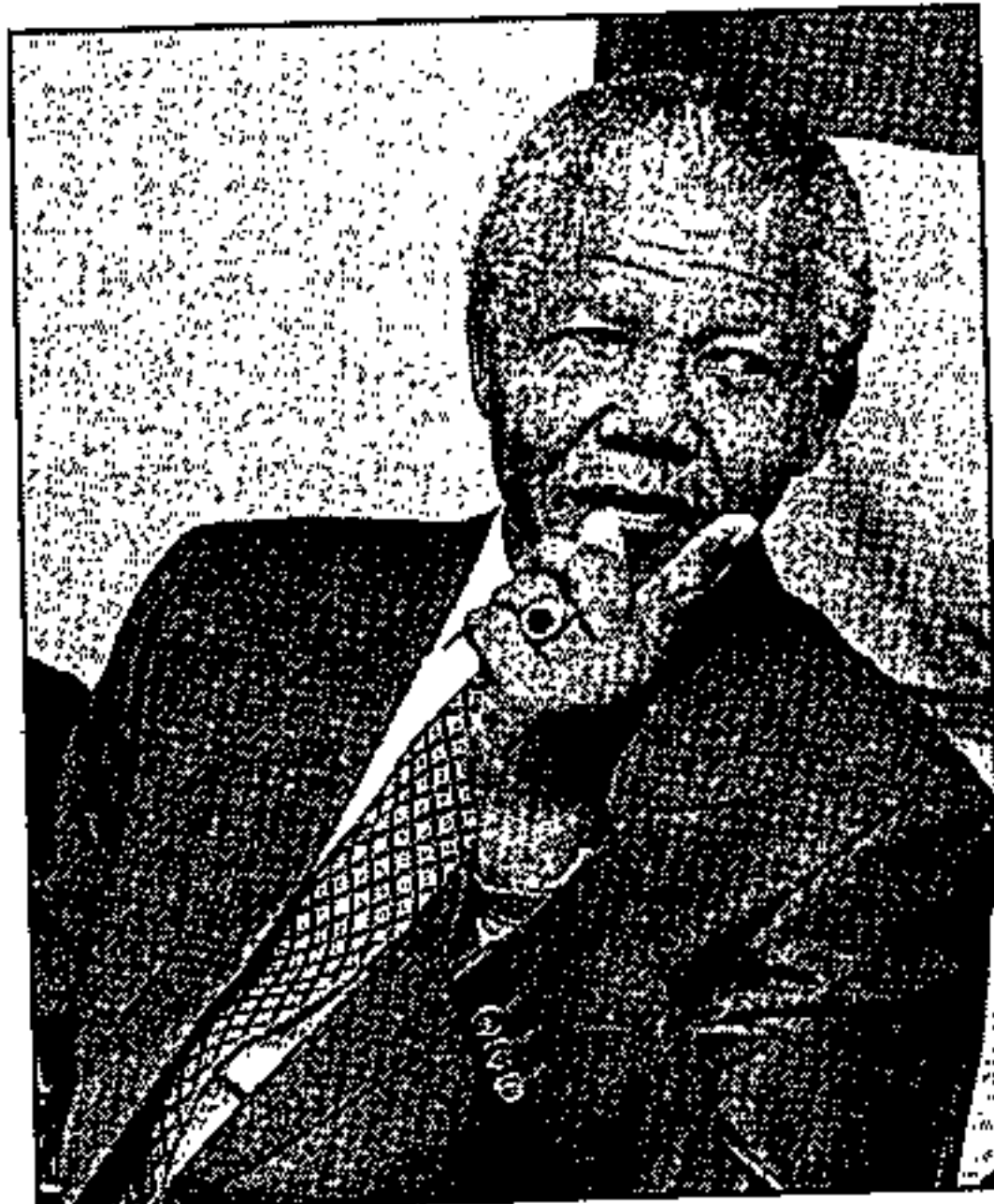
Mandela said government's vision was the creation of a "people-centred society" which would be the acid test of the legitimacy of the programmes it elaborated and the institutions it created. "Our single most important challenge is to

help establish a social order in which the freedom of the individual will truly mean the freedom of the individual."

Mandela said legislation would be prepared to deal with grievances of the past. It would seek to free wrongdoers from fear of retribution or blackmail, while acknowledging the injury of those who had been harmed.

ANC legal expert and Minister of Water Affairs & Forestry Kader Asmal says the measure will be aimed at allowing parliament to democratically decide how to deal with the past within the value system of the interim constitution. However, the legislation would not be premised on vindictiveness or the seeking of scapegoats.

Mandela's speech set the tone for a week-long debate on the state of the nation which was set to provide the first opportunity for most MPs to speak in parliament. ■



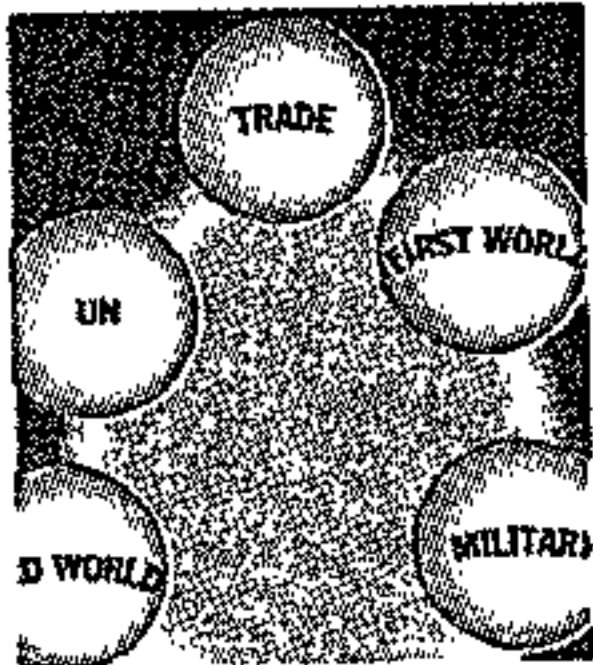
Mandela ... tackling the problems

FOREIGN POLICY

A matter of interest

Fun 27/5/94

Our new diplomacy must not bother with settling old scores



"We have no friends, only interests." That was Lord Palmerston's guiding principle for the conduct of British foreign policy for much of the 19th Century. It is echoed by the American statesman and histori-

an, Henry Kissinger: "Wherever the balance is established between values and necessity, foreign policy must begin with some definition of what constitutes a vital interest." It may sound ruthless but it is far more sensible than a policy based on paranoia (the old SA) and sentiment (the new SA, so far).

Pretoria's foreign policy has seen some dramatic shifts since Union. For some 40 years after 1910, we were under the wing of Britain and the interests of the two countries were perceived largely to coincide. We were on the right side in two world wars and in Jan Smuts we had a statesman who was in demand in the highest councils of State.

After the National Party came to power in 1948, foreign policy became increasingly geared to explaining apartheid — and preserving ties with traditional friends who were offended by it. But defensiveness was also defiance, captured in the unpleasant and crude diplomacy of Foreign Minister Eric Louw and the stubbornness of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, culminating in the declaration of a republic in 1961.

Over the next 30 years, Foreign Ministers Hilgard Muller and then Pik Botha were the acceptable faces of apartheid, battling unsuccessfully in an ever more hostile world to compensate for ugly domestic realities and the personalities of their leaders, John Vorster and PW Botha. The national interest was perceived fairly bluntly as survival — "total strategy" against "total onslaught."

The trouble with SA at the moment is that we have too many friends and the new government seems uncertain about our interests. "There is a danger," says Jack Spence, director of studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, "of the new government plastering the world with embassies and high commissions — and that's not on." Spence says SA's interests must be identified according to "hard-nosed economic considerations."

This means, for a start, that trade links with the US and Europe must be cultivated at all costs. We must also scramble for new investors and markets wher-

ever we can find them. There is no point whatsoever in keeping alive old ANC friendships (Cuba) and enmities (Israel). It is also sensible and necessary to devise a policy for dealing with the other countries in southern Africa — but the romantic lobby within the ANC, which would like to see Africa as the focus of our foreign policy, must be slapped down smartly. There are many parts of Africa which have nothing to do with us and it would be an expensive exercise in futility to pretend that they do. (30/4)

We seem to have become distracted by all this talk of us being a "normal" country again, restored as a "normal" member of the community of nations. The assumption seems to be that all we have to do is amble along — which may explain the appointment of the unremarkable Alfred Nzo as Foreign Minister. At the moment, our foreign policy appears to consist of being nice to everybody and lining up our applications for the Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity — though it is by no means clear how membership of these organisations will be in the national interest.

And we are hardly normal. We are one of the weirdest countries in the world. Our domestic political evolution has been bizarre; internationally, few countries can equal our record of full acceptance, extreme rejection and now warm rehabilitation.

In any case, there is no such thing as a normal country in international affairs. There is the remaining superpower, the US, and there are the old nation-states of Europe and mature colonial offspring like Australia and Brazil. The picture is further confused by the emergence of states which call themselves nations, but which share few of the historic attributes of the classical European nation-state. Kissinger, in his definitive new book, *Diplomacy*, has identified three kinds of new "non-nation" state:

□ Insecure ethnic splinters from dissolving

empires, such as the successor states of Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union. These tend to be obsessed with ancient grievances and quests for identity. Concentrating on survival, they are not much interested in the broad



Botha ... acceptable face of apartheid

sweep of world affairs;

□ Unstable post-colonial nations whose borders are only meaningful in that they represent the administrative convenience of the former colonial powers — examples abound in Africa; and

□ Continental-type states like India and China, where for complex historical reasons, political unity has survived diverse cultures and languages.

Kissinger believes that the countries in this third category will be the basic units of a new world order. For the past half-century international relations has been dominated by the Cold War, with the US and the old Soviet Union as the major protagonists. Before that, the big colonial powers were powerful. Now, says Kissinger, for the first time in history there will probably be major centres of power distributed around the entire globe.

Where will SA (which is not considered at all in Kissinger's book) fit into this emerging world order? We certainly have the potential to become absorbed in ethnic resentment, notably in KwaZulu/Natal (Kissinger's first category); and some of our borders are indeed arbitrary lines drawn on the map by colonial administrators (second category).

But SA is fortunate to have the territorial integrity that is provided by a long maritime border. It has also been a functioning unitary



Nzo ... an unremarkable choice

Fun 27/5/94

LEADING ARTICLES

state since 1910 and it now has federal features which may be sufficient to dilute secessionism. It clearly has a chance of becoming one of those centres of global power envisaged by Kissinger — in this case, the dominant power in sub-Saharan Africa.

It is obviously in our national interest to achieve such a position. Not so obviously, there is nothing inevitable about it. It will have to be worked for. There is no guarantee that we will not also sink into the pit of debt, corruption and poverty that has trapped most countries to the north. Our policies must be designed to prevent this, in order that we can help build up our neighbours in southern Africa and stabilise the region.

So what we need to do is devise a foreign policy that is commensurate with our power and standing, real and potential, both in the region and in the world.

Regionally, we both expect and are expected to play a major role in southern Africa. Our military and economic power, our infrastructure and level of skills qualify us to do so. But we were not able to contribute before, because our military power was devoted to shoring up an odious ideology and our moral standing was so low that we were made untouchable.

But, ironically, the ending of isolation has led to another problem. Whereas before, the other countries of the area were united in their rejection of apartheid, they were also protected by the cordon which was thrown around SA. Now they are nervous about how the new SA could come to dominate the region at their expense. A country like Zimbabwe, accustomed to a leadership role, will not take kindly to being upstaged. Already President Nelson Mandela has indicated that he is aware of the need for a policy of "restraint and sensitivity" towards our neighbours.

But SA cannot be expected to stand back from a leadership role if it is the only country with the necessary capital and infrastructure; some tension is inevitable. And there will be other problems. What happens if professionals and skilled labourers want to work in Johannesburg rather than Lusaka or Harare? Will SA find it necessary to seal the borders against an influx of unskilled migrants? How will the region deal with environmental degradation which undermines one country's economy but enhances another's? It will take great diplomatic skill to reassure our neighbours, while pushing ahead with economic integration of the region.

If we are to become strong enough to play the role we are capable of, we must have economic growth — and that depends heavily on trade. Thanks

to the peculiarities of our colonial background, more than 80% of our trade is seaborne, rather than across land with countries to our north. We also have important fishing assets in our territorial waters which are in constant danger of pillaging by the trawlers of unscrupulous nations. (3049)

But there is another sense that we are a maritime nation. Not only do we have one of the longest coastlines in the world, but the Cape of Good Hope is of great strategic importance — as any glance at a world map will confirm.

This is not to trot out the old Nat emphasis during the Cold War on the need to keep the Cape sea route safe for the West; it is simply to point how important the route is commercially. Sir Walter Raleigh expressed it perfectly: "Whosoever commands the sea commands trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

The trouble is that the need to protect our coastline and our trade has been obscured by Pretoria's obsession over the past 30 years with land and air threats from the north. The result is that our defence capability has become unbalanced, with the navy being allowed to run down in favour of the army and the air force.

Yet the long-term protection of our coastline, trade and fisheries depends on a navy with a blue-water capacity — and this was virtually lost when the President class frigates were removed from service.

So it is in the interest of our foreign policy to restore the balance. The priority is to beef up the navy — and this could have beneficial effects beyond defence. Ships are ideal for diplomatic use, such as in flying the flag, helping to patrol the waters of neighbouring countries and in search-and-rescue missions. The diplomatic potential of the

other two services should also not be ignored. While you cannot send an armoured brigade on a goodwill mission in the way that you send a ship, the army can be used for disaster and medical relief work, for which it is well-equipped at present. The air force's heavy transport capability — ideal for relief and construction work in the region — does need to be overhauled.

Again, it will require some careful diplomacy to assure our neighbours that any changes to



Kissinger

our defence capability are not intended to threaten them. As the British historian Michael Howard has pointed out, wars do not just happen: "They begin with conscious and reasoned decisions based on the calculation, made by both sides, that they can achieve more by going to war than by remaining at peace."

Which brings us to military strategy as a key aspect of foreign policy. The new SA National Defence Force has been on the political defensive lately, pointing out the important role it may be called on to play in maintaining internal stability. But in the end, a defence force is not designed to be a police force. There is a danger that those involved with the SANDF will spend so much time ensuring that the new force works, that they will forget what it is for. The real business of the general officer is the conduct of war, even if he never has to execute that business.

It is true that SA faces no conventional military threat in the short and medium term — say, for a decade. But if we have to deal with a problem beyond that, it is essential that a balanced and flexible defence capability is restored now. In any case, as a full member of the international community again, it could be important that we play our part in regional and international peacekeeping (though suggestions that we send a force to Rwanda are almost certainly premature). Such participation would also help to keep us in the consciousness of countries who need us less than we need them.

The irony is that, since the end of the Cold War, the world is probably a more dangerous place. Smaller countries who wish to settle disputes are no longer able to play off the two big superpowers against each other. The US, as the only remaining superpower, is still redefining its foreign policy and it cannot be relied on to intervene if it does not perceive that its

own national interest is threatened.

In general, it is increasingly clear that trouble spots like Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia will be left alone by the major powers (without whom UN intervention on any significant scale is impossible).

Pretoria is now emerging from decades of defensiveness, in which foreign policy was skewed by the irrational ideology it was forced to defend. The adjustment to a world of open doors will not be easy, but the guideline is clear: identify our interests and pursue them. As Kissinger points out: "When an international order first comes into being, many choices may be open to it. But each choice constricts the universe of remaining options. Because complexity inhibits flexibility, early choices are especially crucial." ■



Smuts



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Local Govt added to Meyer's portfolios

CONSTITUTIONAL Development and Provincial Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer has been given the additional responsibility of Local Government. (304A)

Meyer said yesterday he did not know yet whether the title of his ministry would be changed to accommodate his extra job but said that a new section would be set up. By taking on the additional portfolio,

21 May 27 15 194
Political Staff

Meyer becomes responsible for overseeing the enormous task of holding local government elections within the next two years.

The elections, to be based on voters' rolls yet to be drawn up, are regarded by experts as far more complex than the April elections for the national and provincial legislatures.

ANC caucus seeks new constituency system

21 Day 27/5/94
DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The ANC parliamentary caucus yesterday gave the go-ahead for the introduction of a type of constituency system, to ensure MPs were put to work effectively.

Party sources said officials had realised after only a week in Parliament the danger of ordinary MPs not having much work to do and seemingly being left out in the cold on major decision-making.

"We do not want them to fade away in Parliament," one source said, adding it was therefore important to give the large number of MPs specific responsibilities.

A fuller, detailed ANC proposal is scheduled to be discussed at next week's ANC

national working committee meeting in Johannesburg. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is expected to assist in finalising the details.

According to the proposal, the ANC wants SA's magisterial boundaries to be redrawn and each of the 400 National Assembly MPs to be assigned one. The MPs would report to local structures.

But the source said the MPs would have to represent all voters in their area, and not just their party's supporters.

The old system of MPs being voted in by

specific constituencies fell away when political parties negotiating at the World Trade Centre decided on a proportional representation model for the country.

The source said the ANC wanted the constituency proposal tabled in Parliament for discussion during the next short session at the end of June.

However, the ANC expects some of the smaller parties to object because they are "thinly" represented across the country.

The ANC has 252 MPs in the National Assembly. (304A)

The proposal is unlikely to run into any difficulties at ANC executive level, and will probably be adopted eventually.

**Powell is Inkatha's
defence minister**
Eidson, 27/5/94

PAC, DP may get public service jobs

B-1 TIM COHEN

WILSON ZWANE

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Fouche said his organisation was opposed to the joint councils and favoured the co-ordinating committees because, to a large extent, they maintained the status quo.

However, the TMA had come to accept that the councils were inevitable in metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg. "But we still advise our members there to opt for the co-

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PAC, DP may get public service jobs

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Powell is Inkatha's

27/5/94

DAVID GREYBE

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Top administrative posts and integration of Apla troops discussed

Mandela draws PAC

Star 27/5/94

POLITICAL STAFF and SAPA

Cape Town — Appointing Pan Africanist Congress members to government posts — even in the Cabinet — and drawing Apla into the new defence force dominated talks at Tuynhuys yesterday between President Mandela and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu said after the meeting that he expected between 6 000 and 10 000 Apla soldiers to seek integration into the new South African National Defence Force.

Mandela — who earlier held comprehensive talks with the acting leader of the Democratic Party, Tony Leon — said he had asked the PAC leader to draw up a list of names of members who could fill top government posts.

PAC representation in the Cabinet was on the agenda, but would depend on compliance with the constitution as well as negotiated agreements with all concerned, he said.

Mandela said he was committed to bringing about "a unified approach in dealing with questions which are of concern to all the people of South Africa".

Discussions with the far Right, liberation movements and other parties were continuing.

He said it was important that a way was found to accommodate Apla combatants in the new defence force. This would be in the interests of national unity since they had "rendered an important service in regard to the changes" in the country.

ANC officials said on Sunday they expected about 2 000 Apla troops to report for inclusion. Yesterday, however, Makwetu said he had asked for 6 000 places and might push the re-

PRESIDENT meets PAC leader Makwetu to discuss positions in Government and Cabinet, as well as troop integration

quest to 10 000.

"We are having difficulty reaching some of our people who are in the country and still underground," he said.

Amnesty was not discussed by the two men, but Mandela said he was in favour of an "even-handed" approach to prisoners from all parties.

He was also particularly encouraged by progress in talks with the right wing.

On Wednesday, Mandela met Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and next week he is hoping to meet Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche.

On his talks with Leon, the president said: "I must say that the acting leader of the DP was very upfront in suggesting ways where there could be co-operation."

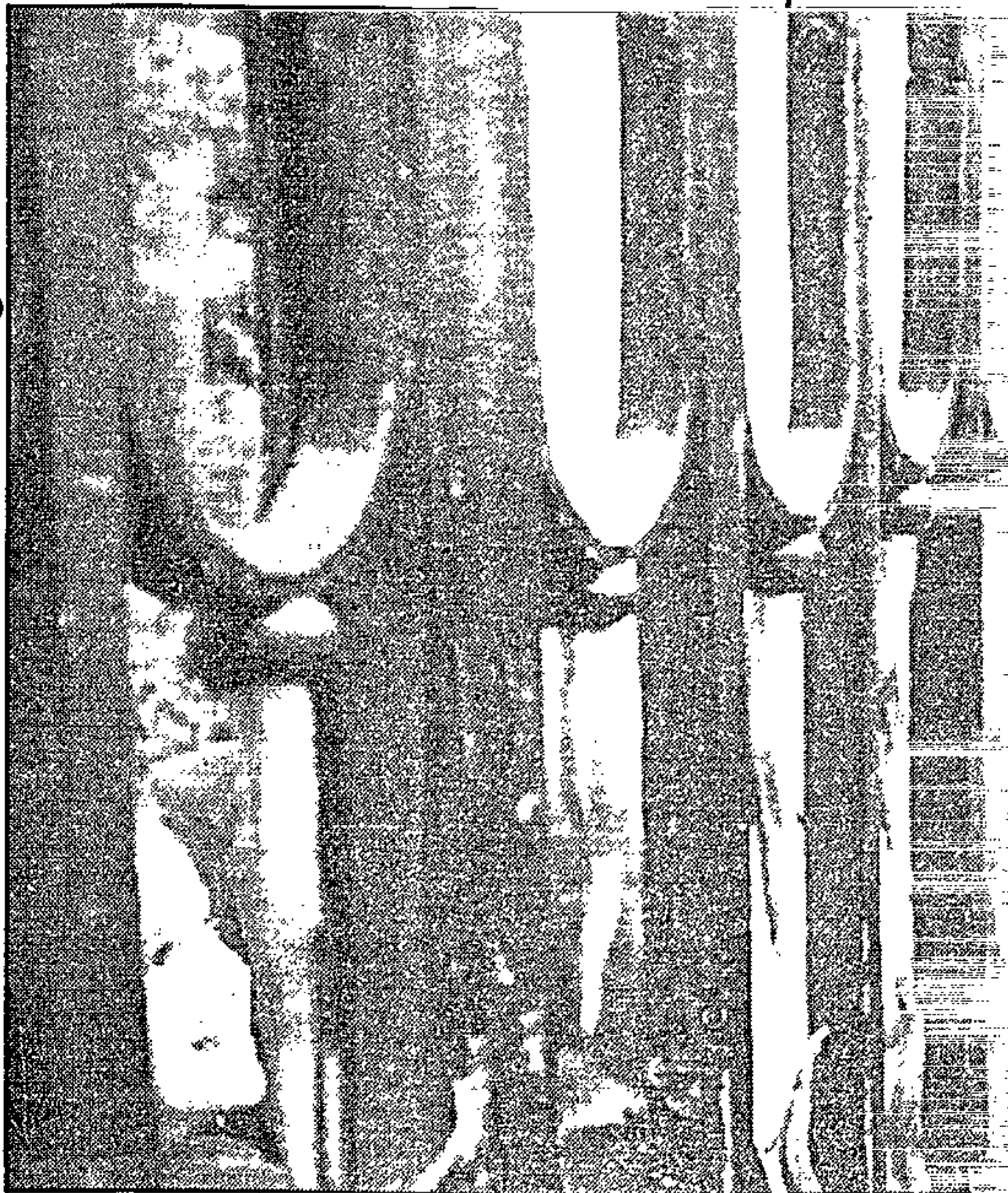
Mandela said that without an all-inclusive consultation process, South Africa would run the risk of having "the same problems as some of our neighbouring states".

This was "part and parcel of our tradition of nation-building".

"As long as I am president, this process will go on."

Mandela said he was also in favour of "loyal opposition".

"The fact that people differ from us is no reason why we should not pay attention to their ideas, and the majority must never be used to oppress the minority, or muzzle them."



Taking the gap . . . Mandela greets children through a fence be

'We can forgive, not forget'

Star 27/5/94

■ POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The past returned to haunt SA's 90-member Senate yesterday, with ANC lawmakers and those in the opposition benches taking sharply differing views.

Although the mood in the Senate continued to be relaxed and amicable, and reconciliation as a theme continued to dominate, the predominantly black ANC legislators felt that the past could not just be swept under the carpet and be forgotten.

It had to be stared squarely in the face and dealt with if it was to be allowed to recede to the back of the collective national memory.

However, their predominantly white counterparts in the opposition benches occupied by the NP, the DP, the Freedom Front and IFP felt otherwise.

Bygones, they said, had to be allowed to be bygones.

Agriculture Minister and NP Senator Dr Kraai van Niekerk appealed for the door of history

to be slammed shut.

"We should not allow yesterday's events to sneak into the future and later become stumbling blocks on our road to tomorrow," Van Niekerk said.

ANC senators, among whom a good number had spent stints on Robben Island as long-term prisoners, would not hear of it.

Harrowing (30/4A)

The past could be forgiven but it could not be forgotten, they said, as they recounted their harrowing past experiences under successive NP governments.

Christmas Tinto (ANC, Western Cape) spoke movingly about his sister's daughter, about whom Ingrid Jonker's poem *Die Kind* was written, who was killed by the police more than three decades ago.

However, other senators addressed other issues.

Geoffrey Bhengu (IFP, Kwa-Zulu/Natal) said that although his party was committed to the

Government of National Unity, it would nevertheless point out deficiencies in it wherever they existed.

He also echoed IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's view in the National Assembly on Wednesday that implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme should be left to the provincial governments.

William Mnisi (DP, PWV) said some of the people now sitting in the Senate had been involved in the encouragement of rent boycotts. "These people should now get that process reversed, and South Africans should be encouraged not to rely on hand-outs."

Rossier de Ville (FF, Eastern Transvaal) made a call on all Afrikaners, including those from the far Right, to take part in the Volkstaat Council.

He said it was regrettable that two days ago Deputy President F W de Klerk had spoken out against a volkstaat in the National Assembly.

Freedom Front picks Boshoff, Jun

Star 27/5/94
Carel Boshoff, Jun, son of veteran volkstaat idealist Professor Carel Boshoff and a lecturer in technology, has been named by the Freedom Front as one of the 20 members of the Volkstaat Council. (304A)

The council has about six months in which to submit a report on a proposed Afrikaner homeland to the Constitutional Assembly, Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said.

The members are Boshoff, Flip Buys of the Mineworkers' Union, Dr Piet Liebenberg of RAU, advocate and former MP Chris de Jager, nuclear physicist Dr Wally Grant, philosophy lecturer Nathan Luyt, state planner Koos Reyneke, theologian H C G Robbertze, Citizen Force reserve officers Douw Steyn and Herman Vercueil, lawyer Mars de Klerk, farmer Riaan Visagie, former CID chief General J C Visser, Unisa constitutional lawyer Professor Hercules Booysen, former SADF chief controller Lieutenant-General Ernie Pienaar, urban planner D J Viljoen, former Sabra member Chris Jooste, Durban councillor Duncan du Bois, engineer Johan Wingard and cultural activist Anna Boshoff. — Sapa.

DP's 'balance of power in CA'

Bl Day

■ BY ESTER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Democratic Party holds the balance of power in the 490-member Constitutional Assembly which will draft the final constitution. 27/5/94

Speaking yesterday in the no-confidence debate, DP MP Ken Andrew said his party would work constructively with other parties in the CA. (30/4)

But, he added: "Holding the balance of power does mean that on certain critical issues it may be that our votes as well as our voices will have to be taken into account."

At least 327 votes were needed in the CA to obtain a two-thirds majority.

The DP's support was needed either to get such a majority or to block any move in the CA, Andrew said.



Still important . . . says
DP MP Ken Andrew.

A two-thirds majority could be achieved by the 312 ANC votes, five PAC and 10 DP votes.

This also means that the 10 DP votes were needed by the 147 IFP and NP votes, 14 Freedom Front and two African Christian Democratic Party votes to block any move in the CA.

KAIZER NYATSUMBA and ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL STAFF

CAPE TOWN — President Nelson Mandela yesterday reached out to all white South Africans and assured them that his government would not use its majority in Parliament to suppress minorities or violate their rights.

(304A)
Addressing the 90-member Senate, Mandela said the "acid test" now facing his Government was to assure whites that majority rule would not lead to a reversal of apartheid which would see blacks oppressing them. He said he had stated in 1989 that there would be no oppression of minorities in the country, and the Government of National Unity was an embodiment of that promise.

He said the mere composition of the GNU meant that the ANC could not implement radical policies, and his organisation was irrevocably committed to "the culture of consultation".

In an impassioned plea for peace, the president said that although South Africans had fought in the past, the country had now reached a stage when the past had to be buried and its wounds healed.

"I would like to go down on my knees to beg for peace in this country," he said, adding that this week alone, he had met many political leaders, "both the so-called radicals on the Left and the radicals on the Right". Next week he would meet another important leader.

"When I think of the future of my country, I do so with real confidence, real enthusiasm and real hope because all South Africans, black and white, are now united," he said.

"The last four days have perhaps been the most exciting, the most unforgettable in our political life because for the first time we have now put the past behind us. The types of contributions made by all MPs (in debates) are the most encouraging in my whole life as a politician. It is quite clear that the electorate made the right choice. I am very proud to work with men and women of this calibre."

Culture of consultation

Mandela again said he had been immensely relieved when the ANC failed to obtain a two-thirds majority in last month's election, and said the ANC was firmly committed "to the culture of consultation".

He said that although the ANC-led GNU included the National Party (NP) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), he was nevertheless not satisfied with the situation.

He would like the Constitution revisited so that parties which failed to obtain the five percent of the national vote necessary for inclusion in the multiparty Cabinet — such as the Democratic Party, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Freedom Front — could be part of the coalition Government.

Mandela heaped warm praise on former Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and former president P W Botha, whom he thanked for the way they received him when he first met them while he was still a political prisoner about eight years ago.

He recalled how the negotiations which had culminated in last month's election and the installation of the GNU had begun.

He said in 1986 he had held talks with the commissioner of prisons and asked for an appointment with Coetsee, now president of the Senate. Two days later the former Justice Minister flew from Pretoria to Pollsmoor and a meeting between them later took place at Coetsee's ministerial home in Cape Town.

"We had a discussion in an extremely relaxed fashion. My request to him was to see Mr Botha to (ascertain) why we slaughtered one another as South Africans instead of talking. He (Coetsee) had the courage, the vision and the honesty to realise that this (talking) was the solution. Through his intervention I met Mr Botha in July 1986," Mandela said.

He said even when he had later met Botha, he was treated with the same respect. "From that meeting I came away with the feeling that I had met a creative, warm head of state who treated me with great humility. It was the same when I met him again at his home (in George) six months ago," he said.

Mandela also revealed that although he had not attended the presidential inauguration in Pretoria at the beginning of this month, Botha had phoned him on Wednesday to congratulate him on his ascendancy to the highest office in the country, for the talks he has held this week with leaders of various political organisations — including those on the Right — and "for the progress made so far".

Nelson reassures

whites

Star 28/5/94

SA Parliament a world leader in the fight for sexual equality

SI Times 29/6/94

FROM being one of the world's most sexist governments our new Parliament, with its 106-strong contingent of women, has emerged as one of the world's most progressive.

South Africa has moved from 141st place on the list of countries with women in Parliament, to seventh. This leap underlines the commitment by President Nelson Mandela to a non-sexist South Africa. He has repeatedly made it clear that he considers discrimination against women as abhorrent as racism.

In September 1993 the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the world organisation of parliaments based in Geneva, polled 171 countries. SA was among the 30 countries whose representation was less than three percent — a slot it shared with countries like Belize, Morocco, Lebanon, Turkey and Yemen.

SA is now among the top 10.

Top of the list is the Seychelles, which has almost attained equality, with women making up 45.8 percent of its parliamentarians.

The other countries in the top 10 are: Finland (39 percent), Norway (35.8 percent), Sweden (33.5 percent), Denmark (33 percent), the Netherlands (29.3 percent), Iceland (23.8 percent), Cuba (22.8 percent), Austria (21.3 percent) and China (21 percent).

With a jump from 2.7 percent to 28.5 percent, South African women are now better represented than their British and American counterparts.

For all their years of strident feminism the Americans only just

The number of women in our new parliament still falls short of sexual equality. But women are better represented in the South African government than in most other countries. JANET WILHELM and DIANA STREAK report



NEW MEC ... the PWV's Jessie Duarte



NKOSAZANA ZUMA



STELLA SIGCAU

make the global average of 10 percent.

The new profile of the South African Parliament is symbolised by the appointment of Frene Ginwala as Speaker of the House.

Yet, despite these gains, the top echelons of our new government remain bastions of male power.

In the 30-member cabinet only two ministerial positions are held by women — Health Minister (Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma)

and Public Enterprises Minister (Stella Sigcau).

Three women hold deputy minister posts: Winnie Mandela (Arts, Culture, Science and Technology), Thoko Msane (Agriculture) and Sankie Nkondo (Welfare and Population Development).

All nine of the provincial premiers are men. Although women are well represented in the provincial parliaments, they are remarkably absent from

the regional executive committees.

Of the 90 senators, only 16 are women.

But, even though women have been left out of the upper structures, they are determined that their presence in Parliament will have impact.

Only the Freedom Front (nine seats) and the African Christian Democratic Party (two seats) lack women MPs. The DP has one (out of seven seats), Dene Simuts, and the

PAC also has one (out of five seats), Patricia de Lille.

The 10 female IFP MPs (out of a party total of 43 seats) have already formed a parliamentary women's caucus.

The 10 NP women MPs (out of a party total of 82 seats) were meeting this week to decide on strategy.

A day after the opening of Parliament ANC women MPs were already tackling the content of President

Mandela's speech and discussing strategy on women's issues, including the possible establishment of a Ministry of Children.

Phumzile Ngeuka, spokesman for the ANC's 84-strong women's caucus (out of a party total of 252 seats), said the priority would be to integrate women's issues in affairs of state and to "make sure women's issues maintain visibility".

The ANC women

said they were unhappy with the number of women in the cabinet and would lobby to change this.

Another priority would be to tackle the civil service, which had been dominated by "white males".

Nomatyala Hangana said the caucus would collect CVs and draw up a database of women so that they could start identifying women who could be directors-general and commissioners.

WOMANPOWER ... Frene Ginwala is our Parliament's first female Speaker of the House



Three-way split for the Cape Nats

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE Cape National Party split into three separate provincial parties yesterday, each with its own structures and sub-structures.

The move, the NP says, is to ensure that the party becomes a "truly federal party" (304A)

Eventually all four former provincial structures (Cape, Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State) of the NP will be disbanded and split into nine provincial structures in line with the nine new provinces that now make up South Africa.

At the last Cape Provincial congress — its 79th — at the Strand yesterday, an expected power struggle for the position of three Western Cape provincial chairmen was averted at the last minute.

Disbanded structure

Welfare and Population Minister in the National Cabinet, Mr Abe Williams, and Minister of Local Government and Development Planning in the Western Cape Provincial Legislature, Mr Peter Marais, pulled out of the race. They voted in favour of Mr Gerald Morkel, Leader of the House in the Western Cape Legislature and its Minister of Housing.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, chairman of the NP's disbanded Cape Province structure and Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism in the National Assembly, was elected leader of the NP's Western Cape region.

There is no deputy leader as Mr de Villiers will also act as chairman.

His three deputy chairmen are Mr Morkel, Western Cape premier Mr Hernus Kriel and Mrs Marieta Badenhorst.

Provision was also made for two sub-divisions — Metropolitan and Rural/Platteland, each with their own three chairmen.

Agriculture Minister and Senator Dr Kraai van Niekerk was voted head of the Northern Cape region.

His three chairmen are Mr P W Saaiman, Mrs Peggy Hollander and Mr Jan Brazelle.

The Eastern Cape NP elected Dr Tertius Delpoort as leader with Mr Tobie Meyer as his deputy. The three chairmen for the Eastern Cape are Dr M. Schoeman, Mr Donald Lee and Mrs Anne Nash.

The Cape National Party formally disbanded after delegates unanimously adopted the NP's new federal constitution.

Discussions on the draft provincial constitutions were postponed. Formal constitution will possibly be in October.

Republic Day likely to be scrapped

ARG 30/5/94
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Republic Day tomorrow will not be celebrated officially.

And it will probably be the day's last as a public holiday.

President Mandela and other members of the government will spend the day resting at home, while Deputy-President F W de Klerk will retreat to the bush for some hunting, according to his spokesman, Dave Steward.

Republic Day was regarded by the African National Congress and its supporters as the most unacceptable of all public holidays — one held with the express purpose of excluding the majority, said Mr Mandela's spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe.

Public holidays would be reviewed by parliament soon, he said. Republic Day and Kruger Day were likely to be scrapped — but December 16, celebrated officially as the Day of The Vow, might be kept. It coincided with the ANC's Heroes' Day.

Two provinces still to elect NP leaders

Star 31/5/94
 ■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
 POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The National Party has begun implementing its new federal structure, and only two provinces of the new nine are still to elect new leaders.

The party, which has traditionally been divided into four provinces, is still to elect leaders in KwaZulu/Natal and the Free State. These elections will take place on Saturday.

Former Free State leader and President of the Senate Kobie Coetsee resigned last week as leader of the NP in the province.

It is understood that the battle for the top OFS position will be between former deputy defence minister Wynand Breytenbach and former MP Innes Aucamp.

In KwaZulu/Natal it is understood that former deputy foreign affairs minister Renier Schoe-

man is to oppose former home affairs minister Danie Schutte.

Last weekend Environment Affairs Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers was elected unopposed as Western Cape leader while former local government minister Dr Tertius Delpont was elected unopposed as the Eastern Cape leader. Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk was also elected unopposed as Northern Cape leader. (304A)

In the Eastern Transvaal Deputy Justice Minister Chris Fisser defeated Lucas Nel.

Former regional affairs minister Andre Fourie and former state expenditure minister Amie Venter were elected unopposed in the Northern Transvaal and North West respectively.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pik Botha defeated Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer for the top post in the PWV.