to Cape Town
Another Round

The race for parliament...
Parliament to go says NAFCO C
(3842) ARG 21/1/95
BRENDAN SEERY
Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Black business in Gauteng has thrown its weight behind the campaign for Parliament to be moved to Pretoria.

The Gauteng region of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, the biggest in the organisation representing more than 4,000 black businessmen, says the Cape is well endowed with tourist assets and industries. Pretoria, however, has no such attractions and would benefit if the capital were to be moved.

Nafcoc Gauteng General Secretary Mashudu Ramano told Weekend Argus that the decision to back Pretoria had the "unanimous" support of the region's members.

"We have not yet had a chance to consult our Nafcoc counterparts in the Cape, but we feel sure they would agree with us."

Mr Ramano said he believed in the long run, it would be "the most cost-effective option and in the interest of the economy as a whole".

The black business organisation's branch in Mamelodi, Pretoria, has become an enthusiastic member of the Capital City Initiative, the multi-million rand lobbying and advertising machine which has said it is to intensify its activities in 1995.
Double blow to Parliament bid

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

GAUTENG yesterday suffered a double blow in its tug-of-war with the Western Cape over the siting of Parliament.

First, the Pretoria Capital Initiative (PCI) acknowledged that it had got it estimates for moving Parliament from Cape Town to Pretoria wrong.

Then, the Western Cape branch of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafco) slammed its Gauteng counterparts for siding with "Pretoria's greedy grappers" in the battle for the siting.

Nafco’s Western Cape president Mr Temba Pasiwe attacked a decision by the Gauteng chapter of Nafco to support the efforts of property developers and construction companies in Pretoria to wrest Parliament from the Mother City as "simply expedient". He said it did not represent the thinking of Nafco as a whole.

"We need unity and stability right now, not selfish behaviour by the prosperous Gauteng business community," he said.

The Cape-based Citizens' Alliance for Parliament co-convener Dr David Bridgman yesterday noted that two independent surveys found, by a margin of two to one, that South Africans believed Parliament should remain in Cape Town.
Support for Parliament

By Ismail Lagardien

INFLUENTIAL South Africans and those in "decision-making positions" have joined ordinary folk in support for retaining Parliament in Cape Town.

In its annual *Attitude Survey: Opinion Leaders*, the Centre for International and Comparative Politics at the University of Stellenbosch has established that 62 percent of people polled preferred Cape Town against 30 percent who preferred moving Parliament to Pretoria.

"In other words, roughly two thirds of the country's top decision-makers want parliament to remain in Cape Town," the survey concludes.

The three main partners in the Government of National Unity "were unequivocal" in their support of retaining Parliament in Cape Town. Smaller parties were also in favour of Cape Town.

Supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC made up the largest bloc of undecided respondents.

Surprisingly the home provinces of the respondents showed great support for Cape Town. In the old Cape Province there was 87 percent support for Cape Town - in Natal the support was 70 percent and 65 percent in the Free State. Even more surprising: more people polled in the former Transvaal (47 percent) favoured Cape Town while 44 percent preferred Pretoria.

"These findings clearly indicate that approximately two-thirds of South Africa's top decision-makers are in favour of keeping Parliament in Cape Town while about a third are in favour of relocating it to Pretoria.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) last year found that 53 percent of people across the board supported the pro-Cape Town lobby as opposed to 23 percent against."
Outcast in realm of chiefs

CHIEF Everson Xolo is like a voice in the wilderness in KwaZulu Natal's politics of traditional leadership.

When chiefs met in Ulundi three weeks ago to reaffirm Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's position as traditional premier of the kingdom of KwaZulu, Chief Xolo was not there.

The hereditary chief — a former KwaZulu government minister — was not even invited.

And if the march to King Goodwill Zwelithini's Nongoma palace had not, as reported, been prevented by President Nelson Mandela's intervention, Chief Xolo would have been among a handful of chiefs in the province missing from the procession.

But he has not always been an outcast.

When Zulu traditional authorities met 24 years ago to lay the foundation for the former KwaZulu government, Chief Xolo was a key player.

Together with Chief Buthelezi and four others, he was one of the first executive councillors of the Zulu Territorial Authority. Chief Xolo later served as Minister of Roads and Works until 1978.

Today he is a marked man and is in hiding. He no longer lives among his 75,000 subjects.

Four would-be assassins pumped eight bullets into him on December 30, 1993 as he drove home from a tribal meeting.

Seven months later his house was razed to the ground and two months ago a marauding band of armed men left 14 people dead in Gcilima, one of Chief Xolo's tribal wards.

As regional secretary of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa), Chief Xolo is on a collision course with chief in KwaZulu Natal, only about 30 are members of Contralesa. Of those, only three — including Chief Xolo — publicly proclaim their allegiance to the organisation.

"Many more do not want to be manipulated by politicians, but chiefs fear their stipends can be withdrawn or reduced, as was the KwaZulu government did to King Goodwill Zwelithini some years ago when he failed to toe the line," Chief Xolo said.

He supports a resolution taken by the ANC's national conference in Bloemfontein two weeks ago that chiefs be paid by the national government to free them from Inkatha control.

Chief Xolo tells us that he has been invited back to Ulundi to join other traditional leaders to discuss matters close to his heart — such as the establishment of a house of traditional leaders or the souring in relations between King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi.

"I am a Christian and I refused to co-operate with people who wanted me to give them government guns to kill their political opponents," he said.

"I was given those guns to protect government property — not to issue them to people who wanted to kill," he said.

"I have no security at the moment and that is why we are asking the State President to provide us with security and to pay our stipend.

"If we are all treated uniformly across the country there will be no need

"I am a Christian and I refused to co-operate with people who wanted me to give them government guns to kill their political opponents"
Minister works on his dream to the end

‘Action man’ Slow

PART of the final hours of his life spent in the company of his great friend Nelson Mandela.

33 years, today remarked on his rare combination of strategic thinking and activism.

"He was in the forefront of the movement’s major political and military campaigns. Joe was a man of action."

Paying tribute to Slowo, Transport Minister Mac Maharaj took up the same theme.

"He was the epitome of those in the struggle whose commitment was total."

Mike Fowlds, a spokesman for the South African Housing Trust, who worked with Slowo, since his appointment as Housing Minister, said Slowo had left the people of South Africa the challenge of putting the country together via housing.

"Joe understood that without housing, the country would not make it," he said.

Asked about the effect of Slowo’s death on housing plans, Fowlds said Slowo had managed to surround himself with the right people and had completed as much groundwork himself that to continue would not be too difficult.

John Holloway, a banker who represented the Association of Shopping Centres and the Housing Board, said it was with appreciation that he and other bankers — "friends of Joe Slowo."

"We knew him from 1966 onwards. And, frankly, we were concerned. But at your first meeting Joe told us he was not going to upset that arrangement that he was to do with the government…"

In the last major initiative before his death, Slowo held a meeting in Pretoria in December to release the Government’s draft White Paper on Housing.

At that occasion he was clearly very ill but had his left arm in a sling. He fearlessly explained away the injury, saying it was a result of "trying to go to a holiday in the Kruger National Park and had fallen out of his car while he was still in bed."

"I will never forget when we greeted each other for the first time, the warmth and sincerity he displayed. We had a short discussion on the struggle in South Africa and I remarked that it was sometimes hard to that with a similar issue or problem that Christians and communists could stand together and he laughingly remarked ‘Why should that be incredible?,’ said Naudé.

Slowo, who faced his approach with death with immense courage, described his moments of sharing of this and the most fulfilling time of his life.
He lived to see his vision fulfilled.
If It's Sad Day Memories

Flowers and sympathy pour into the Sillow household.

MARY ISACSON

Chairman of the Management Committee of the Sillow County Nursing Home, Bobbi Sillow, had just announced that the nursing home was being closed down.

"We regret to inform you," she said, "that after many years of service to the community, the Sillow County Nursing Home will be closing its doors forever."

Bobbi's voice trembled as she continued, "This decision has not been easy for us to make, but we believe that the best possible care for our residents can only be provided in a facility that is properly equipped and staffed."

The news came as a shock to many of the residents and staff alike. They had grown accustomed to the familiar surroundings of the nursing home, and the thought of leaving was overwhelming.

"We have been here for so long," one resident said tearfully. "I can't imagine being anywhere else."

The residents and staff gathered in the main lounge, where Bobbi had arranged a farewell party. There were sandwiches, cake, and drinks, and many words of support and encouragement were shared.

"We may be leaving this place," said Bobbi, "but we will never forget the love and care that has been shown to us here."

As the party came to a close, the residents and staff hugged and bid each other farewell. It was a sad day, but a day of hope and new beginnings for all involved.

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Friends and rivals pay tribute to Comrade Joe

THE death of South African Communist Party chairman and Housing Minister Joe Slovo prompted a flood of tributes on Friday from politicians, labour leaders, businessmen and non-government organisations.

Slovo had bone marrow cancer and died in his sleep early on Friday.

He was widely acclaimed, mainly for his intellect and practical politics and for his contribution to democracy in the country.

President Nelson Mandela, who was at his close friend's bedside shortly before his death, said: "The nation mourns the passing of a great South African patriot. Joe Slovo dedicated his life to the struggle for justice, democracy and freedom in our country."

"Comrade Joe distinguished himself as a fighter against Nazism and Fascism during the Second World War, as a human rights lawyer, as a political activist and senior leader of the African National Congress and SACP, as an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, as a skilful negotiator, as a thinker and theoretician, and in the past months as a minister in the government of national unity."

Deputy President F W de Klerk said: "Mr Slovo played a crucial role in the negotiation process which led to our new constitution, the April election and the establishment of the government of national unity. He proved himself an astute negotiator and a valuable Cabinet member."

Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Slovo had been sincere in his commitment to providing housing. His innovative ideas would survive.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal said: "He was a patriot all his life and his vision of a race-free South Africa inspired at least two generations, particularly in the long years of exile."

Minister in the President's Office Joy Naidoo said Slovo, born into poverty in Lithuania and discriminated against as a Jew, spent his life fighting poverty and racism.

His optimistic approach to his illness showed the courage that was the hallmark of his great leadership.

Parliamentary Speaker Dr Fréne Ginwala said Slovo had been a great patriot who avoided the lifestyle of the privileged minority to live by the ANC's non-racial ideal.

ANC Youth League president Lulu Johnson said: "Young people have lost a great thinker just when we were beginning to follow his teachings, both as an activist and government strategist."

SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula said Slovo, who joined the SACP at 15, was "a loyal member of the party to the end".

Slovo was always prepared to revise his views. "His article Has socialism failed? was a landmark contribution to the renewal of socialist ideas internationally."

Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwane described Slovo as irreplaceable, "one of our greatest freedom fighters" and "one of the greatest political and military strategists of our time."

Eastern Transvaal Premier Mathews Phosa said Slovo's "sterling contribution" as a SACP leader had made him one of the apartheid regime's prime enemies.

Eastern Cape Premier Raymond Mahela said Slovo had been a true communist, who had earned international acclaim for his part in South Africa's liberation.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said: "The government of national unity is itself a monument of Slovo's thinking and pragmatism during the negotiations process."

Pan Africanist Congress secretary of political affairs Johnson Mlambo said Slovo's vision and pragmatism were acknowledged by all, including his political rivals.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions said: "His death robbed us of one of the greatest revolutionaries our struggle has produced."

National Council of Trade Unions general secretary Cunningham Nqokukana said: "Comrade Slovo was a deep thinker, political and military strategist, a prolific writer and a powerful orator."

The SA Council of Churches said Slovo had been a man of great humility, steadfast principle and unflinching faith, although he was not a Christian.

The National Housing Forum said Slovo would be remembered "as a person with a vision who made a deep and lasting impression on all in the housing field and beyond."

Tributes to Slovo also came from Lawyers for Human Rights, the Black Sash, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, the Freedom Front, the SA Foundation, the SA National Civic Organisation and the African branch of the Commonwealth Speakers and Presidents' Conference and many others. - Sapa.
Slovo to be buried in Soveto

Slovo, Private service, State funeral and national day of mourning

Source: Avloninu zvada
SA mourns and praises for

[Article content cannot be accurately transcribed due to quality of image]
MINISTER of Housing Mr Joe Slovo will be buried at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto on Sunday, in what the ANC said would be a State funeral.
Slovo died on Friday after a four-year struggle to beat cancer of the bone marrow. It was his wish to be buried in Soweto.
He is the second white ANC leader to be buried at Avalon after activist Helen Joseph was buried at the same cemetery a few years ago.
A private family service will be held at the Johannesburg City Hall on Saturday.
Announcing the funeral arrangements at a media conference yesterday, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a committee comprising the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Government and South African National Civic Organisation, would be formed to arrange Slovo's funeral.
Ramaphosa said a detailed programme of the funeral would be announced soon.
One of the reasons Slovo wanted his funeral service to take place at the city hall "was because it is where he cut his political teeth ", according to Ramaphosa.
"He joined and fully associated himself with the oppressed masses of South Africa, struggling with them, fighting with them, and ultimately leading them to victory," Ramaphosa said.
He said Slovo was not dead, "but to this movement Joe Slovo has left a vacuum to be filled and has left a stature to be emulated".
A multi-faith service will take place at Orlando Stadium on Sunday at 10am. Slovo's body will lie in state from 7am.
Realism on the right

GENERAL Constand Viljoen and his small, but vigorous Freedom Front have confounded fearful political soothsayers with a style of constructive politicking that has been hailed by the ANC as one of the most significant features of the democratic parliament. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

Constand Viljoen's rapid access to leadership through the crumbling ranks of the right-wing in one of the most tense phases of the negotiation process seems ominous.

Within weeks, he had grasped the hopes of a disaffected white right and projected himself into the political debate with a startling suddenness and after the breakthrough of Afrikaner separatism.

Yet, fears that the general was destined to a dangerous native influence on already fractious and volatile right/left — and even black/white — political relations in South Africa have proved to be unfounded.

He showed, before the election, that he was willing to talk, and did so in good faith.

And when April came — despite the considerable forces of the alienated right ranged against him, in sentiment, at least — Viljoen the strategist mastered his courage and took the Freedom Front into the democratic mainstream.

Many in the ANC believe this was one of the most significant events of 1984.

One who has expressed this most strongly is Western Cape MP Willie Hofmeyr, who concludes frankly that "it is much more important for the peace process that (the Freedom Front) is on board than that the Nats are on board.

He believes the public that "has lost sight of where we came to the possibility of a Northern Ireland-type low-intensity civil war in the run-up to the elections."

This was highlighted by the crisis in Bophuthatswana and the state of non-ballot bonanza. "I think two factors ensured it didn't happen."

"The first is the kind of measures taken by the ANC to assure the fears of the right-wing, such as the compromises that the civil servants serve their jobs, the reconciliation approach adopted in the security forces and elsewhere and the ANC's willingness to talk to and listen to Constand Viljoen."

"But the second factor is Constand Viljoen himself. He needs to be given a lot of the credit."

"He did a very brave thing in breaking with the right-wing and deciding to enter the elections in a situation where there was not much time to talk to other people and where he went against a fairly consensus view. He made himself very unpopular, but his position has really been vindicated.

"In a sense, the great advantage generations have is that they know what war means, they do not have to be taught. This is very much the case with Constand Viljoen."

Moran that Mr Hofmeyr says, the Freedom Front "came into parliament with the idea of breaking the system out of the box. They took a strategic decision to do that."

"They do not see themselves as an opposition party to the ANC, or that they are competing for the same votes. They think they need to work with the ANC and they are prepared to do that."

"There is a predominant genuineness in their ranks — they have a sense of what is at issue in the interest of the country, and their constituency's destiny. They have no illusions that they can win an election. They want to consolidate support among the Afrikaner community on the basis of being consistent and working for what they believe in, rather than merely bashing the ANC."

Mr Hofmeyr says it is ironic that while the Nats are formally part of the government — and "are constantly torn over that" — the Freedom Front "behaves more as if it is part of the government. They shoulder more of the responsibility for stability and peace.

He adds that General Viljoen's speeches "spell out clearly that they are here to help bring the country together, to support the RDP and help create stability."

"On the volkstaat idea, they have started spelling out the fact that racism will not be acceptable, and that it will need to be a democratic. Constand Viljoen's statement that racism must end is incredibly important."

ANC sources believe that the way the government is running the country is "taking a lot of heat" out of the volkstaat debate and that, partly as a result of this, the Freedom Front is moving towards more realistic models.

It is not surprising, then, that, as Mr Hofmeyr puts it, General Viljoen's decision to "bite the bullet and do things that did not seem immediately popular" is seen by responsible ANC as a sign of leadership. As a result, there is a growing degree of goodwill towards the Freedom Front in the ANC caucus.

The Freedom Front's lone provincial legislator in the Western Cape, Eleanor Lombard, epitomises her party's approach in pursuing a strategy that could reasonably borrow the label of the US President Reagan's South Africa policy of the 1980s constructive engagement.

She is not uncritical of the ANC (and certainly not of the National Party), but, equally, does not engage in set-piece opposition politics.

"It is nonsense," she says, "to say you can do your own thing. Afrikaners have always over-estimated themselves. There is no such thing as being able to go it alone."

"You have to engage constructively in pursuit of the ideal of a volkstaat, but not one that amounts to a lesser under siege."

"The legitimacy and self-realisation of Afrikaners as a cultural and linguistic group will depend on their having a place which is their own, not where they all have to live, not where no-one else can live, but where their culture and language is unassailable, can flourish, be preserved."

"That is our position, but we want to engage constructively because we believe there will be no successful volkstaat, no place for Afrikaners, if the country as a whole does not succeed."

In the National Assembly and Senate, the same approach has been evident.

One of the FF's Western Cape MPs, Dr Johannes, not unmindful of the "Volkstaat Bill is one of the most significant achievements so far. It is now law, the ANC acknowledges the principle of self-determination. It is a lawful, legitimate debate and nobody can put a stone on it . . . it's not going to go away until the end of this world."

This the Freedom Front considers one of the main results of its strategy.

Mr Grobbelaar adds: "We feel we have a chance, but that we must first establish the principle of self-determination, and not get bogged down in discussions on borders. That will have to be negotiated anyway since we don't have the power to decide this on our own."

On that score, he acknowledges that to think in terms of segregated cities into a volkstaat, or of movement to a "purely Afrikaner settlement" is "totally unrealistic."

"What is clear and clearly is that we are not some heremnolk, some special people, but a nation, a community as indigenous as any other native. We are saying that, in this time of reconciliation, we are part of the solution."

Tellingly, the ANC thinks so too.
Joe Slovo was the man who brokered the agreement which lead to majority rule.

Jonathan Steele pays tribute to a principled persuader

JOE SLOVO had the good fortune to see the promised land. After living in exile for many years, and after the South African National Communist Party was unbanned, he helped majority rule come to fruition in the country's first democratic election. Six months after that, he was praised as the most effective of the cabinet ministers.

For an idealist in any country, it was a rare combination of adversity and after a lifetime of struggle much of what he had fought for had been achieved. Not all, of course, as he made his report as general secretary. The end of political apartheid was a giant step, but "the wreckage of the earth made up over 90 percent of humanity. They live either in capitalist or capitalist-oriented societies. For them, socialism is not the answer there is no answer at all."

Slovo arrived in South Africa in 1954 to join his father, who had left Lithuania to escape the pogroms.

The family was always poor and Slovo had no secondary school or to take a job. Living in a run-down boarding house, he was thrown in with the passionate arguments of other Jewish immigrants, mainly geared towards Europe and Zionism.

He joined the SACP at 16, deciding that Marxism and Zionism were incompatible, and preferring to concentrate on the injustices of the land where he was living. At 18 he served in Egypt as a radio operator during World War II and returned to study law at the University of Witwatersrand, where he got to know Nelson Mandela, who was a year ahead of him.

With others, they formed the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. Their friendship helped to create the rock-solid ANC/communist alliance which Western governments unsuccessfully tried to break, particularly in the 1980s when it became clear that the ANC would one day inherit political power.

Slovo was lucky to be on a mission to see the ANC's deputy president, Oliver Tambo, in Tanzania when Mandela and many others in the military wing were imprisoned. He went into exile and until 1976 lived with his wife, Ruth First, and their three children in Camden Town, London.

Slovo was frequently in Africa on ANC business, helping to organise underground missions, as well as in the Soviet Union to arrange financial and military help without which the movement might have founded.

He had fierce arguments with his wife and friends over the Soviet model, but felt he had to stay loyal through thick and thin. As Perea told his story, he accused Gorbachev of "fumbling in the chorus of vilification against Lenin" and of "responding to the attempted coup by hardline Stalinists with a Stalinist decree to dissolve the party, as if it were his personal property."

In 1978, after the Soweto riots and the mass departure of hundreds of young black radicals, Slovo moved to Luanda in Angola to be closer to the ANC's training camps. He helped to run "armed propaganda" actions, such as the bombing of the South African oil refinery, which kept up radical morale in the townships in the worst years of apartheid.

His greatest tragedy was the murder of his wife in 1982 by a parcel bomb, sent by South African agents to Mozambique where she was teaching at the university in Maputo. Her death coincided with one of the lowest points in the struggle, when the regime was intervening throughout Southern Africa, either covertly or by armed raids, or, as in Angola, by full-scale invasion.

Throughout the decades of gloom punctuated by a few spectacular successes, Slovo always kept his sense of proportion and humor. He sometimes said the ANC, and his own party for that matter, could not organise a fish-shop. On the day they were unbanned, he straightened his tie at Moscow's Sheremetyevo airport and asked friends: "Do I look illegal?"

Back in South Africa, he took a major role in the ANC's negotiations with FW de Klerk. While his communist faith shaped the regime at first, their racism gave them a perverse reassurance about his presence.

During the deadlock of 1992 it was Slovo who persuaded the ANC to make the historic compromise that opened the way to majority rule. He suggested the notion of a government of national unity which would oversee the transition to a new constitution, and give the National Party both a guaranteed place in government for five years after the first free election and an honourable chance of retiring from apartheid.

Slovo was well aware from the dirty tricks of the "Third Force" in the South African police and army, that powerful figures in the white establishment could bring their destabilisation to South Africa itself, thus provoking civil war.

Before the 1994 election, Slovo frequently said that with its expected landslide victory the ANC would win office, but not power. His compassion led him to the view that could over the economy held the key. This would remain in the old establishment's hands unless it, too, was challenged.

By then Slovo knew he was on borrowed time, having been treated for cancer since 1992. Appointed by Mandela to be housing minister, Slovo sat about his job with his typical skill as a principled persuader. He arranged a building programme, and negotiated with mortgage companies and local authorities to try to help the lowest-income groups first.

Criticising the notion that capitalism works and socialism has failed, Slovo once said: "Let us look at the capitalist roots of the racial miseries of our own country, South Africa. The real question is not whether a system works, but for whom it works."

Slovo leaves his second wife, Helena Dolny, and the three children of his first marriage, Shawa, Gillian and Robyn.

Death of a real mensch

Humour, an alert mind, sociability and a shrewd sense of timing. These were some of Joe Slovo's unique personal qualities, writes Jeremy Cronin

JOE SLOVO, a young and impoverished immigrant from Lithuania, joined the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa at the age of 16. For the next 52 years he was to remain a dedicated militant in the party and the ANC. In those five decades he was an active participant in many of the key moments of our struggle: the miners' strike of 1946, the wave of mass mobilisation through the 1970s, his armed struggle in 1961, the testing and increasingly dangerous years of exile, the dramatic global changes of 1989 to 1991, the opening up of negotiations in South Africa in 1990, and the ANC election victory and then into government. Throughout all of these events Slovo played a leading role, and often a central role. He brought to his activism a number of unique personal qualities which are, perhaps, epitomised by one of his social talents. It is a talent that a broader South African public has only been able to appreciate in the last four years. It was a talent that went back in time. Ronnie Kasrils recalls Slovo going toe to toe with a London docker in a joke-telling contest in the early 1970s. The docker opened up with one about an Irishman. Slovo replied in kind. And so they went, matching each other joke for joke, genre for genre, for three hours in a side-disk pub. Joke-telling calls for an alert mind, sociability and a shrewd sense of timing. Slovo had all three.

"How is it going?" I asked after his first few weeks in his new ministry.

"Fine. I conveyed all my staff and I said to them: 'You know, the loony comrade bastard you've been hearing about. That broke the ice."'

For years Slovo had been a member of ANC national executive committee meetings the phrase "belling the cat" seemed to be overworn with use. There was a time when every fourth new member of the committee was a "Comrade. We must bell the cat.", it was Slovo who began the fashion in 1975, when he spoke the phrase, he developed the "summit clause" and government-of-national-unity proposal. It became, as we all knew, the basis for the present settlement.

The builder of our nation

Adrianna Vick. former minister of law and order, pays tribute to an old foe

WANT to express my sincere condolences to the Slovo family and friends. He was a prominent, vulnerable and beloved leader of the ANC/South African Communist Party and he will be sorely missed by them. From an ideological point of view, we differed fundamentally — he being a dedicated socialist/communist and self-declared atheist. From his actions it was, however, clear that he was not only an ideologue but prepared to work very hard towards achieving his goals.

As we were embroiled in a multi-faceted, low-intensity but vigilante and bloody "war" against each other for decades, we made a thorough study of him. He was not known as a man to mince his words — he formulated and expressed them clearly.

We welcomed this — he made it easier for us to wage our counter-propaganda against the ANC/SACP. As chief of staff of MK, he was over many years intimately involved in the planning and directing of the ANC's military operations. We had the impression that he always did this with dedication — he believed in what he was doing, and was not sorry about any pain he caused to others. Under his guidance they used every means at their disposal to overthrow the government, while we were doing our level best to prevent it — successfully, if my memory serves me.

However, when the armed struggle was over and the time for negotiations arrived, he was equally committed to this. Even right in the beginning of the talks at Groote Schuur, Libertas and DP Melani, it was clear that he strongly supported President Nelson Mandela's attempts to end the armed struggle and the violence. I found him to be pragmatic and realistic — I was able to listen to you. Although I differed fundamentally from him, I respected him.

I believe that it was after he became minister of justice that the harsh realities of our situation really hit him hard. He very soon realised that to develop our people and our country, and to start building houses, you need money — and to get this, economic development was a prerequisite.

He also realised the importance of the state to care for the needs of all of our people. Therefore, he was one of the first ANC members to point out — clearly and directly — that people must pay their rent and service charges and plead for greater private-sector involvement. I believe he did this because he felt a deep concern for the plight of the many very poor and destitute people in our country.

And this is how I'll remember Joe Slovo. He was prepared to work with dedication to achieve his goals. There was no malice or hatred in him towards us — me and other erstwhile "enemies" or opponents in the struggle. He was an ardent advocate of reconciliation and the building of our nation. He was a man of principle.
National Party Congress: Soul-searching for a defeated party seeking a new role

In an attempt to retain some power the National Party will probably reject the winner-takes-all form of democracy.

argues Anton Harber

National Party leader FW de Klerk is likely to make proposals next week for partial, wobbly, L-shaped power-sharing after the 1990 general election.

Party insiders say that De Klerk will use the NP's federal congress at the World Trade Centre to float ideas being developed by the party leadership to counter the ANC proposal to revert to a traditional winner-takes-all democracy at the end of the term of office of the current government.

One idea being floated is that the party that wins the next national election will form the cabinet, and govern the country on a day-to-day basis, with an opposition or a coalition, called a shadow cabinet, deliberating on selected major issues, such as the budget.

NP congresses have seldom been real forums for debate. Rather, they have provided platforms for party leaders to give speeches, and in recent years it has been expected that a number of the 1,500 delegates will voice dissent from the closeness of NP and ANC leadership in the GNU.

This gets to the heart of the NP's dilemma as both a part of the GNU and the leading opposition party. "There is a feeling," one key party official said this week, "that we are losing our identity, the lines between us and the ANC are blurred. The ANC has shifted, so we have to come up with an alternative vision. People say we are becoming meek and sounding too much like the ANC."

But there is no suggestion that the NP should leave the GNU. "The criticism is not about whether we participate, but on how we do it and how we communicate our role in the GNU," the party official said.

This is a dilemma reflected in resolutions before the congress. "The Northern Transvaal region has proposed that the party 'mourns its dedicated opposition to the ANC/SACP alliance and its policies', while the NW region urges that the NP 'purposes effective involvement in the reconstruction and development programme so that it can be propagated as a programme of the GNU and not as an ANC political policy document'.

Since the GNU is an ANC policy 'suggestion, this is a case of an opposition party trying to adopt the policy of the majority party - hardly the way to define a strong new identity of the build-up to the crucial local government elections later this year."

To deal with this, De Klerk is expected to lead a wave of 'ANC-bashing'. One can expect some harsh criticism of ANC policy by party leaders, though they are in line for an all-out attack on criticism of government policy can also be turned against them for going along with it in the cabinet.

Congress will also debate some policy issues that separate the party from the ANC. The most heated are expected to be about abortion and the death penalty.

There are significant minorities in the party who want abortion under wider circumstances than currently allowed and to get rid of the death penalty. But these are two issues on which the party can clearly differentiate itself from the ANC, which supports abortion-on-demand and an abolition of the extreme penalty. A number of party sources have confirmed that they expect tough debate on these issues.

Other issues that the party will have to grapple with are language, education and crime - all the subject of multiple resolutions from regions. The other major strategic issue is how to become a truly non-racial party. The NP has faced a lot of criticism for its internal and external policy, for the whiteness of its list of MPs, senators and ministers.

The party has to balance its desire to develop a black constituency - the only area in which it can really grow - with the need to hold on to its traditionally white, conservative voters. In the 1990 election, it is estimated the NP won 60 per cent of white votes, 60 to 70 per cent of coloured and Indian votes, but only three to four per cent of the African vote.

"There are two schools of thought," one WNP leader said. "Some think that we should concentrate on the whites, and everyone agrees that our leadership must reflect our black support, it's a question of strategy."

It is a tough dilemma for the NP. Choosing to focus on its current constituency would doom it to being forever a minority party, since such a clear cut line between blacks and Indians makes up only about 27 per cent of the electorate. But an African constituency has so many different demands on policies such as affirmative action and the RDF.

Though party elections take place at the next meeting of the NP federal council, attention will focus on two emerging black members tipped for leadership posts, MP David Chabane and Senator David Mathlou. Chabane says he was working on an affirmative action proposal, because he thought this, and the abortion issue, would be the toughest facing the congress.

Most resolutions before the congress point to discomfort with - but not rejection of - affirmative action. Regions are calling for affirmative action to be fair and just, and "not reverse discrimination". Malawi said this week that he believed the party needs to "articulate its position as both a party in the GNU and an opposition".

The silence of the NP since the GNU came into being may lead people to think the party is being left behind underground. But we can't be a submarine party, we should always be there in public.

"We have to ask how we can keep stability in the GNU - in the interests of all South Africans - and be an effective opposition."
From the ashes of Avalon Cemetery will emerge freedom, justice and peace

Slovo praised for his contribution

By Joe Mhlela

THE South African Communist Party on Friday, January 13, 1995, has declared that Slovo, who was killed in a car accident, had "shone" as a leader among the leaders of the ANC.

The party said in a statement that Slovo had been a "tireless worker" for the ANC and had "devoted his life to the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa." The statement said that Slovo's death was a "great loss" to the ANC and the South African people.

Slovo's contribution to the ANC and the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa was "immeasurable," the party said.

Slovo, who died in a car accident on January 13, 1995, was a long-time leader of the ANC and a key figure in the anti-apartheid movement.

The party said that Slovo's contribution to the ANC and the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa was "immeasurable," the party said.

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All aboard for the people's constitution
(SOUA) Sow 14/11/98

A MEDIA campaign to involve the public in writing a new constitution was officially launched in Johannesburg by the Constitutional Assembly yesterday.

Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said the campaign slogan was "You made your mark in the election, now make your contribution to the new constitution." He said the 400 assembly members would start the constitution-making process when they resumed work on January 23.

"The campaign will enable us to keep our people informed as the process unfolds in the coming weeks and months. More importantly it will help educate our people about the often abstract constitutional issues."

"Through the constitution we will draft, we will be determining our country's future and moving a step further in the process of nation-building."

An advertising campaign would run from tomorrow until the adoption of the new constitution in May next year. In the next few weeks educational booklets and other print media will be launched to add to the various channels of communication needed to reach all our people and get them on board.

"Negotiations for live coverage of Constitutional Assembly plenary sessions by radio and television are well under way with the SABC."

The broadcasting corporation's task would be crucial, given the level of illiteracy in the country. Ramaphosa said the public would be invited to express their views in meetings with members of the Constitutional Assembly.

"Members of the Constitutional Assembly will spend almost every weekend holding workshops, conferences, area forums and other events with members of the public."

A news bulletin titled Constitutional Talk would be published to keep the public up to date and as a forum to exchange ideas. - Sapa.
Man of the people to rest among friends

Joe Slovo will be buried in Heroes Acre at Soweto cemetery

The Avalon Cemetery in Soweto will be the last resting place of Joe Slovo where he will lie among many other fallen heroes of the struggle who have gone before him.

NEWTON KANHEMA
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — When Joe Slovo is finally laid to rest in Soweto's Avalon Cemetery tomorrow, he will have as neighbours some 150 000 of the township people whose causes he spent his life fighting. Mr Slovo was a man of the people and one of his last wishes was to be buried among them.

Some of Mr Slovo's comrades in the stark, treeless cemetery will be friends and compatriots from the liberation struggle. There is Tsietsi Mashinini who was the leader of the 1978 Soweto uprising and Hector Petersen, the first victim of that bloody clash.

Nearby lie Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph, both veteran leaders of the African National Congress Women's League. Former president of Azapo, Thami Mthethwa — who was murdered at the end of last year — and Black Consciousness leader Letebo Mosa Moka both rest at Avalon as do many students who were killed during the uprising that changed the course of South African history.

Just behind the grave prepared for the former Minister of Housing and Communist Party stalwart, is a tombstone which reads: "In loving memory of the LION of Azania Uncle Zephania Le Koane Motjopeng, Served, suffered and sacrificed. You will forever remain in the hearts of the nation."

Close to the former leader of the Pan Africanist Congress is the last resting place of Andrew Mlangeni, ANC leader and one of the Rivonia trialists with Nelson Mandela.

The area where Mr Mlangeni and Mr Motjopeng lie has now been designated as "Heroes Acre", according to the new manager of Parks and Recreation in Soweto, Sam Morobi.

"This cemetery was run by white people for a very long time and as soon as we took over we reserved this place for our heroes. All other prominent cemeteries have such an area," he says.

"As soon as the political organisations were unbanned we declared Avalon to be the place for our heroes," said Mr Morobi standing next to Mr Slovo's open grave. Avalon Cemetery was opened in 1972. An average of 300 people are buried there every month. A grave for a resident of Soweto costs R60 while non-Sowetans pay R200. The cemetery is scheduled to be full in 2000.

Among the living, who already have reserved their site at Avalon are Winnie Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, who is said to have bought space for two graves.

"Many prominent people have booked their graves, but this is private information and cannot be confirmed," said Wire Mbutini, administrator for the cemetery.

There is a certain sadness among the leaders and followers of Umkonto we Sizwe that Mr Slovo will not be buried with his closest commander and very good friend Chris Hani. Mr Hani, who was assassinated in 1993, is buried near his home in the cemetery at Dawn Park, East Rand.

SOLEMN MOMENT: Anglican priest Michael Lapsley pays tribute to Mr Slovo at the memorial service in St George's Cathedral yesterday.
A comrade remembered: Hundreds mourn Slovo

LIBBY PEACOCK
Weekend Argus Reporter

JOE Slovo hated, fought and defeated racism and contributed to making parliament "a vibrant parliament of the people", African National Congress Member of Parliament Tony Yengeni told a memorial service for the late Minister of Housing.

St George's Cathedral was packed for the lengthy lunch-time service yesterday, while hundreds of people milled outside.

Speaking on behalf of the national assembly, Mr Yengeni said Mr Slovo always would be remembered as a "man with a sharp intellect and as an outstanding debater".

Provincial Minister of Transport Leonard Ramatlahlane said Mr Slovo had contributed to the reconstruction and development programme in that he had done more about housing in seven months "than the regime did for 48 years".

Addressing the crowd, national Minister of Posts, Telecommunication and Broadcasting Pallo Jordan said that when Mr Slovo died last week "one of the greatest hearts in South Africa ceased to beat".

Those who used to "mock him" and "jeer at him" had at last begun to recognise his virtues, but what people seemed to want to forget was "Joe Slovo the revolutionary".

Dr Jordan said the "true meaning" of Mr Slovo's life since he joined the South African Communist Party at the age of 15 was that of a revolutionary.

He had thrown himself "heart and soul into the struggle" at a very early age, but had never been dogmatic or rigid.

"Joe Slovo dedicated his life to bringing about change. I consider it an honour to have known and worked with him and a great honour to have been counted among his friends."

Among the prominent Cape clergymen who addressed the service was the Rev Lionel Louw, who said that while Mr Slovo for a long time had been "enemy number one" on this side of the South African border, he was "enchanting everyone on the other side".

Yesterday's proceedings began with a march from the Parade to parliament, where Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly Bhe- dra' Ranchod, Mr Yengeni and others laid wreaths.
Joe Grivo was a gracious man with sheer grit.
How Shantytown Was Won

by ZB Moulder

When the Shantytown movement began, the area was a sprawling shanty town filled with makeshift homes and makeshift communities. The residents were primarily African Americans who had been displaced from their homes in the nearby city. The movement began as a protest against the housing conditions and lack of access to basic services in the area. The residents worked together to improve their living conditions and demand better housing and services. Over time, the movement grew in size and strength, and eventually led to the construction of a new community center and the establishment of a permanent housing project. Today, the area is a thriving community with a strong sense of pride and identity.
Hamba Kahle, Joe Slovo

By WALLY MBHELE

PRESIDENT Mandela will today pay a last tribute to his old friend and comrade Joe Slovo in a keynote address at the new South Africa's first state funeral.

The funeral, expected to attract thousands of mourners from across the country and political spectrum — will take place at Orlando Stadium from 7 am today when Slovo's body will be lying in state.

Mourners will be able to file past the open coffin before members of the Government of National Unity and other dignitaries arrive at 10 am.

At Friday's memorial service old political foes (from Communists through to Christians, Democrats and Socialists) sat side by side, united by the common tributes they gave Slovo as "an outstanding leader".

Besides the ANC alliance leaders, the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was there, so was the NP's Olaus Van Zyl, the PAC's Ikhoisan X, the DP's Peter Leon and members of the African Christian Democratic Party. Only the white rightwing parties were noticeable by their absence.

Among the foreign dignitaries who have already indicated that they will attend today's funeral will be former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Gracia Machel, the widow of the late Mozambican president, Samora Machel.

Among other speakers will be Cosatu president John Gomomo and SA Communist Party general secretary Charles Nqakula.

After Mandela's address, the coffin — covered in the national flag — will be placed on a gun carriage and transported to the Avalon cemetery where Slovo will be buried among the "heroes" of the liberation struggle.

At the time of going to press, City Press was unable to confirm if the SA National Defence Force will honour Slovo with a 21-gun salute.

The Tripartite Alliance has urged all participants to treat Slovo's funeral "with the dignity befitting a great leader".

See Page 2
Slovo mobbed in death as he was in life

By Patrick Laurence

Joe Slovo was mobbed by enthusiastic supporters at his burial as he had been in life since his return from exile in 1990.

A crowd that had waited at Avalon Cemetery until after a funeral service at Orlando Stadium pressed forward to see and perhaps even touch his coffin.

ANC marshals failed to keep the swelling mass back and ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Carl Niehaus had only momentary success in their appeals to stop the forward momentum.

When SA Communist Party leader Thengxwe Mnteso summoned MK units, there was a wrestling match between the uniformed men and the front line of the impatient crowd.

There was one nasty moment when a marshal laid into a section of the crowd with a sjambok.

As Slovo's widow, Helena Dolny, spoke on behalf of the family, people crept under the platform, anxious to catch a glimpse of the man who helped found the ANC underground army and later engaged white leaders at the negotiation table.

Slovo, national chairman of the SACP, breached the segregation barrier in death as he had in his life. He became only the second white person to be buried at the Soweto cemetery, after Helen Joseph.

At the funeral service, President Mandela remembered Slovo as a man of courage who had fought for the oppressed but lived life to the full.

"He liked to eat and dressing well," said Mandela of a "comrade, brother and friend."

Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris, Anglican priest Barney Pityana, SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula and Cosatu president John Gumiso also paid tribute.

Helen Slovo said her husband "never got too big for his boots," was a person who was "endearingly messy and relaxed" and one who could laugh at himself.
Final farewell ... people came from far and wide to pay tribute to former South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, who was buried in Soweto’s Avalon Cemetery yesterday.

Dignity then chaos as Slovo is buried

By Bronwyn Littleton

Thousands helped lay former SA Communist Party leader and housing minister Joe Slovo to rest in Soweto yesterday. In what was a State funeral as well as a people’s burial.

After the dignified service inside Orlando Stadium, the burial at Avalon Cemetery degenerated into chaos when marchers lost control of a crowd that surged forward to get closer to the grave.

ANC officials at the ceremony said the crowd’s behaviour posed a security risk that kept President Mandela from attending the burial. But this morning, ANC MP Carl Niehaus said Mandela had not planned on going and was represented by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Earlier at Orlando, Mandela bestrode Slovo’s open coffin and gently touched the face of his friend since their days at Wits University.

Thousands had already filed past the plain pine coffin covered by the new flag.

Said Mandela: “The course

Joe Slovo had charted will continue to guide us in fulfilling the housing program. ‘His firmness in dealing with obstacles to this programme will remain one of the central features of our work.’

The president added tearfully: ‘It is the tragedy of South Africa that his humanity, pragmatism and industriousness were realised by many, particu-

larly among the white community, only after close on 40 years of an artificial silence imposed on him by constant banning.

‘And it is a tragedy still that these qualities are extolled by some, as if they were new.’

Slovo had not seen himself as a white man fighting for blacks. He had seen himself as a South African, Mandela said.

SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula said it was difficult to accept Slovo’s death because he had remained committed to his tasks until his last hours. One of the things Slovo left behind, he said, was “a builder’s trowel”.

Cosatu president John Gumede said it was a measure of Slovo’s bravery that he spent his last hours working to provide houses for his people.

Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris dared any religious leaders to condemn Slovo for not practicing religion in the traditional sense. “He was the true humanitarian.”

The funeral lost its dignity when thousands, crowded in the mud at the southern end of the cemetery, launched into behaviour that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa described as disgraceful.

Eventually Slovo’s casket was lowered into the ground without ceremony, and his family and friends poured sand on top of the pine coffin without a word.

The crowd noise even drowned out an official AK-47 salute.

The crowd were silent only when Slovo’s wife, Helena, said a moving farewell.

Among those at Orlando were five National Party MPs.
Slovio helped lay the foundations for a better life...

THOUSANDS of people crammed into the Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday to pay their last respects at the funeral of Housing Minister and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovio.

"We are assembled to mourn the passing of a leader, a partner, a fellow fighter, a comrade, a technician and an organiser," President Mandela said of Joe Slovio.

"Indeed, it is the combination of all these qualities so splendidly and in one individual, which made Comrade Joe Slovio the great African revolutionary that he was. Men and women of rare qualities are few and hard to come by. And when they depart, the sense of loss is deep and the damage is even more difficult to manage.

Yet we do draw comfort, Comrade Joe...

- from the knowledge that the greater part of the journey that was Comrade Joe Slovio's life had already been completed;
- from the knowledge that you left a legacy which we shall all strive to emulate;
- from the knowledge, Comrade Joe, that you now live in a world which one of us through your force of example, virtue of spirit and passion for justice, did your best to build.

Today, as the nation bids you farewell, we are the same time, celebrating a life lived for the fullness of our hearts for the love of the country.

When he passed away, a great light has gone out. But his passion and vision will continue to shine, inspiring us all to build a better society.

Comrade Joe Slovio, 1936-1985, a standard-bearer, has passed away. He leaves behind a legacy that will continue to inspire us for generations to come.

When, in 1934, the village of Chelbe in Luthuliia, frequented by South Afri

...
30 000 pay last respects to Siovo

Tribute: President Nelson Mandela, before paying tribute at Mr. Siovo's son's funeral. A crowd of more than 30 000 took

Act to police picks on Siovo — Page 2

Did the police throw stones at the crowds?

The crowd at the funeral

President Mandela delivers his speech at the funeral.

An emotional Nelson Mandela.

Thousands of people attended the funeral of Mr. Siovo.
Unity government

'necessary, working'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE concept of a government of national unity was very difficult to reconcile with parliamentary democracy, Democratic Party MP and constitutional expert Mr Colin Eglin said last night.

But he told a UCT Summer School discussion that he believed the unity government was necessary at this stage of South Africa's political history and that it was "working rather well.

Mr Eglin said that since the government was formed in May last year he believed that the concept of bringing political opponents into "an unnatural government alliance" had gained public acceptance.

The reason for this was that both the political leadership and the rank-and-file agreed that the fundamental issues facing South Africa at this stage were reconciliation and nation-building on the one hand, and reconstruction and development on the other.
NP congress to aim at beefed-up watchdog role

BY ESTHER WEAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The NP today starts its first federal congress since losing power with proposals for playing a constructive role in the Government of National Unity while at the same time sharpening its watchdog role as an opposition party.

Some 1200 NP delegates are to debate draft policy documents on the economy, security, education, human rights and constitutional issues.

Also to be finalised are the party's positions on the death penalty and abortion on demand.

Restrictions on the availability of pornographic material should "be controlled in such a way that it is not freely accessible to minors".

The draft policy document commits the NP to the recognition of the right to private ownership of property, entrenched in the final constitution.

The restitution of land rights should comply with justice and sound economic policies.

Affirmative action, the NP warns, could "easily be turned into affirmative grabbing".

"Too many old friends have been appointed to positions for which they have no visible qualifications."

"There is too much lowering of qualifications for particular positions."

Programmes for the public service to enable the disadvantaged to improve their skills as well as a non-governmental "discrimination watch" to expose discriminatory employment practices in the public sector should be adopted.

The party also expresses concern at the growing breakdown of law and order.

The congress will be opened tonight by Deputy President and NP leader F W de Klerk.
‘I’m staying,’ says upset FW

Dr Gerwel said the applicants should all apply to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Dr Gerwel emphasised that in the nearly three hours the cabinet had devoted to discussing indemnity that the indemnity of ANC members was never at issue.

“They are two separate issues,” he said.

This latest group of reported indemnities was separate and distinct from the agreed process for indemnification of ANC people.”
The government of Malaysia is not prepared to be held
responsible for the consequences of the ANC's actions. We do not wish to be a party to the ANC's activities, and we do not endorse them. We are committed to the promotion of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Consequently, we must take a stand against the ANC's illegal and unconstitutional activities.

Indemnity

From Page 1

Role in Government

Nats threaten to reconsider

FW demands response from ANC
Democracy is a booming business, but it’s time-consuming, costs a lot and takes some mastering. This emerges from the first session of a three-day discussion forum among national and provincial parliamentary representatives. Political Correspondent Michael Morris reports.

Parliamentary staff has nearly trebled

A LIFE-GIVING THE more dramatic and expensive consequences of South Africa’s celebrated transition to democracy is an increase in the staff of parliament from 300 to nearly 850 since April.

And further “considerable expansion” is expected this year as the 490-member institution seeks to extend its influence and live up to the principles of open, accountable government by, and for, the people.

In the provinces, where the budget and, for the most part, entirely new administrations have had to start bare-footed, making up for a lack of central government’s advice, a lack of staff and money and the incomprehensibility of legislation have emerged as some of the key problems.

All these things have been raised in reports to a forum of Speakers, MPs and parliamentary staff in the old House of Assembly chamber.

The national parliament — comprising the National Assembly and Senate, and the Constitutional Assembly — had the benefit of inheriting a “core of experienced officials” and a fully-equipped complex.

Even so, further “fundamental and far-reaching changes” are in the offing — including a new system to deal with “extensive and worldwide inter-parliamentary contacts” — an effort to revamp the institution.

One of the most striking reports is from the KwaZulu-Natal legislature which notes that while some sessions have been interesting and productive . . . it has not been smooth sailing.

“Our past differences still haunt us and affect debate on some issues,” it says, adding that debates had “proved that the majority party in the legislature regard as crucial will use their numerical power to bulldoze their way through, even when good reason dictates otherwise.”

The Western Cape parliament reports a relatively trouble-free start, although its report reflects concern at “how to involve the public in law-making”.

“The Provincial Gazette is not widely read, and not all in the community have the capacity to take part in committee proceedings.”

In the Eastern Cape, civil servants who
gone through the mill in the public sector... do not always grasp” the fact of parliamentary management and regard the legislature “as just another civil service department subject to government regulations and instructions”. This had resulted in much “frustration”.

The Northern Cape legislature highlights the “apparent gap, or lack of contact” between the province’s minister’s and the portfolio committees as a source of “major concern”.

“A perception is that the members of the executive committee are deeply engrossed in the day-to-day operations of their line departments, very often at the expense of... important policy matters.

The Northern Cape report also expresses disappointment at the “apathy” among legislators towards training programmes.

Finally, it says the “lack of proper structures and resources have often served as debilitating factors to the efficient and effective functioning of the provincial legislature”.

A “lack of punctuality among the vast majority of legislators” and “ministers” is among the problems raised in the Northern Transvaal parliament’s report. Another “draw-back” is the lack of experience among public representatives and staff.

The 86-member Gaunteng parliament says its chief concerns are a shortage of staff in all departments, demotivation of staff “arising from uncertainty and insecurity of employment” and “unclear lines of accountability and communication”.

There is also a “limited understanding” of the rules of parliament. This, however, is changing: the year was “a sharp learning curve for everybody”.

The Eastern Transvaal parliament is “still struggling with procedures” and looking for ways to speed-up the familiarisation process.

Another “major concern” is the translation of documents into five official languages.

“This process is consuming a lot of time and money,” its report says.

In the North West Province, legislators are “confident in their deliberations (but) it is clear they need assistance with research”. Also, the limited size of the legislature results in a heavy burden being placed on portfolio committees.

Legislators are also concerned about how effectively to draw the public into the law-making process.

The Free State legislature complains that interaction with the national parliament has been “sporadic” and that there has not been enough interaction with other provincial parliaments.

It also says security services by the police “are not satisfactory”, although the report does not say why.

• Improving co-operation between the national and provincial parliaments is among the key aims of the forum. It is also seeking ways to improve public access to law-making.
South Africans ‘more optimistic’ about 1995

JOHANNESBURG. — Almost three-quarters of black South Africans and 41% of whites, coloureds and Asians feel 1995 will be better than last year.

This is according to the findings, released yesterday, of Markinor's latest poll.

The poll, carried out in November, involved 2 320 people living mainly in major cities.

Markinor said in a statement the figures reflected a "significant increase" in optimism since a year ago, when the comparable figures were 60% for blacks and 31% for whites, coloureds and Asians.

The number of blacks who felt the year would be worse than the previous one fell from 18% a year ago to seven percent, and from 32% to 25% for other groups.

In nearly every instance metropolitan coloureds were more optimistic than metropolitan Indians or whites.

"Although overall there has been an increase in optimism, there is clearly still a great deal of reservation in the minds of whites, coloureds and Indians," said Markinor account director Mr Mari Harris.

Blacks were still fairly euphoric, although many had yet to reap the benefits of a new government. — Sapa
Gloves off

Crisis meeting will decide govt's future

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk are to hold a crisis summit this morning in a bid to save the government of national unity from collapse.

The crucial damage-control exercise follows a gloves-off row that erupted at this week's cabinet meeting during which Mr. Mandela allegedly "viciously attacked" Mr. de Klerk during a lengthy "outburst" and launched a withering attack on the Nats' integrity and good faith.

In a hard-hitting address to the Nats' federal congress here last week, Mr. de Klerk told a multiparty audience of 2,500 delegates that he would meet Mr. Mandela "in wholly different circumstances" to "refute the serious crisis that has developed between the ANC and the Nats in the government."

NATS WERE VICIOUSLY INSULTED, SAYS FW

Mr. de Klerk told his supporters — many fuming at the Nats' being "short-changed" in amnesty negotiations — that the Nats were prepared to continue with co-operation in the government only if the ANC "leadership withholds its violent attacks" on the Nats' integrity and good faith.

National cabinet ministers, still reeling from the violent outbursts, accused Mr. de Klerk of "attacking our moral integrity" and of "trying to undermine" the government as it struggled to live up to the expectations of its electorate.

Outburst

He added that the Nats were "seriously and sorely damaged" by the ANC's "irresponsible" attack on the Nats' integrity.
NOT SO SWEET HOME: A typical squatter's shack at Tambocito, near Hekedal.

While trade union groups and some township residents defended strikes, they endorsed this course of action as necessary to defend the rights of workers. "No vocal anti-capitalist sentiment or call to bring the bosses to their knees" was heard.

The study argues that there is evidence that people want to be self-reliant and contribute to development efforts. "Vociferous calls for economic self-reliance is one" was heard.

Entitlement
Charney argues that, overall, participants revealed a rejection of the "culture of entitlement" that often observ-
er"s are so keen to saddle them with. He claims his research gives a long way to debunking the "image of mil-
ulant black masses who form a unified, radical bloc..."

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JUST three words uttered by President Nelson Mandela at his Houghton home on Wednesday night "rescued South Africa's nine-month-old coalition government from collapse."

The words "a fresh start" proved to be the glue which patched the government of national unity back together after a blistering attack on National Party leader F W de Klerk by Mr Mandela had rent it apart.

The point that sparked the crisis was the secret attempt by two cabinet ministers and 340 policemen to obtain indemnity on the eve of the election.

For Mr Mandela, who believed Mr de Klerk had been part of a "coup" disannulling an agreement that openly forced indemnities would only be granted by a new government, it was the final proof that the NP leader could not be trusted.

The attack came earlier on Wednesday at the end of a cabinet meeting at the Union Buildings that had been dominated by a tough discussion over whether the indemnities were legal, and how they had arisen.

Following a lengthy explanation from Justice Department indemnity expert Piet Kleynhans, the cabinet was on the point of reaching an acceptable settlement.

The proposal was that the ANC would publicly accept that the indemnity applications had not been an orchestrated plot by the NP in return for an acceptance by the ANC that the indemnities were invalid.

Mr de Klerk had maintained throughout the meeting that he had been kept in the dark, despite disbeliefing protests from ANC members.

"Are we all agreed the police did not acquire amnesty?"

First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki is said to have asked.

But at this point Mr Mandela, who had been listening quietly for some time, spoke his mind.

Complaints

An NP minister described the attack as coming unexpectedly, like "thunder from heaven." Those close to Mr Mandela were less surprised. They say Mr de Klerk's behaviour since losing power has annoyed Mr Mandela intensely and the indemnity incident was the final insult.

The history of complaints made by Mr Mandela bear this out.

The President began by saying the ANC had no problems with NP ministers Rolf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers, both of whom had built up a good understanding with ANC counterparts during the negotiation process.

Minister Miki Botes, Mr Mandela continued, was also playing a constructive role in government, apart from an occasional swipe at the ANC. However, he could be forgiven this because of his brave comment in 1996 that he would be happy to serve under a black president.

Mr de Klerk's conduct was a different matter. When he spoke in cabinet, it was in the manner in which "white man used to speak to blacks", Mr Mandela said.

Rejecting Mr de Klerk's assertion that he was unaware of the police indemnity applications, Mr Mandela said the NP leader should have apologised to the nation as soon as the first reports had appeared.

Instead, he had handled the matter loosely.

Some present at the meeting say Mr Mandela went as far as to call Mr de Klerk a liar. Mr de Klerk disputes this.

"He did not call me a liar," he said. "He attacked my integrity and my good faith," he said at a press conference on Friday.

Mr Mandela continued his attack on Mr de Klerk at the meeting by questioning the NP leader's commitment to the Reconstruction and Development Programme. He did so by raising an old invitation over Mr de Klerk's signing of an aid agreement while he was abroad in Germany.

Those present say Mr Mandela believed Mr de Klerk had behaved improperly and he had not consulted the IRD office. In addition, the aid money would have gone only to the Rural Foundation, which operated mainly in the NP's Western Cape stronghold.

"To Page 2"
FW gets NP vote of confidence

By Joe Mhlaba
Political Reporter

The three-day National Party federal congress that ended on Saturday expressed confidence in party leader and deputy president Mr FW de Klerk.

Chants of "Viva De Klerk" by a large group of black delegates seemed to strengthen the resolve that De Klerk was indeed the Messiah to prepare the party for the 1999 elections.

To crown it all, there was the liberation song, Aukakhe Umntu (We have no fear, we will soldier on), which appeared to give an assurance that the National Party was the only party to challenge the African National Congress come the 1999 election.

For old and conservative National Party stalwarts this was a new experience, a Damascene experience demanding they adjust to new situations. Maybe that explains why it was not difficult for congress to express its confidence in De Klerk: Within a short time he was able to turn it around so that it could accommodate "ander volke". De Klerk in many of his presentations spoke about broadening the party's base "in the suburbs, townships and the countryside".

He also spoke about blacks spreading the NP gospel as they assumed leadership roles in the party.

The good news was that President Nelson Mandela had patched up relations with De Klerk after tumultuous week in which Mandela was understood to have chimed the former cabinet President at Wednesday's cabinet meeting. De Klerk was satisfied that "mutual trust and confidence" had been re-established following an urgent meeting with Mandela on Thursday.

However, in his opening remarks at the World Trade Centre near Kwamfximbi Park on Thursday, De Klerk said the National Party would not tolerate the "ANC's double standards" on indemnity.

QUALIFY IN PERSONNEL AND TRAINING MANAGEMENT

...
NP wants to share power after 1999

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party wants to continue to share power once the present government of national unity completes its term after the 1999 general election.

But the NP's federal congress which met here at the weekend was unable to resolve what form of power-sharing or influence minority parties should exercise.

The move, designed to prevent an abuse of power by a future government, is likely to be strongly opposed by the ANC when the Constitutional Assembly resumes work in Cape Town tomorrow.

At its conference in Bloemfontein in December, the ANC strongly opposed any form of power-sharing once a final constitution came into effect.

The NP congress passed a resolution stipulating that the new constitution should see "representation of all relevant interests in the structures of government through a system of multi-party political participation".

Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in an interview that this could embody the continuation of the government but emphasised that the form of participation in a future government was still open to debate in the party.

He later told a briefing that NP members agreed that "simple majoritarianism like the Westminster model is not the best model for the situation in South Africa.

"In a country like South Africa, it is necessary that all the interests of the nation should be taken care of and there need to be a series of checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power by any one party."

The party had not, however, finally decided on whether to support a unity government beyond its five-year mandate or whether to revert to a pure opposition role.

Earlier at the congress, Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel made a strong plea for a unity government for "10 or even 15 years", saying the NP's expertise and restraint were vital to any government.

However, some delegates strongly urged the party to leave the government to become a full opposition party.

Eastern Cape NP leader Dr Tertias Delport called for the principle of "proportionality" in executive and legislative appointments.
MPs' condolence motion: Joe Slovo was 'a mensch'

**Political Correspondent**

THE work of Joe Slovo should be continued by eradicating racism and meeting the needs of the poor and despised, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said in tribute to the late housing minister in a motion of condolence in the national assembly.

The motion, noting Mr Slovo's long and invaluable service to South Africa, was supported by all parties yesterday.

Environment Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers (NP) said Mr Slovo's role in constitutional negotiations had shown him to be a reasonable opponent and pragmatic negotiator.

Mr Slovo had shown great devotion in serving the deprived and homeless, he said.

Tony Leon (DP), recalling that Mr Slovo's first language had been Yiddish, said the housing minister had been a mensch - a real person and a man of character.

Senator Sam Motuuenyane (ANC) described Mr Slovo as a man who had displayed courage and consistency when fighting for better living conditions for the poor. Agriculture Minister Klaas Van Niekerk (NP) said Mr Slovo had been a remarkable person who had cared about others and tried to find solutions to poverty.

Joe Slovo

Though seen as a revolutionary, he had exercised a moderating influence in trying to find solutions to South Africa's problems.

Tienie Groenewald (FF) said Mr Slovo had played a key role during negotiations.

Godfrey Bengu (IFP) said it had been inopportune to lose Mr Slovo, who had known how to address apartheid injustices.

Clarence Makwetu (PAC) said Mr Slovo's death had impoverished our society.

*Slovo's legacy, page 12.*
SA, India

'arguments need close ties'

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW DELHI — South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo says South Africa and India are set to become close trading partners.

Mr Nzo arrived in New Delhi today, almost 10 hours before President Mandela arrives this evening for a three-day State visit to India. Mr Mandela will be the chief guest at India's 46th Republic Day celebrations in New Delhi on Thursday.

Mr Nzo said Mr Mandela would sign a significant trade treaty with the Indian government tomorrow that would officially establish a joint inter-governmental commission for political, trade, economic, cultural, scientific and technological exchanges.

Mr Nzo will also sign a bilateral foreign affairs agreement with Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Salman Khurshid during the next few days of hectic diplomatic business between the two delegations.

"South Africans must look to India as a whole new economic and trade gateway to Asia," said Mr Nzo.
Ideas for our new constitution (304-6) flooding in

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

IDEAS, many from ordinary people, have started flooding in to South Africa's new constitution-making process.

Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman of the constitutional assembly, yesterday held up a thick file of submissions to demonstrate the response to calls for proposals for the 1996 constitution.

The process of negotiating a final constitution to replace the present interim one will start in earnest this month.

Technology will be used as fully as possible to include ordinary people in the process.

Each session of the constitutional assembly — members of the national assembly and senate sitting jointly — will be broadcast live on television.

Information about the constitutional assembly could be conveyed on automatic teller machine screens.

Assembly executive director Hassan Ebrahim said ATMs were used 6 million times a month.

He said submissions to the assembly would be put on computer.

Also being computerised were submissions made to the multi-party negotiating process in Kempton Park.

These, stacked up, were 40m high, Mr Ebrahim said.

Information about the constitutional process was to be put on an electronic bulletin board, to which anyone with access to a computer anywhere in the world would be able to read.

Technologically, use of computers to give access to the constitutional process would be a world first.
AWB to boycott local elections

PRETORIA. — The AWB would definitely not take part in October's local government elections, spokesman Mr Fred Rundle said yesterday.

Some of its leaders were in prison, he said, and only if they were released would the AWB be able to contemplate what "we should do to promote peace in this country".

Asked if the AWB would try to disrupt the elections, Mr Rundle said: "My feeling is that we shouldn't even bother. Let the communists carry on in their slide towards economic disaster. Only when the country is totally bankrupt will people wake up and listen to us." — Sapa
Criticisms sought on constitution

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE public should be given every opportunity to "vent their frustrations" on proposals on the new constitution produced by the Constitutional Assembly's six theme committees, CA chairperson Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

The theme committees are required to complete their reports and the major part of their work by June 30 this year, with the final text of the new constitution due to be completed by July 14.

The executive director of the CA, Mr Hassen Ebrahim, told a meeting of CA chairpersons yesterday that the nation's constitution-writing body had received more than 70 submissions from the public by January 10.

He said many ordinary citizens had shown an interest in the new constitution and initial reaction had been largely positive.

However, DP leaders said public consultation in writing the new constitution would be woefully inadequate unless citizens were given a further opportunity to debate the written proposals emerging from the six theme committees.

Mr Ramaphosa agreed, saying the entire constitution-writing process would be legitimised if members of the public were involved in as many stages of the process as possible.

Earlier Mr Ebrahim told the CA management committee that advanced computer technology would be used to collate the flood of submissions expected from the public and that university specialists had been drawn in for advice.

Starting today, the SABC had agreed to screen plenary sessions of the 400-member CA live on NNTV. Public hearings of the theme committees could later become part of television fare.

Members would also try to make its deliberations on constitutional matters more accessible to the public by holding "public participation events".

Adequate housing 'a right'

By BARRY STREEK

A RIGHT to "adequate housing" should be included in the chapter on fundamental rights in the South African constitution, 13 organisations have submitted to the Constitutional Assembly.

The inclusion of this right would include security of tenure, availability of services and infrastructure, and housing that was affordable, habitable, accessible and well-located, they said.

This did not mean the state was immediately required to provide houses to all.

"The state is, however, required to ensure that legal and other measures to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the right of every individual to housing, are introduced."

The organisations that made the call were: The Urban Sector Network, Black Sash, Centre for South-South Relations, Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Community Law Centre, Human Rights Commission, Institute for Local Governance and Development, Kagiso Trust, Lawyers for Human Rights, National Land Committee, People's Dialogue, SA National Civics Organisation, and Development Action Group.
Coalition idea shed

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

THE ANC has dumped the idea of forced coalitions beyond the existence of the interim Government of National Unity.

Addressing the Constitutional Assembly in Cape Town yesterday, ANC deputy president Thabo Mbeki said the new constitution should ensure that a party that won the majority of votes forms a government of the country. "Coalitions and agreed co-existence should not be prescribed, but should be voluntary cooperation," Mbeki said at the first sitting of the CA this year.

Proportional representation should, however, be maintained, though constituencies must be introduced. He said the ANC believed that a multiparty system was critical for the development of a democratic state.

The new constitution should recognise affirmative action, and this should not be seen as violating the constitution. This meant that the property rights of the majority, who have been robbed of their rights by apartheid, as well as the land rights of communities, have to be addressed by the new constitution.
federalism

Political battle lines drawn as ANC takes stand against

Ref: ANC's position on dual portrait, which is a key issue in the current election. The party's stance is that there is only one portrait, the "official" portrait. The National Portrait Gallery will be asked to remove the "confusing" portrait. The ANC has also called for a "clear" message to the electorate.

[Signature]

DAVID MABIL

[Date]

[Paragraphs discussing various points related to the political landscape, federalism, and other issues.]

[Further discussion on the ANC's position and its implications for the election.]

[Page number]

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NEW DELHI — President Nelson Mandela arrived here yesterday at the start of a state visit and said he wanted to strengthen ties with India.

Officials announced earlier that he had shortened his trip, cancelling a visit to two western cities next weekend, to avoid fatigue and strain on his deteriorating eyes.

Mr Mandela, wearing dark glasses, was met by Indian Junior Foreign Minister Mr Salman Khurshied at an airport outside the Indian capital.

"I have looked forward to this visit for quite some time," Mr Mandela told reporters at the airport, saying the welcome he received on his other visit to India, in October 1990, was most inspiring.

"I'm coming here to ensure that the ties that exist between our respective countries are strengthened."

He was accompanied by ANC MP Ms Ella Gandhi, a granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi, who "lived in South Africa for 21 years and was the founding father of independent India."

Also accompanying him are his granddaughter Ms Roehanne Mitter, special adviser Mr Ahmed Kathrada and physician Dr J Theron.

An SA team that arrived earlier will form part of the delegation to India. It includes Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo and his director-general, Mr Rusty Evans.

Mr Mandela will hold talks with Indian Prime Minister Mr P V Narasimha Rao and will be the main guest at India's 46th independence celebrations tomorrow.

Apart from signing technical co-operation, scientific and cultural agreements with India, Mr Mandela is scheduled to address award ceremonies, state functions and business banquets.

He will also visit the memorial place of Gandhi.

Trade between South Africa and India has been minimal after it imposed sanctions on Pretoria in 1948.

"But, it has slowly grown. Last year, India's trade with South Africa rose to about R330 million. — Sapa"
ANC, no to power-sharing call
Chiefs call for national body to ensure their views heard in new constitution:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has called for the speedy creation of a national council of chiefs to ensure that its input is included in the new constitution.

Speaking during the debate in a theme committee of the Constitutional Assembly in Parliament, ANCP MP and president of Contrastes, Chief Pankie Holomisa, said the council was important and its contribution should form part of the new constitution.

The council, which will operate from Cape Town, is to be elected by the six provincial houses of chiefs which are to be established in all provinces other than Gauteng, Western Cape and Northern Cape. The committee, whose brief includes the Volkstaat, decided yesterday that discussion on this issue would await a report from the Volkstaat, a body appointed by the Government to determine if and how the Volkstaat can be brought about.

The body is expected to report by the end of February. The committee cancelled a meeting scheduled for today because political parties, except for Inkatha, had not submitted their constitutional proposals.

ANC MP Mr James Mahlangu said the ANC would submit its proposals late yesterday. The committee heard representations by political parties for a dual system for national elections, which would combine the present proportional representation system with a constituency-based formula. This is to ensure that MPs are given areas for which they know they are responsible. ANC MP Mr Essop Pahad proposed that a workshop be organised to discuss the two systems. The proposal was accepted.
India Pact Mandela in

NEW DELHI — Leaders of Africa and India signed a new "India Ocean Rim Agreement," with the aim of forming an international coalition to combat in the Indian Ocean, as reported in The New York Times.

The pact was signed on Monday in New Delhi, with President Mandela and Prime Minister Singh attending the ceremony. The agreement aims to address the growing threat of piracy and terrorism in the region, and to promote economic cooperation and development.

"The Indian Ocean Rim countries have a unique opportunity to work together to ensure the security and prosperity of our region," said President Mandela. "This agreement is a step towards realizing that vision."
This is the year of the constitution. With increasing visibility, the 490 members of the Constitutional Assembly (400 from the National Assembly, 90 from the Senate) will be canvassing specialised and popular opinion on the intricacies of a new founding document for our nascent new State.

As Hassen Ebrahim, executive director of the administration that services the CA, puts it: "The Constitution must be owned by the people." To this end, a major information and publicity campaign was launched last week - budgeted to cost R36m to May 1996, when the constitution is scheduled for adoption, of which R19.5m will be for advertising. The CA is meant to produce a draft constitution by July 14 this year, preceded by an intensive assessment of public wishes and wants.

The constitution will not emerge from a vacuum: we function under an interim constitution that enshrines 34 constitutional principles arrived at during the negotiations. These range from an acceptance that race, gender and "all other" forms of discrimination "shall be" prohibited; to the separation of the powers of the legislature, executive and judiciary; to the acknowledgement and protection of our diversity of language and culture, under which can be subsumed the volkskaat issue.

Questions to be settled include the degree of federalism allowed in regions, and which electoral combination of constituency and proportional representation is best for us. The powers of the Senate need closer scrutiny; and decisions of the Constitutional Court - on issues like the death penalty and abortion - will naturally have a direct influence on the legislators. Political developments in KwaZulu-Natal - and perhaps further revelations of unforgivable conduct contrary to the outgoing Nationalists - will influence the climate of debate.

Meanwhile, anyone wishing to make his or her views known on any constitutional matter should put it in writing to: The Secretariat, The Constitutional Assembly, PO Box 15, Cape Town 8000. The CA's members are being encouraged to hold public meetings and what amounts to huisbesoek to spread the word about public participation.

Ebrahim comments that drawing up a new constitution is "the single most important event in our political history." It will certainly be an extended one - the prospect of a deluge of plenary and committee hearings, delays, and time-consuming, is very real.

The problem will be sifting public responses and the real work will take place in nine subcommittees, called "theme" committees (see graphic), which will debate and hear public depositions until the deadline for a draft document looms. And possibly longer, as paper the schedule looks punishing and the strategic co-ordination of the committees could become as tangled as at Kempton Park.

Such suggestions are not entirely frivolous. Theme committee six is subdivided into four "sub-theme" committees, one of which must indeed consider gender equality; and there seems to be almost no...
bee that cannot emerge from some bonnet. One has only to recall some of the platforms on which a few minority parties stood in the election. There will be some who want votes for whales or a quota of air time for *boerenmusiek*.

Ebrahim sees the media as "an extension of the constitutional process." The media tap directly into various sectors of "the people" and "what they want out of the constitution." All CA meetings and documents will be open; the SABC is being approached to provide weekly summaries of committee hearings and proposals.

While the final document will be drawn up by the Constitutional Committee that intermediates between the theme committees and the CA (Ramaphosa and Wessels are once more chairman and deputy), and ratified by the assembly, public input is likely to be seen and heard on a scale unknown in modern times.

It has taken since the election to set this ambitious task in motion. Of the deadlines, Ramaphosa says: "We have close to 18 months in which to write and adopt the new constitution. If we use this time with the resolve of doing just that, the time will certainly be enough." However, he adds that "we should proceed with our work and review the time frames should we realise that the time is insufficient."

Delays would, of course, prove costly. Businessmen and economists will want to look closely at sub-theme committee one of theme committee six — it will be examining financial institutions and public enterprises, almost certainly setting up a commission to scrutinise the business environment, including taxation. Such a brief cannot, and should not, be too speedily dealt with to meet a deadline.

One criticism of this protracted process stands out: At first glance, it is an attempt to write a watertight constitution. In reality, this could never be done — and hence the need for the Constitutional Court to prove itself in relation to the agreed 34 constitutional principles.

The US experience has shown that a constitution can grow over the years — and the centuries. The right balance between justice and changing social attitudes needs to be struck: the heirs of the constitution will need strategic leeway to deal with the unforeseeable.
Registration will cost us about R10-m

VOTER registration, which kicks off today in a 90-day race against time, will cost the city about R10 million.

Costs include the aerial survey of the metropolitan area to determine addresses for people who live in informal settlements, and for later use in the delimitation of new local authorities and wards.

Another major cost is a contract with a computer company to enter all the names on to a computer voters roll for the metropolitan area, along with the mammoth task of double-checking any inconsistencies.

About 1 000 registration officers are already likely to be employed to visit people at home to assist them in registering.

They are probably going to be paid 60c per registered voter in established areas, and 80c a voter in informal areas because registration is likely to take longer.

These officers will carry identifying badges and will be given geographic areas to cover.

Hendrik Elchorn, co-chair of the Elections Transitional Arrangements Team, said he was under no illusions about the magnitude of the task ahead.

He added that although employers and political parties could assist, they would be asked to work very closely with local authorities to avoid problems, particularly around the allocation of addresses to people in informal areas.

In the next three months, an estimated 2.5 million voters will be approached and asked to register, making for about 40 000 entries on the computer a day.

Once registration closes, there will be a further revision period during which people can object to names which appear on the register, or make it known if they have been left off.

But a serious concern has been expressed by at least one voter education organisation which found in a study of attitudes that many people were resisting the idea of registration.

In the next three months, the message about the importance of democracy in local government and the need to register will have to get through to people if the October election is to be a success.

Expect visit — or form in the post

WANTING to get registered as a municipal voter, but you're not sure how?

Don't panic. Somebody is likely to visit you in your own home, or you may receive a form in the post.

If you want to be pre-emptive, you can visit your local municipal office and fill in a form there.

But, although legally it is up to the voter to ensure that he or she is registered, the Cape metropolitan task team organising the three-month drive is determined to approach every potential voter in the city, especially those in informal settlements.

If you've voted in local elections before and think you don't have to fill in the blue form, you're wrong. Every single adult in town will have to re-register to get on to the roll.

All you have to do is fill in the form you're presented with and make sure that the vital details of address and identity document are correct.

Voter registration officers working for local authorities will wear special identifying badges.

You might also be approached by a political party, community organisation or even your employer, and you're free to fill in your form with them too.

If you have doubts about whether your name has been entered into the computer, a toll-free number will be advertised shortly allowing potential voters to check whether they are on the list.
ANC angry with minister over voter registration ‘secrecy’

THE African National Congress in the Western Cape has locked horns with local government minister Peter Marais on the first day of a three-month voter registration drive for municipal elections in October.

In a press statement the ANC accused Mr Marais of acting in a “secretive, untransparent” way, particularly with regard to voter registration and the restructuring of rural local government.

This was contrary to the spirit of the Local Government Transition Act which was the product of negotiation and compromise, it said.

Its statement referred to proclamations by Mr Marais putting mechanisms in place to oversee voter registration in rural and metropolitan areas.

These mechanisms were regarded as “totally unrepresentative” by the ANC.

"Information in our possession indicates that there was no concurrence with the provincial committee, as required by the Act," the ANC said.

"We have also established that the provincial cabinet did not have sight of these proclamations before promulgation."

On the issue of rural local government, the ANC said it was deeply disturbed by Mr Marais's handling of the transition because key stakeholders were being excluded from the debate, and arrangements for compiling a voters' roll in rural areas were unacceptable.

Mr Marais has ruled that Regional Services Councils are empowered to start preparations for the voters roll.

"We demand the inclusion of an equal number of persons nominated by the non-statutory component of the provincial committee," said the ANC.

"The proclamation effectively excludes the non-statutory component from participation in the registration of voters in large areas in our province."

At no stage had the ANC been consulted on rural local government, and it was now two months after the deadline.

"People are now being asked to register for local government elections in the rural areas without knowing for what they will be voting."

"We will not allow the NP to impose a model of rural local government on to our province," it said.

The ANC has called on Mr Marais to convene a forum within two weeks involving all stakeholders in rural local government.

"Neither Mr Marais nor his Press secretary was available for comment."

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"Neither Mr Marais nor his Press secretary was available for comment."
No fixed address' problem in election registration plans

THE question of what is an address looms large in the three-month voter registration drive which starts today.

One of the most difficult areas of registration is going to be for those people who live in informal areas without any obvious address.

For these people, registration is likely to take place at home because municipal offices may have difficulty in establishing what address they should allocate to the voter.

To provide people with addresses, an aerial survey has been carried out of the city and "block" addresses have been plotted on photographs using recognisable landmarks such as well-known footpaths and streets.

Anybody living within that block will be allocated that address, meaning that several hundreds of people can have one address.

Voter registration officers will have to visit people in their shacks with their addresses already allocated to them, and then assist them in filling in the rest of the form.

In some squatter areas people already have addresses in the site numbers of the plots allocated to them, and they can fill these in. These will be verified by information provided by the local authorities.

Because every polling station may not have more than 2,500 people on its list, especially in areas where illiteracy is high, voting is likely to take place very close to home.

But the potential for confusion for people who live in these areas is high and voter education programmes will have their job cut out for them.

Also, well-meaning employers and political parties might confuse the issue by registering voters without providing addresses which the computer programme can identify.

For this reason, anybody wishing to take part in the process is being asked to liaise closely with their local authorities.

Even people without homes may register if they can provide a traceable address — be it the nearest church, or corner café — thus carrying the franchise far beyond its property-based past.
Politics

New laws needed for local government elections in rural areas

By Malcolm Reed

Controversy tears election chaos

NEW LAW Dues of civic and ZILIN COUNCILS and ZILIN COUNCILS in rural areas
Voters need to register

By PETER DENNEHY

EXISTING municipal voters' rolls are to be scrapped.
This means that every adult in the country will have to register within the next three months to be able to vote in the October local government elections.

Mr Gys Hofmeyr, co-chairman of the Elections Transitional Arrangements Team (ETAT) and chairman of the Joint Management Body, said: "We will not put on (to the roll) information from other sources. We require current information. Everybody must fill in forms."

From today, registration forms will be available from municipal offices throughout Greater Cape Town. Canvassers will also be going from house to house with forms. Over a million have been printed already.

It is an offence for any person to destroy registration forms — whether blank or filled in.

Mr Hofmeyr appealed to the public to register as early as possible. CFR 2711745

Voters need an identity number and an address to register.

It is not yet too late to acquire an ID number through the Department of Home Affairs.

The department has planned additional measures to ensure voters can get valid documents, officials said.

*Registration notice flawed — Page 5*
New constitution a priority — Mandela

NEW-DELHI. — President Nelson Mandela said yesterday South Africa urgently needed to write a new constitution, improve living conditions and control crime to ensure stability and economic growth.

In two separate speeches in the Indian capital, Mr Mandela spelled out tasks that he said needed to be tackled now that South Africa’s fledgling democracy has taken hold.

He cited the need to organise and hold local elections later this year.

"Democratisation requires, too, that our Constitutional Assembly should, with the participation of the public, write and adopt a permanent democratic constitution," he said in a speech to Indian business leaders.

Mr Mandela said South Africans understood that lasting changes would not come overnight.

"Nevertheless it is now time that the process of change becomes visible in its impact on the living and working conditions of everyday life," he said.

The South African leader said the end of political violence in almost every area of the country provided a chance to deal with the problem of crime.

"Achieving these objectives can only secure and deepen the peace and stability which have allowed us as a nation, at last, to address the needs of our people," he said.

Describing the government’s economic policies, Mr Mandela said limits on national resources required a shifting of priorities towards prudent and efficient use of wealth.

On the government’s economic policies, Mr Mandela said: "Central to our economic strategy is the opening up of our protected domestic economy and the easing of our present exchange control regulations."

In a speech to Indian parliamentarians, he paid tribute to Indian freedom fighters Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, whose example he said helped South Africa end apartheid. — Sapa-Reuters
Out with Gobbledygook, in with plain English

"Not only is it tedious to read, but it is confusing. Whenever I read something written in this style, my eyes start to twitch and my brain goes blurry."

"I think it's important for writers to use clear and concise language, especially when communicating complex ideas to a broad audience."

"It's not just about the words, it's about the meaning. Complex sentences can often obscure the true meaning of what is being said."

"One of the keys to effective communication is simplicity. When we use simple, straightforward language, it allows the reader to focus on the message rather than the language."

"I've noticed that people often feel intimidated by complex language, as if they're not smart enough to understand it. But by using clear language, we can make our ideas more accessible to everyone."

"As a writer, it's important to always keep the reader in mind. We should strive to create content that is not only informative, but also enjoyable to read."

"In the end, the goal should be to communicate ideas in a way that is both efficient and effective. And that means using clear, concise language."

"I'm excited to see more writers embracing this philosophy and creating content that is easy to understand and engaging to read. Let's keep pushing the boundaries of what's possible with language!"
Out With Sobibordock, in With Plain English

By and has been in command of the country's official languages. His wanderings.

Once again, Mr. Tshabalala with a MSc. degree at the University of Pretoria.

FRUCTIONAL... P.O. Box 19, Cape Town 8000.

He is a chapter of the constitution.

Don't say it lightly, I'm not a chapter of the constitution.

He is a chapter of the constitution.

Out With Sobibordock, in With Plain English
Ordinary South Africans do not expect miracles, researchers find

By ZB MOLFE

IN THE bad old days of apartheid it was chic to speak for "the masses." Journalists, academics and business people visiting the openly anti-apartheid overseas countries took it upon themselves to speak for "the masses." Inside apartheid South Africa, speaking for "the masses" was the thing at dinner tables, boardrooms and the cocktail circuit in the white suburbs. Conferences, seminars, boardrooms and "think tanks" within and without South Africa spoke for "the masses." Anti-apartheid policies were the Open Sesame that opened countless doors to overseas funding, media exposure and anti-apartheid activist accolades.

Then came April 27 1994 - the turn of the masses to speak for themselves. Nelson Mandela and his African National Congress galloped to win the election. The "masses" were the millions of Africans suffering under the yoke of apartheid, who ushered in a new South Africa.

It was the legion of ordinary South Africans, from Soweto to Umhlazi, from Gugulethu to Mdantsane, who gave birth to the Government of National Unity, the midwife of a truly democratic South Africa.

Ordinary people

And it was to probe the real thoughts and wishes of these people, that the Johannesburg-based Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) between November 11 and 31 last year put together 13 focus groups from Gauteng, (comprised of Soweto, East and West Rand residents) and five rural groups from the North West and the Northern Transvaal, to see how ordinary people felt about changes since last April - and what they wanted and expected over the next five years.

Last week the CPS, an independent research institution operating under the aegis of the Human Sciences Research Council, published its research report - Voices of a New Democracy: African expectations in the new South Africa - undertaken by associate researcher Craig Chaney and CPS researcher Gardner Khansani, with 141 depth focus group interviews conducted by research company Markinor.

Launching the report at a press briefing, CPS director Steven Friedman made some telling observations. As the prospect of democratic government drew nearer, the "talking for" that the new South Africa had been forced to challenge it was to convene society itself to the economic fringes. There was the temptation that "black is the very high (social-economic) expectations," he said.

There was also the assumption from those "talking for the masses" that some 35 million Africans, because they happened to share similar racial origins and the same geography, "would want the same things and harbour the same expectations".

Yet the report found that ordinary people have a variety of demands according to their individual needs - and that they do not expect the impossible.

"In view of the nature of public demands on the majority policy issues revealed in the focus groups, matching the expectations of the African majority will prove far more achievable than is generally realised," says the report.

"Rather than expecting row upon row of suburban-style brick homes, the participants want a variety of housing options to fit their wallets and lifestyles.

"Far from demanding a Model C school for all or the instant abolition of school fees, the group members want to see discipline restored in African schools, and facilities and instruction improved."

Instead of demanding vast tracts of rural land which would require enormous expenditure or social dislocation to obtain, the rural Africans in the study "preferred boreholes, pipes, and a steady supply of clean water", the report states.

Attainable changes

"In other words, the sorts of changes sought by the public are far more achievable than either the conventional wisdom of the new politicians or the exaggerated claims by the populists would lead one to believe."

Despite the success of the April election and the installation of a democratic government, there is considerable doubt about the ability of the new South Africa's prospects for success. The same refrain is heard in Johannesburg, Cape Town, New York and London, the report says.

"This pessimism is based on a number of assumptions, including that the African majority is unaware of the constraints under which the new government operates and ignorant of political realities. And that "this crisis of expectations is aggravated by a culture of entitlement, reflected in an attitude that government must provide" and a persistent failure to pay rent and service charges, the report says.

These are racist assumptions that portray black South Africans as 'child-like beings who cannot accept delayed gratification of their wants' - and some political and intellectual leaders are guilty of perpetuating this stereotype, the report says.

It highlights 10 points which prove this argument invalid:

■ There is a keen awareness of the constraints confronting the African public, as well as striking political sophistication;

■ African expectations of the new government are generally realistic and rational;

■ Change is recognised, but it is seen as primarily political rather than socio-economic;

■ There is significant disappointment with the rate and extent of social change - but this is counterbalanced by patience, hope, and the new government's legitimacy;

■ Consequently, satisfaction with the government remains widespread;

■ The people want to prod the system, not smash it;

Self-reliance

■ Contrary to the claims of those who posit a "culture of entitlement" there is considerable desire for self-reliance and willingness to contribute to development efforts, at least when it will make a difference;

■ Compared to elite thinking, the mass outlook is more pluralistic, less ideological and more concretely oriented; and

■ The bottom line is need for visible, widespread, incremental change - failing which the likely danger is a crisis of cynicism and a deep in participation."

"In other words" the report says "the focus group findings suggest that black South Africans do have expectations of change, but they are also hopeful, and prepared to be patient."

"Their patience is not unlimited, and they will judge the new political system by the extent to which they see change in their own lives. However, the changes they are asking for are based on a clear assessment of the need for broad-based acceptance of the project and the possible. Their expectations and assessments also vary with their diverse backgrounds, outlooks and experiences forming a sociological community rather than a militant monolith."
Ordinary South Africans do not expect miracles, researchers find

There was also the assumption from those "talking to the masses" that some 35 million Africans, because they happened to share similar racial origins and a common experience of discrimination, "would want the same things and harbour the same expectations!"

Yet the report found that ordinary people have a variety of demands according to their individual needs — and that they do not expect the impossible.

"In view of the nature of public demands on the majority policy issues, revealed in the focus groups, meeting the expectations of the Africa majority may well prove far more achievable than is generally realised," says the report.

"Rather than expecting row upon row of suburban-style brick homes, the participants want a variety of housing options to fit their wallets and lifestyles.

"Far from demanding a Model C school for all or the instant abolition of school fees, the group members want to see discipline restored in African schools, and facilities and instruction improved."

In contrast, the mass outlook is more pluralistic, less ideological and more concretely oriented; and the bottom line is a need for visible, widespread, incremental change — failing which the likely deterrent is a crisis of cynicism and a drop in participation.

"In other words," the report says, "the focus group findings suggest that black South Africans do have expectations of change, but they are also hopeful, and prepared to be patient."

Their patience is not unlimited, and they will judge the new political system by the extent to which they see change in their own lives. However, the changes they are asking for are based on a clear assessment of the constraints, and well within the realm of the possible. Their expectations and assessment criteria vary with their diverse backgrounds, outlooks and interests, forming a socially pluralistic community rather than a militant monolith."
SA, India ties now official

NEW DELHI. South Africa opened its High Commission here at the weekend after a 40-year break in diplomatic relations between India and South Africa. The opening ceremony was conducted by Foreign Affairs minister Mr. Alfred Nzo, who said South Africa's presence in India would build on cultural links between India and the one million South Africans of Indian descent. The High Commission is headed by Mr. B. Moodman. - Sapa
AWB in bid to join ‘new SA’

THE AWB has asked Parliament for a right-wing amnesty to make it possible for the militant movement to become part of a South African settlement.

"We would very much like to become a part of an all-inclusive political settlement," AWB negotiator Mr Fred Rundle said in a letter to the parliamentary committee on justice.

Mr Rundle said Parliament should extend the cut-off date for amnesty from December 1994 to a date that could facilitate the release of jailed white militants. Dozens of right-wingers, including some self-professed AWB members, have been charged or jailed in connection with violence, including bomb attacks that killed 21 people in the run-up to last year’s elections.

Mr Rundle said the AWB wanted to hold a full general staff meeting to discuss issues such as participation in the October local elections. "Many of our general staff and senior officers are either in detention or awaiting trial under severe bail conditions, all of which makes such a strategy meeting impossible," he said.

Mr Rundle said the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Bill should be amended to extend the amnesty deadline. "The cut-off date is the last stumbling block in the way of a final and peaceful resolution of our country's problems," he said.

- Reuter
OLD politicians never die, they simply go home to the farm.

That's true for many old Nats, but not for all of them.

Some have proved enviably tenacious, defying predictions of doom and downfall, while others have turned their ministerial contacts to good use in new careers in political and business consultancy and law.

One or two are writing their memoirs and the remainder are either down on the farm, or enjoying a re- tooling.

Here is an update on the last National Party cabinet, with portfolios in brackets:

F W de Klerk (State President), the first Nationalist leader who was prepared to preside over the demise of his party by dismantling the system that ensured its might, is now Deputy President to his chief political foe, Nelson Mandela.

Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), who deserves a place in the pantheon of the most indomitable and adaptable politicians served in successive NP governments, becoming the world's longest-serving Foreign Minister. He returned to the cabinet room after April 1994 as Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

Dawie de Villiers (Public Enterprises), among the coterie of especially loyal "P-W" men, was energetic in emboldening reform-mindedness in his Cape Field, and played a significant role in the negotiations. He is now Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism.

Kobie Coetzee (Justice and Defence), arguably the man who did more than any other Nationalist in the grim 1980s to pave the way for a negotiated solution. His early contacts with President Mandela were controversial, probably risky, but decisive, and earned him the ANC leader's enduring respect. He is now President of the Senate.

Amie Venter (State Expenditure), whose experience in this crucial department prepared him well for his new role as regional Finance Minister in the North West province. He is also leader of the NP in North West.

Adriaan Vlok (Correctional Services), initially a casualty of the 1991 Inkhathagate scandal, which prompted his sideways shift from the Law and Order portfolio, loyal support for the post-1990 reforms, but, for personal reasons, chose to withdraw from the fast-changing political landscape. Now in retirement.

Sam de Beer (Education and Training), unassuming, but highly thought of in Nat ranks, he is now NP spokesman on the civil service in the National Assembly.

George Bartlett (Mineral and Energy Affairs), along with Kent Durr (latterly ambassador to the Court of St James), was appointed to the cabinet, in part, to represent English-speaking interests, but was widely criticised for his handling of sensitive mining, environmental issues, and the petrol price row. He is now regional Agriculture Minister in KwaZulu/Natal.

Kraai van Niekerk (Agriculture), able, and widely respected in the agricultural sector, he retains Minister of Agriculture in the government of national unity.

Rina Venter (National Health and Welfare), the first woman appointed to an NP cabinet, she achieved some success in a portfolio fraught with apartheid schisms and duplication, but was widely criticised for not having done enough. She retired from public life, and is now a community health consultant.

Hernus Kriel (Law and Order), a tough political fighter, he beat ex-Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring to nomination as the NP's Premier choice in the Western Cape, mounted an inimitable campaign to win, and gained the distinction of turning the province into a Nationalist stronghold.

FW DE KLERK, former State President: Is now Deputy President to Nelson Mandela.

Piet Marais (National Education), returned to parliament as a member of the National Assembly. He is NP spokesman on education.

Derek Keys (Finance, Trade and Industry), politically unencumbered, bold, extremely able and widely respected, he was pointedly retained by Nelson Mandela after the April 1994 election. His bombshell resignation last year unnerved many, though he insisted it was for personal reasons. He is now Chief Executive of Billiton's Gencor's recently acquired foreign interest.

Jac Rabie (Population Development), a tricameral system "new Nat", the new Nationalist, but one of the keenest to embrace the new South Africa. Was considerably kudos for one of the first and most declarative apologies for apartheid. He appeared set for a cabinet post in the Mandela government, but settled for a seat in the National Assembly. He is also deputy chairman of the Constitutional Assembly.

DAWIE DE VILLIERS, former Minister of Public Enterprises: Is now Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism.

Japie van Wyk (Environment Affairs, Water Affairs), retired from politics and is now a farmer in the Northern Cape.

Andre Fourie (Regional and Land Affairs), a consummate politician, former United Party stalwart and fiercely able debater, achieved prominence in the final days of Nat rule. He is now NP spokesman on land affairs in the National Assembly, and party leader in the Northern Transvaal.

Danie Schutte (Home Affairs), former Deputy Minister of Justice, who played a significant role in negotiations and in helping to set up the elections. He is now NP spokesman on the National Assembly, and NP leader in Natal.
P W Botha (President), last of the NP patriarchs, prised from power after a stroke in 1989, is now in retirement at Wilderness, working on his memoirs.

Chris Heunis (Constitutional Development), master of the constitutional conundrum, puzzled — and, by turns, amused — successive parliament-watchers, bowed out in 1989 and returned to his private law practice in Somerset West.

Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs). (See above)

F W de Klerk (National Education). (See above)

Gerrit Vjoen (Education and Development Aid), classicist whose transition from academia to politics seemed imperfect. Inclusive thinker though he was acknowledged to be, his handling of departmental management raised concerns about his ability in the public arena. He nevertheless played a crucial role in the first days of negotiations, but succumbed to burnout within a year. Travel, refreshing his love for Greek and Latin classics, and preparing his memoirs have occupied the donnish Viljoen since his retirement.

Magnus Malan (Defence) the quintessential “fortress apartheid” warrior — architect of the total strategy, and conceivcr of the “total onslaught” myth — he was like a fish out of water in the post-1990 era, and dogged by calls for his resignation over “dirty tricks” allegations. He has retired from politics and is now a business consultant.

Dawie de Villiers (Administration and Privatisation). (See above)

Kobie Coetsee (Justice). (See above)

Barend du Plessis (Finance), former maths master and businessman, a mostly slick and likeable Nat credited with having begun implementing measures for economic recovery. With unexpected suddenness, he became ill with exhaustion and bowed out in 1992. He is now a financial consultant.

Ellie Louw (Transport), respected Namaqualand MP, he later took over the Manpower portfolio, introducing some progressive labour-government initiatives. He became Speaker in 1992, retiring after the last session of the old parliament. He is now farming in Namaqualand.

Adriaan Vlok (Law and Order). (See above)

Gert Potze (Environment Affairs, Water Affairs), old style Nat, and generally considered an environmental disaster after the exemplary performance of John Wiley, he was not held to be among the most optimistic supporters of moves towards democracy. He is now a farmer.

Stoffel van der Merwe (Information), among the top party propagandists in the late 1960s, he was also a key strategist, eventually leaving the cabinet to become secretary general of the National Party. He has since retired from politics altogether and is now a political consultant.

Stoffel Botha (Home Affairs), former leader of the NP in Natal, he is now a businessman.

Willie van Niekerk (Health and Population Development), and chairman of the President’s Council — long regarded as the Nats’ “rubber-stamp” until its disbandment in 1993, retired from politics to resume his career in gynaecology.

Greyling Wenzel (Agriculture), an MP since 1968, he entered the cabinet as Minister of Agriculture in 1982. Defeated by the Conservative Party in 1987, he returned as a nominated MP, but retired to his farm two years later.

Danie Steyn (Economic Affairs and Technology), lives in retirement on a smallholding near Pretoria, indulging his passion for carpentry.
Traditional leaders’ R4.5m salary bill is set to rocket

BY CYRIL MADLALA

THE controversial House of Traditional Leaders in KwaZulu Natal is set to cost the taxpayer millions of rand in salaries and allowances for its members. The 77-member body consists mainly of chiefs whose salary bill already tops R4.5 million a year.

This amount is expected to increase substantially when salaries for members of the house are determined by the provincial government.

A spokesman for the Minister of Traditional Affairs, Chief Nyanga Ngubane, said the province was awaiting guidelines on payment from the ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development.

Chiefs who were also MPs under the former KwaZulu government received two pay packets — stipends as chiefs and salaries as MPs.

Chief Ngubane said this arrangement would continue under the new dispensation as the house effectively replaced the chiefs’ ex-officio membership of Parliament.

Chiefs now receive stipends ranging from R18,000 a year for those without Std 10 education, to R23,000 a year for those with matric. A three-year diploma or degree earns them R37,170 a year.

Provincial MPs get R193,000 a year.

The establishment of the house in KwaZulu Natal, under the chairmanship of Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has further strained relations between the governing IFP and the ANC.

Two chiefs and ANC provincial leader Jacob Zuma have filed an application in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, claiming that the house has been constituted in contravention of the constitution.

They say there was not sufficient consultation as Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini was also not properly consulted.

In his affidavit, Chief Everson Xolo, regional secretary of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa, said he and others in his organisation were not invited to any meeting to discuss the bill.

KwaZulu Natal premier Dr Frank Mdaliase has to reply by February 14.
CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

FIVE years to the day since he rose in Parliament to usher in a new era, Deputy President F.W de Klerk says he never despaired of the path he chose.

And he hopes that, in five years' time, voters will make him president once more.

Had he the past five years over, "I would not take any different decisions with regard to the major announcements on February 2, 1990, nor any major decisions which flowed from them," Mr de Klerk said today.

Those decisions included unbanning political parties - among them the African National Congress, which is today the senior partner in government in coalition with Mr de Klerk's National Party.

Mr de Klerk said all the goals outlined in his speech on taking office in September 1999 and in the February 2 speech had been achieved.

South Africa today was a multi-party democracy, all statutory discrimination was gone, and all had a vote.

While he was "deeply thankful" for these achievements, he admitted the process had taken longer than he had forecast to himself at the time.

His estimate had been that reaching democracy would take a year less than it had.

The delay was caused by the failure of Codela 2 and a nine-month breakdown in talks.

Mr de Klerk said a disappointment was that successes such as the Groote Schuur meeting and the Pretoria Minute had failed to bring an earlier ending to political violence.

He said he had never despaired that the process would fail: "I always remained confident we would keep on track."

There had been no alternative to pressing ahead to reach a political settlement, Mr de Klerk said.

Asked whether he had anticipated the slow pace of international business investment, he said he had always realized there would be a time-lag.

But he had hoped the international community would react sooner and more positively to developments, even before the election.

Asked what he expected to be doing in five years' time, Mr de Klerk said this depended on the voters.

"If we can achieve a substantial swing away from the ANC, I might be president, or I could play an important role in a coalition government."

At very least he would be leader of the opposition, Mr de Klerk said.

"It depends on the voters and the new constitution."

President Mandela's office commented today that there was no doubt February 2, 1990 was "a significant day."

Joel Netshitenzhe, chief spokesman for Mr Mandela - who is visiting Bisho today - added: "It must be emphasised that its significance arose from the fact that the minority group ultimately caved in to the demands of the majority and of the international community."

"It was not a bolt from the blue, or the independent initiative of any single person, but a response to the pressure from South Africans and countries abroad."
Clarity expected on role of parties in unity government

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

DISCUSSIONS on procedures and conventions within the government of national unity — one of the issues which last month almost split the cabinet — have been referred to a tripartite working group.

This was announced after yesterday's cabinet meeting in Pretoria.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel described discussions at the meeting as "very fruitful".

Last month National Party sources indicated they were frustrated over a lack of clarity on the role of parties within the government, particularly their right to publicly criticise cabinet decisions.

Professor Gerwel said the working group on procedures in the unity government included ministers and deputy-ministers.

"The cabinet has developed certain practices and conventions in the first seven months of its functioning and these are now being formalised and refined," he said.

Professor Gerwel denied reports last month that Deputy-President F W de Klerk had threatened to leave the cabinet after a stormy meeting over pre-election indemnity applications by police and former cabinet ministers.

He said a "sound and constructive spirit" had been evident at yesterday's meeting.

The indemnity issue, which is being dealt with by a committee of the president, deputy-president and minister of justice, was not discussed.
was deemed the best choice—
alternative, which means
new South Africa.

The issue was also intoned
by the Western Cape, where
in a speech at the Cape Town
in the 1980s, he said that all
people should be treated
with equal respect. In his
speech, he highlighted the
need for unity and harmony
to overcome racial divisions.

The Western Cape was
particularly affected by the
Apartheid conflict, and its
people faced significant
challenges during the
decolonization process.

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS
'ANC view is chiefs must be retained'

BISHO.—The African National Congress believed the institution of chieftainship was very important and should be preserved, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Those people, who felt the role of traditional leaders was antiquated and should be done away with had not studied chieftainship properly.

He was speaking at a media conference at the start of a three-day tour of the Eastern Cape, where he hopes to assuage traditional leaders' fears that the coming local government elections will undermine their authority in rural areas.

Mr Mandela said there were still people in the rural areas who believed in custom and tradition.

"However unpopular chiefs may be to some of us, to the masses of the people in the countryside, even though they may not voice it for fear of intimidation, they still respect tradition," he said.

After speaking to the press, the president paid a courtesy call on the Bhachabe paramount, Chief Sandile Maxhoba, at his Great Place outside King Williams Town.

He also held a closed meeting with traditional leaders in Bisho, at which he reportedly urged them to help make the local government elections work.

He is scheduled to pay courtesy calls on two Transkei paramount chiefs today and will also meet a group of chiefs from the territory in Umtata. — Sapa

Mandela calls for T’kei probe

BISHO.—Billions of rands of public money may have been embezzled by corrupt public servants in the former Transkei, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

It was not just a question of a breakdown of law and order in the territory, he told a media conference here.

A thorough investigation would have to be made.

The ANC was committed to clean government, and all those involved in corruption, whether they were members of the former apartheid government, of the liberation movements or the former homeland administrations had to be dealt with very firmly. — Sapa
Police grievances a top priority

UMTATA.—President Mandela promised Transkei police he would give personal attention to their grievances and called on traditional and civic leaders in the territory to resolve their differences.

On the second day of a troublesome tour of the Eastern Cape, he also squeezed in a visit to the strike-ridden community of Tsolo and promised to send in the army if killings in the area continued.

Speaking to about 600 disgruntled policemen and women at the Umtata Police College, he said police of all races were among the most exploited civil servants in the country.

"The type of salaries they receive is not worth talking about. Until we have addressed these problems as a government, the spirit, the morale among the police will remain low and they will remain unmotivated to carry out their duties as they should.

It was “absolutely critical” that their grievances be addressed as soon as possible.

If the Transkei police drew up a memorandum he would come back to Umtata and reply personally. He also warned that it was vital that members of the police force not take any action that could damage the process of redress, or that would undermine public confidence.

A disciplined army and police force were essential for a climate of stability and investor confidence that would make it possible to give all South Africans a better life.

The crime rate in the country was disturbing, and ordinary citizens felt more and more vulnerable.

“You are the people’s only shield against criminals. You are the barrier that protects us from disorder.”

President Mandela said the police should scourge their ranks of colleagues who collaborated with criminals.

These policemen were unworthy of the force and their conduct eroded confidence in the police services.

Addressing traditional leaders and SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) representatives at the University of Transkei later in the day, he noted that some chiefs feared the coming local government elections would undermine their authority, and were demanding that no elections take place in their areas.

This would not be tolerated, and no one would be denied the right to elect a local representative.

“There is no reason why traditional leaders cannot work together with elected councils,” he said.

“Chiefs are not hostile to democracy. Together, we must devise means of blending traditional and civic structures.”

Traditions were meant not to hamper progress, but to facilitate it.

“When times change, traditions and customs must also adjust. Chiefs cannot rule their subjects as if democracy did not exist.”

He urged Sanco and the chiefs to settle their differences and work together in the run-up to the elections.

“Especially in the rural areas, there’s a need for your institutions to work together,” he said.

“You both enjoy the support of our people and they look to you to serve them.”

Chiefs should, however, remain neutral and not be drawn into the “muddy terrain” of party politics.

Mr Mandela afterwards had a closed meeting with traditional leaders from the Eastern Cape, and paid courtesy visits to the great places of two paramounts.

At his last speaking engagement of the day, a rally at Tsolo near Umtata, he said stock theft and related murders which had plagued the community had to stop immediately.

If the thefts and killings continued, the only solution would be to send in the army to monitor the situation.

Mr Mandela flew to Port Elizabeth last night, where he is scheduled to meet unionists and launch an RDP Presidential Project today.—Sapa.
the world's longest-serving Foreign Minister.

**Energetic**

He returned to the Cabinet room after April 1994 as Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

**Dawie de Villiers** (Public enterprises): Among the coterie of especially loyal FW men, he was energetic in emboldening reform-mindedness in his Cape fiefdom and played a significant role in the negotiations. He is now Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism.

**Kobie Coetsee** (Justice and Defence): Arguably the man who did more than any other Nationalist in the grim 1980s to pave the way for a negotiated solution, his early contacts with Mandela were controversial, probably risky, but decisive, and earned him the ANC leader's enduring respect. He is now president of the Senate.

**Amle Venter** (State Expenditure): His experience in this crucial department prepared him well for his new role as regional finance minister in the North-West province. He is also leader of the NP in North-West.

**Adriaan Vlok** (Correctional Services): Initially a casualty of the 1991 Inkathagate scandal, which prompted his sideways shift from the law and order portfolio, he loyally supported the post-1990 reforms. However, for personal reasons he chose to withdraw from the fast-changing political landscape. Now in retirement.

**Sam de Beer** (Education and Training): Unassuming but highly thought of in Nat ranks, he is now NP National Assembly spokesman on the public service in the National Assembly.

**George Bartlett** (Mineral and Energy Affairs): Along with Kent Durr (laterly ambassador to the Court of St James), he was appointed to the Cabinet in part to represent English-speaking interests. He was widely criticized for his handling of sensitive ecological issues and the petrol price row. He is now regional agriculture minister in KwaZulu/Natal.

**Kraal van Niekerk** (Agriculture): Able and widely respected in the agricultural sector, he remains Minister of Agriculture in the Government of National Unity.

**Helena Venter** (National Health and Welfare): The first woman appointed to an NP Cabinet, she achieved some success in a portfolio fraught with apartheid schisms and duplication but was widely criticized for not having done enough.

She retired from public life and is now a community health consultant.

**Hermus Kriel** (Law and Order): A tough political fighter, he beat ex-Cape administrator Kobus Meiring to nomination as the NP's choice of premier in the Western Cape, mounted an inimitable campaign for the post and gained the distinction of turning the province into a Nationalist stronghold.

**Piet Welgemoed** (Transport, Posts and Telecommunications): Retained his association with transport matters as the NP spokesman on the subject in the National Assembly.

**Roelf Meyer** (Constitutional Development): One of the "new boys", he swept to prominence after the demise of former constitutional guru Gerrit Viljoen, earning credit for skillful negotiation with the ANC at the World Trade Centre talks. He is now Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development.

**Leon Wessels** (Mannpower): Another "new boy", a loyal Nationalist, but one of the keenest to embrace the new South Government: A former academic, he played a significant part in the early stages of the post-1990 negotiations, although he founded at the crucial Codesa 2 talks and was replaced by Roelf Meyer. He is now regional agriculture minister in the Eastern Cape and provincial leader of the NP.

**Bhadra Ranchod** (Tourism): A former South African ambassador to the European Community in Brussels, his uncontroversial tenue as Minister of Tourism stood him in good stead to take up the post of Deputy Speaker in the National Assembly.

**Japie van Wyk** (Environment Affairs, Water Affairs): He retired from politics and is now farming in Northern Cape.

**Andre Fourie** (Regional and Land Affairs): A consummate politician, former United Party stalwart and fiercely able debater, he achieved prominence in the final days of Nat rule.

**Significant**

He is now NP spokesman on land affairs in the National Assembly and party leader in Northern Transvaal.

**Danle Schutte** (Home Affairs): This former Deputy Minister of Justice played a significant role in negotiations and in helping to set up the elections. He is now NP spokesman on justice in the National Assembly and NP leader in Natal.

And P W Botha's last Cabinet:

- **P W Botha** (President): The last of the NP patriarchs, prised from power after a stroke in 1989, he is now in retirement at Wilderness, working on his memoirs.
- **Plk Botha** (Foreign Affairs).
- **F W de Klerk** (National Education).
- **Chris Heunis** (Constitutional Development):
PHILIP DEXTER used to eat, sleep and drink trade union. Now he occupies a hard-to-find office in the maze of parliamentary buildings.

Surrounded by files, the distant clatter of teacups and the soft footfalls of grey-jacketed attendants, he has melted a lot since he led striking nurses into a bitter confrontation with the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

The former general secretary has few regrets. "The media attention I got was out of all proportion to my actual importance politically. I didn't consider myself to be a Nelson Mandela or a Cyril Ramaphosa," he says.

Gone now for his in-year-face rhetoric, Mr Dexter now measures each word for its broader significance.

On the one hand, being in Parliament along with 19 other Cosatu nominees has been "an extension of worker control and participation". On the other, it has been an uncomfortable compromise with "Westminster stuffiness".

Have the ANC's trade union representatives been able to put workers' issues on the agenda?

"Perhaps we were to some extent overly optimistic or overly ambitious. There's a logic to government that we haven't really come to grips with - it's a learning curve," he says.

Former Cosatu head office official Gordley Oliphant describes Parliament as "another site of struggle". His states as chairman of the select committee on labour has earned him a roomy office and an authoritative hardbound desk.

Being a committee chairman has forced a soothing neutrality on him. "Business also has to be on board," he says.

"I'm comfortable where I am," he says, adding a qualification: "The only thing I'm not comfortable about is that the majority of workers in this country have not yet started to see change."

Mr Oliphant's committee has been overseeing legislation on the new National Economic Development and Labour Council, the integration of homeland labour laws and amendments to the Agriculture Labour Relations Act among other things.

The job has been made easier, he is quick to point out, by his good relationship with Labour Minister Tito Mboweni.

Not so for one-time National Union of Mineworkers official Marcel Golding. As chairman of the select committee on Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Golding has had to deal with the National Party's Piet Riba.

"They should change his title to Minister of the Chamber of Mines," says Mr Golding, who is cynical of his cabinet counterpart's willingness to change the system.

Mr Golding commutes to and from Johannesburg, which he regards as home. On the table next to his desk stands a portable computer, and two bookcases are jammed with files.

"For someone like me it's extremely difficult. Parliament has an infrastructure that's not designed to facilitate productivity," he says, his frustration showing.

"I don't necessarily represent Cosatu - I represent the interests of everyone," he says.
Govt has failed, says Winnie

THE Government of National Unity had failed South Africans because it did not address the imbalances of apartheid, Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Mrs Winnie Mandela said at the weekend.

Speaking at the funeral service of Warrant-Officer Jabulane Xaba at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto on Saturday, Mrs Mandela said the Government had failed people such as Xaba because it had not removed racism from the workplace.

The killing of Xaba had sent a clear message to the Government that it had to address the apartheid legacy immediately.

"April 27 1994 was a turning point for all of us, but they (policemen) still had to address apartheid imbalances like all of us. Their expectations were dashed by racism within the force."

It was time for the Government to address these expectations, Mandela said.

Another speaker, PWV premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale, said the shooting which claimed the life of Xaba at the Orlando police station on January 27 was scandalous and had tarnished the image of the South African Police Services.

Sexwale said the world saw a community which could not resolve its problems peacefully.

"If all of us had the opportunity to see what happened on that day when police members were shooting at their colleagues, we would all be ashamed. The whole incident was scandalous."

He criticized people who continued to hold leaders or management staff hostage by using it as a tactic to address their grievances.

Mr Johnson Mlambo of the Pan Africanist Congress said his organisation welcomed South African Police Commissioner George Fivaz's statement that there would be change in the police force.

"If Fivaz is genuinely committed to change in the police force, then I can assure him the PAC is committed to work closely with him to see to it that change is attained."
Cabinet told international mediation ‘will definitely go ahead’
New assurances for coloured community

PORT ELIZABETH. - President Nelson Mandela, widely accused of neglecting the needs and demands of the coloured community, said during a speech in Port Elizabeth on Saturday coloureds were "an integral part of the new South Africa".

With Port Elizabeth's coloured community voting overwhelmingly for the NP in last year's election, the venue was carefully chosen for the start of the municipal election drive.

Departing from his prepared notes, Mr Mandela switched from largely Xhosa and some English to Afrikaans at the end of his speech.

"To the coloured community I speak Afrikaans, as it is the mother tongue of many of you and is the mother tongue of white Afrikaners. I want to assure you that the coloured community is also an integral part of the new South Africa."

Urging all voters to register for the October municipal elections, Mr Mandela moved to remove community suspicions and ensure a maximum turn-out for October.

"If you do not register, you cannot vote. There is no danger in signing your name," he said.

It was Mr Mandela's first official visit to the city since his election.

"The last time we met was before the historic April election and now, for the first time, we meet as free citizens," he said.

Everywhere ANC posters depicted a smiling Mr Mandela casting his vote and urging everyone to register for the October elections before the April 30 deadline.

Voting in the elections was important "to ensure the entrenchment of our democracy and the successful implementation of the RDP," Mr Mandela said. The elections would be used to "do away with all conservative municipalities which continue to erect obstacles in our way".
Breakaway traditional leaders create forum

PIETERSBURG — Traditional leaders from the former homelands of Venda and Gazankulu said yesterday they would not take part in Northern Transvaal's house of traditional leaders.

Instead, chiefs who opposed the allocation of 18 seats to Venda and eight to Gazankulu in the House had formed the Vhemenda-Tsonga Traditional Leaders' Co-ordinating Forum. Lebowa had been allocated 18 seats.

The forum wanted each of the former homelands to have 12 seats. It would submit a memorandum detailing its objections to the offices of President Nelson Mandela and Northern Transvaal premier Ngoako Ramahloko.

Meanwhile, in Cape Town the president's office said it was dismayed by reports attributed to certain traditional leaders after Mandela, visiting the Eastern Cape last week, called for mutual respect between traditional leaders and the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and for them to rise above their differences.

Mandela spoke to traditional leaders at Bisho and Umtata, and at a joint meeting of traditional leaders and Sanco. — Sapa.
Work begins on volkstaat
PRETORIA. — The process of setting up a separate Afrikaner nation state could begin this year by identifying suitable areas, Volkstaat Council chairman Mr Johann Wingard said yesterday.

Cultural autonomy could be negotiated by the end of the year, though resolving the issues of political and economic sovereignty could take years.

Sovereignty entailed autonomy over matters such as citizenship, defence, foreign affairs and labour legislation.
The war is over (304A)
says Terre' Blanche
ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has appealed to parliamentarians to extend the cut-off date for political amnesty, saying "the war is over" and it is time soldiers are sent back home.

He told Parliament's justice committees yesterday the extension of the date, from December 5 1993 to May 11 1994, would help create a climate of reconciliation and negotiation.

Terre'Blanche handed over a list of several hundred crimes allegedly committed by right-wingers, saying: "I plead with you not to let this continue."

The AWB had waged war against the previous government because it had "sold out the Afrikaner. But it had not committed violent acts against the new one."

More than 100 right-wingers, including many AWB generals, were in prison or restricted by severe bail conditions. This had made it impossible for the organisation to plan its future role or "become part of an all-inclusive political settlement in SA", according to an earlier AWB statement.

Terre'Blanche endorsed the statement but could not be pinned down on a commitment to AWB participation in SA's democratic institutions or processes such as the truth commission.

"Presses to use his influence to persuade AWB leaders to put away their weapons and abandon what ANC MP Dave Dalling termed their "pseudo-paramilitary Nazi" outlook, he said there would be "no compromise without reparation".

MPs from across the political spectrum praised his conciliatory tone and his willingness to appear before the new government's representatives. However, they were disappointed that no commitment on dropping hostilities had been obtained from the AWB.

ANC MP Willie Hofmeyr described his submission as "an important step forward", while the ANC's Priscilla Jana said she had been impressed with Terre'Blanche's "eloquently expressed desire for peace and reconciliation".
Free MPs, says Speaker

GRAHAMSTOWN. — In an un
Precedented move, the Speaker
yesterday invoked the Assembly's
powers to override the adjournment
of the interregnum period
of the session, saying it could contrast
with the irregular procedure
that has been followed in the
parliamentary history of his country.

M.P.S. have been invited to
attend the Assembly, and
the Speaker has indicated
that he will not be subject to
any restrictions on his
conduct during the session.

Deserted flats: The block of flats in York Road, which a 16-year-old schoolgirl was raped in broad daylight, has been abandoned by its occupants. Police said the girl was left without clothing and in a state of distress.

By Eddy Streek
People's Party Leader
We want peace, says Terreblanche

AWB leader steps short of promise to halt armed struggle

The Star / Thursday February 9 1995
CP confusion: The decision of CP leader Fidel Ramos to set up a new government has raised concerns among the rank and file.

The decision of many field commanders to join the new government was unexpected. Some commanders were worried about the prospects of the new government. But others were supportive of the move, saying it was a necessary step to ensure peace and stability in the region.

In the face of the new government, the CP leadership has been divided. Some have supported the new government, while others have opposed it. The situation remains tense, with both sides maintaining their positions.

The CP's decision to join the new government has been condemned by some factions within the organization. They argue that the new government is not representative of the CP's political agenda.

The CP has a long history of struggle against the government. Its leaders have been arrested, imprisoned, and killed. Despite these challenges, the CP continues to maintain a strong presence in the region.

The CP's decision to join the new government has raised concerns among the rank and file. Some members are worried about the long-term implications of this decision.

The CP's decision to join the new government has also been criticized by some of its political opponents. They argue that the CP is capitulating to the government's demands.

The CP's decision to join the new government has been met with mixed reactions. Some have supported the move, saying it is a necessary step to ensure peace and stability in the region. Others have opposed it, saying it is an surrender to the government.
The whole process of writing a new constitution is becoming a sorry spectacle of bureaucratic paper-shuffling and party-political bickering. This is apparent only weeks after the “theme committees” meant to report to the Constitutional Assembly (CA) have begun work. They are late and seem afflicted with the same misconceptions about what the new basic law should contain as the public.

The confusion is partly structural — as the nonprogress surrounding the drawing-up of a Bill of Rights demonstrates.

In essence, the theme committees are intended to clear the ground for the writing of the constitution — identifying consensus where it exists as well as areas of dispute. In reality, as attendance at committee meetings attests, old belief systems have again come into conflict — as they did at Kemptown Park — and friction between the NP and ANC is particularly marked.

A democratic Bill of Rights, on the model of American experience, should guarantee certain freedoms: of speech and of the press; of assembly and from unreasonable search and seizure; the right to trial and to petition government; and so on. Constitutionally enshrined, the Bill would provide a framework for individual and economic liberty — and its interpretation be left to the highest court, in our case the Constitutional Court (which will soon decide the fate of the death penalty).

All these matters are controversial and open to a number of interpretations. However, the theme committees need merely consolidate the views of the parties in the Government of National Unity (GNU) and refer them up the pyramid of deliberation. All the parties are represented in the committees. It is not for the committees to negotiate or write the constitution.

The delays, to which the FM first drew attention but which are now widely appreciated, arise because committee members appear unwilling to stick to their brief.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon believes that “the focus has been dissipated (in) inconsequential debate. Every minor procedural issue becomes an issue of political machismo.” He points out that in terms of the existing constitution (that of Kemptown Park, which created the GNU), the committees are in fact bound by Constitutional Principle 2 (out of 34 such principles) when it comes to assembling a Bill of Rights.

Principle 2 states (in typically rotten language): “Everyone shall enjoy all universally accepted fundamental rights, freedoms and civil liberties, which shall be provided for and protected by entrenched provisions in the constitution, which shall be drafted after having given due consideration to the fundamental rights contained in Chapter 3 of this Constitution of 1993.”

Chapter 3 goes into considerable detail on a range of agreed fundamental rights, including life, human dignity, property, religion and security. In other words, with such detailed guidance, the committees’ work ought to be almost purely technical, enabling them to meet such deadlines as a draft constitution by July 14 this year. But the parties are squabbling.

This is expensive, time-consuming — and redundant, since the areas of agreement in the existing constitution are so large.

What really has to be negotiated is the degree of federalism (hence Inkatha’s call for international mediation on a kingdom in KwaZulu, and the Freedom Front’s forlorn hopes for a Volksstaat). In addition, most agree that provision should be made for constituencies, and the right of parliamentarians to cross the floor, which they cannot do at present without losing their seats.

Leon notes that even at this early stage, a basic problem is that while Constitutional Principle 2 makes a framework of human rights, the extent of these rights is being debated at an inappropriate time in inappropriate forums. In other words, one already has a framework for housing, health and educational policies — to single out three burning issues — but any attempt to write specific policies into the constitution is folly.

The slow progress of the committees will be exacerbated by a costly process of public participation. The advertisements which have already appeared on behalf of the CA — inviting the public to make any submission it wishes, on any subject — are patently misleading. They fail to refer to the existence of the Constitutional Principles, and the Chapter 3 rights. Leon believes the advertising campaign should first educate the public about the existence of these agreed rights.

As it is, lobby groups are popping up everywhere — there is apparently one called Humanity For Hens — and ANC members, in particular, appear too uncertain of their ground not to bow to every request for a hearing, no matter how absurd or contradictory.

Leon feels that the CA and its committees have been unnecessarily burdened with deadlines. As matters stand, what the agreed framework needs is case-law on the scope of what amounts to an existing Bill of Rights, and on its implementation. The Constitutional Court — like the US Supreme Court — is the appropriate forum for such jurisprudence.

The court at present must interpret the 1993 constitution, but its decisions can obviously affect the compilation of a “final” constitution — though not by July 14. Such a process of refinement of a basic law has, in the US, taken over two centuries.

Leon has a broader criticism of government’s approach to the constitution. At present, with populist pressures ascendant, “Ministers are not behaving like Ministers,” he says. They lack an awareness of the limitations of resources, reflected in a willingness to have socio-economic rights written into the Bill of Rights. You can do that, he observes, and pass the law with a two-thirds majority (as required), “but if the means of enforcement are lacking, it can fail; it can be a complete waste of time.”

As matters stand, the theme committees are wasting their time and the public’s time. The sooner this realisation sinks in, the better. But perhaps only the collapse of the constitution-writing process as it stands will bring this about.

TRANSPORT

Into Africa

Plans for a multi-billion rand rail and harbour network linking south Africa states have emerged after a two-year study by a Rand Afrikaans University transport
Leon’s ‘wake-up call’ to DP supporters

The Democratic Party performs well in parliment but leader Tony Leon wants growth in support as well, writes Gaye Davis.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon says he was sounding a “wake-up call”, rather than a death-knell, by warning that the party’s future depended on its performance in local government elections.

Leon told a public meeting in Bloemfontein, Free State, on Monday that the DP’s future existence was “on the line” to the municipal elections. This week he said his intentions was not to spark a debate about the party’s long-term viability, but to “assert a pinch of realism” and activate support that existed, but was dormant.

Ironically, part of Leon’s problem lies with the role played by the DP’s seven MPs and three senators in parliament. It has a weight out of all proportion to their numbers. Their energy and efficacy — most questions asked in parliament last session came from the DP, for example — is a downside to their party’s dwindling profile. The downside is that this also signals to supporters that its good and that they can all walk.

As Leon spelt out this week, it isn’t enough for the DP to be effective in parliament — “we must have a base and demonstrable growth”. If the party does do an overwhelming local government poll as it did last April, when it returned a lump of nine members, it would certainly have to take a serious look at its viability.

First step will be working back the estimated 40 percent of DP supporters nationwide who “went anti”, and cast their votes for the National Party last April. “We want them to come home,” said Leon. Another will be convincing those still behind the party that “it’s not enough for people to praise us for the job we’re doing in parliament without being prepared to put their shoulders to the wheel.”

A brainstorming session at Ceres’s Bay Day weekend saw party strategy went against and electoral and national MP met the political landscape over the next 12 months or so and the party’s future within it.

Local government elections hold the key to the party’s future, Leon said. “We got an upsurge in the national elections because it was essentially between two poles — the liberation forces and the right liberal movement. Naturally, people voted either for Mandela or de Klerk — it was a two-person beauty contest. But on the provincial ballot people voted differently — with their hearts.”

The DP needed to regain its “heartland” support — voters in key urban areas. Although the party gained only 1.7 percent of the national vote last April, Leon believes this is no indication of the support it actually enjoys in the metros — but which has to be achieved.

“Expanding our base will be a lot easier than a year ago. Transitional metropolitan structures and subject structures offer increased opportunities for the DP to grow. Councillors sitting on the executive structure who all have a community base, a repository of rapidly developing infrastructure.”

A “salient based” approach is also key in the party’s future demonstrable growth. “People must know why the DP stands for something specific,” said Leon.

The party is building a policy around economic empowerment, for example. One idea touches the back of proceeds from the sale of state enterprises being put into a scheme that will offer people earning less than, say, R20 000 a year a free unit trust certificate. The idea is that the unit trust will redeem shares in the newly privatised ventures so that the certificate holder becomes, indirectly, the owner of shares in it. Units could be used to negotiate a loan, as collateral for a home or an investment for the future. More importantly, the country’s most marginalised would be getting a stake in the economy.

Leon discovered the possibility of the DP needing alliances to ensure its future should it not make the gains it wants to the municipal poll.

But chief constitutional negotiator Collins Khosa has tabled a private member’s bill aimed at scrapping the constitutional clause that forces MPs who cross the floor to resign their seats. If successful, it could open the way for new alliances and has already prompted speculation along the lines of “who would cross if they could”. Leon refused to speculate, but said the DP had to be in a position to take advantage of any situation arising. Issue-specific alliances were already in the offing, especially on constitutional issues such as federalism and individual rights.

GUIDELINES TO STAKEHOLDERS TO PARTICIPATE IN REDEFINING THE MANDATE OF THE DBSA

INTRODUCTION

The latest constitutional transformation of the Government of National Unity has made it necessary to re-evaluate the function and mandate of many governmental and parastatal organisations. The DBSA is one such institution. We would like to invite you to make an input in the transformation process of the DBSA. Following are guidelines that are to be considered in making your input. These are not determinants and/or conclusive.

THEMES

1. RATIONALE FOR A WHOLESALE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FINANCE INSTITUTION IN THE NEW DISPENSATION

The Government of National Unity is in the process of designing new financial arrangements between central and provincial governments. This necessitates a review of Development Institutions both at the national and provincial levels. Given these changes, it is time to look into what type of restructuring the National Development Finance Institution should undertake to create a new DBSA.

2. ROLE AND FUNCTION OF A RESTRUCTURED DBSA

Assuming there is a rationale for a wholesale National DFI to provide loan funding and other development support to complement (without replicating) the functions of National and Provincial Governments, what should be the appropriate role and function of a National Development Finance Institution? How should it relate to other national development institutions like the Industrial Development Corporation — The Land and Agricultural Bank and the Small Business Development Corporation? Should it

5. HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Comment on current DBSA Human Resource Management policies and practices

What changes are required to make the institution more progressive and effective?

How should the existing expertise and skills necessary to support the restructured organisation be mobilised and rationalised?

6. WHAT SHOULD THE GOVERNING STRUCTURE OF A RESTRUCTURED DBSA BE?

Should there be a board of governors?

Who should decide on the appointment of board members?

Who should be the board of directors be selected?

What interests groups should be represented?

Who should appoint the chairman and how?

What should be the process for selecting
Voters still unsure who to vote for

JOHANNESBURG. — Many South Africans still do not know who to vote for in October's local government elections, particularly in rural areas, Beatie Hofmeyer of the Voter Education and Election Training Unit has said.

She was speaking on the second day of a rural local government summit in Johannesburg.

Ms Hofmeyer said ignorance of the role of local government, suspicion of giving personal details to unknown officials and a perception that voting in last April's general elections had not changed anything, contributed to ambivalence towards October's elections.

But voters would not be the biggest problem in October's elections, she said. The administration of the elections was a more serious concern.

Also speaking at the summit, co-chairman Kehla Shubane said about 23.3 million people were eligible to vote, many in rural areas, where communication, transport and financial problems were acute. Sapa.
White men leave foreign affairs jobs

THE top ranks of the Department of Foreign Affairs have been decimated by resignations and early retirements.

Officials in the department said morale was low and career diplomats expressed doubts that they had a future in the department.

The rationalisation of the South African and homeland departments of Foreign Affairs into one department and the preference that is being accorded to applicants from outside the department with an eye on affirmative action has many incumbent diplomats fearing they will not advance within the department.

Postings to missions abroad have also been awarded to ANC diplomats, who have only recently joined the department.

At the end of March, all four of the deputy director-general posts will be vacant.

Deputy director of the African division, Derek Auret, will leave the department at the end of the month to take up a position as chairman of the Public Service Commission in the Western Cape.

Although the reasons for his resignation are attributed to a desire to live in Cape Town, the fact is that his new post is a promotion to director-general status within the civil service, which he would have been unlikely to secure in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He leaves behind a division which does not have one chief director (the post below that of deputy director-general). All four of the posts became vacant in the past two years and they can only be filled once the five Foreign Affairs departments have been rationalised.

The division will have to be taken care of by the three remaining directors.

Deputy director-general of the overseas division, Albert van Niekerk, has given notice that he will be taking early retirement.

He said this week that he was leaving for personal reasons and did not want to discuss the matter. He added, however, that he supported the changes that were taking place in the top structures in the civil service and believed that his departure would contribute to this process.

"I am a young man... there are opportunities for a new career," he said.

While sources in the department said his retirement would take effect at the end of March, Mr van Niekerk said this would be determined by the Public Service Commission.

He leaves two chief directors to oversee his division.

Deputy director-general Jeremy Shearer, who had reached retirement age, left the department before the elections last year. His post has not been filled and the division is being overseen by two chief directors.

Deputy director-general of administration Evert Riepert retired in the middle of last year for health reasons. One chief director remains to oversee the division.

The department is being headed by former Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans. Although he was appointed to head the department in an acting capacity many months ago, his position has not been confirmed, creating a sense of unease.
DEPUTY Arts and Culture Minister Winnie Mandela was told this week to publicly retract statements criticising the government — or resign.

According to two senior government sources, the ultimatum was conveyed to her on Friday by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki on behalf of the President.

They said she was told: retract, resign or be fired.

A spokesman for President Nelson Mandela, Parka Makanana, declined to confirm or deny the ultimatum.

However, he said: "President Mandela did express discomfort about remarks that were made by Mrs Mandela. He is consulting with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki on the matter and a public statement will be made early in the week."

Mrs Mandela reportedly told a crowd at the funeral of police officer Jabulani Xaba at Soweto's Orlando Stadium on Sunday that the Government of National Unity had failed South Africans because it did not address apartheid imbalances and had not removed racism from the workplace.

Mrs Mandela had said that the government had failed people like Warrant Officer Xaba because racism still existed in the workplace.

She had challenged the ANC leadership to demonstrate to its constituency whether "we are in power or just in government". She called the ANC's "over-indulgence" in reconciliation a weakness.

ANC sources said this week that Mr Mandela had called his ANC ministers, deputy ministers and senior party officials to the Union Buildings on Thursday morning.

At the meeting, which started at 9am, he said Mrs Mandela's statements had made him "very unhappy".

He told the meeting that when he first heard about her statements, he had immediately wanted to ask her to resign from the government. However, before proceeding with disciplinary steps against her, he had called the ministers and officials together to advise him.

Mr Mbeki was asked to read out sections of Mrs Mandela's comments marked by Mr Mandela in a newspaper report. The gathering had then discussed her statements.

Deputy Environment Minister Bantu Holomisa, sources said, had raised the point that Mrs Mandela's public criticisms of the government were not new — they had been voiced privately within the organisation on several occasions. The meeting concluded.

But, Mr Mandela, according to sources, had replied that he did not want detailed discussion on the contents of Mrs Mandela's
Ultimatum to Winnie: Retract speech or resign

From Page 1

statements. He said it was unacceptable for a minister in his government to state these views publicly rather than discuss them in private forums.

This point was also raised by Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom, Transport Minister Mac Maharaj, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel and Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, the sources said.

The meeting heard that Mrs Mandela could have spoken out publicly because she had missed several meetings at which the same concerns had been raised privately within the ANC.

The meeting listed disciplinary measures that could be taken against Mrs Mandela. She could be called in and reprimanded; she could be reprimanded in a letter, or she could be removed from the government.

However, before these options were discussed, sources said Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal and Mr Holomisa had argued that it would be improper to judge Mrs Mandela in her absence without having heard her side of the story.

Mr Mandela, the sources said, had stated that he did not want to be involved in this and a committee of five people was nominated to meet Mrs Mandela.

The committee comprised Mr Mbeki, ANC chief whip Arnold Stoffel, Mr Maharaj, Mr Mandela's spokesman, Joel Netshitenzhe, and Mr Holomisa.

They were mandated to meet Mrs Mandela and to report to the president before he left for the Robben Island reunion at 8.30 on Friday morning.

Their task was to verify that Mrs Mandela had indeed made the statements; whether she meant what she said and whether she was happy serving in the government.

Mr Stoffel and Mr Holomisa were included in the committee because they were perceived to be sympathetic to Mrs Mandela. Any recommendation of the committee should not be seen as a decision by an "anti-Winnie" bloc, a source said.

Attempts by Mr Mbeki's office to reach Mrs Mandela after the meeting proved fruitless. Her office in Cape Town said she had left on a 10am flight for Johannesburg.

Some of the members of the committee had other pressing business to attend to and the task of seeing Mrs Mandela was left to Mr Mbeki.

The meeting with Mrs Mandela took place in Johannesburg on Thursday night and was attended by Mr Mbeki and Mr Holomisa.

Sources close to the meeting said no ultimatum was put to Mrs Mandela at this meeting, which was held to allow Mrs Mandela to give her side of the story.

However, she was summoned to Mr Mbeki's office at the Union Buildings the next day.

"She was given the ultimatum: either you publicly retract those statements or tender a letter of resignation from the government. If you refuse, you will be fired," two senior ANC members said yesterday.

A source said Mrs Mandela had spent the day in Mr Mbeki's office working on a draft statement retracting her comments made at the Orlando Stadium. It was supposed to have been issued on Friday, but had not been issued at the time of going to press.

Neither Mrs Mandela nor her private secretary were available for comment.

Approached for comment at a Johannesburg hotel, where he was meditating in a dispute involving Mrs Mandela and members of the ANC Women's League, Mr Mbeki said: "I am not talking to the press today."
Ultimatum to Winnie: Retract speech or resign

from Page 1

statements. He said it was unacceptable for a minister in his government to state these views publicly rather than discuss them in private forums.

This point was also raised by Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom, Transport Minister Mac Maharaj, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel and Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, the sources said.

The meeting heard that Mrs Mandela could have spoken out publicly because she had missed several meetings at which the same concerns had been raised privately within the ANC.

The meeting listed disciplinary measures that could be taken against Mrs Mandela. She could be called in and reprimanded as a letter, or she could be removed from the government. However, before these options were discussed, sources said Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal and Mr Holomisa argued that it would be improper to judge Mrs Mandela in her absence without having heard her side of the story.

Mr Mandela, the sources said, had stated that he did not want to be involved in this and a committee of five people was nominated to meet Mrs Mandela.

The committee comprised Mr Mbeki, ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile, Mr Maharaj, Mr Mandela's spokesman, Joel Netshibe and Mr Holomisa.

They were mandated to meet Mrs Mandela and to report to the president before he left for the Robben Island reunion at 8:30 on Friday morning.

Their task was to verify that Mrs Mandela had indeed made the statements; whether she meant what she said and whether she was happy serving in the government.

Mr Stofile and Mr Holomisa were included in the committee because they were perceived to be sympathetic to Mrs Mandela. Any recommendation of the committee should not be seen as a decision by an "anti-Winnie" bloc, a source said.

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JOHANNESBURG. — Controversy-ridden Mrs Winnie Mandela’s tenure as deputy minister hangs in the balance this week following a blunt ultimatum from her estranged husband, President Nelson Mandela, to withdraw her recent public criticism of the government or “resign or be fired”.

Government sources confirmed yesterday that the President had been angered by Mrs Mandela’s statement in Senate last week that the ANC-led government had betrayed black people.

In a speech at the graveside of a black policeman shot dead by a police officer during a violent demonstration by black constables in Soweto, Mrs Mandela said the government of national unity had failed because it had not addressed apartheid imbalances and had not removed racism from the workplace.

She challenged the ANC leadership to demonstrate “whether we are in power or just in government”, and described the President’s “over indulgence” in reconciliation as “a weakness”.

The sources said Mr Mandela subsequently summoned all his ministers and deputy ministers to a meeting in Pretoria after which he asked Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to tell the Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister to issue a public apology, resign or be fired.

The sources confirmed weekend reports that Mr Mbeki helped Mrs Mandela draft a statement of retraction which was to have been issued on Friday.

‘Undemocratic behaviour’

The statement, which was not released, is now expected to be issued early this week, falling which Mrs Mandela will be relieved of her duties in the government.

The latest controversy comes after the resignations at the weekend of 11 ANC Women’s League national executive committee (NEC) members, including treasurer-general Mrs Adelaide Tambo, in protest at Mrs Mandela’s “undemocratic behaviour”.

The resignations are understood to have been triggered by the decision by Mrs Mandela — who is president of the Women’s League — to enter an organization into a partnership with actor Omar Sharif to form a tourist venture, Road to Freedom Tours, in defiance of a league decision not to proceed with the project.

The venture was to encourage Afro-American tourists to visit South African struggle sites, including Mr Mandela’s birthplace in the Transkei and his prison cell on Robben Island.

Mr Mandela personally intervened in the controversy yesterday but failed to persuade the 11 to withdraw their resignations.

Secretary-general Ms Nomvume Mapisa-Nqakula said after a four-hour meeting here: “Mr Mandela is seriously considering putting structures in place to resolve the problems.”

Ms Mapisa-Nqakula also said the 11 did not resign only because of the deal with Sharif. “There have been several disputes over many months — the resignations are a culmination of problems.”

Mrs Mandela was not present at the meeting and was reportedly meeting the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa in kwaZulu-Natal. — Special Correspondent, Sapa Reuter
THE strengthening of political, economic and cultural relations between SA and the Netherlands had opened up "vast possibilities". Netherlands ambassador to SA E Roell said at the weekend. (304A)

"The Netherlands' development assistance to SA amounted to R40m in 1994 and R50m has been set aside for 1995. It is all grants - there are no hidden export subsidies," he said. (P 131298)

Roell said a programme would be devised for rural development aid in the Eastern Cape. Other fields of co-operation included agricultural extension services and agriti-legislation.

Agricultural counsellor Martin Olde Monnikhof said their experience could benefit SA because agriti-production was four times that of local production.

"Our agricultural export is 25 times the agricultural export of SA and our imports 14 times," he said.
Meyer, Mzimela at loggerheads

Mediation showdown looms large

CAPE TOWN — Political parties seemed to be heading for a major clash this week over international mediation on constitutional issues, key negotiators warned yesterday.

Differences over local government elections and the first batch of Constitutional Assembly reports are also likely to be pulled into the mediation row.

The negotiators warned that the post-election "political honeymoon" between parties was under threat.

A war of words had broken out between senior negotiators. Inkatha's Sipho Mzimela and the NP's Roelf Meyer, both on the three-man committee looking into the mediation issue.

The committee, representing the ANC, NP and Inkatha Freedom Party, meets today to discuss mediation, but there is little hope it will reach agreement in time to report to Cabinet on Wednesday.

In Umlazi, Inkatha-aligned chiefs at the weekend reiterated their threat not to take part in local government elections "until and unless international mediation takes place and the kingdom of KwaZulu/Natal is restored".

Inkatha MPs said they had rejected the first batch of "substantive" reports from the Constitutional Assembly's six public participation theme committees, which were to be debated today.

Inkatha claimed the reports were not a fair reflection of the debates which took place in the theme committees, or of the submissions made.

Inkatha constitutional adviser Mario Ambrosetti said the reports "merely reiterated party positions and the constitutional principles which have to underpin the new constitution". The reports also lacked public input, he said.

Correction Services Minister Mzimela accused fellow committee member and Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Meyer of trying to "scupper mediation before it got off the ground. He accused Meyer of usurping the committee's brief by questioning whether mediation should proceed — in defiance of its endorsement by Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi. Mzimela also accused Meyer of raising "unnecessary obstacles" similar to those Meyer and ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa raised at the failed first mediation attempt before the election.

"I am not going to play Meyer's dilletantish games any more," a defiant Mzimela said. The three party leaders would have to decide what to do next.

He described today's mediation meeting as "the last chance" to find agreement before the committee had to report to Cabinet.

Meyer yesterday rejected the accusations, saying his instructions from De Klerk were "to find the basis on which international mediation should take place". He agreed that it was not the committee's job to decide whether mediation should proceed. This was for Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi to decide.

The committee's task was to reach agreement on the topics to be mediated and the positions of the three parties. Meyer accused Inkatha of "using the NP and..."

Mediation

ANC as a scapegoat because of the failure of mediation?

Mzimela warned of "serious repercussions" for the local elections in October if mediation failed to take place. He took strong exception to Meyer saying mediation and the local elections were not linked.

According to Inkatha, local elections could go ahead only once the pre-election agreement between Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi to proceed with mediation on outstanding constitutional issues — in particular the future of the Zulu monarchy — was met.

The DP and the Freedom Front have come out in support of international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues.
Winnie: 2 stormy rage

President Mandela demands reply to 'withdraw, resign or be fired' ultimatum
Meanwhile, Winnie Mandela appeared to be getting deeper into another controversy — this time over money: a cheque for R500 000 donated by the Pakistani Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto. She maintains the money was intended for her to disburse to needy organisations at her own discretion but some members of the ANC Women's League — of which she is president — apparently believe the money was intended for their organisation.

The issue of Winnie's attack on the Government was discussed last week when the president convened a meeting of African National Congress ministers. It was agreed that while the comments she raised have been widely discussed within the ANC component of the GNU, she was at fault in raising the issue in public.

She wrote to the president yesterday in an attempt to “clarify my motives and intentions in making the said comments”. Her intention had not been to “insult the president or to embarrass the GNU.”

Winnie Mandela's open letter.

Mandela rejects letter

From Page 1

Letter to the president, sent simultaneously to Mbeki and the media, was studied by the president at some length yesterday. He then referred it to Mbeki for him to follow up with the deputy minister.

The president feels his estranged wife did not go far enough in her retraction.

The deputy minister’s “note” insisted that “I was merely trying to assure that the Government and the ANC are aware of, and concerned about, the flaws that the Government must still deal with. I was trying to correct the perception.”

A spokesman for the deputy minister’s office said she felt the letter had fulfilled the conditions set by the president.

Referring to the disputed money by Pakistan, a statement from Winnie Mandela’s office last night said the R500 000 had been given to her “to be used at her discretion for the development of underdeveloped communities”. She had decided to issue the money to the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programme.

CAPP came under the spotlight recently when it was claimed that Winnie Mandela was using the organisation as a power base for a faction of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA, of which she is treasurer. She denied the claims.

Dear Mr President...

Winnie explains her criticisms
Winnie Mandela today apologised to President Nelson Mandela for embarrassing the Government of National Unity, and her estranged husband has accepted the apology.

The climbdown came in the face of a threat by the president to sack her as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

It was her second attempt at an apology in two days after the president rejected her initial letter yesterday.

Presidential spokesman Parks Makabola confirmed that Mrs Mandela had written a second letter and that the president was now satisfied.

A further statement was being prepared today. Mr Makabola said the president would indicate that he would not accept indiscipline in government.

Mrs Mandela said in her letter that "I would like to apologise most sincerely for the impression the speech caused that I sought to condemn the government".

The row arose after she made remarks critical of the government at the funeral on February 4 of Soweto policeman Jabulani Xaba. He was shot dead by members of the mostly-white Internal Stability Division during a confrontation at Orlando police station at the end of last month.

Mrs Mandela alleged in speech to mourners that the government had failed to tackle racism in the workplace and that this failure lay at the root of Warrant Officer Xaba’s death.

Earlier Mr Mandela indicated he was unhappy with the first letter which he had passed on to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

He regarded that letter as an explanation rather than an apology, a government source said, and had indicated that unless a retraction and apology was forthcoming, the deputy minister would forfeit her position in the government.

Meanwhile, Mrs Mandela appeared to be involved in another controversy - this time over a cheque for R350 000 donated by the Pakistani Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto. She maintains the money was intended for her to disburse to needy organisations at her own discretion, but some members of the ANC Women’s League, of which she is president, believed the money was intended for their organisation.

A statement from Mrs Mandela’s office last night said the R350 000 had been given to her “to be used at her discretion for the development of underdeveloped communities”. She had decided to issue the money to the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programme (CAPP).

CAPP came under the spotlight recently when it was claimed that Mrs Mandela was using it as a power base for a faction of the Congress of Traditional Leaders, of which she is treasurer. She denied the claims.
Theme committee report called "garbage" stalled by IFP bid talk on constitutional motion. CIVIE SAWEE
Talks on mediation collapse

CAPE TOWN — Multiparty talks on the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for international mediation collapsed amid acrimony yesterday, placing renewed strain on the constitution-making process and the local government elections. (3049)

The talks between Provinces and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, his deputy Valli Moosa and Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mzimela broke down after only 30 minutes.

The "matter is now expected to be discussed at tomorrow's Cabinet meeting after Meyer, Moosa, and Mzimela have briefed President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President FW de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"The talks were a complete waste of time," Mzimela said afterwards. He blamed Meyer for the collapse, accusing him of reneging on a pre-election agreement to proceed with international mediation on constitutional issues. (404)

Mzimela said Meyer was "living in a fool's paradise" if he thought Inkatha would drop its demand for honouring the April 19 agreement on mediation. Failure to proceed with mediation could have "serious repercussions" for the local government elections scheduled for October and the constitution-making process.

However, Moosa said Inkatha's reasons for mediation were not good enough. He said the NNP and the ANC believed there were insufficient grounds for mediation at this stage. "We cannot plunge blindly into international mediation without clarity on the issues which need to be mediated. We would end up making fools of ourselves."

He said Mandela and De Klerk were committed to honouring the mediation agreement with Buthela. However, the three parties first had to agree they had reached a deadlock on specific constitutional issues.

Moosa confirmed Mzimela had identified four issues for mediation in the multiparty committee appointed by Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi to look into the matter. They were:

☐ The boundaries of the "kingdom of KwaZulu/Natal", in particular the row between its government and the Eastern Cape government over East Griqualand;
☐ The future role of the Zulu monarchy;
☐ The right to self-determination "as far as the people of KwaZulu/Natal are concerned"; and
☐ The constitutional status of the kingdom of KwaZulu/Natal "within a united SA".

Moosa said the East Griqualand boundary issue would soon be the subject of an investigation agreed to between KwaZulu/

Mediation

Natal premier Frank Maluleke and Eastern Cape premier Raymond Mhlaba. It would therefore be pointless to put the issue before international mediation.

He said the remaining three issues were linked to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. Zwelithini said recently he did not want international mediation on matters affecting the Zulu monarchy, and none of the three parties had the right to speak on behalf of the king.

The breakdown of the mediation talks coincided with AJC accusations that Inkatha was trying to delay the work of the Constitutional Assembly. In the assembly's constitutional committee yesterday, Inkatha rejected the first "substantive" theme committee reports as "garbage".

The party's call for the debate to be suspended to allow the public participation committees to produce more detailed reports was overruled. However, assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa acknowledged that the reports needed more work before they were presented to a full sitting of the assembly on Monday.
Winnie's defiant stand

By Vuyo Bavuma
Political Reporter

WINNIE Mandela has defied her estranged husband President Nelson Mandela by refusing to retract a verbal attack launched on the South African Government.

Instead, the fiery deputy minister has written a letter to President Mandela justifying her actions two weeks ago at the funeral of policeman Jabulani Xaba.

In her letter Mrs Mandela said her intention had not been to insult the President or embarrass the Government of National Unity.

A reportedly "furiously" Mr Mandela had earlier issued the directive that if Mrs Mandela did not retract her criticism of the Government she could "resign or be fired".

Among other things Mrs Mandela had told mourners the Government was pandering to white people at the expense of blacks.

In her letter to the President, Mrs Mandela said she had merely impressed upon the masses that the ANC was aware and concerned about "flaws" that still had to be dealt with by the Government.

In a statement yesterday, Mrs Mandela said: "The impression of the people is that we neither care nor know about these things. I was trying to correct that perception. If in doing so I created a different impression, that was not my intention. I have always been an honest and forthright member of the ANC. I have tried to be equally faithful to the government, and I mean to remain so."

Meanwhile, the crisis in the ANC Women's League has taken a strange turn with deputy president Thandi Modise denying there had been any resignations in the organisation.

Not intentional, insists Winnie

HERE is the text of Winnie Mandela's letter, dated February 13, to President NR Mandela:

"Dear Mr President,

Deputy President Mbeki has advised me of the consequences among some members of the Cabinet of the address made by myself at the funeral of Jabulani Xaba on February 4. He has also conveyed the message of your being upset about my statements. In this note I will try to clarify my motives and intentions in making said comments.

First and foremost, I must make it abundantly clear that it was not my intention to insult the President or to embarrass the Government of National Unity. I was merely trying to assure the masses that the Government and the ANC are aware of and concerned about the flaws that the Government must still deal with.

The impression of the people is that we neither care nor know about these things. I was trying to correct that perception. If in doing so I created a different impression, that was not my intention.

I have always been an honest and forthright member of the ANC. I have tried to be equally faithful to the Government, and I mean to remain so.

Yours faithfully,

NW Mandela
Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology." — EPA.
Aid agencies urged to tap private sector

NON-governmental organisations risked becoming "hostages to the state" because government funding constrained their independence, but an alternative was to tap the private sector and invest in viable projects, a conference heard yesterday.

The four-day Johannesburg conference, attended by African non-governmental organisations, was organised by Environmental Development Action in the Third World. It served as a preparatory meeting for the UN World Summit on social development to be held in Copenhagen next month.

The relationship between government and non-governmental organisations, shrinking resources and the repositioning of these organisations in emerging democratic societies were discussed.

There was concern that northern hemisphere governments, which previously funded non-governmental organisations were now giving money directly to governments, and this had resulted in competition for money between the two.

The conference discussed the crisis of social disintegration in African cities, improving the status of women, youth, the disabled and deteriorating physical and social environments.

Strategies for dealing with the adverse effects of structural adjustment policies, mounting debt, unviable terms of international trade, weak states and economies were emphasised.

An Egyptian delegate advised delegates to bypass governments and seek business community funding.

"Are we working for the people or are we hostages of the state?" a delegate asked. "We have to find mechanisms for financial self-reliance that will link people in organisations to find alternatives to funding."

Violence and crime was another issue dominating the conference. Crimes against old people and children were debated and suggestions for educating people to "self-manage their lives and protect their flats, streets and villages" were made.

Delegates argued for "valorisation" of ancient methods to preserve nature.

SA frustrated by Lomé delay

LINDA ENSOR

LONDON — SA is frustrated by the prolonged delay in finalising its application for inclusion under the Lomé convention and is hoping for a decision in Brussels this week.

Foreign ministers representing 85 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) and European countries will meet to approve the mid-term review of the convention. This will provide the financial framework for the international trade and aid agreement for the next five years.

However, SA should not hold out hope of extending trade benefits from talks on "associate" membership of Lomé for 10 African, Caribbean and Pacific nations, a European Union (EU) official said. He said SA could gain easier access to the EU through a free trade zone with the Union or an extension of the generalised system of preferences.

SA's ambassador in Brussels, Neil van Heerden, said while recognising the extensive consultation required, SA felt its application was proceeding too slowly. "There is a reluctance to come clean on where people really stand about SA's application. Given the euphoria about SA, nobody wants to say no and so their response is usually 'why not?'"
I'm sorry says Winnie

By Mathatha Tsedu Political Editor

EMBATTLED DEPUTY MINISTER MRS Winnie Mandela has apologised unreservedly to President Nelson Mandela for remarks criticising the Government.

The apology was contained in a second letter late on Monday, after President Mandela rejected the initial one, which was seen as more of an explanation of the controversial speech than an apology.

Government sources said the President had set Monday as the deadline for a retraction of the accusations about the Government's incapacity to protect blacks from racism.

After Mandela's initial letter had been turned down, she had a few hours to prepare another unqualified apology, or she would have been sacked yesterday.

In the second letter, Mandela said she wished to "apologise most sincerely for the impression the speech caused that I sought to condemn the Government of National Unity.

To end racism

"If such criticism of the Government were intended, I could not have excluded myself as a member of the Government. Indeed, I am aware that the GNU is concerned to end racism in our society ... and has instituted programmes in pursuit of this objective.

"I would like to reaffirm my commitment to the concept and practice of collective responsibility on the part of cabinet ministers and deputy ministers and, on this basis, am prepared to serve the Government loyally, working with all members of Government.

"I sincerely regret any embarrassment that the speech might have caused the President and the Government as a whole, and therefore accept this censure," Mandela said.

Accepting the apology, the President said the "serious criticism" had been "inconsistent with her position as a member of the Government".

In a statement released from his Cape Town office, he said he viewed in a serious light "any acts of commission or omission on the part of Government officials which convey an image of disregard or disrespect for the policies and decisions" of the GNU.

He promised firm action against any similar behaviour "now and in the future".

While the apology has resolved Mandela's problems with her estranged husband, she is still embroiled in a fight with her fellow leaders in the ANC Women's League, of which she is president.

Eleven ANCWL leaders who resigned at the weekend have accused her of undemocratic leadership, nepotism and not declaring funds donated to the organisation.

Mandela has said that about R500 000 donated by Pakistani leader Benazir Bhutto last year, had been donated at her discretion to an organisation known as Coordinated Anti-Poverty Programme, which helps people in informal settlements.
Budget will tackle wealth gap — Mandela

CAPE TOWN — This year's Budget would begin to close the wealth gap between whites and blacks, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday. 

"The gap between Africans, Coloureds and Indians on the one hand and the white minority on the other is too big and it must be closed," he said in an interview. But this would be a process and "not something that can be done just in a single Budget".

"We have been put up, power is in the hands of a few, and we must address the basic needs of the majority. The Budget must be geared to address the constituency that put us into power," Mandela said. The government of national unity last June had been drawn up under apartheid. Next year's budget, for the fiscal year starting April 1, would be the first to accurately reflect the priorities of democratic rule.

But he added: "Even that Budget must be so structured that while addressing these basic needs of the majority ... there should be no dislocation of other services."

He also rejected criticism from his estranged wife, Winnie, that he was over-indulgent towards whites, saying government was working 24 hours a day for all people. "People want houses today, not tomorrow. They want jobs today, they want houses today. But they are satisfied with evidence that the new government is tackling these issues."

He ruled out serving a second five-year term after elections in 1999. "In 1999 I will be 79 or 80. I don't think an octogenarian should be meddling with political affairs. I would like to give over to a younger man. I will be available for advice if they want me, but to occupy a position as a head of state, definitely, I won't take that risk."

He threw down the gauntlet to criminals and striking workers who broke the law, warning that the police would take firm action against lawlessness. Government acknowledged the right to strike, but violent and disruptive protests undermined stability and economic growth.

He had instructed Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to tell the new police commissioner to take firm action against those breaking the law — taxis blocking the streets and people threatening to take officials hostage. "I want those people to be brought to book."

He accused "those who get less than 1%" in the election, and other groups which had not participated, of infiltrating trade unions to foment instability.

But government's conciliatory attitude towards whites had helped to "isolate and destroy the right wing".

The integration of former guerrillas into the new SANDF was also going well. SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring was cooperating with government to remove complaints relating to integration. The rate of integration had speeded up considerably, Mandela said.

He also said former UN ambassador-designate Allan Boesak might be considered for another government post if he was acquitted on charges arising from the alleged misappropriation of donor funds. But appropriate action would be taken if the outcome of criminal proceedings against Boesak was negative. — Sapo.
Cabinet seeks action to ensure voter registration

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

The government should do everything possible to ensure voter registration for local government elections goes ahead, the cabinet has decided.

Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked for it to be formally recorded at yesterday's cabinet meeting that he emphasised in all his speeches the importance of local government elections.

His department is responsible for issuing identity documents, without which people will not be able to vote in the local government elections.

There is mounting concern that only a trickle of voters have registered for the elections.

Major cities have reported huge backlogs in the numbers of people who should by now have registered, while provision for registration in rural areas is reported to be inadequate.

Cabinet secretary Jakos Gerwel said, contrary to earlier reports, the demand for international mediation on the Zulu monarchy was not discussed at last week's cabinet meeting.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has said international mediation should proceed before constitutional negotiations or local government polls go ahead.

The cabinet said the question did not fall in its ambit and said it should be resolved by the three parties, Inkatha, the National Party and African National Congress, which signed a pre-election agreement on international mediation.

- Yesterday's cabinet meeting gave the nod to restructuring of several para-statals.

Among them is the SA Tourism Board, which is to be made more representative of all regions.

The Minister of Trade and Industry, Trevor Manuel, was proceeding with plans to restructure the Board on Tariffs and Trade.

As an interim measure two serving members of the board had been reappointed temporarily.

This week a new board is to be set up to devise strategies to further national economic growth.

The National Economic Development and Labour Advisory Council will be established on Saturday.

With representation from the government, community organisations and organised labour and business, it will replace the National Economic Forum and National Manpower Commission.

- The cabinet will be briefed soon on "various international instruments" to deal with the problem of illegal aliens, said Professor Gerwel.

- The cabinet approved implementation of a United Nations convention aimed at combating desertification.

This was among other environmental conservation measures approved by the cabinet yesterday.
Call to Rename South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA should be renamed a union of three states and regions, each with its own parliament and executive. The three states should be the Republic of South Africa, the Herero and Nama Republic, and the Homelands. The new name of South Africa should reflect its diversity and pluralism.

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Call to Rename South Africa

Traditional leaders should also be represented in Parliament. The traditional leaders should also have a say in the election of traditional leaders. They should be elected by the people of their region, and their decisions should be binding on the government. The traditional leaders should also have the power to veto any legislation that affects their community.

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Call to Rename South Africa

The new name of South Africa should reflect its diversity and pluralism. The three states should be the Republic of South Africa, the Herero and Nama Republic, and the Homelands. The new name should also include the traditional leaders, who should have a say in the election of traditional leaders and a veto over any legislation that affects their community.
SA, Palestine form ties

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA and Palestine yesterday established full diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

Signing a protocol cementing the new ties, both Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo and his Palestinian counterpart Mr Farouq Qadoumi described the step as an "historic" move to strengthen peace and stability "at both poles of the African continent". Mr Nzo emphasized that South Africa's formalisation of its relations with Palestine "does not in any way affect our relationship with Israel or our support for their right to live within secure borders".

The establishment of full diplomatic relations with Palestine should be seen in the context of South Africa's determination to "de-ideologise" its foreign policy, he said.

"With regard to the Middle East, South Africa has been adopting an approach of even-handedness in dealing with the conflict and the peace process.

"The decision about our newly-established relations with Palestine brings us on the same level as our relations with Israel, Jordan, Syria, Egypt and other role players," Mr Nzo said. He said the new diplomatic ties should also lead to closer contact with Palestine in the field of business and in multinational forums such as the Non-Aligned Movement.

Mr Qadoumi, who is second-in-command in the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLA) to its chairman Mr Yasser Arafat, said the new diplomatic bonds represented "the principled commitment of the peoples of South Africa and Palestine to pursue our joint march and cooperation towards the establishment of peace and stability".

Mr Qadoumi, whose delegation met with President Nelson Mandela yesterday, said he looked forward to greater interaction between South Africa and Palestine in future.

Mr Mandela held a joint meeting with Mr Arafat and President Ezer Weizman of Israel after his inauguration in Pretoria last year.
Whither Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE cabinet had not yet begun to discuss a possible change in the sitting of Parliament, cabinet secretary Professor Jakes Gerwel said yesterday.

He said ministers were still trying to organise their affairs in the most effective and efficient way given the existence of two capitals.

The issue of the seat of the legislature had not been raised at yesterday's cabinet meeting.

Instead, ministers had discussed issues such as whether cabinet committees should meet on Mondays or Tuesdays instead of Wednesdays and the problems of dividing their time between Cape Town and Pretoria.

"That is currently uppermost in the minds of the cabinet," Professor Gerwel said.

"The Constitutional Assembly will also consider all of this so the cabinet is concentrating on organising the more effective functioning of government," he said.
Mandela contradicts Winnie

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected criticism from his estranged wife Winnie that he was over-indulgent towards whites and said his government was working 24 hours a day for blacks.

Addressing criticism that he had forced his wife, who is also a deputy minister in his government, to retract her statements, he said in an interview it was true that his African National Congress was "in office, but not in power".

"That is a statement of the obvious, but we are seizing the reins of power. We are succeeding in that, but it must be understood that something that cannot be done overnight," he said.

He said: South Africa needed the experience and skills of whites who had benefited under apartheid from superior education and opportunities.

He also said former United Nations ambassador-designate Dr Allan Boesak may be considered for another government post if he was acquitted on charges arising from the alleged misappropriation of donor funds.

However, "appropriate action" would be taken if the outcome of criminal proceedings against the former ANC Western Cape leader was "negative".

"The way in which we have handled the Boesak affair indicates the firmness of the ANC, but also the caution which it exercises before it takes any action.

"Allegations had been made, and it would be unfair to expect an organisation such as ours to act purely on an allegation without those allegations having been proven."

Asked whether he would seek a second term of office after the next elections, a smiling Mr Mandela said: "In 1989 I will be 66 or 67. I don't think an octogenarian should be meddling in political affairs!"

But he said he was in "reasonably good health" for his age. — Sapa-Reuters
Separation of powers alien to chiefs

CAPE TOWN — The concept of a separation of powers between the executive, legislature and judiciary was alien to traditional societies, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) said yesterday.

In a submission to the Constitutional Assembly, Contralesa said in these communities the king was legislator, administrator and adjudicator.

Crucial to all these roles was that the king always acted on the advice and the assistance of his councillors.

"The people's assembly (imbizo) has the power to nullify acts performed by the executive... custom and tradition do not permit abuse of power and the traditional leader who is inclined towards authoritarianism exposes himself to rebellion and even assassination."

Contralesa conceded traditional society was patriarchal, but some tribes in Venda and Lebowa were required to have a woman as traditional leader.

Liberation meant the restoration of what was unjustly usurped.

Members of the executive arm of government, including traditional leaders, should come from and be part of the legislative chamber. (2-2-30UA)

The judiciary should be autonomous and free of interference from either the executive or the legislature.

However this should not apply to traditional courts, because traditional leaders were required to play a role in the executive, the legislature and the courts.

Traditional leaders should have reserved seats in Parliament. They should not sit as representatives of political parties but as a body of "amakhosi", or chiefs, and be free to consult and interact with all parties represented.

Traditional leaders, not Parliament on party political tickets, should be relieved of their status as chiefs to prevent them from interfering with the right of their subjects to vote for politicians.

Contralesa also called for a commission on customary law and human rights to investigate aspects of indigenous laws and customary practices which might conflict.

— Sapa.
When Thabo came to Winnie’s rescue

Thabo Mbeki walked the tightrope between the country’s first couple this week.

Mark Gevisser reports

President Nelson Mandela was so “fed up” with the ill-discipline and unaccountability of his estranged wife, Winnie Mandela, that he was resolved to drop her from the cabinet until persuaded otherwise by several ANC leaders, including Thabo Mbeki.

At his Sunday meeting with the 11 senior ANC women who resigned their positions on the Women’s League national executive committee (NEC) in protest against Winnie Mandela’s leadership, the president said that, following her remarriage at the funeral of Warrant Officer Jabulani Xaba, he was absolutely firm about firing her.

He told the women he had consulted with the seven ANC regional premiers, and all but one of them had agreed that the move was long overdue. He would have relieved her of her duties immediately, he said, were it not for “comrades” having “restrained” him.

The result was a meeting last Thursday, of all ANC ministers and senior officials, and the “retract, resign or be fired” ultimatum that was given to Winnie Mandela the next day.

A senior source in the ANC alleges that Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki played a critical behind-the-scenes role in convincing Mandela not to act rashly and to consult more widely before taking any action. Mbeki was then responsible for drafting the letter of apology that Winnie Mandela finally signed.

Mbeki’s director of communications, Thami Mkhize, counters, however, that “no such role” was played by Mbeki. The decision to offer Winnie Mandela a choice was “made at a meeting called by President Mandela last Thursday. It was on the basis of the inputs made by several people at that meeting that the president made his decision.”

The debate over her future cuts to the heart of a core ANC dilemma: how to keep troublesome ANC members in line without alienating vital constituencies and encouraging factionalism. While there are those in the ANC who believe that people like Winnie Mandela, Allan Boesak and Peter Mokaba need to be jettisoned once and for all, “so that they stop coming back to haunt us”, in the words of one NEC member, there are others who believe that unity must be kept at all costs.

Negotiating between these two seemingly exclusive prerogatives, Mbeki spent his week shuttling between the Mandelas, and attempting to temper both the irrepressibility of the president and the exasperation of the 11 resigned Women’s League NEC members.

Perhaps his mediatory role was appropriate, given that he is the ANC’s political manager. But he too encompasses a dilemma: on the one hand, the shoot-from-the-hip antics of Winnie Mandela, Santu Holomisa and Mokaba cannot but work against his primary appeal as the man who will bring international capital to South Africa; on the other, he has risen to the position of Mandela’s successor in no small part because of the support of the Women’s League and the Youth League; support delivered either directly by Winnie Mandela or by her lieutenants.

At the meeting at which the 11 executive members resigned from the Women’s League, held last Saturday, Mbeki — who was called in to troubleshoot — urged them to consider party unity above all else.

Said one of the women: “It felt as if we were being roped off the knuckle; as if we were being condemned for being divisive. He seemed to be saying that we should not cause trouble and just go quietly, by not standing for office. It was as if we were being condemned for being good comrades, and raising important issues...”

When Mandela met them the next day, the message was altogether different: “He seemed much more willing to listen to our concerns, and gave the impression that the wrong people were leaving the Women’s League.” The result is a meeting of the entire league executive, along with the ANC’s national leadership, to take place tomorrow.

What upsets those who have resigned, says another of the women, is that “our battle is being denigrated as a cat-fight in the Women’s League, and we are being accused of resigning because we are ‘anti-Winnie’. It’s just not true. We resigned because we felt we needed to make a vital and urgent point about clearness and accountability in leadership.”
GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

No place to hide

A serious flaw in the interim constitution has imprisoned the Nats

Among the diverse citizens of our brave new republic, a sense is growing that government is prey to a deep, disquieting malaise. It cannot rule properly. It cannot even keep its own house in order.

The evidence is glaring. In education, health, security, broadcasting and housing, policies that seem to negate the principles of the free market and sound governance, and which pander to visions resonant with populism and political correctness, lurch daily into view.

The excesses of this tendency are being checked within the parliamentary committees of the Government of National Unity (GNU); but that is largely because we are locked together in a period of transition and conciliation. Consensus on proposed legislation is taken seriously and the existing interim constitution (that of 1993, which created the GNU), enshrines negotiated compromises that cannot easily be transgressed.

The real question is whether this state of affairs can last — or should be allowed to do so. Where is the real opposition to the son's-calotters and missionaries of the ANC? What are the real possibilities of seeing again an official Opposition that can resist the depredations and inroads of a powerful majority party?

First one must consider the numerical composition and nature of the GNU. Leaving aside the Senate (with 90 members elected by the regions, and its functions open to discussion), the National Assembly comprises 400 members: ANC 252; National Party 82; Inkatha Freedom Party 43; Freedom Front 9; Democratic Party 7; Pan-Africanist Congress 5; and the African Christian Democratic Party 2. Nelson Mandela had to resign from the Assembly to become President; Deputy President F W de Klerk still counts as a Nat.

The Assembly and Senate together also serve as the Constitutional Assembly, entrusted with drawing up the "final" constitution. The functions of this entity become important a little down the line when considering the implications of formal parliamentary opposition.

Meanwhile, the 1993 constitution is flawed in that — for all participants — it severely restricts the option of simply walking out of the GNU. Those within the unity government who want out — and there are some sharp indications of dissatisfaction within the NP caucus — are like partners in a shotgun marriage who have to face the fact that if they leave, they contractually lose their house. Individual party members have to observe the interim constitution's rule that "a member of the National Assembly shall vacate his or her seat if he or she... ceases to be a member of the party which nominated him or her as a member of the National Assembly."

To make matters worse, the GNU arose as a concession to the NP, providing a vehicle for entrenched white power sharing until at least 1999, when the next national election falls due. This was the outcome of Joe Slovo's famous "sunset" clause, which addressed white minority fears of ANC dominance.

When De Klerk recently threw his toys out of the cot over the amnesty issue and Mandela in effect said the defection of the NP would cause scarcely "a ripple," it was this truth that underlay their (temporary) positions of open confrontation. If De Klerk had resigned his executive post — and failed to keep the confidence of his entire party, making off with a splinter group — he would have had to leave the Assembly as well. A nonparticipating NP would simply simmer in impotence.

The parties' numerical strength within the GNU is based not on constituencies — which, it is agreed, will be reinvented in the "final" basic law — but on proportional representation, which is to say that their percentage of the total vote in the April 1994 election.

Ministerial allocations, as well as committee representation, are also formulated according to that percentage.

So National Assembly members cannot cross the floor to another party or claim and sustain independence from a party. There is no constituency to go back to and contest in a by-election. Any party's numbers in the Assembly are at present fixed and replacements can come from those on the "list" who didn't make it in April 1994. And there matters uneasy rest.

Assume that the NP left the GNU en masse. This would presumably be on an issue of principle and Ministers like Pik Botha and Dawie de Villiers would have to follow their leader and give up their salaries, perks and powers, sinking back into the dim baize obscurity of the backbenches. They would no longer be part of the process — and it was because the NP wanted to be a part that the unity government was agreed on in the first place.

What has happened is that, with time, the raison d'être of the GNU is fading. Far sooner than anyone anticipated, the fundamental ideological differences between the ANC and the NP (the senior partners) are increasingly bedevilling proceedings, which is to say that the smooth functioning of government. The ANC may wish to go it alone — and it has certainly demonstrated that, provided it disciplines its firebrands, it can steer a moderate, centrist course — but it cannot do so now, not constitutionally.

What it all adds up to is that we cannot get official parliamentary opposition until we have an amended constitution. And the Constitutional Assembly is displaying marked signs of drift and outright silliness.

As the FM has noted (Current Affairs, February 10), this is largely because, while the existing constitutional principles and the ancillary statement of citizens' rights provide a framework for what might broadly

Continued on page 26
be called human rights law, that fact is being used to bring in all kinds of inappropriate concerns.

The principles were negotiated, along with a unity government, at Kempton Park. The idea seems to have spread, among the public and in the "themed" committees, that the constitution is a blank sheet. Or screen. It isn't. Its starting point is the — admitted hugely flawed — interim constitution of 1993.

If the Nats walked out, it also has to be asked what would happen to Leon Wessels's position as the NP's chief representative within the constitutional committee. Would he be entitled to be part of the drafting of the new fundamental law? He co-chairs with the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa. Could he continue to negotiate for the NP?

The truth is that the constitution-writers are being diverted from the straight and narrow. The debates are accordingly unrealistic. Many issues are fraught with emotion and dread — like amnesty, the Volksstaat, the Kingdom of KwaZulu, and the degree of federalism in general. On top of that, eccentricities will waste time.

But it may in the end come down to Ramaphosa and Wessels to take the path of Ramaphosa and Meyer: to wield the transitional constitutional principles and Bill of Rights (as amended by the parties) as a sword to cut our Gordian Knot.

A constitution cannot be too specific — which is why those who want secondary and "horizontal" rights enshrined in it are misguided. Such rights — like free healthcare, housing, abortion, judicial execution, or humane treatment of animals — flow from primary rights as interpreted by a high court. In any case, the Constitutional Court has been established and out of it will come the necessary case law for the application of the constitution.

It is important that all parties be represented in the drafting of the constitution, as indeed they are. Without the checks applied by the DP, NP, IFP, Freedom Front and ACDP — as well as affected NGOs and lobbies — the ANC would have things all its own way. And since the ANC has shown itself to be weak-kneed in the face of populism, the need for opposition at the constitution-writing stage is essential.

But this is far from the whole story. Assume that the "final" constitution has been ratified by the constitutional Assembly by May 10, 1996, its current deadline, or even a year or so after that. That would still leave the period between its acceptance and the next election in 1999 at the expiry of the GNU oddly vacant, politically speaking.

Surely the parties will feel constrained by the framework of unity — with its perks of prestige and power — to be less forthright in voicing dissent than if they were free to form coalitions, cross the floor, and display the kind of independence those who voted for them have a right to expect?

That is why the constitution must not — through malice or inadvertence — retain those clauses that now inhibit free political movement within the Senate and Assembly. The basis for reform, and for future trouble, is there already in Constitutional Principle VII: "The Union shall be representative government embracing multiparty democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, a common voters' roll, and, in general, proportional representation."

Coalitions are an essential ingredient of such a process. And since all parties agree that minority representation needs to be restored, the way ahead towards an era of vibrant opposition and coalition-making need not be too arduous. A further benefit of freeing the political process would be that parties, specifically the NP as the only substantial brigade ranked against the ANC in parliament, will be allowed to split. There may, for example, be sitting members of the NP who dislike its lacklustre performance and links to past human rights violations. They may wish to join the DP or the ANC or some new party that is committed to free-market principles as well as those already accepted tenets of democracy that all claim to revere. For now, they can wish as much as they want. If they do anything about it, though, they will lose their seats and go into the wilderness until 1999. From that wilderness, few return.

The NP is not likely to emerge from the hearings of the Truth & Reconciliation Commission with anything like honour. The retiring generals, their functionaries and the killers and their deeds will all be exposed, one way or another. If the experience of other nations which have gone through this painful and necessary process is repeated, we will discover shocking truths about our past. The NP — certainly in its previous incarnation, prior to De Klerk's inestimable value reforms — is hardly likely to emerge from such tribunals for that is what they could become with a lily-white visage. All the more reason then for it to split and for the emergence of a new party adhering to principles that the FM regards as essential to stability, growth and foreign investment.

To raise but one point: it is clear that the abolition of exchange controls — in tandem with the freedom, preferably constitutionally entrenched, of the Reserve Bank — is essential if we are to become a competitive market economy. The DP would agree; so would the NP now. But the DP has the sensibility without the weight while the NP has the weight without the sensibility. Put the best of them together, possibly in an election alliance with Inkatha, and they will be in a powerful position to accelerate economic reform, even if they cannot wrest power from the ANC.

Even if exchange control is abolished and the rand unified, as we have been promised, it is difficult to see the ANC suddenly becoming anything like wholehearted in its advocacy of the market.

The economy is likely to be the real issue in the next election. The masses who want a decent life — and who already have inmeasurably more rights than they ever had — will make it so. Their demands on the State could grow exponentially unless the voice of moderation and an awareness of the limitation of resources take deeper root in the minds of the ANC.

The logic of events is that the crucial time of danger lies in the period that intervenes between the end of the GNU's residual utility and the next election. It would make sense if the expiry of the unity government was made to coincide with the universal acceptance of a constitution enabling truly free political activity.

The "sunset" clause is fast approaching the end of its unifying legitimacy, long before its five-year term is over. It can be seen that demands for a Volksstaat and a larger measure of autonomy in KwaZulu are hardly central to our concerns. An opposition with guts and an awareness of the economic priorities will know how to win votes away from the ANC. The constitution will guarantee the process, not thwart it.

Nor do we need to wait for the final constitution. The pusillanimous clauses highlighted in this leader are offensive and need to go. They were cobbled together from bits of string and expediency.

Meanwhile, the Nats will continue their uncomfortable participation because they really have no option.
Prove it, says Holomisa

Deputy minister challenges Mandela

by ETHER WALKER

Washington, D.C. — Former President F.W. de Klerk issued a challenge to Deputy Prime Minister Thabo Mbeki to prove that the current government's policies are different from those of the National Party, which ruled South Africa for 26 years. Mbeki, who is the leader of the African National Congress, has been in power since 1994.

Holomisa, the opposition Democratic Party's leader, said that Mbeki's government has failed to bring about the economic and social changes that were promised during the transition to democracy.

"We have a responsibility to the people of South Africa to show that we are different from the National Party," Holomisa said. "We cannot simply say that we are different without demonstrating it with our actions."
UN consents apartheid to history's dishonor.

On consents apartheid to history's dishonor.
Winnie defies Mandela

By SOKOLO SELLO

AN APPARENTLY defiant Winnie Mandela failed to turn up at an emergency meeting last night called by President Mandela to resolve the crisis which has split the ANC's Women's League.

The meeting, which lasted two hours, ended inconclusively. However, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation had embarked "on a process that will lead to the resolution of the problem within the Women's League".

Ramaphosa said the ANC would hold another meeting "fairly soon". Last night's meeting - which was called by the President - was precipitated by the resignation of 11 senior members of the Women's League.

Last week ANC Deputy President Thabo Mbeki tried unsuccessfully to broker peace between the two groups. Winnie failed to attend last week's meeting, claiming the proper procedure had not been followed in convening it.

The intervention of Mandela yesterday was seen as a last-ditch bid to heal the differences between the two groups within the Women's League. One faction is led by Winnie, who is also the League's president, while the other is led by Adelaide Tambo, who resigned her position as treasurer-general last week.

Despite Winnie's absence from the meeting, some leading members of her faction - including the league's deputy president, Thandi Modise - were in attendance.

The crisis in the Women's League revolves around several allegations made against Winnie. She has been accused of subordinating herself to collective leadership, of engaging in (disputed) democratic actions, and of failing to direct and influence policy on women's issues.

What was seen as the final straw was her recent launch, with international film star Omar Sharif, of a business venture, The Road to Freedom Tours.

In her letter of resignation, Tambo said she, as treasurer, had not been informed about this venture which Winnie said would benefit the League.

Last night's meeting, which was held behind closed doors, was chaired by Mandela and was attended by several other senior ANC members.
Mandela Lays Down The Law

ST 1974

Meeting The People

Mandela Reads Some of the Things at the Gates of Parliament

Picture: Eric Miller

"We demand the release of all political prisoners and the implementation of the Freedom Charter."

"The government must be accountable to the people and their will must be reflected in the Constitution."

"We demand the withdrawal of foreign military intervention in South Africa."

"We demand the establishment of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist society."

"We demand the immediate end to all forms of violence and the promotion of peace and reconciliation."

"We demand the establishment of a just economic system that ensures a decent standard of living for all people."
MPs have to 'sign in' each day

IT'S almost like being back at school for parliamentarians, who under a new rule are required to sign daily attendance slips to prove they are actually doing their job.

Speaker Dr Frere Ginwala told members of the Assembly that in future they would find on their desks an attendance slip, with the date of the sitting appearing on it.

Members would have to print their names and sign the slip before depositing it in one of the special boxes at the exit of the chamber.

Parliamentarians were themselves responsible for ensuring the slips were deposited and should not ask messengers to do so on their behalf, Dr Ginwala said.

Senate president Kobie Coetzee delivered a similar message to the Senate.

Last year the Assembly, several times had problems in summoning enough MPs to make up a quorum.

Whips and the MPs blamed standing committees, which often sat while debates were going on, but it was later disclosed that some MPs were simply bunking parliament altogether. — Sapex
STRONG support for the concept of a government of national unity was expressed separately over the weekend by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Deputy President F W de Klerk.

Mr Mbeki told an international investment conference in Cape Town that all three parties got "something" out of the government and all three knew that if any one of them were to walk out, they could be the losers.

Mr De Klerk said after an extended caucus meeting of the National Party in Stellenbosch that no one in the party even suggested that the NP reconsider its position in the national and regional government.

However, both Mr Mbeki and Mr De Klerk said co-operation in government did not mean the parties did not have differences — these would be voiced publicly, particularly during the local government elections.

Mr Mbeki also disclosed that the recent cabinet bosberaad had devoted a considerable amount of time to discussing how the government should function effectively. "Sometimes we quarrel and sometimes we exchange blows, political blows."

However, a democratic decision had been taken by all parties that these differences should not break up the government.
NP against MP expulsion clause

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE National Party has come out against the controversial clause in the Constitution which lays down that MPs and senators automatically lose their seats if they resign from a party or if they are expelled from it.

"In principle, we are not happy with the clause," the NP leader, Deputy President F W de Klerk, said at a press conference in Stellenbosch after the NP's extended caucus meeting.

The clause, inserted in the Constitution during the Kromfontein negotiations, has resulted in political parties having extraordinary power over MPs, making them representatives of parties rather than voters.

"The clause makes you feel like a prostitute," one NP MP said at the weekend.

The Democratic Party's chief negotiator, Mr Colin Eglin, has tabled a private member's motion to remove clause 43(b) which restricts MPs from resigning and other relevant clauses for the Senate and provincial legislatures.

Mr Eglin said recently there had been a groundswell of support among all parties for repeal of the clause.

He also said the clause was undemocratic because it artificially restricted political mobility and the emergence of new alliances.

Until now, the NP has adopted a reserved position on the issue, and senior members have claimed that if it was repealed it would make the proportional representation system unworkable.

Mr De Klerk's emphatic response at the weekend will increase the pressure for the clause to be scrapped.

A number of ANC MPs have also indicated that they would support the move and the ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said in his annual report last year that the matter would have to be looked at again.

Mr De Klerk said the NP believed the right of elected representatives to regroup across party-political lines should be entrenched.

The NP believed Section 43(b) of the Constitution should be replaced with a measure providing for some mobility.
NP to 'compete' with ANC, no alliances says De Klerk

Cape Town — The National Party will try to establish itself as an effective competitor to the ANC. (30th)

This was announced by the NP's national and provincial leadership at an extended caucus meeting in Stellenbosch at the weekend.

Party leader, Deputy President F W de Klerk, prevailed against calls for the NP to take a more aggressive opposition stance.

De Klerk, who last week repeated his insistence that the party would not engage in Westminster-style confrontation politics, instead argued for the NP’s emergence as an effective competitor, party sources said.

De Klerk, who is due to reply to President Mandela's opening of Parliament speech this week, faced criticism that NP members in the Government of National Unity were "in the ANC's slipstream."

He told the media after the meeting that the NP was in the GNU to stay, ending a period since the GNU's inception in which the NP's participation had always hung on the actions of the ANC.

The NP would set out its own goals and ensure it had policies relevant to the voters. De Klerk resisted attempts to steer the party into alliances with other non-ANC parties.

Earlier, Northern Cape provincial leader Andre Fourie, a virulent ANC bater in parliamentary debates, called in public for the NP to enter into alliances on common issues with other parties.

"The NP does not see any party on the horizon with which it is prepared to enter into a formal alliance," he said.
Tensions between civic body and Govt reduced

BY MONDILI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

Simmering tensions between the Government and the South African National Council of Organisations appear to have been smoothed over after the two parties met at the weekend.

In what was described as a tense meeting, Sanco complained to Deputy Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mohamed Valli Moosa that it was being left out of the Operation Masakhane campaign aimed at restoring basic services to townships and ending the rent boycott.

Tensions had also been worsened by a Government announcement that the ministries of Safety and Security and of Justice would be involved in the campaign, a move Sanco viewed as intimidating.

Operation Masakhane will be launched on Saturday by President Mandela and it was feared animosity between the Government and Sanco could destabilise it.

Sanco has been growing restless at what it sees as an increased Government tendency to ignore it in relation to the implementation of Masakhane.

Sanco was particularly peeved that it had not been consulted about the draft media campaign, which stresses the resumption of payment above the delivery of services.

“We have a problem with the emphasis on the culture of non-payment. There is equally a culture of non-delivery and we want an improvement in delivery to go along with the resumption of payments,” said Sanco RDP co-ordinator George Dor.

Operation Masakhane director Chris Ngeoobo said the Government was keen to see “substantial progress” in the payment of rents by the October local elections.

Sanco wants the Government not to insist on all arrears being repaid because this would make it more difficult to get people to resume paying.

The Government, however, intends to stick to January last year as the date on which payments should have resumed.”
Slips won't let MPs give them the slip

It's back to school for South African parliamentarians who — under a new rule — must sign daily attendance slips to prove they're actually on the job. Cl 2/12/96.

Speaker Dr Frere Ginwala told Members of the National Assembly on Friday that in future they would find on their desks an attendance slip with the date of the sitting on it.

Members would have to print their names and sign the slip before depositing it in one of the special boxes at the exit of the Chamber.

Senate president Mr Kobie Coetsee delivered a similar message to the senate.

Last year the assembly had problems several times in summoning enough MPs to make a quorum. It was discovered some MPs were simply bunking Parliament. — Sapa
All urged to play part in governance

ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — President Mandela has called for participatory governance involving all South Africans, trade unions, business and the Government in developing the country — while isolating “anarchists”.

Opening Parliament yesterday, he promised firm action against corruption, crime, anarchy, racism and attempts to disrupt local government elections.

He also strongly cautioned against high expectations of an instant improvement in the lives of all South Africans.

After establishing new governmental structures during the first year of the Government of National Unity, the President’s speech clearly signaled his Government was now in a position to begin implementing its own policies.

See Page 9

Mandela further put governance on a new footing by proposing a co-responsibility for governing the country between the Government and the public.

“In the period ahead of us we shall therefore insist on the collective responsibility and accountability of everybody concerned as part of a process in which we must all engage, of raising the levels of discipline and responsible action throughout our society.”

Strong emphasis was placed in his speech on the Government’s “extremely limited resources” and inability to change socio-economic conditions overnight.

“All of us, especially the leadership of political organisations and civil society, must rid ourselves of the wrong notion that the Government has a big bag full of money! The Government does not have such riches,” Mandela told a Joint sitting of the National Assembly and Senate. Although the Government was restructuring State spending to address urgent needs, an unavoidable obstacle was previous contractual obligations and carryover expenditure.

“We must all absorb this reality into our thinking: in a cold and dispassionate manner and not allow ourselves to be induced into a world of false hopes leading to unrealistic action based on the wrong assumption that the Government can be coerced to meet demands that it cannot meet, however justified and legitimate those demands might be,” Mandela said.

Turning to the public service, the President said all cabinet ministers were to brief civil servants in their ministries and departments on their task and to report on progress.

Responsible

Public sector unions had been invited to take part in the budgeting process “so that they make their own contribution to the difficult task of deciding the best possible allocation of the limited resources available to the Government.”

The President called on the public to behave in a responsible manner when it came to the Government’s obligations to meet material expectations.

The strike action which had been threatened by a few of the public sector unions will not succeed in forcing the Government to make available money for large wage and salary increases,” he said.

“Mass action of any kind will not create resources that the Government does not have and

FROM PAGE 1

would only serve to subvert the capacity of the Government to serve the people.”

It was critical that a set of priorities was developed to implement visible and sustainable socio-economic improvements.

However, such projects should be undertaken within five-year and longer-term projections.

Mandela said the Government would therefore not make commitments it could not meet on a continuing basis. “Realistic targets” in providing houses, clean water, primary health care and jobs would take place within the budget, consistent with the Government’s commitment to fiscal discipline.

Welcoming the measures announced by Mandela, ANC spokesman Senator Jackson Mthembu said his party wanted the Government to take action, especially in KwaZulu-Natal, against attempts to disrupt local government elections.

Supporting the Government’s strong stance against people who abused their right to protest, Mthembu said the ANC would not give financial or legal assistance to any member of the ANC or allied organisations who were guilty of such conduct.

National Party MP Martinus van Schalkwyk said the president’s speech was well-balanced.

But the NP criticised the present affirmative action policy which “often amounted to reverse racial discrimination.”

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said: “The president hit a lot of the right notes and indeed unveiled a timeous iron fist on lawlessness, anarchy, the culture of entitlement, and the demands of the public sector unions.”

However, Mandela was “far too defensive” on corruption.

The Freedom Front said it was clear the ANC had realised that the political honeymoon was over. It criticised “increased affirmative action”, which it said would lead to further uncertainty and resignations in the police force and civil service.
IFP Walks Out of Assembly

By Ismail Lagarto and Zapa

I want to ask a new question to which...
CLIVE SAWYER and TYRONE SEALE
Political Staff, and Sapa

TENSION mounted today as the cabinet met in the wake of yesterday's walkout by the Inkatha Freedom Party from parliament and the constitutional assembly.

As ministers arrived at Tuynhuys for the meeting and MPs met informally to discuss the implications of the IFP move, police and army personnel in KwaZulu-Natal and on the East Rand were placed on alert.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his colleagues in the cabinet—Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mzimela, and Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane—attended the meeting.

They said yesterday that their walkout was not intended to disrupt the working of the government, but ministers in other parties said today the IFP action was seen as the most serious threat so far to the government of national unity.

Police said they were taking the possibility of violence in the wake of the IFP walkout very seriously and were concentrating their attention on areas previously linked to political violence.

Chief Buthelezi said today nothing had happened so far to change his party's decision to leave parliament.

And he said he saw no reason to contact President Mandela to resolve the crisis, which threatens to fracture South Africa's fledgling democracy.

Earlier today, Chief Buthelezi spoke briefly to Deputy President and National Party leader F W de Klerk.

The conversation had been "constructive" but Chief Buthelezi declined to disclose details.

He noted, however, that Mr De Klerk had a more positive approach to the issue than his underlings.

Chief Buthelezi spoke to The Argus moments before today's cabinet meeting.

He said he would not be raising the demand for international mediation.

Cabinet secretary Jake Gouws confirmed that the only item on the agenda of the special cabinet meeting was the white paper on education.

Asked for his personal views on whether the IFP should remain in parliament and the government, Chief Buthelezi said he could act only on the mandate of his party.

Asked whether he was planning a new role for himself in KwaZulu-Natal provincial government, he said this was constitutionally impossible.

Meanwhile, MPs believe Mr Mandela is unlikely to agree to calls for an urgent meeting with leaders of the IFP and NP to resolve the crisis.

ANC and NP MPs, while adament that the process should go ahead, are baffled about what the IFP means by international mediation.

Government sources indicated there was some scepticism in cabinet circles about the IFP's motive for the walkout.

There was a feeling it was a publicity stunt and a prelude to an IFP campaign to strengthen its hold in KwaZulu-Natal.

The walkout was followed by calls for a meeting of leaders of parties which had signed a pre-election agreement that international mediation would be convened after the new government was sworn in.

A spokesman for Mr Mandela, Parks Mamakhalana, said calls for the president to take part in a meeting on the issue were "unnecessary" because the process of resolving the question was under way.

Chief Buthelezi told a press conference yesterday after the walkout that he interpreted statements by Mr Mandela in a television programme as meaning the president was opposed to international mediation.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said his party was committed to continue talking to the IFP and NP on international mediation.

Provincial and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said the NP was committed to the agreement on international mediation.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday that the breach of the April 1994 agreement by the ANC, IFP and NP to arrange international mediation meant his party's presence in parliament was a "political impossibility."

IFP campaign manager Senzo Mfayela said the party's preparations for local government elections were going ahead.

The party's suspension of its participation in parliament had no bearing on its preparations for local government elections.

"Attempts to link to the two are mischievous and should be ignored," Mr Mfayela said.

All structures, including those in KwaZulu-Natal, were continuing with voter registration campaigns, he said.

See page 4.
“Cantons instead of volkstaat”

TYRONE SEAL, Political Staff

The Freedom Front has swept the idea of a laager-style volkstaat from which to attack the new South Africa for a string of cantons inside which Afrikaners could preserve their culture and contribute to development in South and Southern Africa.

Front leader Constand Viljoen said today original demands for a volkstaat as a means to escape the new South Africa had been emotionally based, and the front had subsequently investigated the question of self-determination on a more scientific basis.

He said the Front believed it should remain critically but constructively involved in contributing to the good of the country as a whole and to the economic development of Southern Africa.

Apart from it not being in their interests, there was no way Afrikaners could withdraw from “the South African scene”.

The original idea of claiming all the old Boer republics had been abandoned.

There was no single area large enough to accommodate the proposed volkstaat, but the process could be launched with the voluntary settlement of Afrikaners in areas they currently dominated.

This way the “real volkstaat” might only be fully established in 10 to 15 years.

On the proposed Truth and Reconciliation Commission, General Viljoen said while something had to be done for the victims of human rights violations of the past, the country would learn nothing from the publication of the details of thousands of incidents.
‘Accusers playing with fire, acting in bad faith’

TYRONE SEALE
Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party walkout from parliament capped a build-up of strongly worded IFP disillusionment during the national assembly debate on President Mandela’s opening speech.

The opening gambit came from Ziba Jiyane, who said the party was “deeply aggrieved” that it was being undermined as “an inconsequential part” of the government of national unity.

The party was also aggrieved at being dragged into claims about hit squads in the KwaZulu police.

He said the party’s accusers were “playing with fire” and that acting in bad faith in the government of national unity and in the KwaZulu/Natal legislature seriously undermined the fragile peace that is a gift from God.

Dr Jiyane said there was a limit to the patience of the party’s supporters, and he called on all parties to act in good faith to ensure the survival of democracy in “our beautiful but tortured land”.

The IFP would resist all attempts at removing it from the face of the country.

On the question of international mediation, Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela (IFP) said Mr Mandela, deputy president De Klerk and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had on April 19 last year given a “passionate commitment” that mediation would be pursued.

“Now is the time to put our full trust and confidence in that agreement.”

Every attempt by the IFP to secure international mediation had been ridiculed.

King Goodwill Zwelithini had never been a part of this agreement, was not part of the agreement and could never be part of it.

He said it was up to statesmen and women, not royalty, to resolve the issues.

It did not help to pretend that the issue could be swept under the carpet.

He urged parliamentarians to use their integrity and honesty in finding a solution.

The Democratic Party has offered its services to resolve the dispute on international mediation.

The party earlier backed repeated calls by the Inkatha Freedom Party for last year’s pre-election agreement that mediation be convened as soon as possible, to be put into effect.

DP leader Tony Leon said: “We understand the IFP’s immense frustration at the delays and obstructionism which have prevented this agreement from being honoured.”

But using a boycott of parliament as leverage for the demand was a dangerous precedent and risked the future of parliamentary democracy.

“Trifling with parliament brings the most central institution of our democracy into disrepute,” said Mr Leon.
Party ‘betrayed over mediation’

Inkatha threat to quit govt after walkout

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party walked out of Parliament yesterday saying the party’s continued participation in government would be put before a special party conference early next month.

Arguing that he had been betrayed and frustrated by intransigence over international mediation, “very serious problems” in the government of national unity and ANC hostility to Inkatha’s governance of KwaZulu/Natal, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the party was “determined to suspend our active participation in parliamentary work and in the constitution-making process”.

“The walkout by 48 MPs and senators marked jubilant cheers from the ANC benches. It raised fears of renewed violence in KwaZulu/Natal and of an Inkatha boycott of local government elections. While Buthelezi was unable to give a commitment on this, he said his department would continue to provide whatever services were required of it.

The party’s four executive members — Buthelezi, Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mdletshe, Arts Minister Ben Ngubane and Deputy Safety and Security Minister Nhlanhla Nene — would continue in their posts to avoid any disruption. The party had scheduled a special general meeting for March 5 and 6 during which it would decide on its further participation in government.

Referring to what he described as an insult over Inkatha’s demand for international mediation on constitutional demands, he said the party would seek a mandate at the conference on whether a betrayal of this magnitude can just be swallowed by us and forgotten.

President Nelson Mandela voiced his strong disapproval of the decision yesterday, saying the move could not be justified whatever differences pursued over the international mediation issue.

Calling on Parliament and the Constitutional Assembly to continue with their work, Mandela said Inkatha members should carry out their constitutional duties as elected members of government.

The likelihood of Inkatha’s withdrawal became increasingly apparent yesterday afternoon as one MP after another took the opportunity of a debate on Mandela’s opening address to Parliament to stress Inkatha’s dissatisfaction with the government of national unity.

Inkatha MP Ziba Jiyane said the new democracy in SA was under a grave threat due to the government’s display of bad faith on provincial autonomy.

Inkatha had been treated as an inconsequential part of government, it felt deeply outraged, said Jiyane.

The party had scheduled a special general meeting for March 5 and 6 during which it would decide on its participation in government.

Mandela also called on the ANC to call the conference to prevent disruptions.

The NA said it regretted Inkatha’s decision as well as its failure to consult either Deputy President PW de Klerk or Mandela. The NA still believes that a solution would be possible if the issue is approached with the necessary sincerity.

The DP said it understood Inkatha’s frustration and offered to assist in any way it could to resolve the dispute.

Saps reports Freedom Front leader Gwede Mabandla said the last thing SA could afford at this stage was a breakdown in stability. Inkatha’s decision was a “serious matter”. The parties would have to get together urgently to work out a solution to the mediation issue.

Sydney Mufamadi’s interventions in the provinces and his exclusion from participating in the selection of Constitutional Court judges, Jiyane said.

But it was Mmamela who identified the major grievances: ANC and NP “ridicule and disdain” for the international mediation initiative. “It is now 16 months since an agreement was signed on the issue and nothing of substance has happened.”

Buthelezi said a solemn agreement had been signed between Inkatha, the NP and ANC in April last year on international mediation, and Inkatha had entered the election as a result of it.

The mediation initiative was aimed at clarifying the constitutional position of the Zulu monarchy and kingdom.

Mmamela said the selection of international mediators as well as the date and venue of the mediation would “move the country forward”.

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Winnie’s move catches ANC by surprise

CAPE TOWN — Senior ANC officials accused Winnie Mandela yesterday of further damaging the party by accepting the recent spate of ANC Women’s League resignations while efforts were still being made to resolve the issue.

The officials admitted the league’s acceptance of 11 executive resignations had caught them by surprise.

They said it appeared Mandela had moved swiftly to consolidate her power base in the women’s movement following the resignation of the executive members 10 days ago, citing the league president’s “undemocratic” behaviour.

The resignations were linked to Mandela’s decision to go ahead with a joint tourist venture with actor Omar Sharif in defiance of the league putting the project on hold.

The league has since endorsed the project.

A source close to Mandela said yesterday the acceptance of the resignations by the league’s executive was endorsed by 11 of the 14 regions of the women’s league at a meeting in the ANC head office in Johannesburg on Saturday.

ANC officials vowed yesterday to continue their efforts to bring the two factions together to try to resolve their differences, but conceded their task had become much harder since Monday. ANC treasurer-general Arnold Stoffel said: “We are not finished with this issue yet.”

Officials expected the matter to dominate this weekend’s meeting of the newly selected ANC national executive committee, which, according to some, might also be the last chance to limit the political damage caused to the ANC.

Officials are pinning their hopes on the ANC executive appointing a special commission, which includes both factions, to try to resolve the row.

One of the 11 women said yesterday they were still committed to resolving the issue through consultation, “but the ball is now in the ANC’s court”.

Those who resigned included Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, veteran activists Ruth Mompati, league spokesman Lutshwe Zulu and MP Baleka Kgolestile.
IFP withdrawal sparks crisis

From Page 1

Mediation row minutes made public

by Meyer

Cape Town — Confidential minutes of a clash between members of the three-man task team set up to resolve Inkatha's demands for international mediation were made public by Provincial Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday.

The minutes, released after the IFP walkout, record Meyer as threatening to “report on” Inkatha representative Dr Sipho Mzikela’s behaviour after a series of heated exchanges.

They also record Provincial Affairs Deputy Minister Valli Moosa as saying the ANC believed there was no need for international mediation on Inkatha’s demands.

The three last met on Monday last week.

According to the minutes, Meyer accused Mzikela of bad faith in claiming he was trying to scupper mediation.

“Mr Meyer said that Dr Mzikela was openly questioning his integrity while the minutes of the previous meeting reflect the opposite,” the minutes say.

“Dr Mzikela responded by saying that Mr Meyer has been acting in bad faith by using tactics to delay the process.”

Dr Mzikela said that the NP never adhered to the pre-poll agreement on mediation. — Sapa.
Crisis summit to deal with walkout

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A CRISIS summit involving South Africa's "big three" political leaders is expected before the weekend as fears grew that the violence expected to flow from Inkatha's boycott of Parliament could engulf the country.

Government sources said President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet in the next "day or two" after a frantic round of shuttle diplomacy yesterday aimed at defusing the tension.

The proposed meeting comes amid growing fears that the IFP leader might abandon his position in the central government in a bid to consolidate his power in kwazulu/Natal and warnings that the 48 IFP representatives would lose their seats in Parliament if they did not return after 15 working days.

Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Roelf Meyer warned in Parliament yesterday that the consequences of the walkout — to be reviewed at a special party congress on March 5 and 6 — could be dangerous.

"The IFP must certainly realise that their games in Parliament are equivalent to playing with matches next to a barrel of gunpowder.

"This matter has be addressed by political parties and their leaders. In the past, violence in kwazulu/Natal has always spilled over to Gauteng," the minister said.

Yesterday the three leaders held a brief joint discussion before the cabinet meeting, but the issue was not formally raised at the meeting.

However, it is understood that Mr Mandela suggested to Mr De Klerk that he propose that a summit be convened between the three leaders who were signatories to the Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace, which, at the IFP's request, provided for international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues.

Mr De Klerk said he had discussed the IFP's walkout with Chief Buthelezi on Wednesday, indicating his disapproval of the IFP's action.

Meanwhile, the Speaker of Parliament, Dr Frere Gwawla, said that the IFP MPs who walked out of Parliament would lose their seats if they missed 15 consecutive working days of the sitting.

Addressing a media briefing, she said lawyers were looking into whether the IFP would lose its registration as a political party if it did not fill the vacancies.

Dr Gwawla also warned that if IFP ministers lost their seats as MPs, they could also be forced to vacate their cabinet positions.
Few issues divide unity government

Political Staff

CT 23/2/95

ABORTION, the death penalty and the proposed Truth and Reconciliation Commission were the only issues on which the government of national unity held fundamentally different positions, according to Cabinet secretary Mr Jakes Gerwel.

In a memorandum dealing with the functioning of the government, he said there had been "remarkably few instances of sharp party-political divisions in the Cabinet". Cabinet records had not revealed any issue on which "effective government had been seriously hampered" because the ANC had to substantially alter its position in order to accommodate the views of the NP or IFP. — Sapa
AFRICANERS ready to join new SA

AFRICANERS had intended they
Govt ‘must intervene to ensure conformity’

CAPE TOWN — Central government should intervene in provinces which were unwilling to implement national policies, ANC MP and constitutional committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

He told Parliament that two provinces, KwaZulu/Natal and the Western Cape, were manipulating local government “to suit party political purposes”.

“If central government observes that a particular province ... is creating a system of rural local government that is at odds with the principle of democracy and with the contents of the constitution, it behoves us to ask for central intervention.”

Speaking in the debate on the president’s opening address, Gordhan said the manner in which the Local Government Transition Act was being implemented in KwaZulu/Natal and the refusal of chiefs to allow people to register for voting purposes amounted to an attempt by the Inkatha Freedom Party to impose its own model of local government in the province.

The KwaZulu/Natal government had excised nine traditional authority areas from within the metropolitan area of Durban despite multiparty agreement that this would not happen, Gordhan claimed.

The further removal of traditional areas from the jurisdiction of transitional local councils had also been repeated in a number of other areas in the province.

The result was that people living in traditional authority areas would directly elect only 50% of transitional local authority representatives, with the other 50% being nominated by traditional leaders.

This amounted to “a systematic move to exclude traditional authority areas from within the transitional local councils”.

The provincial government had also interfered with various negotiating forum agreements, causing a legal and political impasse in the region.

The constitution demanded that uniformity be applied throughout SA, and Parliament had a responsibility to ensure democratic local government structures existed throughout SA, he said.

The time had come to review whether or not central government should intervene in provinces which were unable to implement national policies, he said.
Volkstaat policy shift

BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Freedom Front will pursue a policy of "constructive engagement" instead of only demanding an exclusive Afrikaner volkstaat, FF leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

Viljoen made this revelation at a press briefing during which he conceded that the FF's original demand for a volkstaat had been "emotional."

"We have no desire to withdraw into some larger. We accept the challenge of co-existence and the need for democ..." said an FF document distributed at the briefing.

Party sources said the FF's stance represented a subtle shift in FF policy away from its hard-line call for a volkstaat. The shift partly reflected the warm relationship that had developed between Viljoen and President Mandela.

Viljoen said the FF still wanted a volkstaat as an "Afrikaner Israel," but realized this might take 20 years to materialize. In any event, there was no single area of South Africa dominated by Afrikaners, he said.

The FF's earlier call for a volkstaat based on the territories occupied by the former Boer republics was "emotional," Viljoen said. The FF would still pursue self-determination but would do so in the context of "constructive engagement" with the rest of South Africa and the continent.

Viljoen, who last week met Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano at an official level in Maputo to discuss resettling Afrikaner farmers in the country, indicated that the FF would soon initiate a similar venture in Angola.

In a speech during the debate on the president's opening of Parliament address, FF chairman Pieter Mulder said the FF had to adapt to the "new circumstances in South Africa."

"The present political situation was forced on us against our will. We have decided to follow an approach of constructive engagement," Mulder said.

MON 23, 1995
Cabinet snubs IFP

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

ALTHOUGH THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY yesterday cleared its offices in Parliament after its Tuesday walkout, the Cabinet meeting did not even broach the issue, Cabinet secretary Mr Jakes Gerwel said.

"The IFP matter was not on the agenda and it was not discussed. International mediation is not seen as a Cabinet issue... It is an all-party issue," Gerwel said.

However, word around Cape Town late yesterday was that President Nelson Mandela was arranging a meeting with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and National Party leader FW de Klerk, possibly for today.

Broken its word
It is understood De Klerk has asked Mandela to convene the meeting. It was also confirmed yesterday that De Klerk met Buthelezi earlier in the day.

De Klerk rejected Buthelezi's accusation that the NP had broken its word regarding the issue of mediation and was critical of the IFP walkout.

The IFP withdrawal has presented South Africa's fledgling democracy with its greatest challenge to date and may have brought the country back to the brink of civil war with its serious challenge to peace, the ANC's Mr Blade Nzimande said in Parliament yesterday.

"The challenge to political parties to end violence in the province (KwaZulu-Natal) comes at a time when that province is sliding down once more and experiencing killings that are threatening to reach the pre-election level," Nzimande said.

And in a stern message delivered in Parliament by Constitutional Development Minister Dr Roelf Meyer, the IFP's reasons for the walkout were described as "all but convincing".

The empty benches
"The empty benches in this House today remind one unavoidably of the IFP's walkout at the World Trade Centre and their consequential absence from crucial negotiations," he said.

"The consequences of the walkout can be dangerous. It will no doubt inflame the tensions and violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

"In the past, violence in KwaZulu-Natal always spilled over to Gauteng."

Meanwhile, Speaker Ms Frene Giwala confirmed yesterday that Parliament was studying the legal position of the IFP walkout.

She suggested that if any members of Parliament were absent without notice for 14 consecutive days they could lose their seats in the legislature.
benefit IIP again

WALKOUT LIKELY TO COST IFP POLITICAL ELECTIONS BY MALUTHA TSELETU

SOWETAN Thursday, January 3, 1996

By Malutha Tseletu

1992, when the IFP benefitted from

BLAMES MZIMELA OF ATTACK

BAD FAITH MEVER

By Malutha Tseletu

1992, when the IFP benefitted from

1992, when the IFP benefitted from
ANC ‘won’t be intimidated’ by IFP

Farouk Chothia, Gaye Davis and Enoch Mthembu report on the IFP’s sudden walkout from parliament

WHEN the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) staged an abrupt walkout from parliament on Tuesday, it put the African National Congress (ANC) over a barrel: either yield to international mediation and open the possibility of wide-ranging constitutional concessions — or risk an IFP pull-out from the government of national unity.

But ANC sources were adamantly this week that their party will not be intimidated — and while talks with the IFP will continue they have no intention at this stage of meeting the IFP’s demand for international mediation.

Some IFP sources said this week they were holding out for at least one concession before their special general conference next weekend: agreement on a date for the commencement of mediation. IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a statement yesterday that he would meet with President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk over the crisis only on condition that they discussed a date and venue for mediation. “The time for games is over. It is not the time for just a meeting. Political decisions are required to solve the present impasse,” said Buthelezi.

“It (a compromise on the mediation issue) will be a significant development that could affect decisions taken at the conference,” said an IFP source.

Two other issues — the choice of mediators and the venue for such talks — could be tackled later.

IFP sources said they had not planned their walkout in advance. They said the “catalyst” to the decision was Mandela’s rejection of an immediate start to international mediation on SABC TV’s Newsline on Sunday evening.

IFP sources said this led Buthelezi to summon an emergency meeting of his caucus where a decision to stage a walkout from parliament was taken after lengthy deliberations.

The extent to which the IFP acted on the spur of the moment was reflected by the fact that its kwaZulu/Natal caucus was not consulted on the issue, IFP sources said.

But ANC kwaZulu/Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the pull-out was a “smokescreen” and the IFP feared it would be “roasted” for its hit-squad activities in the parliamentary debate.

IFP military instructor Daluxolo Luthuli, who ditched the IFP recently to become a state witness, claimed last week that the IFP had been involved in the killing of children and ANC Midlands deputy chairman Regge Hadebe in the post-1990 era.

“It is an attempt to run away from the questioning,” said Makhere.

Buthelezi warned parliament that the impending Truth Commission would herald a “national tragedy”. He said it was unlikely the truth would emerge from a process driven by people who were motivated to make revelations in order to avoid prosecution.

Some IFP sources argued that the sudden stand-off was a blessing in disguise. As a result of the pull-out, the chances of Mandela, de Klerk and Buthelezi striking a deal in the next week have increased as they would want to resolve the crisis — and this reduces the possibility of the IFP conference deciding on a withdrawal from the cabinet.

But indications are that Mandela is playing tough. By Thursday morning, he had still not agreed to a three-way summit with Buthelezi and de Klerk — and earlier advised ANC parliamentarians not to allow themselves to be distracted by the IFP walkout.

“It’s business as usual. The attitude is let him (Buthelezi) throw his toys out of the cot. This is the president’s debate and we are not going to be distracted by guerrilla theatrics aimed at stealing his thunder,” said an ANC source.

The result was that only the Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs, Mohammed Vali Moosa, dealt with the issue of the walkout in his parliamentary address on Wednesday while the rest of the ANC speakers ignored the dispute. The dispute was not even raised at the cabinet meeting held on Wednesday.

ANC sources believe that the IFP will be forced to return to parliament or else they would forfeit their seats after 15 working days. This will make them unemployed at a time when they have begun to enjoy the material benefits of a parliamentary career.

IFP sources said it was never their intention to continue the boycott after the IFP conference and they will, therefore, not fall foul of the 15-day rule. The sources said the conference could, instead, take the more dramatic decision of withdrawing from the cabinet, but sending MPs back to parliament to play the role of a robust opposition party.

On SABC TV’s Agenda on Tuesday evening, Buthelezi said he was unaware of “widespread” feelings in the IFP that there should be a withdrawal from the cabinet. However, one source said, Buthelezi had always preferred to play the role of a Westminster-style opposition politician.

ANC sources said they are banking on the fact that any move to pull-out of the cabinet will create ructions within the IFP as some of its leaders would be reluctant to relinquish their posts.

Mediation put off too long says Okumo

Farouk Chothia

KENYAN mediator Professor Washington Okumo said this week in an interview from Maputo that he had expected international mediation to take place in the aftermath of the April election in line with an agreement between the three major political parties days before the poll.

Okumo brokered the agreement that saw the IFP enter the elections at the eleventh hour in exchange for a commitment that mediation would take place. Okumo was witness to the agreement signed by Mandela, de Klerk and Buthelezi.

“If there is to be no mediation, the three leaders have to agree jointly,” Okumo added.

Mandela expressed serious reservations about mediation last Sunday, saying there were no points of contention at this stage that could not be resolved internally.

Okumo said his “limited understanding” of last year’s agreement was that “any outstanding constitutional issue should be the subject of international mediation”.

“The mistake made was to let time lapse. The euphoria around the April election made people forget that the issue needed to be followed-up immediately,” Okumo added.

He said the pre-election agreement had “averted a major catastrophe” in South Africa. “It would be a pity if this were to return,” Okumo said.

He added that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini’s rejection of mediation should not stand in the way of such talks taking place. “The king was not a signatory to it and he is also not a politician,” added Okumo.

Okumo said he understood the agreement to mean that not only issues related to the king needed to be tackled in mediation, but also issues related to the powers of central government and the provinces.

Okumo said international mediation was not intended to usurp the role of the constitutional assembly.

“It was a body going to report to the three leaders and the CA had the right to reject (its proposals),” he added.

He said he would become involved in mediation only with the “blessing” of all three leaders, but has held informal discussions with them since the April poll.

Some political commentators argue that the IFP is bent on having international mediation as they will have more clout in such talks than in the ANC-dominated CA.

Political commentators argue that aside from fear that they may have to make concessions to the IFP in international mediation, the ANC is also opposed to foreign intervention as they believe it would infringe on South Africa’s sovereignty.

IFP sources also argue that the presence of foreign mediators would strengthen their hand for federalism.
MEDIATION

Rising stakes

Inkatha Freedom Party leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied on Tuesday that his position in government was compromised by Inkatha's antagonism towards the way the constitution is being written.

A few hours later, he announced a partial withdrawal from the process, suspending participation pending a special Inkatha congress in early March.

He made it clear that his patience with the NP and ANC on the mediation issue was running out, accusing them of "gimmicks and deceptions."

Addressing a media conference earlier in the day, Buthelezi twice described himself as "a loyal member of Mr Mandela's Cabinet." His latest announcement did not extend to withdrawing Ministers from portfolios in the Government of National Unity, though it was implicit that this might be the next stage of protest.

There is no doubt that Buthelezi has a valid point. It does seem as if the ANC and the NP would prefer to let the constitutional process drift on to a point where international mediation would be irrelevant.

This would be a reasonable standpoint were it not for the firm undertaking given to Buthelezi by President Nelson Mandela and former President F W de Klerk before the 1994 general election.

Inkatha Senator Ruth Rabinowitz said the party objected to the marginalisation of its viewpoints in the theme committees, particularly the view dealing with "the character of the democratic State."

Previous Inkatha criticisms — that the process is vague and contradictory, couched in generalisations — had not changed.

"As a minority party, if you don't get your issues in now, they can be dropped," she said. Her view was that the ruling
UK newspaper slams Buthelezi for IFP walkout

OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON. — Inkatha Freedom Party's walkout of Parliament has brought a stinging rebuke for leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi from a British newspaper, which accuses him of "betraying his own democratic responsibilities".

Describing him as a "less than active" cabinet minister, the Times said in an editorial yesterday that "few are prepared to believe that it is his ire over the issue of mediation alone which has prompted his theatrical walkout".

The newspaper adds: "Chief Buthelezi is not a player of simple games. His actions, however lurid they may appear, are always taken in response to the pull of many complex magnets."

"His party ... runs on a fuel of 'raw traditionalism'. It is this fuel, more than any other, which threatens to inflame the new South Africa."

The Times says that the real aim underlying the IFP walkout could be the establishment of a "semi-autonomous kingdom in their province". The new Constitutional Assembly had produced nothing so far which could reasonably have upset Chief Buthelezi, or for which mediation of any sort might be necessary.

"Chief Buthelezi, however, has resorted to methods which should have no place in a democratic society. In South Africa, the days of storming out of rooms are over."

Meanwhile Queen Elizabeth II was told yesterday at a special briefing on the economic and political situation in South Africa, that the disagreements between the leaders of the three major parties in the government were likely to increase.

However, Royal Institute of International Affairs director Professor Jack Spence said that both Chief Buthelezi and Deputy President F.W. de Klerk realised that their permanent withdrawal from the government would consign them to permanent opposition and deprive them of the power they exercised within it.

"The Queen, a patron of the institute, said she found the briefing very interesting."

The briefing comes a month before the departure of the Queen and her husband the Duke of Edinburgh to South Africa.

○ Itinerary of Queen's visit — Page 5
‘R7.8bn paid in commissions’

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

ASTONISHING claims, allegedly based on secret documents, that the Nationalist government paid out R7.8 billion in commissions on financial deals and used Military Intelligence funds to pay coloured MPs were made yesterday by former Transkei leader Mr Bantu Holomisa.

In a speech that stunned NP parliamentarians, he said his papers showed that Deputy President F W de Klerk was “fully aware” of these transactions.

He named four people — former government official Dr William Fourie, Mr Ntic Botha, a former Treasury official, Mr Chris le Roux, and “a certain Mr Greg Rossmarsh” — as being involved in these deals.

Mr Holomisa also said his documents showed that the Defence Force had launched a secret campaign, Project Vallex, to remove the United Democratic Front from the community.

The NP said in a subdued statement afterwards that it did not always react to Mr Holomisa’s allegations, but all state finances had been under the auditor-general’s control.

“If Mr Holomisa has evidence of maladministration or corruption he ought to give it immediately to the police for investigation,” the NP said in a statement issued by NP Mr Cobus Dowry.

He added that every time Mr Holomisa was in trouble, he resorted to making unsubstantiated allegations to take attention away from this own problems.

Mr Holomisa said the documents in his possession detailed the use of hundreds of millions of rands of state funds in waging dirty tricks from 1986 to the 1994 financial year.

Substantial commissions had been claimed from the NP government for financial deals and the papers in his possession suggested that there had been a cover-up.

The amount involved was about R7.8 billion.

Mr Holomisa said a large sum of money for the coloured MPs was paid through Military Intelligence, as reflected in the memorandum approving the expenditure signed on March 25, 1986 by General Jannie Geldenhuyse and Vice-Admiral Putter.

“These projects also give a detailed insight into the amounts expended through church front organisations and how Christianity was corruptly abused for political gain among blacks and coloureds by the NP government.”

The State Security Council, headed by former president Mr PW Botha, had authorised the violent project to eliminate the UDF and Mr De Klerk had been a member of the council at the time.”
Bishops slam SA's 'poverty of moral fibre'

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE new South Africa is at risk of being wrecked by an "alarming deterioration in public morality", the Anglican bishops of Southern Africa have warned.

In one of the toughest statements since the election, they said there was a "real poverty of moral fibre" in the civil service, the private sector and among the people as a whole.

They accused every level of society — from top executives to workers on the shop floor — and exhorted them to work together to combat the moral malaise.

They were "deeply anxious" about the problems facing the country, and warned that the Reconstruction and Development Programme would fail if the moral climate of the country was not improved.

"In society as a whole, far too many are mistaking freedom for licence: they seem to believe democracy means doing as you like, irrespective of the consequences to others."

"Democracy requires responsibility, respect for the rights and duties of others and care for one another."

The bishops, headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, called for a temporary moratorium on strikes in the public sector and for the rapid establishment of dispute-resolution mechanisms for the police and emergency workers.

They also urged elected representatives "to restructure their pay with a view to establishing modest salaries".

They endorsed the government's campaign to persuade people to resume paying rent and service charges.

"We believe that our transition to democracy, which has so far been miraculously successful, will be wrecked unless leaders of every sector of society combine forces to combat the alarming deterioration in public morality," they said.

"Certain public servants are bringing themselves into disrepute by making what appear — in the face of the challenges facing the government — to be extravagant and selfish demands."

"While schools go without facilities and teachers, hundreds of officials in some regional and former homeland capitals occupy large office complexes, apparently without sufficient productive employment," the bishops said.
Mbeki to handle IFP hot potato

Political Correspondent

President Mandela is poised to play a waiting game by delegating his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, to deal with the Inkatha Freedom Party’s boycott of parliament.

Mr Mbeki is out of the country until March 6, the last day of the IFP’s special congress at which it will decide whether to abandon its membership of the cabinet, parliament and constitutional assembly.

Mr Mandela will propose handing the matter over to Mr Mbeki during an African National Congress national executive committee meeting in Cape Town tomorrow.

Chances of a summit between Mr Mandela, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and National Party leader F W de Klerk ebbed yesterday in a stand-off over terms of reference for the meeting.

Chief Buthelezi rejected a call by Mr De Klerk for the three leaders to first decide the terms of reference of the mediation the IFP is demanding.

Chief Buthelezi said the leaders should meet only to decide who should mediate and where the venue should be.

The standoff firmed when, hours later, Mr De Klerk told parliament clarification on terms of reference for international mediation was essential.

He reaffirmed the NP was ready to give effect to the pre-election agreement by the ANC, IFP and NP to hold international negotiations on “outstanding constitutional issues”.
Back code of conduct
Asmal
CF 24/2/95

By BARRY STREEK

A CODE of conduct for all elected representatives at national and provincial level should be firmly supported, the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, Professor Radey Asmal, said yesterday.

Where allegations of wrong-doing were shown to be true, the most stringent measures should be taken against perpetrators, whoever they were, he said in a speech in Parliament during the debate on President Nelson Mandela's opening speech.

"There must be scrupulous adherence to the code of conduct that exists for elected members of the ANC, including provisions covering assets and gifts for cabinet ministers, resigning directorships, and placing shares and other property in 'blind trusts'."

The proposal by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa should also be supported.

"Such a code should provide for the disclosure of interests by all people holding public office or employment. The principle of disclosure is central to any process of supervision, for the powerful light it sheds inhibits abuse of office and breach of trust."

Mr Asmal said special machinery should be set up to cover members of the cabinet, deputy ministers and elected public representatives. There should be a code of conduct for all elected chairpersons of committees, special advisers, public servants in designated positions, directors and senior state executives.
ANC lays down conditions for international mediation to proceed
security heads

Mandela calls for a new wave of anti-apartheid protest.

**Winnie tells press, President:**

With the ANC in power, Winnie Madikizela Mandela has called for a new wave of anti-apartheid protest. She has been critical of the government's handling of political prisoners and has called for the release of Nelson Mandela. Winnie has been a long-time activist for the ANC and has been involved in various protests against apartheid.

**ANC official:**

The ANC official has expressed concern over Winnie Madikizela Mandela's comments. He has stated that the ANC is committed to the principles of non-violence and has called for a peaceful resolution to the ongoing conflict.

**Government statement:**

The government has responded to Winnie Madikizela Mandela's comments, stating that they are committed to the rule of law and the protection of human rights. They have called for a peaceful and orderly resolution to the current political situation.

**Analysis:**

Winnie Madikizela Mandela's comments highlight the ongoing tension between the ANC and the government. The ANC is a major political party in South Africa and has been in power for many years. The government has been accused of not doing enough to address the concerns of the people and has been criticized for its handling of political prisoners.

**Conclusion:**

The situation in South Africa remains complex and fraught with tension. The ANC and the government continue to engage in a dialogue about the future of the country. The ongoing protests and political activism will be closely watched as the country moves towards a more democratic future.
Winnie flies off into new rumpus

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

WINNIE Mandela has flown into a new storm by leaving the country allegedly without presidential permission.

And a motion of censure of Mrs Mandela over a separate issue is to be tabled in parliament today by the Democratic Party.

A spokesman for President Nelson Mandela confirmed last night that Mrs Mandela, Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, had left without permission.

Mrs Mandela was earlier denied permission to go on the trip to West Africa, because of meetings scheduled for the period of her intended absence.

President spokesman Parks Mnangagwa said Deputy President Thabo Mheki told Mrs Mandela on the president's behalf that she was not to go.

Mrs Mandela had then written to Mr Mandela explaining why the trip was important.

"The deputy minister departed, as scheduled, before the consideration of her re-submitted request could be completed."

Opposition parties said last night Mrs Mandela's action would put fresh question marks over her continued tenure as deputy minister.

In a statement, Mrs Mandela's office said she would represent South Africa in her official capacity in Burkina Faso in West Africa, via the Ivory Coast and Ghana.

"In Burkina Faso she will attend the Pan African Film and Television Festival and in Ghana she will attend independence day celebrations."

Meanwhile, in a motion to parliament today, DP MP Mike Ellis will ask the national assembly to express strong disapproval at "the language, tenor, and heckling manner" which Mrs Mandela used in trying to get a legal settlement of more than R30 million from the Pretoria Regional Services Council.

In parliament today, National Party MP Neels Ackermann said people wanted to know when action would be taken against Mrs Mandela, who had again acted against the president's wishes.

"People in South Africa wanted houses and food and Mrs Mandela had allowed herself the luxury of attending a film festival."
Winnie defies Mandela’s orders

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Deputy Arts and Culture Minister Winnie Mandela travelled to West Africa this week against the wishes of President Nelson Mandela.

A presidential spokesman said yesterday that a request from the Deputy Minister to the President for permission to undertake the trip had been turned down, but Winnie Mandela had left anyway.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, acting on behalf of the President, had advised the Deputy Minister the trip should be postponed in view of certain meetings she had been scheduled to attend.

She had subsequently written to the President stating why she thought the trip was important, but had left SA “before the consultation on her resubmitted request could be completed.”

But Winnie Mandela said in a statement yesterday the Foreign Affairs Ministry had given its blessing to her trip.

She had been invited to attend the Pan African Film and Television Festival which would be a major international showcase for African film. The conference attracted delegates from throughout the world, she said.

Foreign Affairs believed her attendance was important in order to improve bilateral relations between SA and Burkina Faso.

Meanwhile DP MP Mike Ellis said he would introduce a motion calling on Parliament to express its disapproval at her alleged interference in the Pretoria Regional Services Council’s affairs.

Ellis said he had documents indicating she had improperly interfered in a dispute between the Pretoria RSC and electrical contractor Costa Livassos.

In a letter to RSC chairman PS Smith in September, Mandela accused the RSC of using public funds to delay arbitration hearings in a bid to out-litigate and bankrupt Livassos.

Government should lay down guidelines to stop Ministers interfering in matters which did not concern their departments.
ON HER return from Ghana she could once again face a wrathful president and GNU disciplinary charges

"purely a State visit which could not be cancelled without damaging our standing."

He said Mandela was scheduled to return on March 6 — the same day on which Mbeki is returning from an overseas trip — but her office was trying to get her to come back earlier.

As a rule, the president has to authorise all trips made by ministers and their deputies, but in this case permission was not obtained.

A Government source said the president was angry when he heard she was making the journey and had tried to have her postpone the visit.

When The Star approached the office of the president for comment on the allegations, spokesman Puthi Mankabane confirmed that Mrs Mandela was out of the country, but he could not provide any further information.

Winnie in hot water again

"The deputy minister subsequently wrote to the president explaining why it was important to proceed with the trip. The deputy minister departed, as scheduled, before the consultation on her resubmitted request could be completed," the statement said.

Mandela's absence from the ANC's NBC meeting means the affairs of the ANCWL could remain under the cloud of controversy created by the resignations of 11 key members, including treasurer-general Adelaide Tambo.

On her return, she could once again face a wrathful president and once again face charges that she has breached the disciplinary procedures of the GNU.

Trip out of country in defiance of president's wishes

"In this particular case, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, acting on behalf of the president, had advised the deputy minister not to undertake the trip to West Africa at this stage in view of certain meetings planned in this period.

The deputy minister subsequently wrote to the president explaining why it was important to proceed with the trip. The deputy minister departed, as scheduled, before the consultation on her resubmitted request could be completed," the statement said.

Mandela's absence from the ANC's NBC meeting means the affairs of the ANCWL could remain under the cloud of controversy created by the resignations of 11 key members, including treasurer-general Adelaide Tambo.

On her return, she could once again face a wrathful president and once again face charges that she has breached the disciplinary procedures of the GNU.
Govt to launch campaign

President Nelson Mandela will announce the launch of the Nationalist campaign in Parliament today. The campaign aims, among other things, to end rent, services and bond boycotts.

Pascal Moitsi, an official in the Ministry overseeing the reconstruction and development programme, said yesterday the campaign would be launched at an informal settlement in Cato Town.

Leiton, the actor, commercials and the campaign would be followed with a series of advertisements in print and on television. These would be followed by an appearance of Ministers involved in the campaign on SABC’s Agenda programme.

Moitsi said the campaign would also be launched in provinces later. It sought to “mobilise state and private sector resources, immediately enhance the administrative capacity of transitional local government and maximise participation and responsibility”.

The ANC National Civic Organisation has said while it was not opposed to the campaign, it wanted details from the Constitutional Development Ministry before it could “actively” support it.

NP govt ‘planned (20:47)

township violence’

CAPE TOWN — Evidence of a secret state plan to undermine the United Democratic Front in the late 1980s by provoking “black-on-black” violence in the townships was presented to Parliament by Bantu Holomisa yesterday.

The ANC Deputy Environment Minister said documents in his possession indicated the State Security Council had approved the use of hundreds of millions of rand for “dirty trick projects” such as Project Vaal in 1987/88.

The main objective of Project Vaal, according to the documents, was to force the UDF out of communities by the instigation of “colour against colour” violence.

Addressing Parliament on the presidential opening address yesterday, Nkosazana Holomisa said he held further evidence of clandestine operations and called on government to establish a judicial commission of inquiry into the allegations.

Between 1986 and 1992, the NP government had spent R50m on Operation Anchor and Operation Kampong, Holomisa said.

These operations were aimed at paying large sums of money, through the conduit of military intelligence, to persuade coloured Labour Party MPs to cross the floor to the NP.

Further “dirty tricks projects”, going by the names of Pippa, Lion Life, Kalmoes, Lambent and Lactone, had been initiated for political gain among black and coloured citizens, Holomisa said.

“The documents in my possession detail the use of hundreds of millions of state funds in waging the dirty tricks campaign from 1986 to last year,”

The NP said yesterday all state finances during the period were overseen by the Auditor-General’s office. Holomisa’s evidence was inconclusive, NP spokesman Cobus Dowry said.

If Holomisa possessed any proof of corruption he should give it to the police.
Buthelezi refuses to negotiate

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected three-way negotiations with President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk as a meaningless attempt to settle the dispute about international mediation.

Buthelezi's rejection came early yesterday in response to a call by De Klerk for the tripartite meeting.

"I must note that the nature of the matter does not require a meeting... During the past nine months many meetings and discussions have been held at all levels and served no purpose other than procrastination on the issue of international mediation.

"What is required is a decision to go ahead with the resumption of international mediation without any further delay, at which point parties' delegations can meet to choose the mediators, the venue for the mediation and to make all other required logistical arrangements," Buthelezi said.

De Klerk replied yesterday with distinct distaste for the Buthelezi dismissal and for Tuesday's withdrawal from Parliament as a whole.

De Klerk questioned the basis of the dispute, suggesting that it was fallacious.

"Only through discussion and negotiation... can the situation, which was created without any prior effort to raise the matter, be resolved," De Klerk said.

He said the National Party remained bound to the agreement on international mediation — reached to ensure the IFP's participation in last year's election — and was prepared to give effect to it.

"However, we insist that clarification of the terms of reference must receive precedence at this stage. We want to avoid the fiasco in which a previous mediation effort resulted," De Klerk said.

The terms of reference for international mediation and for the issue for which mediation is sought remain vague and ill-explained, though.

According to Buthelezi and the IFP, the issue at stake is the Zulu monarchy and King Goodwill, however, there is no need for mediation as there is no dispute.
King rejects mediation

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The Zulu King's Council yesterday rejected international mediation on the status and powers of the king.

At a Johannesburg news conference, council spokesman Prince Sisiso Zulu said attempts should rather be made to resolve the issue domestically.

He said the king had never appointed any one party or person to represent him on the question and none of the parties to the pre-election agreement on mediation could represent the king without consulting him.

Sisiso called for the removal of the constitutional clause that prohibits parliamentarians from crossing the floor and said some IFP MPs, angry at the party's abuse of the king, wanted to leave the party.

Meanwhile, the IFP dug its heels over international mediation, party sources indicated the action would be short-lived.

The IFP's withdrawal from the national Parliament would not be repeated in Gauteng or in KwaZulu-Natal.

According to sources, the IFP believes the pullout will send a strong message to the ANC and the NP. IFP leaders are convinced the ANC and NP will offer some concessions on the question of international mediation sometime next week.

The ANC in KwaZulu/Natal has ruled out any possibility of taking similar action in the province, saying the IFP pullout was not motivated by the mediation issue but rather by possible revelations of complicity in hit squad activities.

Deluxolo Luthuli, an ex-IFP employee, and Brigadier Roy During, former commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, have recently made allegations about the existence of IFP hit squads.
President Mandela does not consider the IFP's surprise withdrawal from Parliament this week as a crisis, and he will wait for Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to deal with the issue on his return from abroad next month.

Reliable sources told The Star yesterday that Mandela and senior Government members had "lost patience with the IFP's brinkmanship and the holding of the country to ransom".

The sources said Mandela had resolved that concrete steps should be taken to contain any violence which may result in KwaZulu/Natal from the withdrawal this week of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party from the National Assembly, the Senate and the Constitutional Assembly.

Urgency

The sources said Mandela, like Buthelezi, was not keen on a meeting of the "big three" - the two and Deputy President F.W. de Klerk - to resolve the issue. "He does not see any urgency about the issue at all, and he does not think it needs to preoccupy the minds of South Africans," said one source.

However, the president is understood to be concerned about the possibility of a deteriorating security situation in the country, and will therefore hold top-level talks with generals on Monday to make contingency plans to deal with any eventuality.

STEPS will be taken to contain any violence which may result from the IFP walkout

Attending the meeting will be De Klerk, Defence Minister Joe Modise, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, Deputy Intelligence Services Minister Joe Nhlanhla, army chief General Georg Meiring and SAPS Commissioner George Fivaz.

"This meeting will demonstrate that whoever thinks they can cause violence is making a mistake. It will send a clear message in this regard, and will also look at the situation in KwaZulu/Natal," said the source.

This meant there was no meeting of the three leaders on the cards, "at least not before Mbeki returns from abroad.

Mbeki is not due back from the United States and Europe until March 6. However, the matter will be discussed at the ANC's national executive committee meeting at the weekend.

A source said: "The Government has lost patience with brinkmanship and holding the country to ransom.

"It was with this in mind that President Mandela warned in his speech when he opened Parliament that whoever tried to prevent local government elections from going ahead would be dealt with.

"The president and the Government are not convinced that the IFP wants mediation. The problem is not mediation — it has never been mediation.

"The IFP is trying to exercise more power than it has. It realises it cannot adequately influence the constitution-making process because it has fewer MPs compared to the ANC and the NP.

Meanwhile, Buthelezi yesterday dismissed a three-way meeting with Mandela and De Klerk, saying the nature of the matter did not "require a meeting".

Responding to De Klerk's call on Wednesday to Mandela to convene such a summit, Buthelezi warned that "the time for games is over.

Impasse

"It is not time for just meetings, but political decisions are required to solve the present impasse," said the Home Affairs Minister.

Political Correspondent Esther Waugh reports that De Klerk yesterday said it was a pity that the IFP leader had turned down his proposal, because it was only through discussion and negotiation that the impasse would be resolved.

And after an urgent meeting yesterday, the NP-KwaZulu/Natal parliamentary caucus blamed the ANC and IFP for the impasse, saying the ANC had been "dragging its feet" in finding a solution by downplaying the need for mediation.
TENSION STILL HIGH: President Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi after their meeting at Genadendal yesterday.

Buthelezi, government in 'fruitful' talks over walk-out

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

President Nelson Mandela and his government of national unity partners have taken the first steps towards resolving the crisis over the Inkatha Freedom Party's withdrawal from parliament, but tension remains high.

No quick resolution of the crisis is expected, and no deadlines have been set.

This emerged after Mr Mandela met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Deputy President F W de Klerk at his Cape Town residence, Genadendal, yesterday afternoon.

The meeting was requested by Chief Buthelezi.

They would not reveal details of the talks, other than that the discussion had been "fruitful" and that they had agreed to meet again after consulting their organisations.

This could not happen "overnight", Mr Mandela warned, but they had realised it was important "to bring down the temperature" and create an atmosphere conducive to discussion.

Chief Buthelezi — who bristled at a suggestion that the IFP was "boycotting" parliament, snapping: "I'm not in the game of boycott" — made it clear he did not expect a resolution of the crisis before the IFP conference in Ulundi on March 2 and 3.

Even then, he said: "I cannot dictate to the conference."

He added: "Even if we take matters to our constituencies, we cannot dictate to them, or say how they should react."

In an inimitably bellicose statement released before the meeting, Chief Buthelezi said the IFP was "entitled to register a strong protest at the failure of political parties and their leaders to honour agreements solemnly signed by them before the whole world".

Scorning at suggestions that the IFP MPs who walked out were "cowards", he said: "Our ancestors would hardly regard participation in debates in the house of assembly as acts of valour befitting warriors."

Mr Mandela said after the more than one-hour meeting that his faith lay in the principle of discussion as a means of achieving consensus, but that it was not merely up to the party leaders to find a solution.

He warned that the subject was "very sensitive" and that "tensions are high".

In a plea for calm and co-operation, he said that "people have been dying in the recent past, and tensions created can lead to further loss of life and I hope all of us will co-operate in creating an atmosphere in which the situation can be resolved".

Differences between the parties were to be expected, and discussion was the key to reaching consensus.

See page 5
Taiwan is a major trading partner, China an old friend of the struggle. Pretoria must negotiate the tightrope of inter the dragons...

The Two China's are engaged in a battle to outmanoeuvre each other in a battle to gain acceptance by Pretoria and, by implication, much of Africa, reports Norman Chandler.

WHEN representatives of a beaconing world joined the ground front went to Taiwan in the 1960s at the beck of Chinese President Chiang Kaishek to open up long-closed trade routes, the move was disastrous for both nations. Taiwan's economic links with mainland China's leaders were severed for almost a generation.

After all, China was, and still is, a valued partner in trade in certain items, such as mineral materials (controlled by both countries over the years).

Also, the world's most populous country seemed to be beginning to realize that international economic co-operation was the only way to solve world markets. The result is that Taiwan has been established as a key trade partner in many countries, particularly in the region around Hong Kong and Shanghai.

When, therefore, Beijing reassessed the arrival of the South African delegation, the present diplomatic relations would be based on a mutual understanding with Pretoria's copy relationship with the Republic of China (Taiwan).

Taiwan has long assisted South Africa to circumvent trade boycotts and is now seen as the one area in South Africa which is open to international investment and trade. The present diplomatic relations with Pretoria have been there for a long time, in the 1960s.

In 2008, it was reported that the two countries had been discussing ways to further strengthen their diplomatic ties.

In fact, the two countries have had diplomatic relations since 1961. In 2011, South Africa opened an embassy in Taipei.

The Beijing visit of President Zuma was seen as a real job, but it signaled a re-

The visit of South Africa's President Zuma to Beijing was seen as a significant step in the development of relations between the two countries. Zuma's visit was seen as a way to strengthen ties and open up new trade opportunities.

In the meantime, Chinese investors in South Africa have been increasing in recent years, with many Chinese businesses establishing operations in the country.

The visit of President Zuma to Beijing was seen as a significant step in the development of relations between the two countries. Zuma's visit was seen as a way to strengthen ties and open up new trade opportunities.

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Winnie faces day of reckoning this week

By CHERILYN IRETON
and RAY HARTLEY

DEPUTY President Thabo Mbeki said yesterday that a decision on whether deputy minister Winnie Mandela should remain in the government would be made this week.

He was responding to questions asked in Brussels on reports from senior ANC sources that President Nelson Mandela had decided to fire his estranged wife for defying his order that she cancel a trip to West Africa.

Mr Mbeki was in Brussels to attend a conference organised by the Group of Seven, the body of seven wealthy countries that discusses world economic policies.

He said that no decision had yet been taken on Mrs Mandela's future and the matter would be discussed on his return to South Africa from the US on Saturday.

"We sent a message to her at the beginning of last week saying she should not travel — originally, to the US and subsequently to West Africa because of all the things we needed to discuss back home," he said.

"On Thursday, as I was getting ready to leave for Brussels, I was told she had left to go to West Africa. I had discussions with President Mandela and we decided to deal with the matter on my return from the US as we needed to speak to her anyway."

The ANC source who claimed a decision had already been taken to fire Mrs Mandela said no announcement had yet been made because the president wished to tell her of his decision himself on her return.

Mrs Mandela was scheduled to return to South Africa on March 6, but her private secretary has been trying to get her back earlier. She has been visiting Ghana, Burkina-Faso and the Ivory Coast.

Two weeks ago, Mr Mandela ordered Mrs Mandela to retract her criticisms of the government or resign.

Mrs Mandela refused her job by issuing a humiliating apology for her remarks.

The ANC's national executive, which met in Cape Town over the weekend, was scheduled to discuss another controversy involving Mrs Mandela — her behaviour as president of the ANC Women's League.

Eleven members of the league's executive resigned after Mrs Mandela went ahead with her Road to Freedom venture with in an executive ruling.

Meanwhile, disclosures in last week's Sunday Times that Mrs Mandela had used her office to try to force the Pretoria regional Services Council to settle a R22.5-million claim by an electrical contractor who had offered to do free work for one of her charities are said to have angered Mr Mandela.

Copies of two letters to the council from Mrs Mandela written on official government stationery were circulated to members of Parliament by DP MP Mike Ellis, who has called for the matter to be debated in the house.
ANC takes a tough stand on impasse

President Nelson Mandela has run out of patience with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and is determined not to give in to his party's ultimatums.

The president has called together his security ministers -- Defence Minister Joe Modise, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Intelligence Deputy Minister Joe Nhlanhla -- for a meeting at 6am tomorrow in Pretoria.

The main item on the agenda of the meeting, which will also be attended by the head of the army and the police commissioner, is the steps that need to be taken to prevent the further escalation of violence in KwaZulu Natal.

Mr Mandela has indicated that he wants the province disarmed, even if this means a door-to-door search ahead of what could be a damaging political fallout.

Inkatha Freedom Party senators and members of parliament followed their leader out of Parliament on Tuesday after Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC and the National Party of running on an agreement on international mediation to solve outstanding constitutional issues.

Inkatha members will decide at a party conference on March 5 whether their national representatives should return to Parliament or stay away and lose their seats, resulting in the party's exclusion from the government of national unity.

By walking out, the IFP sent a clear signal to the ANC and the NP that they had until March 5 to agree to international mediation based on the terms of reference that the parties had agreed to before the April 1994 elections.

NP and ANC leaders say the terms are no longer logical or relevant, given the last-minute changes to the Constitution and the establishment of the Constitutional Assembly.

Sources close to Mr Mandela said he had called a meeting of his security chiefs immediately after being informed of the walkout.

They said that Mr Mandela had consulted his senior advisers and concluded that Chief Buthelezi had embarked on a course of action that could jeopardise the stability of the country.

Mr Mandela's determination not to agree to Inkatha's demands and his resolve that the government will not allow the political fight to destabilise the country was evident in his closing address to Parliament on Friday.

He implied that the walkout was irrational and cowardly, and appealed to the IFP constituency to send their elected representatives back to Parliament to sort out the problems. He also issued a strong warning that the government would take action against lawbreakers, saying: "Let me make one issue clear. While we do recognise the right of people to undertake any action within the limits of the law, while we are committed to political solutions of this problem, we cannot and must not, as a nation and as a government, allow threats and the actual perpetration of violence to go unchallenged."

After his address, Mr Mandela, Deputy President F W de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi met at the president's Cape Town home. Sources close to the meeting said that Chief Buthelezi had put his party's case for international mediation and Mr de Klerk had disputed this.

The sources said Mr Mandela had reiterated the point that all three parties were responsible for finding a way out of the impasse. He had also said the climate of tension had to be reduced in the interest of the country.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has been asked by Mr Mandela to tackle the deadlock on his return from Brussels on Saturday.

The ANC's national executive committee met yesterday to discuss the issue. The leaders have agreed to meet after the IFP has made its decision.
Fortifying the ploy to get stronger grip on KwaNatal

By THEMBA KHUMALO
Political Correspondent

THERE are strong fears within the government of national unity (GNU) that Inkatha's walkout from parliament last week was a ploy by the party to retreat into a laager in KwaZulu/Natal to consolidate its power in the province.

The fears were aggravated by King Goodwill Zwelithini's claim that Inkatha was gearing itself for secession of the province.

A plot

The king also said he had uncovered a plot to kill him and replace him with his son.

Inkatha is the ruling party in the KwaZulu/Natal government after winning the provincial election last year.

The party staged a dramatic walk out of parliament in Cape Town last week because of its unhappiness with the way the issue of international mediation over KwaZulu/Natal was handled by the ANC and NP.

The three parties had signed an agreement pledging to continue with international mediation after last year's elections.

The walkout prompted a tripartite meeting between President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President FW De Klerk and Inkatha leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Friday. After the meeting Mandela described it as "fruitful" and said they had agreed to meet again after taking the matter to their constituencies.

But well-placed sources within the ANC thought the walkout was a well-calculated step by Inkatha to return to its stronghold and consolidate its powers.

The Zulu monarch's claims were not without substance and it was high time the GNU took them seriously and saved the situation before it was too late, the sources said.

Others believe that Buthelezi and his party were merely registering their long-held grievance over the mediation issue and that they would return to parliament after the party's special conference on March 5 and 6.

Despite his frustration with the GNU, Buthelezi was "too smart" to quit the central government to return to parochial politics, the sources said.

If he quits he would be alienating himself completely from his remaining few international political friends who do not consider Mandela as the country's accepted leader.

Besides, it was believed Inkatha was not entirely satisfied over the question of international mediation and some of its leaders had secretly expressed their dissatisfaction to the Zulu monarch, said the sources.

The Citizen newspaper reports that minutes before the meeting of the three leaders in Cape Town, Buthelezi "crossed verbal swords" with Mandela, who had earlier described the MPs who walked out as "cowards".

Buthelezi said his party considered it "provocative in the extreme" to suggest that responsible members of parliament were cowards.

After the tripartite meeting Buthelezi told a press conference that fears of increased violence in KwaZulu/Natal because of the walkout were unfounded.

"The fact of the matter is that the IFP is entitled to register a strong protest at the failure of political parties to honour an agreement signed by them before the whole world. To allow this sort of behaviour by statesmen to go unchallenged would undermine the whole basis of law and order in our country," Buthelezi said.

He said it was ironic that Mandela had appealed to delegates at Inkatha's special conference to recommend their party's return, as Inkatha was comprised of people who were astonished at those who did not fulfill their obligations.
**Winnie's head on the block today**

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE and TAMMY MBENDA

THE heads of Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba are expected by ANC insiders to roll at the ANC National Executive Committee meeting in Cape Town today.

Corruption and the ills besetting the government are said by ANC sources to feature high on the agenda of the meeting — chaired by President Nelson Mandela — which started at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Sources within ANC circles in Cape Town confirmed an NEC meeting was being held to address...
Outside help could clear up constitutional confusion

What is the link between the pre-election negotiations, the present constitution-drafting process, international mediation and the chiefs' resistance to local government elections in KwaZulu/Natal?

The link is the unitary versus federal conflict, and since the Constitutional Assembly’s public participation programme would not explain this to the voters, the IFP left Parliament to draw urgent attention to the fact.

A constitution designs a mechanism for the just, effective exercise of power. The conflict in South Africa is not about who has the power, but who should get what — how, when and why.

Most constitutions fall within a range of options, from the unitary (with maximum concentration of power in central government), through regionalism and federalism (with varying degrees of division of power between central government and the regions) to confederalism. Confederal states are not linked constitutionally at all. They are linked by special arrangement.

- The unitary system is often imposed by conquest. In SA, the mandate of the majority gives the mainly ANC/SACP government the right to impose its unitary constitutional design on the entire country.

- The regional option allows for subdivision of the country, but no significant power for regions.

- The federal option derives from an agreement which sees power divided between the central government, provinces, local government and civil society.

- The first level of power is civil society, such as churches, universities and chambers of commerce. Thence power is devolved upwards progressively to local, then provincial and finally national level, when it is “in compelling public interest” to do so.

Division

Essential to the federal system are checks and balances such as separation of the executive, legislature and judiciary, division of powers between the centre and the provinces, an effective senate to represent the provinces, competing public interests and a Bill of Rights.

The IFP advocates this entire package for all provinces, believing pluralism to be in the best interests of a peaceful and competitive country.

Essential features of this package are that provinces have certain exclusive powers with which central government should not interfere; that provinces retain certain powers over the civil service, local government and police, and can raise taxes to support the functions they administer.

The Kempton Park option did not succeed in negotiating an adequate compromise between unitarists and federalists. Joe Slovo, to his credit, said it all in his claim that the Interim Constitution was a victory for unitarists, as the central government retained overriding power.

The IFP would not admit to having compromised on federalism in exchange for cabinet posts, a deputy president and retention of civil servants in office. The DP could not admit to having wasted its breath. The IFP as a last resort called for international mediation to openly clarify the situation.

As we see now in practice, the Interim Constitution is filled with contradictions. It has a senate, with minimal power; it has provinces which are without exclusive power; it has a central civil service, though expanded in the provinces; it has central policing, notwithstanding a commitment to take policing to the people.

It has the power of taxation vested solely with the central government, which can distribute to the provinces at its whim. There are powers assigned to the central government and provinces simultaneously, but there are many broad overrides which allow the centre to intervene in provincial affairs.

Hence provincial powers are in fact a myth. Traditional authorities, and by extension traditional local government, are, according to the constitution, provincial competencies, yet the central government demands that the chiefs (and kahols) of KwaZulu/Natal subscribe to a Western-style democracy in local government elections.

The KwaZulu/Natal legislature has adopted a Bill for a house of traditional leaders, called for the recognition of the Zulu kingdom and the status of the king as a constitutional monarch, as is the case in all Western democracies with monarchic systems.

Yet central government, overriding the province, deals directly with the monarch, pays him, provides the militia that protects him, and encourages him to dispute the power of the KwaZulu legislature.

What native could lead people to believe that the elected members of the Constitutional Assembly will resolve these conflicts? Already the theme committee dealing with the nature of the state (unitary versus federal) is lost in thought about the IFP’s submission on federal characteristics of the state, and does not want to include details of the IFP’s viewpoint in the initial report to the constitutional committee.

It is the IFP’s hope that mediators will bring objectivity to bear to find a solution which will bestow a covenantal constitution on South Africa. Hereby the constitution would be acceptable to all the people; individuals would be protected from their own foci; and rulers prevented from abusing power.
Contingency plans in case of violence after walkout

IFP: Mandela stands firm

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

President Mandela flew to Pretoria yesterday ahead of today’s important meeting with the security establishment to discuss ways of containing any violence in KwaZulu/Natal in the aftermath of the IFP’s withdrawal from Parliament last week.

Mandela, who had earlier attended the ANC national executive committee’s two-day meeting in Cape Town, flew back to Gauteng yesterday afternoon for top-level talks with his political lieutenants and top security generals to work out contingency plans to deal “with any eventualities.”

Although the president agreed to an unsuccessful two-hour-long meeting with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Deputy President and NP leader FW de Klerk in Cape Town on Friday, he is understood to be impatient with what he considers to be the IFP’s “dangerous brinkmanship and holding of the country to ransom.”

The Star revealed on Friday that Mandela does not consider the IFP’s withdrawal from the institutions of Parliament as a crisis, and that his intention is to wait for Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to deal with the issue once he returns from abroad on March 6.

Government sources told The Star that Mandela had now resolved that concrete steps should be taken to contain any violence which might result in KwaZulu/Natal from the IFP’s withdrawal from the National Assembly, the Senate and the Constitutional Assembly.

The sources said Mandela was not keen on getting personally involved in any tripartite meeting on the IFP’s demand for international mediation to resolve the present impasse.

However, the president is understood to be concerned about the possibility of a deteriorating security situation in the country, hence his meeting with “securocrats” in Pretoria today.

In attendance will be De Klerk, Defence Minister Joe Modise, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, Deputy Intelligence Services Minister Joe Nhlanhla, army chief General Georg Meiring and new SAPS commissioner George Fivaz.

“This meeting will demonstrate that whoever thinks that by walking out of Parliament they could cause violence is making a mistake.”

“It will send a clear message in this regard, and will also look at the situation in KwaZulu/Natal,” said the source.

Said another source: “The government has lost patience with brinkmanship and holding the country to ransom.”

“It was with this in mind that President Mandela warned in his speech when he opened Parliament that whoever tries to prevent local government elections from going ahead will be dealt with.”

Back to international mediation after all?

ANALYSIS

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Until a week before South African’s first all-race election last year, political tension was rife and fears were expressed in certain quarters that a bloodbath in KwaZulu/Natal and some parts of Gauteng was imminent.

The IFP, which enjoys considerable support in both provinces, was not only boycotting the April 26-28 election, but had made no secret of the fact that it — with the backing of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — was planning to prevent the election from taking place in KwaZulu/Natal.

Among the many reasons advanced for the party’s position was a demand by Zwelithini for the restoration of a pre-20th century “Kingdom of KwaZulu.

And then something of a miracle happened exactly seven days before voting was to begin. Kenyan academic Professor Washington Jalango Okumu, who had come to South Africa a week earlier as an adviser to a distinguished team of international advisers, brokered an eleventh-hour accord which brought the IFP into the election.

At a crucial tripartite meeting in Pretoria on April 19, leaders FW de Klerk (NP and then State President), Nelson Mandela (ANC) and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (IFP and then KwaZulu Chief Minister) signed a historic agreement titled “Memorandum of agreement for reconciliation and peace between the IFP/KwaZulu government and the ANC and the South African Government/NP”.

The two-page accord committed the IFP to participating in the election, and all three parties — which undertook to do everything possible to ensure a free and fair election — to a rejection of violence.

The three parties also agreed “to recognise and protect the institutions, status and role of the constitutional position of the King of the Zulus and the kingdom of KwaZulu, which institutions shall be provided for in the provincial constitution of KwaZulu/Natal immediately after the holding of the said elections.”

This led to the amendment of the Interim Constitution a few days before the election.

The paragraph on international mediation is brief: “Any outstanding issues in respect of the King of the Zulus and the 1998 (Interim) Constitution as amended will be addressed by way of international mediation which will commence as soon as possible after the said elections.”

Buthelezi then spoke with the backing of his nephew and king, Zwelithini.

In what is widely described as the miracle of our times, murderers’ guns fell silent throughout the country during the election and what ended up as a five-day poll in some parts of the country.

Now there are tensions anew, with fears expressed that the IFP’s surprise withdrawal from Parliament might fuel the flames of violence in KwaZulu/Natal.

The IFP wants the April 19 agreement honoured, and seeks through international mediation to win concessions on the autonomy of provinces.

The ANC and the NP are not keen to reopen the issue, and have repeatedly tried to persuade the IFP to raise its constitutional concerns in the democratically elected Constitutional Assembly. Now, however, it increasingly seems as if international mediation may be in the offing after all.
Mbeki, Gore launch joint body on US-SA relations

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON, — Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has arrived in the United States to join US Vice President Al Gore in launching a high-level joint S.A./US commission to steer relations between the two countries.

Mr Mbeki and Mr Gore will co-chair the commission which will deal formally with issues such as business development, environment, energy development, human resources and education and science and technology.

Apart from the formal agenda, the commission will strongly boost the importance of relations between the two countries. America only has one other similar commission — with Russia — although it is planning a third with Egypt.

The full commission is expected to meet every six months, alternatively in the US and South Africa. The visits of Mr Gore to South Africa and Mr Mbeki to Washington will help to keep South Africa's profile high in the US.

The South African government is also using Mr Mbeki's visit to impress America with the capabilities of President Mandela's heir-apparent.

Mr Mbeki will meet a wide range of meetings with leading politicians, business people and journalists to allay persistent fears about "what happens after Mandela."

He will briefly meet President Clinton at the White House during the commission meeting.

Mr Mbeki will also meet former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in New York, prompting some speculation that he might be seeking advice on the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for international mediation of constitutional differences between it and the ANC following the IFP's walkout from parliament last week.

The deputy president will also meet several executives of major US corporations and editors of major media such as the Washington Post and New York Times.
Boers' plan 'parliament'

JOHANNESBURG. — About 200 white right-wingers, including AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche, on Saturday attended a rally in Pretoria where plans for elections for a Boer parliament were announced.

"There will be two elections," organiser Mr Fritz Meyer told the crowd outside the city hall. "One will be a boer election in which the boer people will vote and the other will be the African election in which the African people will vote."

Others attending the rally included Mr Willem Ratte, the former special forces officer who occupied Fort Skanskop, and racist killer Barend Strydom.

Mr Meyer gave no date for the election but said candidates would begin registering in June.

About 300 Afrikaners, including several AWB members, destroyed television sets outside the SABC's offices here on Saturday in protest against the scaling-down of the Afrikaans language on television. — Sapa
Mbeki raises visa needs

Special Correspondent

BRUSSELS.—South Africa has launched a top-level bid to be taken off a list of countries whose citizens will need visas to visit Europe.

The list comes into force on March 26, and will apply to seven European countries which are poised to scrap all frontier controls on people travelling from one member to another.

The countries are Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, France, Germany, Spain and Portugal. Greece, Italy and Austria may soon join the ban.

The visa threat was raised by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki during talks here with Belgian Foreign Minister Mr Frank Vandenbroucke.

Mr Mbeki noted that citizens from the European states do not need visas to visit South Africa.

"The reason for the visa restrictions is to deal with the challenge of economic migrants into Europe," Mr Mbeki told a news conference. "There is no danger of such a threat from South Africa."

Mr Vandenbroucke promised to look at the problem — and South African diplomats here will keep up the pressure.
ANC sets up disciplinary probe

WINNIE IN THE BALANCE

The ANC on Wednesday said it would investigate allegations that strategically benefits were handed to a group of ANC members. The party has launched an internal process to determine whether any of its members were involved in the allocation of benefits to a group of ANC members.

ANC president Cyril Ramaphosa said the party had received information that a group of ANC members had been awarded benefits in violation of party rules. The party had launched an internal process to determine whether any of its members were involved in the allocation of benefits.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would not tolerate any form of corruption or mismanagement of party funds. He said the party would take appropriate action against any member found to be involved in such activities.

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The party has launched an internal process to determine whether any of its members were involved in the allocation of benefits to a group of ANC members.
Winnie’s future in balance

SA grabs spotlight at film fest

OUAGADOUGOU—SA’s participation for the first time at the Pan African Film and Television Festival (Pespac) grabbed the spotlight at the opening ceremony here at the weekend.

The ceremony took place before about 35 000 people at the stadium outside the city.

It was the first time SA was allowed to take part. Over 50 film-makers and journalists from SA attended.

The Super Queens as well as Mahlatini and the Mahotella Queens, both from SA, were two of the three musical acts.

The opening film, Jomina and John, was by the South African director Lionel Ngakane.

Eight SA features, including Jan Kerhof’s Confessions of a Yeoville Rapist, will be shown at the festival, which ends on March 4. — Sapa-AFP

MRS Winnie Mandela’s future in the government remained uncertain last night as her staff reported she was continuing “on schedule” with her controversial West African mission until Monday, March 6.

Her trip, in defiance of her husband, President Nelson Mandela, and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, is going ahead in spite of her reading press reports of the fuss it had created locally, it emerged yesterday.

Mr Mbeki, attending a Group of Seven conference in Brussels, was reported as saying a decision on her remaining in the government would be made this week.

And yesterday Gauteng Premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale said Mr Mandela was likely to correct perceptions that the ANC was indecisive when it came to allegations against some of its top members.

Mr Sexwale was speaking at the ANC Gauteng provincial council meeting in Johannesburg.

He said the ANC had appeared to be indecisive about allegations against ANC leaders such as Dr Allan Boesak, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Sexwale said that even though they had not been found guilty by any court of law, it had reflected badly on the ANC that the party had not taken any action.

Mrs Mandela’s assistant private secretary, Ms Caroline Ndlovu, said yesterday that Mrs Mandela had phoned her from Ouagadougou, in Burkino Faso, but had made no mention of any change in her schedule.

“She hasn’t changed her schedule. She’s supposed to be back in the office on March 6,” Ms Ndlovu said.

Mr Mbeki was quoted as saying a message was sent to Mrs Mandela early last week advising her not to leave.

“The Thursday as I was getting ready to leave for Brussels, I was told she had left to go to West Africa,” Mr Mbeki was reported as saying. “I had discussions with President Mandela and we decided to deal with the matter on my return from the US as we need to speak to her anyway.”

Mrs Mandela is visiting the Ivory Coast and Ghana as well as Burkino Faso.

Political Staff
Tokyo tackles

3rd wave tactics

BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale views recent revolts in the police service and the army, as well as mass land invasions, as part of a "third wave" of concerted action intended to undermine the ANC.

And he has accused the ANC's junior partners in the Government of National Unity of turning their backs when it came to confronting problems, but being greedy to grab the glory of the "South African miracle".

Speaking at a meeting of the ANC's general council for Gauteng yesterday, Sexwale warned that if President Mandela had once seemed indecisive, he had now taken up the cudgels.

Sexwale described the first wave of anti-ANC activity as the repression of the mid-'80s and the second wave as the destabilising violence of the early '90s. He argued that the third wave involved "shady people" taking advantage of genuine demands by sections of the population to attack the ANC.

These new leaders, who presented themselves as champions of the people, had "never demonstrated against the most vicious rule" of the apartheid years.

Instead, they had been friends of apartheid, said Sexwale.

This "negative mass action" was coupled with a propaganda campaign against the ANC. Former members of the intelligence services were using certain journalists in this campaign.

Sexwale urged ANC representatives to counter propaganda by vigorously investigating any allegations against its leaders and taking action where warranted. In this way, it would be possible to separate the transgressions of individuals from the party as a whole.
Hardliners make stand in IFP-ANC showdown

BY MONDLI MAKhANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

As the country braces itself for this weekend’s IFP conference, both the ANC and the IFP took hardline positions on the issue of international mediation.

The ANC’s national executive committee (NEC) decided at the weekend to call the IFP’s bluff and not treat its walkout from Parliament as a major threat.

At the same time, support seemed to be growing for the decision of the IFP youth brigade’s Gauteng region to urge an IFP pullout of the Government of National Unity should the ANC and the NP not heed the IFP’s demand for international mediation by this weekend.

The IFP youth brigade’s Gauteng region declared it would recommend that the party leave the GNU and become an opposition party if its demands were not met.

Gauteng youth brigade leader and IFP MP Thembekile Khoza said there was widespread support in the IFP for moving to the opposition.

IFP parliamentarians have spent the past week addressing rallies and explaining why they walked out of Parliament.

“Our supporters are surprised we did not do this earlier. They want us to take a strong stand at the conference,” said IFP MP Vusaphile Ndzowa.

The ANC, whose NEC has condemned the IFP’s walkout from Parliament as dangerous “brinkmanship”, is remaining equally adamant that it will not move from its present position.

The organisation wanted to show IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi once and for all “that he cannot threaten the country’s stability every time he can’t get his way”, a member said.
Constitution clauses get the nod from negotiators

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiators have agreed to recommend that the first clauses of a new constitution be sent for formal drafting.

The clauses cover points of principle agreed to at yesterday's constitutional committee meeting.

The series of agreements are a landmark in the path to a new constitution, after months of lengthy debates on points of procedure.

While many contentious issues remained at the end of yesterday's constitutional committee meeting, some agreements were passed on for drafting into clauses for the new constitution.

These clauses will be debated further. Negotiators have until May next year to draft a constitution, which in 1999 will replace the interim one.

Absent from proceedings were Inkatha Freedom Party representatives, who are boycotting parliament and the constitutional assembly pending the outcome of the row over international mediation.

It was agreed they would have an opportunity at a later stage to give their views.

Committee chairman Cyril Ramaphosa was confident IFP members would be back.

Issues on which there was agreement included that the constitution should be the supreme law of the land.

There should be elected structures at all levels of government, with regular elections on a common voters' roll, based on universal suffrage.

A report from the theme committee on provincial and local government listed several issues about which negotiators had disagreed.

In a series of cases, the objections had come from the IFP, or were objections by other parties to principles proposed by the IFP.
Winnie cuts short her African safari

**Political Staff**

WINNIE Mandela is cutting short her West African safari out of "sensitivity" to the row caused by her visit. The deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology has been in West Africa since Thursday and was due to have stayed for two weeks.

Mrs. Mandela will now return on March 6 instead of March 10, her spokesman Alan Reynolds said yesterday.

Her early return was the result of "sensitivity" on her part.

President Nelson Mandela asked his estranged wife not to proceed to West Africa as there were a "number of important meetings" planned which she was due to attend.

Principal among these was the meeting of the national executive committee of the ANC at which the affairs of the Women's League were to have been discussed.

Marike ‘should give evidence’

**CLIVE SAWYER**

Political Correspondent

MARIKE de Klerk is "bitter" and unable to come to terms with no longer being "first lady" says the ANC.

Mrs De Klerk, president of the NP women’s action and wife of Deputy President F W de Klerk, was reported to have attacked the ANC for failing to act against corrupt officials, for last year's Shell House shootings, and for "wild" parties at officials’ homes.

ANC information secretary Jackson Mthembu invited her to hand evidence to its disciplinary committee. The ANC had not had wild parties at officials’ homes and had not reprimanded so-called corrupt officials "because no evidence has been put before the ANC," Mr Mthembu said.

Under the leadership of the ANC a record number of economic and trade agreements had been signed and sporting and diplomatic links created.
CA under attack over poor publicity

CONSTITUTIONAL Assembly events for the public should be better organised to ensure maximum participation, the Committee on the Structure of Government decided yesterday.

Low attendance at public participation events at the weekend had been due to poor organisation by the CA administration.

Mr Bishop Patel said the CA should not only rely on print media to inform the public of meetings but should pay some attention to the electronic media — particularly radio — which could reach the majority of people.

The organisation of the public meeting should not be left solely to the South African Communications Service.

There had not been a single poster or placard advertising the meeting in Graaff Reinet. Mr Danny Oliphant (ANC) said.

Six buses had been laid on to transport people to the meeting held in Klipfontein, but only about 75 people turned up. Mr. Andreas Beyers (NP) said.

The whole exercise was not worth the money spent because of bad organisation. Some of the six buses supposed to transport people to the meeting in Limpopo, Free State, had only three passengers, Mrs Beatrice Mashoff (ANC) said.

The National Party withdrew a formal objection to a CA media advertisement being in English only when it was pointed out that it had appeared in the Afrikaans media as well.

Responding to an announcement that further adverts in Zulu and Xhosa would be placed in newspapers in the next three weeks, Beyers complained that the CA was to use Setwana — a dominant language in the North West province where he comes from. — Sapa.
Royals in Gauteng
for only two days

STAFF REPORTER (SOUTH)

Johannesburg will not see much of Queen Elizabeth II during her South African visit from March 12 to 24.

British High Commission spokesman Nigel Casey said the Queen, accompanied by her husband, Prince Philip, would spend two days in Gauteng — March 23 and 24 — after visiting Port Elizabeth.

She will spend the morning of March 23 in Soweto and will follow the township tour with a luncheon to be hosted by Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwane in Midrand.

The royal party continues to Pretoria en route to the presidential guest house, where they will stay on March 25 after attending a Commonwealth dinner hosted by the British High Commission.

Outlining the Queen’s itinerary, Casey said the royal yacht Britannia would arrive in Cape Town a few days before the royal couple jetted into the city.

After boarding the yacht in Simon’s Town on March 20, the royal couple — accompanied by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and South Africa’s High Commissioner in London, Mendi Maimang — will sail from Simon’s Town to Cape Town, where they are to be met by President Mandela.

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Bicycles used as shrapnel

BY MICHAEL SPARKS

An alleged accomplice in the pre-election bombing campaign, allegedly launched by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday how he and a number of accused built a trailer bomb which exploded in Germiston on April 25 as well as the car bomb which exploded at Jan Smuts Airport on April 27.

Jacob Koekemoer said that he, Etienne le Roux, Cliff Barnard, Abraham Myburgh and Jan de Wet mixed 100 kg of Anfacl explosive with diesel and placed it along with a gas bottle which had explosives wrapped around it in the trailer which belonged to the AWB.

Metal sheets, car tyre rims and pieces of bicycles were put in the trailer to act as shrapnel.

Koekemoer said that after the Germiston bomb, Barnard had said he just wanted two more bombs: one three- to five-ton bomb to be built into a tanker similar to a petrol tanker which would scare away dignitaries from the inauguration of President Mandela, and another to go off at Jan Smuts Airport.

Koekemoer said that he, Le Roux, Barnard, Myburgh, Cornelius Botha and Gert Alberts had all built the bomb in a white Peugeot which Hercules Coetzee and his brother Andreas had stolen. Hercules was to drive the car to the airport.

Koekemoer told the court how they manufactured the bomb.

The Peugeot left the Waterfall shooting range early on the morning of April 27. Soon afterwards they heard cars coming towards them and realised they had better leave the shooting range if they were to escape.

Koekemoer said the car he was in was fired on by police, wounding him in the leg. They later arrived and arranged an ambulance for him and took him back to the shooting range where he was questioned.

The trial continues today.
S. A. Govt. & Politics
1995

March - April
Binational commission launched

‘New era in USA-SA relations’

By Peter Fabricius

Washington — Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and US Vice President Al Gore launched a major USA-SA Binational Commission in Washington yesterday which Gore said would begin “a new era in partnership between our two democracies”.

Mbeki and Gore, who will co-chair the commission aimed at strengthening USA-SA relations, signed an agreement setting out its terms after a high-level meeting of the new body attended by several members of US President Bill Clinton’s cabinet.

Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane also attended the meeting.

Gore said the commission’s purpose was to focus attention at the highest level on all aspects of the USA-SA relationship. He said he would report directly to Clinton on the commission’s activities and Mbeki would report directly to President Mandela.

The full commission will meet six-monthly under Mbeki and Mbeki, alternately in SA and the US.

Gore announced the second meeting would be held in South Africa in September.

He said the USA-SA Business Development Committee launched in September under the co-chairmanship of Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel and US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, would become one of the five initial committees of the binational commission.

The other committees will be a Conservation and Environment Committee, an Energy Development Committee, a Human Resources Development and Education Committee and a Science and Technology Committee.

The committees plan to meet before the second meeting of the full commission in September.

Gore said non-government organisations and private sector companies would also be drawn in.

Gore stressed that the US had only one other similar commission — with Russia.

The reason, he said, was that just as it was important for the world that Russia’s transition from communism to a free-market democracy succeed, so it was important that South Africa’s transition from apartheid to non-racial democracy succeed.

US ambassador to South Africa, Princeton Lyman, who attended the launch, said the US and South Africa had begun discussions on a bilateral tax treaty.
PRETORIA. — Police raided several properties connected to Winnie Mandela today as part of a top-level investigation into allegations of fraud and corruption involving millions of rands.

Commercial Crime Unit head Lieutenant-Colonel Antonie Botha confirmed that he was leading the investigation into the activities of a company called Professional Builders (Pty) Ltd and the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Project (CAPP), of which Mrs Mandela is the chief executive.

CAPP, a non-government organisation, was set up with the aim of helping people living in the most deprived conditions, namely in informal settlements and squatter camps around Johannesberg. Questions have been raised about its capability of delivering on projects as promised.

It is understood that police are investigating allegations that Mrs Mandela used her position in government to acquire building contracts for Professional Builders. Professional Builders were awarded building contracts on CAPP projects.

Detectives looking for documents raided the CAPP offices in Braamfontein, Mrs Mandela's house in Orlando, Soweto and nine other sites in Pretoria and Johannesburg. The searches began at about 7am and were scheduled to be completed by noon.

A total of 40 policemen, both uniformed and detectives, used 20 cars in the raids, which were a culmination of two weeks of investigation by five senior policemen and three advocates from the Transvaal Attorney-General's office.

At 8am and 9am, police started searching and removing documents from places in Pretoria and Johannesburg respectively. Places raided in Pretoria included a plot in Klerksdorp near Rosslyn, Lombard's Restaurant in the Willows, Lyndeen Extension, and Concilium building in Technopark, Pretoria.

About 10 policemen raided the CAPP offices in Braamfontein. They rummaged through the drawers and cabinets and loaded papers and files into boxes. The policemen said they were investigating fraudulent activity between CAPP and Professional Builders.

Colonel Botha said no-one had been arrested this morning, but arrests would follow shortly. He would not speculate whether Mrs Mandela faced possible arrest and added that the office of Mrs Mandela used as Deputy-Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology had not been searched.

Mrs Mandela is in West Africa and is due to return on March 6.

The investigators would look into the destination of $100 009 (about R369 000) donated to CAPP through Mrs Mandela from the Pakistani government last year. The money was the subject of intense media speculation after members of the ANC Women's League claimed it was meant for their cause.

Colonel Botha could not give a figure of the amount of money involved in the investigation until all the necessary books had been collected, but said it was "millions of rands".
President Mandela expected to sack his estranged wife

Winnie flies

Raids to continue around country

BY BRONWYN LITTLETON

As police and advocates pored over confiscated documents today, detectives prepared for more raids around the country on a paper chase of alleged fraud and corruption by Winnie Mandela and others.

Police spokesman Captain Dave Harrington said today that three advocates from the Attorney-General’s office had been seconded to the police commercial crime unit to sift through piles of documents seized during yesterday’s raids on Mandela’s Orlando, Soweto home and 11 other locations, mainly in Pretoria.

He said tenders would be urgently invited for private sector contractors to compile a report for the Attorney-General to decide on prosecution. The report could take at least six weeks to complete.

Harrington said more raids around the country were likely, but police sources said the suspects would soon be heading for areas outside Gauteng to continue their investigations. One possible destination was Mbombela.

On hearing of the raids while on an unauthorised trip to West Africa, Mandela immediately ordered her lawyers to make an urgent application to the Rand Supreme Court for an interdict banning police from removing documents from her Orlando home on the grounds that they did not have a valid search warrant.

The application is to be heard today and — as a temporary agreement between Mandela’s lawyers and police — all documents seized from the house have been sealed in the Johannesburg chief magistrate’s office.

The sealing does not affect documents taken from other locations raided yesterday.

As the drama surrounding the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology unfolded yesterday, police alleged Mandela was paid at least R75,000 to use her position and influence to ensure that building contracts for low-cost housing were awarded to a company with which she had close links.

It is understood yesterday’s raids were approved by Police Commissioner George Fivas after the necessary warrants and documentation were completed by the commercial crime unit.

No one has yet been arrested in connection with the investigation, but police intend handing their docket over to the Transvaal Attorney-General.

BY PATRICK BULGI and MONDLO MAKU

Cape Town — An angry deputy minister cut his West African trip short after police raided his home.

She was expected to fly home today to deal with a situation that has arisen.

The embattled Arts and Culture Minister said in a statement from Abidjan that an official of her office had been arrested yesterday.

The Star was reliable and accurate.

The Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology has been arrested.

No one has yet been arrested in connection with the investigation, but police intend handing their docket over to the Transvaal Attorney-General.

To Page 3
Paper chase to continue

al's office for a decision on prosecution.

At a Pretoria news conference after the swoop, Harrington said the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Project (CAPP) — of which Mandela is chief executive officer — made use of a Pretoria-based company called Professional Builders (Pty) Ltd for the construction of low-cost housing.

Projects

CAPP, a non-governmental organisation, was set up with the aim of providing low-cost housing in squatter areas around Gauteng.

Police mentioned three projects being investigated: one at Ironside near Vereeniging, another at Phola Park on the East Rand and a third at Soshanguve near Pretoria.

Police alleged that people in positions of authority at the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation and CAPP "were paid sums of money as well as other favours" to facilitate the approval of tenders.

It is further alleged that other building contractors were not given the opportunity to tender. "It is also alleged that Ms Zinzi Mandela (Hlomivethe) was to receive 50 percent of shares in Professional Builders, with Mrs Mandela's personal physician also receiving a number of shares, thus giving Mrs Mandela, via these two proxies, control over Professional Builders," said a commercial crime unit statement.

Police alleged that "the management of Professional Builders bribed certain banking officials to approve bonds for applicants who did not qualify".

Impossible

According to police, Mandela was paid R75 000 "via CAPP" for ensuring that the building contract for the Ironside project was awarded to Professional Builders.

Colonel Antonie Botha, head of the commercial crime unit, said yesterday it was impossible to estimate the total sum of money involved in the alleged scam, but he put it at "millions of rands".

Star 2/3/95
ANC REACTION

"We are desperately disturbed by the allegations leveled against Mrs. Mandela," said the government's minister of justice. "We will monitor the investigation closely and ensure that the constitutional structures are not compromised in any way."

Political Staff

THREE advocates and an assistant will scrutinize documents and evidence related to the murder of Winnie Mandela. As the police investigation proceeds, they will look into whether the police were involved in the murder.

DP REACTION

"It is a gross violation of constitutional law to charge a person without proper evidence," said the Democratic Party leader. "We will continue to fight for justice and fairness in this matter."
Leeson, wife held in Germany

FRANKFURT An international search for Barings' trader Nick Leeson ended today when he was detained at Frankfurt airport, apparently on his way to Britain, German police said.

Police at the airport said they were alerted by the media to Leeson's possible arrival on a Royal Brunei Airlines flight and boarded the aircraft when it landed.

The Singapore-based trader, linked with the collapse of the 233-year-old British investment bank Barings, was traveling in her own name with his wife Lisa.

"They were detained and taken into custody," a police spokesman said at Frankfurt airport.

Reports that a South African financial institution had lost R1 billion in the collapse of Barings were denied today by major brokers and banks. But Old Mutual confirmed that Barings held a small proportion of its £600 million (about 15,000 million) Guernsey-based unit trust and that the fate of this money was unknown.

Old Mutual's South African unit trust and policyholders are unaffected. - Reuters.

See page 23.

FACING THE PRESS: Winnie Mandela and her lawyer speak to reporters in Abidjan.

spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said the president was studying the matter.

Mr Mankabola said the president and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki wanted to see Mrs Mandela when she returned from her West African trip and when Mr Mbeki returned from Brussels.

They would love to have a chat with her, he said.

"It was the case that she was difficult and that she was unapproachable," said Mr Mankabola.

In reaction to the raids, the African National Congress said it was "terribly disturbed by the allegations levelled against Mrs Mandela", but considered the issue to be a police matter at this stage.

The ANC will monitor the police investigations and will also discuss the allegations within its constitutional structures with a view to taking appropriate action should the allegations and police investigatory prove to be correct.

An AVP national executive committee member said there was a growing feeling in the organisation that finality should be brought to "the Winnie Mandela saga".

According to senior ANC sources, there are moves to have Mrs Mandela's case urgently brought before the organisation's newly established disciplinary committee chaired by Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal.

"People have been talking on one and saying that you cannot have one person dragging the ANC's name through the dirt every week like she does. She must be dealt with speedily and soon if she is found innocent, she needs to be told in very certain terms to stay away from controversial behaviour," said one source.

The National Party called for Mrs Mandela's suspension pending a decision on the outcome of the police investigation.

The party also said the search at the deputy minister's home was the first step in a long line indicating that no South African was above the law.

"So far, Mrs Mandela has been restored and again emerged victorious after challenging the president. She (has) succeeded in creating the impression that she was invincible," the NP said in a statement.

Democratic Party safety and security spokesman Douglas Gibson said the search "must surely be unprecedented in South Africa". The decision, he said, could only have been taken "after extremely careful consideration and in the light of very weighty evidence".

Mrs Mandela was becoming a liability and political embarrassment. He called on Mr Mandela to fire or suspend her until the investigation is over.
WINNIE MANDELA

Final straws

FM 3/2/95

The ANC is tight-lipped about strong speculation earlier this week that Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela could be fired for her latest act of defiance.

This concerns her apparent disregard of an order by President Nelson Mandela that she cancel a film conference trip to west Africa, in order to attend rather more pressing meetings of the ANC at home — not least one intended to resolve the split in the ANC Women's League, of which Winnie Mandela is president.

This came a week after President Mandela insisted on an apology from his ever-controversial estranged wife over her remarks criticising government.

ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu says Winnie's sojourn is "first and foremost a matter for government to deal with without any interference from any political party." He says the ANC "have not heard from President Mandela" about the issue. "If it is established that an ANC member defied the President then it becomes a matter for the disciplinary committee."

The ANC's National Executive Committee, chaired by the President, last week appointed various "functional committees," including a disciplinary committee to be chaired by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal. The six-person committee includes

Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma and MP Ruth Mompati, two of the 11 senior members who resigned recently from the Women's League in protest at the autocratic style of Winnie Mandela (who blithely accepted the resignations). The committee will investigate "any activity or conduct by ANC members in breach of the ANC constitution and code of conduct."

It would be ironic if Winnie were fired for an offence of protocol, observes Wits University's Tom Lodge, since she has been allowed to get away with almost anything. Except, that is, when she directly crosses or humiliates President Mandela.

She may this time also have alienated her strongest ally, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, whose office sent the message saying she should not travel abroad. Mbeki was decisive in convincing Mandela to accept Winnie's recent apology. However, her cavalier behaviour towards Mbeki has raised doubt about his continuing to intercede on her behalf.

Mbeki may have needed Winnie's support in the past, but he has since grown in power and prestige, while the strategic advantage once occupied by her purported constituency is less than it was. A disciplinary committee is all very well, though not always successful. The ANC should realise that politics is not about legal niceties, but perceptions.

Swift dismissal for unbecoming conduct is necessary. This is not only a matter of internal ANC discipline; State dignity is also affected.
ANC sends Inkatha conciliatory signals

Mandela appeals to Buthelezi

Mr Mandela said he did not question Chief Buthelezi's integrity when he opposed violence. However, his government would not be diverted from acting to restore law and order by any threats of withdrawal.

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi yesterday dismissed speculation that he would be vacating his office to take over the premiership of KwaZulu-Natal from Inkatha's Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Forecasts that he would be leading his party out of the cabinet also appeared groundless yesterday.

His administrative secretary, Mr Godfrey Dlamini, acknowledged that Chief Buthelezi would attend next Wednesday's cabinet meeting in Pretoria and his diary was being drawn up for regular office duty at his Cape Town office on Monday and Tuesday.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had taken great pains not to allow the government of national unity to become a hollow shell in which the IFP and NP felt they were merely rubber-stamping the views of the majority.

Accusations by Inkatha members that he had deliberately sidelined Inkatha ministers — and deputy Safety and Security Minister Mr Joe Mathews — from the decision to send troops into KwaZulu-Natal were groundless.

The ministers and security chiefs involved had been part of the planning of the crackdown on lawlessness and violence in four provinces.

Not everyone could be in the know about sensitive security action in advance.

The ANC and NP premiers in the other three provinces affected by the crackdown had not been informed in advance.

Meanwhile, correctional services committee chief Mr Carl Niehaus said it was very regrettable that Inkatha Correctional Services Minister Mr Sipo Mzimela had refused to meet his committee since November.

"We have been trying to meet the minister for more than three months... It is regrettable that a working relationship hasn't been established.

He said he had informed Mr Mandela of the gross dereliction of duty on the minister's part.

Mr Mandela had promised to study a memorandum from the committee.
Winnie: Now for a purge of the populists

Winnie's fall could spell the end of the populist elite in the ANC, report Stefaans Brümmer and Eddie Koch

The fall of Winnie Mandela may sound the death knell for the "populist" faction within the ANC and could have strong repercussions, reaching as far as the race for succession to President Nelson Mandela.

The extraordinary occurrence — Wednesday's police raid on the house of a serving deputy minister, followed by the reaction from ANC government members and spokespeople that "this is a police matter" not to be interfered with politically — shows Winnie Mandela to be an isolated figure within the party.

A senior ANC source yesterday termed the events the culmination of a strategy to purge the party of its populist clique.

The source said the president had probably received information from police and ANC intelligence sources before the party's national congress in December last year about growing levels of corruption within the populist faction of his party and the use of dubious funding to bolster a support base for the group.

Mandela countered by trying to issue a list of candidates for the national executive committee which would have excluded some of this clique from the election. But his move backfired; it was seen as undemocratic by rank-and-file delegates, prompting a reaction that gave the militants more support than they would have had under different circumstances.

Academics and party sources have pointed out that the crisis precipitated by the raid also puts deputy president Thabo Mbeki in a difficult position. While he is usually associated with the more conservative wing of the party, he has at crucial times relied on the support of Winnie Mandela and some of her more militant associates, who include ANC MPs Peter Mokaba and Bantu Holomisa.

Specifically, the ANC Youth League, when under Mokaba, backed Mbeki in his ascendency over ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa. Mbeki's main rival as Mandela's successor.

Mbeki has been reported on several occasions to have intervened with the president on behalf of his estranged wife. When Mandela wanted to fire her after her criticism of the government at a policeman's funeral last month, Mbeki intervened. Again, when she left for West Africa last week in defiance of the president, the matter was delegated to Mbeki to deal with.

A spokesman for the president confirmed yesterday the matter was still in the hands of Mbeki, who would deal with it on his return on Saturday from overseas.

Mbeki's spokesman, Rickie Naidoo, emphasised that corruption allegations were a matter for the police at this stage. Winnie Mandela's trip to West Africa in defiance of the president's orders was the government's greatest concern. "This is an issue the government needs to resolve as soon as possible. When Mbeki gets back to South Africa he will meet Nelson Mandela to discuss the issue."

According to political scientist David Welch, "If Mbeki is seen to be protecting someone whose actions seem indefensible, it certainly will not do him any good."

"The succession race is far from decided; there is many a slip between the cup and the lip."

The ANC source said Winnie Mandela's traditional sources of support within the organisation were now in a shambles.

He said the ANC Women's League was in disarray in the wake of the resignation of 11 executive members protesting Winnie's "Road to Freedom" business partnership with Egyptian actor Omar Sharif. Although ANCWL regions have come out in support of Winnie, these were weak and constituted only a few individuals in each area.

The ANC Women's League — whose representative Lutho Johnson this week condemned the police raid and expressed support for Winnie Mandela — expressed support for Winnie Mandela's prime minister, Bantu Holomisa. While the first deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, is lucky to have been left with only one major supporter, Winnie Mandela has lost much of her influence with the ANC.

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The apology yesterday by the Speaker, Dr Frere Ginwala, for the “terrible crimes” committed by SA against the Mozambican people has sparked an uproar, and the NP has called on her to resign.

Four senior NP MPs — Mr Frik van Deventer, Mr Piet Coetzee, Mr Andries Beyers and Dr Willem Odendal — also walked out of Parliament during her speech welcoming Mozambican president Mr Joaquim Chissano.

Dr Ginwala said Mozambique had been blighted by the effects of war and civil strife.

This strife had been initiated by the then-Rhodesian government and extended by successive governments in Pretoria.

“Today here before the elected representatives of the South Africans, on their behalf, I want to apologize for the terrible crimes.”

After loud applause from ANC benches, she continued: “I want to apologize for the terrible crimes that my countrymen committed against the people of Mozambique. It has taken many years for your country to come out of that morass.”

Mr Chissano departed from his prepared text to tell Dr Ginwala her apology had touched his heart and the hearts of Mozambicans.

“We don’t deserve any apology from you or South Africa. We expected to fight and accept all the consequences as you did.

“You are the ones who suffered first and inspired us.

“You have been a weapon in our hands to fight colonialism and apartheid,” President Chissano said.

Afterwards, the NP in a statement expressed “its strongest disapproval of the behaviour of Dr Ginwala.”

“As Speaker, Dr Ginwala should act impartially and lend dignity to the proceedings of Parliament. She is supposed to be the Speaker of Parliament, and not of just one party.”

The statement said if the Speaker wanted to hold political debates, she had to do so as an ordinary MP.

“In the light of this serious breach of conduct by the Speaker in misusing her position, the NP calls on her to resign.”
Auditors weigh costs of capitals

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE CABINET has approved the appointment of independent auditors to examine the cost implications of having a split capital system.

Cabinet secretary Mr Jakes Gerwel said no deadline had been set and he presumed the choice of auditors would be put out to tender.

He said the emphasis of cabinet discussions dealt with ways to maximise efficiency and improve productivity in government and the cabinet.

Mr Gerwel said the auditors' investigations would not be 

by an earlier government 
probe into the costs of having Cape Town as the legislative capital and Pretoria as the administrative capital.
Constitution a costly exercise

The drafting of South Africa's new constitution will cost R59 million during the 1995/6 financial year. The costs include R9.8m for personnel, R20.9m for administration, R33.3m for "stores and livestock", R2m for equipment and R12.8m for professional and special services.

The Constitutional Assembly and Senate are both provided for under the vote for Parliament, which will cost a total of R207.1m. This is an increase of R119.4m over the 1994/5 figure of R187.7m.
R11 million for traditional chiefs

PROVISION of R11 million was made in yesterday's Budget for the proposed Council for Traditional Leaders.

Altogether R5.3m has also been made available for the Volkstaat Council, an increase of R3.7m over the 1994/5 financial year.

The allocations made for the two councils have led to an increase in the Constitutional Development budget from R22.7m to R35.5m. (3049)
Visit important to black majority – commissioner

GARNER THOMPSON (2049)
The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — When the Queen sets foot on South African soil for the first time in nearly 50 years, it will be difficult to decide who will find the moment more emotional, she or the people who brought freedom and democracy to the country.

For both, the visit has special significance.

Mendi Msimang, the first High Commissioner to London from a democratically elected South African government, stressed the importance of the visit to the black majority.

"Of course it's a great honour for me to accompany her," he says. "But it will also signify to our people... we are now part of the nation receiving her, full members of the Commonwealth as a nation of South Africans."

The Queen's first visit to South Africa in 1947, where, as Princess Elizabeth, she celebrated her 21st birthday, was controversial.

Britain was in one of its deepest sloughs since the war, struggling through a bitter winter made worse by fuel shortages, unemployment and widespread rationing.

Overly, the tour was organised to give her father, King George VI, a much-needed rest. But, politically, it was crucial to both countries. South Africa was already a valued trading partner and prime minister Jan Smuts was facing an election, his pro-British United Party needing the support of the monarchy.

Their welcome in South Africa was tumultuous but controversial. Only 11 of the 47 Nationalist MPs attended the official welcome and the Afrikaans press was deeply hostile.

The strain they were under surfaced in a now notorious incident in Benoni, recalled by Peter Townsend, then equerry to the King.

He remembered a surging crowd of black well-wishers, cordon of clearly frightened police, and a Royal Family uncertain and ill-at-ease.

Suddenly, a man broke free and raced for the car, managing to get a foothold on the running-board.

Captain Townsend said: "The Queen, with her parasol, landed several deft blows before (the man) was knocked senseless by policemen..."

"Within a second, Her Majesty was waving and smiling."

A superb display of British aplomb, until it later emerged the black man who had attempted to "attack" them was, in fact, trying to press a 10-shilling note on Princess Elizabeth as a birthday gift.
State probes two-capitals costs

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

INDEPENDENT auditors are to probe the costs of the dual capital system.

To be chosen by tender, the auditors will report to the cabinet.

The move is a sequel to controversy about the findings of a ministerial committee which investigated the question.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel said the appointment was an effort to aid a debate relevant to the constitutional future.

He emphasised the investigation by the ministerial committee was about the costs of the present system.

- New designs for coins and a special 1995 Rugby World Cup coin were approved by the cabinet yesterday. The coins to have new designs are the 10c, 20c, 50c and R2.
- A new party is in store for South Africans, a year to the day from the first democratic election.
- A cabinet committee, in cooperation with provincial premiers, is devising plans for the first celebration of Freedom Day, April 27.
- Dr Gerwel said the central theme of celebrations would be nation-building and national unity.
- Minister of Trade and Industry Trevor Manuel is to probe the future of development corporations set up in the apartheid era for the TBVC regions and self-governing territories.
Embassies'
R13-m slice
THE government under the National Party allocated about R13 million for "entertainment" during 1994-95 for its "embassies" in four former homelands.
Figures from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs revealed this week that "South African embassies" in the former homeland capitals of Umtata, Thohoyandou, Mnabaho and Bisho had been allocated "entertainment" allowances totaling R12.89m.

The approximately R13 million allocated to entertain homeland leaders and business people is more than was allocated to at least 90 percent of the embassies South Africa had abroad.
It is only R3 million short of that earmarked for South Africa's embassy in the German capital, Bonn.
However, only a fraction of the money—R47,954 in total—was spent.
Looks like we’ll keep our old names for some time

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Provinces are not tripping over each other in the rush to change their names, a survey has found.

Of the country’s nine provinces only two have taken definite steps to change their names. The old PWV has now become Gauteng and Orange Free State has broken with its Dutch past and dropped the Orange. These changes have yet to be approved by parliament.

KwaZulu/Natal’s unwieldy name will undergo some surgery later this year. The provincial legislature is busy drafting a new constitution for an autonomous kingdom, a process that should be complete before the end of the year. The name of the province would then change to the Kingdom of KwaZulu.

The Western Cape has only taken the cosmetic step of translating its name into Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, the province’s three official languages, while the Northern Cape has remained as it is.

However, most other provinces have taken the attitude that name alteration is not a priority.

In the case of the North-West, the legislature has confirmed the present name by passing a law that changes car registrations to end with the letters NW.

The only debate in the area is whether to change the name of the capital from Mmabatho to Mafikeng.

Both the Eastern Transvaal and the Northern Transvaal are being hindered by the ethnic diversity of their populations from effecting any name changes.

The two provinces between them share several former homelands and finding universally acceptable names would therefore entail going through some very thorny debates.

"Changing a name involves the emotions of people and we think it is still too early to touch that," said Eastern Transvaal government spokesman Oupa Pilane.

A spokesman for the Eastern Cape said although name changes have been discussed informally, the province’s main priority was to get the province to function.
Unite in humanity's name — President

COPENHAGEN: President Nelson Mandela told fellow world leaders that the United Nations must take a leading role in resolving boundaries in humanity's name for the UN summit on social development which he addressed yesterday.

"Either we rise together as humanity, or together fall," Mr Mandela said in his speech on the final day of the week-long summit. He highlighted that world leaders had gathered in the Danish capital to ask themselves one vital question: "How does humanity cooperate to build a better life for all?"

Before taking the rostrum, he was warmly applauded by the audience from the moment his name was announced.

"We in South Africa have learnt through bitter experience that security for few is in fact insecurity for all," he continued.

He added that the recent successful transition to democracy in South Africa did not mask the fact that disorder still had to be eradicated.

Mr Mandela said the summit represented a "major effort to reorder world affairs" and an attempt to listen to the "voices of the peoples, who are uniting across artificial boundaries for real and lasting security".

**Assistance**

Mr Mandela also insisted on the need to find ways of "ending the marginalisation of Africa". He called for more aid to South Africa so that it might continue to be an inspiration to developing nations.

"We have been assured that we will receive all the assistance we need in the reconstruction and development of our country," he said.

Mr Mandela said an immediate cancellation of debt was required for development, but added that South Africa must be understanding and realistic.

One of the star names of the summit, Mr Mandela has been greeted with standing ovations since his arrival here on Friday.

He held talks with the leaders of the five Nordic countries on Saturday, whom he hailed as "old friends, the first who supported us in our struggle against apartheid".

Mr Mandela and the five leaders "exchanged memories and ideas about what we can do for the new South Africa", President Martti Ahtisaari of Finland said. —Sapa-AP-Reuters
SA’s ugliest outpost gets a woman’s touch

SOUTH AFRICA’S embassy in Paris is without question the ugliest outpost on the river Seine. Yet the security spikes that once protected it from the outside world have been taken down, symbolising a new openness in the embassy which has started to touch official relations with France.

Behind the still ugly but more relaxed facade, Barbara Masakela, South Africa’s first black woman ambassador, officially started work this week. She was only allowed to do so after presenting her credentials on Tuesday to the ill and visibly fading President Francois Mitterrand, now in his final days as head of state.

France has just begun its search for a replacement, but Ms Masakela said it would make little difference to bilateral relations who was elected on May 7 to be the next president.

South Africa, she said—with obvious but unspoken reference to the position of her close friend, President Nelson Mandela—had a lot to learn from the French people, who did not build palaces around one person.

“We as a country still have to go through that nation-building experience to learn that, above all, we are South Africans and the interests of all the people come first, regardless of who the leader is.”

She dismissed speculation that France was one of the nations obstructing attempts to link South Africa to the Lomé Convention, a move that would give exporters duty-free access to the lucrative European Union market.

“We have full support from France as far as Lomé is concerned,” she insisted. Yet there is still debate as to whether South Africa will get favourable treatment for agricultural products.

“There is no status of a poor nation and this comes into the argument for granting agricultural concessions.”

It was wrong to expect that, since the country had been welcomed into world forums, concessions would naturally follow. “If we are going to be competitive in the global market, we are going to have to do it as equals. If we want special concessions we are going to have to fight very hard for them.”

As a non-French speaking official, her first fight in Paris will be with the language—she has vowed to hold her next media conference in French.

She’s hoping too that by then attrition will have allowed her to have a more representative staff. “Make no mistake, this is still a white embassy. I am the only black face here and the staff here is not representative of South African society. I want to ensure that it does not remain so in perpetuity.

“When I arrived, I was thrilled to find so many women in the embassy, but to my horror I discovered most were secretaries and very few had real authority. I also want to make sure women in the foreign service get the role they deserve.”

The spikes were removed in an attempt to make the silver-and-granite eyesore more welcoming. Subtle touches, like introducing township toys into the foyer, also suggest there is now a woman on board.

While in exile in London, Ms Masakela, the sister of musician Hugh, headed the ANC’s arts and culture department. While she has a natural affinity for cultural links, she will ultimately be judged on her ability to lure investment.

She said she saw South Africa becoming the African headquarters for many of the French corporations operating on the continent.

“From an economic point of view, Franco-South African relations are full of promise. In two years France has invested 1.5 billion francs (R2.1 billion) in South Africa and about 60 French companies are already in South Africa.”

During her posting she wants to convince the French of the potential that awaits them in South Africa and of the urgency which exists to “buckle down now, together, to develop and to consolidate this potential.”
CONCERNED ... OthersNYSEMAK0929 helped the disadvantaged.

President Cyril Ramaphosa's call for a national strategy to address the needs of the disadvantaged is prompted by the ongoing disparities in access to basic services, education, and healthcare. The strategy aims to bridge the gaps between different communities and ensure a more equitable distribution of resources. Ramaphosa emphasized the importance of community-based interventions and the role of local leaders in addressing these issues. The strategy will focus on areas such as nutrition, education, and healthcare to improve the lives of marginalized communities. The President highlighted the need for partnerships between government and civil society organizations to effectively implement the strategy. The strategy also seeks to empower women and girls, recognizing their critical role in societal development. Ramaphosa called for the active participation of all stakeholders in the implementation process, emphasizing the importance of collaboration in achieving the goals of the national strategy.
What's to be done about Winnie?

By JEFFERSON LENGANE

HOW should the government deal with controversy-ridden Winnie Mandela in the wake of the police raid on her house and the allegations of corruption leveled so publicly against her? Political parties canvassed on this issue this week had different opinions about the matter:

The PAC, according to general secretary Maxwell Nemadzeminane, insists that the law should take its course before any disciplinary measures against the deputy minister are considered.

Azapo Lybon Mabaso also advises against disciplinary action, warning of "an avalanche of resistance" by those who see the government as "lenient to former apartheid capitalist lords".

Deputy Secretary of the ANC, Zweli Nziem, sympathises with the government's "dilemma" over the principle of presumed innocence and the police investigations.

According to Jeremy Cronin, spokesman of the SACP, "firm and effective measures must be taken against all forms of indiscipline regardless of an individual's popularity."
This is not the South Africa I knew and loved for
No gobbledygook, says Dullah Omar

SOUTH AFRICA's multiparty-negotiated constitution was more like a peace treaty and, like other legislation, needed to be made more intelligible and accessible to ordinary South Africans, Justice Minister Dullah Omar has said.

Speaking at the Plain Language seminar aimed at parliamentarians, he said every South African had an equal right to information.

Clear, simple, understandable communication was absolutely necessary for democracy. People had the right to understand the laws that governed them, to understand court proceedings in matters that affected them and to understand what government was doing in their name, he said yesterday.

"The use of language which is above the heads of the average citizen may swell the heads of its users, but it does little else." Referring to South Africa's 11 official languages, he said the country did not need 11 versions of gobbledygook. Translating what was obscurely written in English or Afrikaans into equally obscure Xhosa or Zulu was not the answer. — Sapa (3044A)
Rethink on bid to place SA on visa blacklist

JOHN FRASER
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

BRUSSELS. — South African tourists and businessmen should learn in June whether they will in future need visas to visit all European Union (EU) states.

French Interior Minister Charles Pasqua, whose government holds the presidency of the EU, made this promise in Brussels.

European Union governments are negotiating a list of those countries whose citizens will in future have to obtain visas before they can travel to the EU.

The original proposal was that South Africa — along with dozens of other Commonwealth states — should be included on the list.

Not only would this mean South African citizens needing a visa to visit continental EU countries — they would also need them to visit Britain and Ireland.
ANC opens its surgery
‘No plan for Afrikaners’

PRETORIA: The CP has “irrevocably” come to the conclusion the government has no intention of accommodating the Afrikaner, party leader Dr Fritsh Hartzenberg said here yesterday.

“We have tested President Nelson Mandela and the government on this. They don’t want to give us our freedom and they are not interested in granting us minority rights.”

Releasing the Afrikaner Volksfront’s document on education, Dr Hartzenberg said Mr Mandela had told him before April last year discussions on Afrikaner self-determination should continue after the election.

“However, they began eluding us the moment we came up with concrete proposals. We have, for example, not been consulted at all before the government’s White Paper on education was finalised.”

Dr Hartzenberg said his party’s first step would be to bring to the world’s attention the fact that the government was ignoring international conventions on the recognition of minority rights.

It would also resort to the Constitutional Court to fight the government’s disregard for the right to “own” education. — Sapa
DEPUTY MINISTER FINALLY AGREES TO MEET MBEKI

About-turn for Winnie

JOHANNESBURG: After refusing for four days to meet Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Mrs Winnie Mandela will finally hold talks with him today.

Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT reports.

The meeting, expected to take place "somewhere in Johannesburg", will mark the end of a stand-off which has seen the Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister deying Mr Mbeki and her estranged husband President Nelson Mandela.

Mrs Mandela has come under immense pressure from friends and political allies to make herself available for the talks.

Mrs Mandela's about-turn came hours after the President had rejected a meeting with her, saying Mr Mbeki was competent to deal with the matter.

Also yesterday, police chief Commissioner George Fivaz indicated that the police case against Mrs Mandela had not been weakened by arguments on the validity of the warrant allowing the search of her premises last week.

He said the Justice Department, not the police, were responsible for issuing the warrant.

Mr Fivaz's statement coincided with the state attorney's office's providing Mrs Mandela's legal team with the documents on which the granting of the search warrant was based — a day later than originally ordered.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer Mr Temleton Mageza said he was studying the papers and would only be able to comment on them today.

Government sources yesterday indicated that the President had reached a decision on the deputy minister's future in the government, but this would not be made known until she had met Mr Mbeki and given him her side of the story.
Winnie to get the boot

By Mathatha Tseu, Political Editor

Deputy Minister Mrs Winnie Mandela has been effectively dismissed from the Government — but the announcement will await President Nelson Mandela’s return from Copenhagen.

Senior Government sources said yesterday the deputy minister’s position had become untenable after she had publicly shunned Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in his efforts to discuss with her her unauthorised West African trip.

Mbeki had been asked by President Mandela to handle the issue.

The President leaves for Denmark today for a United Nations’ summit.

Sources said an announcement of dismissal before the summit would detract from Mandela’s message in Denmark.

Meanwhile, following yesterday’s reports that Mrs Mandela had changed her mind and was now prepared to meet with Mbeki, the deputy president’s office said it had not had any indication or sign of a change of heart from Mrs Mandela.

In her refusal to meet Mbeki, Mrs Mandela said her personal crisis was a “national” one and as such could only be heard by her estranged husband.

Sowetan can, however, reveal that close associates had strongly advised Mrs Mandela to meet Mbeki for her own good before yesterday afternoon.

“She was advised that her total refusal to meet Mbeki was wrong. It put him in a tight spot in which his actions are no longer dictated by fairness but rather by a need to maintain a public posture of good governance,” one of the sources said.

Late yesterday Mrs Mandela was closeted with her lawyers apparently discussing strategies to counteract the police raids on her Soweto house and other places last week.

Sources said, however, that all the lawyer’s talk at best amounted to “damage control” and that Winnie was out — out of favour, out of Government, and most likely also out of pocket.
Pathetic blunder in Mandela search warrants, says police source.

The source, who was not named, said the National Police Commissioner, General J.J. Maluleke, had ordered an immediate investigation into the matter.

The source said the police had been conducting searches at Mandela's house in Houghton, Johannesburg, on the morning of Friday, March 4.

He said the police had been searching for evidence related to the ANC's activities in the run-up to the 1994 election.

The source said the police had found a number of documents in the house, including a letter from the ANC's foreign affairs committee.

The source said the police had also found a number of photographs of Mandela and his family.

He said the police were currently analysing the documents and photographs and would provide more information in due course.

The police source also said that the search warrants had been issued by the police commissioner, General Maluleke, and that the search had been carried out in accordance with the law.

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Winnie now ready to talk

search warrant in order to create a case against our client," Maggs said.

The Star understands that the long-awaited Mandela-Mbeki meeting will take place in Johannesburg this afternoon, and that the deputy minister will be accompanied by her children and her legal team.

Government sources yesterday indicated that the president had reached a decision on the deputy minister's future in the Government of National Unity, but this would not be made known until she had met Mbeki and given him her side.

In his statement yesterday, Fivaz said "misperceptions" had arisen over the search warrant, the approval for which "lay squarely within the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice and the relevant magistrate.

"It was therefore up to the magistrate concerned, and not the police, to decide whether the search warrant should have been issued or not.

"Police thus merely applied for the search warrant and, once issued, such a warrant is an order of the court and must be implemented by the police.

"It must also be emphasised that the court proceedings concerning the validity of this search warrant by no means detract from the gravity of the related allegations being investigated by police," he said.

He added that his statement was not a criticism of the Department of Justice, but an explanation of police procedure.

Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahiana, said earlier that the Government was determined to resolve the matter in a way that was consistent with its commitment to firm government and discipline.
INTENSE pressure by family and close friends led to Mrs Mandela changing her position

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA and PATRICK BULGER

Winnie Mandela will finally meet Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in Johannesburg this afternoon — four days after she first refused to talk to him.

The long-awaited meeting will mark the end of a stand-off which has seen the Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister pointedly defying Mbeki and her estranged husband, President Nelson Mandela.

The Star first revealed yesterday that Mandela had come under immense pressure from close friends and members of her family, including her two daughters and their husbands and long-time family friend Professor Fatima Meer, to make herself available for the talks.

Sources close to her confirmed to The Star yesterday evening that she had finally agreed to a meeting with Mbeki, the man she has doggedly refused to meet since Sunday when he first phoned her at her Orlando West, Soweto, home.

Only two days ago Mandela issued a statement in which she repeated her demand — first made in a letter to the president on February 21 — for a meeting with him.

She said the controversy surrounding her position had now "assumed the proportions of a national crisis which requires the intervention of the president".

Mandela’s decision came hours after the president had rejected a meeting with her, saying Mbeki was "a highly gifted man" who was competent to deal with the matter.

Also yesterday, South African Police Services Commissioner George Fvuzza indicated that the police case against the deputy minister had not been weakened by arguments on the validity of the warrant issued to police to search her premises last week.

Fvuzza’s statement coincided with the state attorney’s office's serving — a day later than originally agreed — on Mandela’s legal team, the papers on the basis of which a magistrate had granted police the search warrants.

Mandela’s lawyer, Templeton Mageza, told The Star he did not find anything in the document which suggested criminal wrongdoing by Mandela. "We have gone through it carefully and it does not suggest that any crime may have been committed.

"The document itself says they (the police) wanted a..."
SA-French relations
shift into top gear

New ambassador presented to Mitterrand

JAMES TOMLINS
The Argus Foreign Service
PARIS. — Franco-South African relations shifted into top gear today as Barbara Joyce Mosima Masekela, Pretoria's first black woman ambassador, was formally presented to President Francois Mitterrand at the Elysee Palace.

The envoy, who took up her new post on January 1, handed over her letters of credential signed by President Mandela.

The formal ceremony now opens up the path for Mrs Masekela to deal with the highest state authorities and the foreign diplomatic corps in one of the world's leading diplomatic posts.

Mrs Masekela drove in the embassy BMW, flying the new South African flag, accompanied by the Minister, W. L. E "Lofty" Brewis, and Miss Elsa Dry, councillor for economic and multilateral affairs.

A detachment of the Republican Guard, in full-dress uniform, commanded by Colonel Chapelle, was drawn up in the courtyard of the 277-year-old Elysee to greet her. She arrived at 6.30pm with light rain falling from a cold, grey sky.

The presidential protocol officer greeted her at the top of the stone steps leading into the palace to accompany her to the first floor salon where Mr Mitterrand awaited her.

After the brief ceremony, Mr Mitterrand and Mrs Masekela spoke privately with only an interpreter present. Neither side divulged what was said.

But French sources said that Mr Mitterrand was anxious to emphasise France's wishes for close ties with the new South Africa, while sending his greetings to Mr Mandela.

The French president was the first foreign leader to give head-of-state treatment to Mr Mandela when he came with Winnie Mandela to Paris soon after his release. The open-air welcome has never since been matched in any other capital.

Mrs Masekela, 54, who was born in Witbank, has three children, two of them adopted nephews. She has a rich academic background, and spent more than 10 years as a professor in several United States universities. From 1983 to 1990 she headed the ANC's art and culture department before becoming director of the office of the ANC president.

She is only the second South African ambassador posted here to come from outside the ranks of the diplomatic corps. She succeeds Marc Burger (1990-1994) whose father was also ambassador here in the 70s.

The new envoy is taking over at a time when the French political scene is in the throes of a tumultuous presidential election. Mr Mitterrand leaves office after 14 years, in eight weeks.

She will be dealing with French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe who is at present locked in a bitter quarrel with Prime Minister Edouard Balladur. Mr Balladur is running as a presidential Gaullist candidate against his main rival, Jacques Chirac, whom Mr Juppe strongly supports. He thus has little influence over French foreign policies.
Winnie eases tension

apartheid-style" raid was conducted.

Frac's spokesman Colonel Joseph Nkosi was earlier today that the commissioner's comment was "in the dark" as to why the affidavits had not been handed to the court yesterday afternoon as agreed by both sides last week.

"We are waiting on this information ourselves, but the matter is with our legal team and I cannot comment on that process," he said.

As political drama continued to unfold, State attorneys missed a 4pm deadline to hand over affidavits to Mandela's legal team.

Several options

The deadline arose from her application to the Rand Supreme Court last week to have the search declared illegal. Mr Justice Nugent postponed the matter until today to allow the State to reply to Mandela's legal team by 4pm yesterday.

Her legal representative, Templeton Maseka, told The Star that the State had approached him shortly after the deadline to ask for an extension. He said negotiations on the issue were continuing and that "several options" had become available to the defence team.

Mandela's lawyer indicated on Friday that it would ask the judge to set aside magistrate I Olifer's decision to grant the search warrant to the police. That decision was based on an affidavit supplied by the police.

Mandela's legal team indicated that the failure to produce the affidavit, which would have set out the police's reasons for wanting the search, had considerably weakened the State's case.

Mandela's spokesman, Alan Reynolds, was delighted at the turn the court case had taken.

"It looks like the allegations against her will amount to nothing," he said.

Reynolds said Mandela was not interested in seeing Mbeki, either about the fraud allegations or her unauthorised visit to West Africa. She wanted to see the president to clear up the mess.

More ammunition was added to the case against the State when the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, of which Mandela is an executive member, argued that the warrant had not included its offices and that the search of its offices had therefore been illegal.

Contreras said the police action was "high-handed and barbarous. More than anything, the incident was orchestrated to generate as much publicity as possible in order to embarrass Mandela.

"The police involved are either plain foolish, illiterate and have no conception of a constitutional order which commands all organs of state to act in terms of laws at all times, or they were just being malicious," added Contreras.

Mandela cancelled a trip to Johannesburg yesterday, remaining in Cape Town, Mbeki's attempts to meet her with no success.

Mbeki's spokesman Heinz Naidoo said Mbeki would shortly meet with President Mandela to decide how to take the matter further.
Raid on Winmine's Home

Ehlozi ordered probe into

President's Office denies writing apology

POLITICS

CONTROVERSY: Mrs. Winnie Mandela, in the centre of controversy.
Parties differ over emergency powers

SHARP differences of opinion emerged in the Constitutional Committee yesterday over whether provinces should have the right to declare states of emergency.

ANC MPs "strongly opposed" the spectre of human rights being suspended in any part of the country at the sole discretion of regional premiers.

IFP MPs said no decision could be taken for or against such a step until there had been international mediation over the autonomy of the provinces, the main reason for the recent IFP walkout from Parliament.

Some MPs could see no problem with provinces being able to declare states of emergencies after natural disasters, but were unhappy if they could do so to quell unrest by suspending human rights. There was debate about provinces using police forces to enforce emergency states. — Reuter
No fanfare as IFP returns to business of government

Political Staff

THE return of the Inkatha Freedom Party to parliament went almost unnoticed.

In yesterday's constitutional committee meeting no formal mention was made of the party's return.

The IFP suspended its participation on February 21 in the national assembly, senate and constitutional assembly (CA). The move was in protest against the lack of movement to set up international mediation as agreed upon on April 19 last year between the IFP, ANC and National Party.

A special IFP congress, held this weekend in Ulundi, gave its 43 MPs and five senators a mandate to return to parliament, but said it would review its participation in the CA on April 5.

CA chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the IFP's threat to review its participation in a month would not have any impact on the constitution-making process.

The process, he said, would not be served by any threats of a walkout.

The issue of international mediation was being discussed at the leadership level of the three parties, Mr Ramaphosa said. ARG 1/3/95

Constitutional Development Minister and chief NP negotiator Roelf Meyer said international mediation remained a party political matter between the three parties.

The leaders of the parties should continue their discussions on international mediation. He noted that President Mandela, Deputy President FW de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had said after their meeting 10 days ago that they would meet again on the issue.

International mediation did not affect the government's work, Mr Meyer said.

He added that last year's agreement stated that international mediation should take place on outstanding matters relating to the interim constitution and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. It was therefore unnecessary that the present constitution-making process should be halted to allow for international mediation.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa welcomed the IFP's return, saying it was counter-productive for parties to issue threats of walkouts.

"In any event, the threat of the IFP, even if it is carried out, will not bring the CA to a halt," he said.
New deadlock over powers for provinces

Wrangle on states of emergency

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

POWERS for provinces again proved a sticking point for constitutional negotiators in a deadlock about whether premiers should be allowed to declare states of emergency.

This was only one of several contentious issues about which negotiators could not agree at yesterday's constitutional committee meeting.

And they got a ticking off from constitutional assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa for not reading their documents before the meeting.

The committee yesterday voted to refer back to theme committees "for further development" a series of issues they could not agree on. The issues have to do with basic principles of the 1999 constitution, which must be completed by the constitutional assembly by May next year.

Mr Ramaphosa chided those who resorted to referring issues back to the theme committees, noting that these were not meant to be negotiating forums.

Theme committees are meant to process submissions from parties, groups and people and report to the constitutional committee.

The constitutional committee, a multi-party negotiating forum with membership in proportion to party size, recommends solutions to the constitutional assembly.

At yesterday's meeting, members were unable to get through a theme committee report on rules to be laid down for security forces in the new constitution. But there was agreement on some issues.

These included that the constitution should define the purpose for which the executive could use security forces.

"The constitution should prohibit the security apparatus from acting on their own and bypassing parliament and the executive."

Proposals for presidential power to declare a state of emergency were referred back to a theme committee.

There was strong African National Congress resistance to allowing provinces to deploy police in a provincial state of emergency.

Democratic Party senator James Seleke, a member of the theme committee which discussed the proposal, said he could explain the intention "without in any way defending it."

The intention embraced permission for provinces to deploy police in times of natural disasters. But other negotiators were worried by the possibility of allowing provinces power to suspend human rights.

National Party negotiator Roelof Meyer said provinces did not have power over the defence force, and in a state of emergency it was the defence force which was called out.

Johnny de Lange (ANC) said a future constitution should make it as difficult as possible to suspend human rights.

Issues yet to be debated by the committee, but about which theme committee members have agreed, include that the right of security forces members to strike should be curtailed.

Members of the defence force should be constitutionally obliged to disobey an unlawful order, the theme committee report said.

There was agreement that the constitution should provide for civilian ministries for defence and the police.

Security forces should be banned from partisan political activity.
Little fanfare as IFP returns to Parliament

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The return of the Inkatha Freedom Party to Parliament went almost unnoticed yesterday, with no formal mention of the party’s presence in the constitutional committee.

The IFP suspended its participation in the National Assembly, Senate and Constitutional Assembly (CA) on February 21 in protest against the lack of progress in setting up international mediation as agreed on April 19 last year between the IFP, ANC and NP.

A special IFP congress held in Ulundi at the weekend gave its 49 MPs and five senators a mandate to return to Parliament, but said it would review its participation in the CA on April 5.

CA chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the IFP’s threat to review its participation in a month would not have any impact on the constitution-making process.

The issue of international mediation was being discussed at the leadership level of the three parties, he said.

Constitutional Development Minister and chief NP negotiator Roelf Meyer said international mediation remained a party-political matter between the three parties.

He noted that President Mandela, Deputy President F W de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after their meeting 10 days ago that they would meet again on the issue.

Meyer added that last year’s agreement stated that international mediation should take place on outstanding matters relating to the interim constitution and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. It was therefore unnecessary that the present constitution-making process be halted to allow for international mediation.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mohamed Vail Moosa welcomed the IFP’s return, saying it was counter-productive for parties to issue threats of walkouts.

“In any event, the threat of the IFP, even if it is carried out, will not bring the Constitutional Assembly to a halt,” he said.
IFP issues 1-month mediation ultimatum

BY JOVIAL RANTAO and MONDLI MAKHANYA

Ulundi — The IFP will return to Parliament, but has given a one-month ultimatum for its demands on international mediation to be met.

If the ANC and NP do not agree to mediation by April 5, the IFP's national council will pull its members out of the Constitutional Assembly.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told an IFP congress that a solution would hopefully be found in meetings with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Speaking from Washington on Friday, Mbeki urged Buthelezi to tell conference delegates "not to make it difficult for him (Mbeki) to find a solution when he returns". Mbeki returned to SA on Saturday and is expected to hold talks with Buthelezi today.

The impasse has arisen because of IFP frustration at government failure to convene international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues. Mediation had been agreed to on April 19 1994 by the ANC, NP and IFP, particularly in regard to the role of King Goodwill Zwelithini in government.

"I don't see anything wrong with giving Mbeki and President Mandela the extra time they asked for. I want to assume they are men of integrity and will try to find solutions," said Buthelezi.

The decision to return to Parliament was not well received by delegates, including most MPs, who were pushing for an immediate withdrawal from the Constitutional Assembly and conditional participation in the Government of National Unity.

Emotions run high as Shange speaks – Page 6
De Klerk cautions coloured electorate

Cape Town — Coloured people should not "paint themselves into a corner" as the Conservative Party had done, National Party leader F W de Klerk said during a whistle-stop tour of Cape Flats shopping centres in support of the NP's local election campaign on Saturday.

Referring to plans to launch a new exclusive "Coloured Resistance Movement", he said there was no place for black, white or coloured racism in the new South Africa.

"If brown South Africans really want to shoot themselves in the foot, then they should paint themselves into a corner as the Conservative Party has done," he said.

De Klerk, accompanied by Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel and Welfare Minister Abe Williams, said there was great scepticism among foreign investors about the ANC's ability to govern.

"If this country were to be governed by the ANC alone, we will face a very dark future," he told about 500 Belville residents.

Later he told about 150 cheering supporters outside the Westgate shop-

ping mall in Mitchells Plain that "millions of voters" who voted for the ANC were disillusioned and sought a new political home.

"We will not allow the ANC's troublemakers to push this country into the abyss," he said.

De Klerk was mobbed by crowds at his third stop, the Mitchells Plain Town Centre, as he walked about greeting shoppers and hawkers.

Affirmative action

He said President Mandela was being continuously embarrassed by ANC members such as Dr Allan Boesak, Rocky Mabola and Peter Mokaba.

"And Winnie Mandela is the queen of them all when it comes to making trouble.

"Opening an NP office in Retreat, he said affirmative action should not become "a new kind of apartheid" where white and coloured people were discriminated against.

He said the NP would remain in the Government of National Unity in the best interests of all South Africans. — Sapa.
IFP goes back to Parliament

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party returned to Parliament yesterday and assumed its seats in the Constitutional Committee.

The party's return followed a decision taken at a special conference in Ulundi at the weekend. The conference was called after the party had decided to suspend its participation in Parliament.

The IFP walked out of Parliament on February 21 during a debate on the President's State of the Nation address.

The IFP charged that a tripartite agreement on international mediation on the role of the Zulu King and monarch in the writing of a new constitution had been broken or stalled.

Arriving in Parliament, IFP's Mr Peter Smith said: "It's business as usual. Before we disappeared we were involved fully. We were not playing games. We will remain fully involved."

Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the issue of international mediation "remained a party matter" and that a tripartite meeting had been agreed upon to revisit the IFP request for international mediation.

"The leaders of the IFP, National Party and African National Congress) must continue their discussions of last week," Meyer said before joining the IFP and other parties in the Constitutional Assembly meeting.

By mid-afternoon the Constitutional Committee meeting had made almost no substantial progress and had only dealt with the minutes of the previous week.

The IFP remained the most vocal participants throughout yesterday's meeting.
Flats • ANC stuck with R300 000 phone bill

No room for racism in SA — De Klerk

Colourful people should not "paint themselves into a corner" as the Conservative Party had done, National Party leader FW de Klerk said at the weekend.

He was speaking during a whistle-stop tour of Cape Flats shopping centres on Saturday in support of the NP’s local election campaign.

Referring to plans to launch a new exclusive “Coloured Resistance Movement”, he said there was no place for black, white or coloured racism in the new South Africa.

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“If this country were to be governed by the ANC alone, we would face a very dark future,” he told about 500 supporters in Bellville.

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“We will not allow the ANC’s troublemakers to push this country into the abyss,” he said.

De Klerk was mobbed by crowds at his third stop, the Mitchell’s Plain Town Centre, as he walked about greeting shoppers and hawkers.

He said that President Nelson Mandela was being continuously embarrassed by ANC members such as Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing and Mr Peter Mokaba.

“And Winnie Mandela is the queen of them all when it comes to making trouble.”

Opening an NP office in Retreat, he said affirmative action should not become “a new kind of apartheid”, where whites and coloured people were discriminated against. — Sapa.
Inkatha returns to Parliament

MONTH’S NOTICE
Implement agreement or we quit Assembly:

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THE INKATHA FREEDOM Party yesterday decided to return to Parliament and said it was giving the Government one more chance to act decisively on the IFP's demand for international mediation.

The decision was taken at the IFP's conference in Ulundi yesterday.

The party also gave the Government a month's notice to implement an agreement on international mediation reached between itself, the African National Congress and the National Party, failing which IFP MPs and senators would withdraw from the Constitutional Assembly.

Greater autonomy

The IFP walked out of Parliament in protest against what it called attempts by the ANC and NP to renge from their undertakings to enlist international mediators in resolving the impasse over Inkatha's demand for greater autonomy for KwaZulu-Natal.

Linked to this is the demand for an increased constitutional role and status for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The conference praised IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the party's MPs, saying their walkout from Parliament affirmed their commitment to the struggle for freedom and democracy.

The conference condemned “attempts by the ANC and the NP to trivialise the issue of international mediation, when the terms of reference clearly indicated that the purpose of international mediation was to promote regional autonomy throughout South Africa”.

The conference warned that, unless a constitutional settlement based on consensus was achieved, the final constitution produced by the Constitutional Assembly would not be considered legitimate.

IFP leaders, including national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, urged their members to register for the forthcoming local government elections in October.

Addressing a Press conference later, Buthelezi said the decision to register did not mean the IFP would call on their supporters to vote in the local government elections but that the IFP wanted to avoid “to be caught napping”.

[Signature]
Forced to Sign

Winnie's Apology

Mandela Wrote
Inkatha opts for a return to Parliament

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party would immediately return to Parliament and support registration for the local government elections, it decided at its special general conference yesterday.

But it would pull out of the Constitutional Assembly in a month’s time if international mediation on regional powers was not agreed to.

Before the decisions were taken, deep-seated differences emerged.

In an unprecedented move, Inkatha Youth Brigade national publicity secretary Senzole Phakathi stood up before 5,000 delegates to call for an immediate withdrawal from the Constitutional Assembly, but he was opposed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi said he was willing to place the issue to the vote if “disension” to his “reasonable” proposal continued.

Urging delegates to contain their emotions “and not to lose your temper”, Buthelezi said: “I am the one who bears the brunt of decisions taken.”

The conference unanimously resolved that if international mediation failed to materialise in a month’s time, “there will be a withdrawal of all our members from Constitutional Assembly structures”, and the final constitution would be regarded as illegitimate.

Inkatha, secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said, this stance had adopted a moderate stance as it wanted to play a “constructive” role. “This is not a game. Lives are involved. We had to balance our interests with the interests of the country.”

SAPA reports that Inkatha urged its supporters to register in their thousands for the local government elections, scheduled for October.

Giyane called on members to embark on a full-scale election campaign.

He introduced candidate mayors from towns in KwaZulu/Natal and other provinces, naming Sibhe Ngwenya as the likely Durban mayor.

In discussion among delegates on Saturday evening, two proposals emerged in a bid to force the ANC and NP to agree to mediation. The first called for the immediate withdrawal from the assembly by a withdrawal from the government of national unity. The third phase of the campaign would have seen MPs remaining “passive” in Parliament.

The second proposal called for a “rolling mass action” to go hand in glove with a withdrawal from government on March 31, followed by a withdrawal from Parliament on April 30.

Jiyane said Inkatha had kept its options open and it could still pull out from government at a later stage.

Inkatha has an annual conference planned for July where a future course of action will be mapped out.

Buthelezi urged the conference to await the outcome of negotiations with President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. “One must take it that they are men of integrity . . . We are living in a global village; we’re in a whole world that is focused on SA on this issue.”

In his opening address on Saturday, Buthelezi suggested the KwaZulu-Natal government would now lead the fight for autonomy.

“It seems that the primary responsibility to promote federalism, self-determination and pluralism may rely on the actions of KwaZulu/Natal, and therefore our provincial army must be ordered to stand up and march towards the new frontiers of freedom and democracy.”

Calling for a legislative programme to be formulated in KwaZulu/Natal, Buthelezi said this could be tied with the peaceful defiance “of any unlawful action” taken by central government to “undermine the God-given right to self-determination.”

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"It seems that the primary responsibility to promote federalism, self-determination and
Mandela to fight 'anarchy'

Sanco warned

N'DANDENI. — The South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) would face tough action from the government if it continued to cause chaos and anarchy in rural areas, President Nelson Mandela warned on Saturday.

Speaking here in the former Transkei, he said he would call a national conference of Sanco to "warn them for the last time".

He said the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa had given him a long list of "atrocities" committed by Sanco against traditional leaders in the Eastern Cape. This included alleged assassinations, arson, and assault on chiefs, councillors and their families.

"I have been trying to appeal to everybody to confine themselves within the law. We allow the right of protest, the right of people to demonstrate."

"I have been repeating this for the past nine months. I am now tired and I have decided to use force to stop people driving our country to chaos and anarchy."

If Sanco members continued as they were doing, he would come down heavily on them.

"I will not tolerate any further criminal action from them. Whether it is Sanco, the Communist Party of South Africa, Cosatu, or the ANC, or whether it is the chiefs, I will come down heavily on them without any hesitation because I must stop our country being reduced to chaos and anarchy."

President Mandela was speaking to 400 people at the Great Place of western Pondoland. King Vulindlela Ndamase. The meeting followed closed talks with King Ndamase and his councillors.

Earlier in the day, after meeting Rhurhabe King Zanesiwe Sandile in Ciskei, he warned that the Reconstruction and Development Programme could be paralysed if people in rural areas did not vote in the local government election in October this year.

The danger was that if people did not vote, only those who supported the apartheid regime would register and vote.

"So it's in your hands whether you want this programme, which is intended to better your lives, to be applied in those areas where you live. If you want it (RDP) to be applied, if you want houses here, if you want jobs, decent schools, electricity, then you must write down your name from tomorrow and say you are prepared to vote."

Elections could not take place without traditional leaders' support, Mr Mandela said. — Sapa
‘I no longer have right of free speech’

Winnie’s angry note to Mandela

DEPUTY minister objects to signing "under duress a document written to you by yourself"

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL EDITOR

Contrary to public belief, Winnie Mandela did not write the apology for her singing criticism of the Government of National Unity to save herself from dismissal as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology.

She merely signed a letter approved by the presidency, with the actual drafting done by Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki last month.

Mbeki is reported to have phoned her at 2.30 one morning to tell her that some of her comrades in the ANC believed she was behaving "as though she was going to be the next president of the country".

Mrs Mandela had doggedly refused to apologise for what she believed to be "perfectly legitimate criticism" until Mbeki drafted the first four-paragraph letter to the president attempting "to clarify my motives and intentions in making the said statements".

This attempt at an apology was released to the media on February 18 but was dismissed as insufficient by President Mandela, whose "retract, resign or be fired" ultimatum to her still stood.

Mbeki then wrote the second apology and gave it to the deputy minister to sign. Once this had been done, the "full apology" was made public on February 14 as though it had come from her.

The presidency today issued a statement saying Mandela did not draft the letter himself, but The Star understands beyond doubt that Mbeki had in fact done so.

The general view last month was that President Mandela took exception to Mrs Mandela's public criticism that the GNU had so far failed black South Africans. But sources believe it was a less-reported statement, also made at the Soweto funeral of Warrant-Officer Jabulani Xaba, that earned her "the Old Man's ire". She had referred to Mandela's remark in 1995 labelling the then state president, F W de Klerk, as "a man of integrity".

The source said: "Not for the first time, she also said at that funeral we called F W de Klerk, a man of integrity, and the world honoured him by giving him a Nobel peace prize," said one source.

In a letter to the president dated February 15, Mrs Mandela objected to being made to sign, for the second time, "under duress, a document written by you to yourself".

Mrs Mandela wrote: "I fail to see how I am supposed to tolerate such continuing violation of my constitutional and fundamental rights." The sources said the first time President Mandela made his estranged wife sign a document drafted by himself and presented to the public as

➤ To Page 3
Power struggle pits chiefs against civics

Officials say many of the chiefs have no hereditary right to their titles because they were appointed by white administrators to replace genuine chiefs who resisted white rule.

The organisation has called for a commission of inquiry to identify genuine chiefs.

"Many of these leaders were tools used by Bebe and Gqozo to suppress people and now they want to be a part of the democratic process," said Border secretary Sakumzi Scatsia.

Civic officials also point out that chiefs receive a huge slice of the Eastern Cape Budget. In Transkei, five paramount chiefs each get R291,246 a year and their deputies each get R143,856 a year.

The province spends R17-million a year on salaries and allowances for traditional leaders in Transkei and R3-million in Ciskei, which has only one paramount chief.

"These people earn so much money they have effectively become civil servants — only they have no job description. We are now members of a democratic society and we can't expect people to accept old ways of doing things," said Mr Scatsia.

Chiefs also wield enormous power. They levy taxes, dol out land and give permission for the construction of houses. Pensioners can receive their money only if accompanied to the pay points by their village headmen.

The civic denies that it wants the system of traditional leadership abolished. It has called for drastic changes.

In terms of the new Bill, the house of traditional leaders is "entitled to advise and make proposals to the provincial legislature in respect of any matter relating to any traditional authorities, indigenous law or the tradition and customs of traditional communities within the province."

Members will be nominated by traditional leaders.

The house's authority is restricted to the power to delay legislation for a maximum of 30 days and the premier may override the house if he believes any issue falls outside its jurisdiction.

"Chiefs will only become ex-officio members of local council. They will have no executive powers as there will be no need for that. Their role will only be to advise the government on matters of custom and tradition," said Sanco Border president Otto Tokwe.

But Chief Ncama, a former Fort Hare University lecturer, says no traditional leader is prepared to administer only "petty customary laws".

"We are not like the blanketeted and uneducated chiefs of old. An increasing number of chiefs are graduates and nobody is going to confine us to mundane issues."

"We want an active role in government and to say that we will only administer so-called kaffer weddings is rubbish of the first order," he said.

But the civic's concern is shared by Eastern Cape Local Government Minister Max Mabuse.

"We are spending a lot of money on many chiefs whose legitimacy is questionable. We also need a clear definition so that we know who the real chiefs are. But the matter must be addressed cautiously as we don't want to antagonise anyone," he said.
‘Houdini’ Radloff — the man who spilt the beans

BY NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

FRAUD suspect and former fugitive Martin Radloff gave police the evidence that led to the raid on Winnie Mandela’s home and 10 other sites in Gauteng this week.

Dubbed South Africa’s “Houdini”, Mr Radloff was hunted by the police for 12 years before his arrest in October last year in connection with fraud and theft charges involving R60-million.

He handed over documents relating to Professional Builders and was then released on R5 000 bail.

Mr Radloff, 42, a Gauteng businessman, and his son John, were shareholders of Professional Builders, which tendered for housing projects, mostly in black areas.

The three also ran the Lombardy restaurant outside Pretoria.

According to police, Mrs Mandela allegedly controlled Professional Builders through shares held by her daughter, Zinzi, and her physician, Dr Jackie Maphuti.

Mr Radloff was arrested after Mr Daniels lied about his bank accounts, the evidence of which led to the raid.

HANDED OVER EVIDENCE...

Mr Radloff allegedly gave police the evidence that led to the raid on Winnie Mandela’s home and 10 other sites in Gauteng.

He appeared in the Pretoria magistrate’s court on January 17, where he was again granted bail of R5 000 under the same conditions he had breached in the past.

Responding to criticism, police said they had not opposed Mr Radloff’s bail, or asked for it to be increased, because he was cooperating with them.

The documents handed over by Mr Radloff allegedly show that Mr Daniels promised to pay the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programmes, headed by Mrs Mandela, R35 000 in return for her using her influence.

In the papers, Mr Radloff also claimed that Dr Maphuti was promised R400 000 out of the Ironsdy housing project near Vereeniging for “certain favours” done.

Mrs Mandela also charged that:

• Mrs Mandela negotiated a 30 percent profit-sharing deal with Professional Builders on projects she facilitated;

• There was an agreement between Mrs Mandela, Mrs Crane, and Professional Builders that 10 percent of profits generated by contracts facilitated by Mrs Mandela and Mrs Crane would be channelled to CAPM.

• Mrs Mandela requested introductions for Professional Builders with overseas companies in return for a 50 percent shareholding in the company in the name of her daughter, Zinzi.

• She arranged for Professional Builders to address the Provincial Cabinet of the North Western Provincial Legislature.

• Mrs Mandela was instrumental in Professional Builders being awarded the contract at Ironsdy.

• Mr Radloff claimed Mrs Mandela also arranged an introduction, through Mrs Crane, for representatives of Professional Builders to meet entrepreneurs — including M&K Enterprises of Kuwait — to discuss possible joint construction projects.

• Bribes were paid to certain officials working for the then Diphuthletsane Housing Corporation to ensure that Frombud and its affiliated company, Professional Builders, obtained stands in Garankuwana and Keetbee to market and develop.

• Certain commissions were paid by Professional Builders to senior members of the South African National Civic Organisation.

• Their telephone accounts were paid and certain civic members also received monthly salaries in return for their support of tenders by Professional Builders.

• Certain civic members were paid R500 for each house built at Odindburg and Ironsdy.

• An official of a bank (the bank and branch are mentioned in the papers) was paid by Professional Builders for every deal processed.
The Crane Connection

STAND BY ME... Winnebago Hiawatha With Her Lover, Chief Waubashen

The Winnebago Hiawatha with her lover, Chief Waubashen, was drawn to the city by the warm weather and the opportunity to perform in the upcoming festival. She arrived in a grand procession, accompanied by her devoted followers, and was welcomed with open arms by the city's inhabitants. The Hiawatha was a symbol of love and unity, and her presence brought joy and prosperity to all who saw her.

CBP, the Cahokia Board of Park Commissioners, was on hand to ensure that the festivities went off without a hitch. The board members were proud of their city and its history, and they were determined to make sure that the Hiawatha's visit would be a success.

As the Hiawatha paraded through the streets, she was greeted with cheers and songs from the onlookers. The city was alive with excitement, and the Hiawatha's beauty was a sight to behold. She was a true symbol of the city's spirit, and she was loved by all.

In the end, the Hiawatha's visit was a huge success. The festivities lasted for several days, and the city was transformed into a place of joy and celebration. The Hiawatha's presence was a reminder of the importance of love and unity, and her legacy lived on in the hearts of all who saw her.
Inkatha in, says Buthelezi!
Police ‘drama’ was irresponsible, says Mutamadí

Safeguard and Security

Minister Sydney Mufamadi yesterday slammed the police for the “dramatic way” in which they had conducted the search of Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela’s home — and called it an “irresponsible act.”

And Deputy President Thabo Mbeki — arriving back from his successful meeting with the 57 countries in the US — yesterday said he would meet Winnie Mandela today or tomorrow to hear her side of the story about the latest round of allegations besmirching her.

Mandela will also have to explain to the deputy president why she left to West Africa in defiance of a presidential order that she cancel her visit.

Mufamadi yesterday said he had asked police commissioner General George Fivaz to investigate why the search of Winnie’s house — believed to be the first time ever that a South African minister’s house was raided — was conducted in the manner it was.

He charged that the search had not been conducted in the normal way.

The police had had no need to act so dramatically, said Mufamadi — criticizing their acts as irresponsible.

‘A criminal matter’

However, Mufamadi emphasized that even if he and President Mandela had known about the impending search, they would not have stopped the police because it was “a criminal matter.”

He said Fivaz, and his investigating team had fully briefed him about their investigations into Winnie. He in turn had informed President Mandela.

The raid on Winnie Mandela’s house resembled a Hollywood thriller. Armed police, followed by a strong contingent of local and international journalists, sealed walls to enter her large mansion nestling on a hill.

As a result of the raid, Winnie cut short her trip to several West African countries and returned home on Friday.

The raid followed investigations into allegations that she was paid R75 000 to use her influence and position to secure tenders for a building contractor.

Police also alleged she was to receive R2 900 000 a month once the project was allocated to Professional Builders, a Pretoria and Bophuthatswana-based building company.

It was also alleged that for her favor with the company, daughter Zinzi, Hlongwane would receive 50 percent shares in Professional Builders.

Police said Winnie had close links with Professional Builders’ director Victor Daniels and that his company built the houses for the Coordinated Anti-Poverty Programme (CAPP) headed by Winnie.
Minister in the cold without Mbeki’s protection

By ELYTH BULBRING

Political Correspondent

DEPUTY Arts and Culture Minister
Winnie Mandela’s fate was sealed
last week when she lost the protec-
tion of Deputy President Thabo
Mbeki.

President Mandela’s growing im-
patience with his estranged wife has
been tempered by Mr Mbeki who
sees the value of keeping the populist
leader of a volatile electorate inside
the government.

Mr Mbeki’s moderating influence
was there for Mrs Mandela when the
President wanted to fire her for her
criticisms of the government of
national unity. And Mr Mbeki argued
for reconciliation when 11 members
of the ANC Women’s League re-
signed when she disregarded an
executive decision vetoing a venture
with actor Omar Sharif.

But by the time Mrs Mandela de-
parted for West Africa nine days ago
in defiance of the President’s in-
struction to remain, Mr Mbeki could
no longer defend her.

Shortly before she left, Safety and
Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi
briefed the President and Mr Mbeki
on a police investigation which con-
tained allegations of corruption in-
volving Mrs Mandela.

Insiders say that on the basis of
the evidence before them, Mr Man-
dela and Mr Mbeki agreed that they
had no alternative but to take
“strong action” against her.

Mrs Mandela was to be instructed to
forgo her West African trip abroad. When she ignored the in-
struction conveyed to her by Mr Mbeki, the furious President and his
deputy decided to deal with her on
her return.

There are two sets of charges of
improper conduct which, at the very
least, demand Mrs Mandela’s sus-
pension from the government and an
inquiry by the ANC’s disciplinary
committee.

The first set, which is sufficient to
result in her being dismissed as de-
puty minister, relate to her conduct in
the government.

These are that she abused her po-

position in government by using her
leadership position and could go
as far as suspending her from the
ANC until she had shown herself to
be “rehabilitated”.

Although her future looks bleak,
Mrs Mandela has always demon-
strated an incredible capacity to re-
cover from political setbacks. But
the unequivocal condemnation of her
conduct by Mr Mandela and Mr
Mbeki will lose her powerful allies.

Mr Mbeki, who is ideologically
poles apart from Mrs Mandela —
whose politics can only be defined as
a contempt for order, law and gov-
ernment, has always been prepared to defend her
foolish political stunts in the inter-
ests of unity in the ANC.

But allegations of corruption are
an issue of principle with serious
implications for the government and
the country.

Mrs Mandela has been useful in
delivering the backing of the radical
wing of the ANC to secure Mr Mbeki
the deputy presidency of the ANC,
but a continuation of this strange
alliance could damage his chances to
succeed Mr Mandela as president.

Mrs Mandela’s other strong ally,
Environment Affairs Deputy Minis-
ter Bantu Holomisa, has taken great
pains over the past weeks to try to
distance himself from being grouped
with Mrs Mandela and her allies like
former Youth League leader Peter
Mokaba and former North West Ag-
riculture Minister Rocky Malebane-
Metsing who have allegations of im-
proper conduct against them.

Mr Mokaba is himself on shaky
ground following allegations of mis-
conduct by members of the National
Tourism Forum which he headed.

Publicly out in the cold, Mrs Man-
dela is likely to seek more support
among those whose only power is
their anger — the poor, the homeless
and the unemployed; and, like IFP
leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the
traditional leaders who fear the en-
slaught of democracy.

And the only weapon Mr Mandela
will have to counter her comeback is
governments own success in de-
lying law and order. Home, jobs and
education to an electorate that
voted Mrs Mandela into government.
**Letter that led to police raids**

**Mbeki flies home for meeting with Winnie**

By NICOLA KOZ

DEPUTY president Thabo Mbeki is to meet Winnie Mandela within 48 hours to discuss the police investigation into her alleged business deals.

Mr Mbeki said he would meet the deputy minister today or tomorrow "to find out what she has to say about the matter, then take it from there".

At Jan Smuts airport after his return from the US yesterday afternoon, Mr Mbeki said he believed it would be wrong for the government to take actions which presumed Mrs Mandela's innocence or guilt.

"You can't form judgments without all the facts at hand," he said.

Mr Mbeki said the logical and fair thing to do would be to allow the police investigation to continue.

Asked if he supported Mrs Mandela, he said: "The government is supportive of all ministers who do their work and will not support them if they don't."

Meanwhile, Mrs Mandela fled from reporters outside her Soweto home yesterday.

Using a decoy car to keep a Sunday Times team at bay, she sped from the house in a maroon minibus.

It also emerged yesterday that Mrs Mandela had asked her daughter, Zindzi Mandela-Hlongwane, not to leave on a trip to Ghana on Thursday. Mrs Mandela-Hlongwane was to have been a guest at N-Net's African Showcase in Accra.

Sources close to the organisers said Mrs Mandela had told her daughter that she needed her support in South Africa.
The life and times of the ‘One Who Struggles’

By CAS ST LEGER

THE troubled life of Winnie Mandela was written in her own first name — Nomzamo or "One Who Struggles". Here is a diary of her turbulent times:

1977

Mrs Mandela was banned and banished to Brandfort. Obliged to report to the local police station once a week, she used the "whites only" entrance.

1983

She broke her banning order and was issued with a summons in January. Police raided her home, taking posters, documents and a bedspread crocheted in ANC colours.

1986

Mrs Mandela's "necklace of fire" threat in April drew widespread international comment.

1988

Allegations against Mrs Mandela's "football club" guards led to her Orlando West house being torched by a mob of youths in July.

In September three men were acquitted of kidnapping two children, caravering "Viva ANC" on their bodies and taking them at gunpoint to Mrs Mandela's home in May 1987. Phillip Makanda, 18, alleged he was threatened by Mrs Mandela.

Members of the Mandela United football club allegedly abducted four youths from an Orlando West Church in December 1988. One, 14-year-old Stompie Seipel, went missing.

1989

February. Stompie's body was found by comrades. Mrs Mandela's minibus was impounded by police for tests. Four football club members were arrested at Mrs Mandela's home.

In March the US church-based Coalition on SA admitted about R50 000 from anti-apartheid donations was used to build Mrs Mandela's home.

Nine accused appeared in the Johannesburg magistrate's court in September for Stompie's murder.

1990

The trial of seven men accused of the murder of Maxwell Madondo, a football club member and Mrs Mandela's guard, began in the Rand Supreme Court on February 1.

April. The court found Mrs Mandela had been present during the assault on Stompie. Jerry Richardson was convicted for Stompie's murder.

In May she was sentenced to six years imprisonment for her part in the kidnapping of the four youths, but was given leave to appeal.

June. Mrs Mandela's comment in the US that black schools were legitimate military targets drew criticism from the Department of Education and Training.

November, Mrs Mandela was fined R209 or 10 days in jail for not paying Unemployment Insurance Fund contributions for two employees at her fast-food outlet in Soweto.

1992

April. The Mandelas separated.

May. The ANC investigated an alleged fraud involving R60 000 worth of cheques issued while Mrs Mandela and lawyer Dali Mpofu were in charge of its social welfare department.

1993

March. The Stompie appeal started. Mrs Mandela's home telephone was cut off for non-payment of a R19 000 bill.

April. Police investigated Mrs Mandela and ANC Youth leader Peter Mokoba after "kill the boer" chants in Khayelitsha.

June. Mrs Mandela's appeal resulted in a R15 000 fine and an order to pay R5 000 compensation to each of the kidnap victims.

Mrs Mandela and Trevor Jeyi signed security for Zimbabwean Eric Phiri, who ran up R40 000 hotel bill in Johannesburg. She narrowly missed detention in June after paying her R15 000 Appeal Court fine late.

August. A court summons was issued against her for alleged failure to settle a R50 000 account with an air charter company. She was threatened with court action over an unpaid telephone bill of R40 000.

September. The ANC Women's League suspended Mrs Mandela for a year for displaying "defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty". She was reinstated in December.

November. Mrs Mandela's driver and bodyguard, John Lawrence, was shot dead in Johannesburg, where she was in the car. Mr Lawrence shot and killed the attacker before he died.

1994

May. Mrs Mandela was granted an interim order to silence her co-accused Zoliswa Falati in the kidnapping trial.

June. She reportedly paid R75 000 for a Cape mansion. It was later disclosed that her friend Hazel Crane had bought the house for her to stay in.

July. Parliament was told taxpayers paid R4 203 for airfares for her four bodyguards. In August, the figure was amended to R21 760.

August. She sued four newspapers and a magazine for alleged defamation.

One of her bodyguards was charged in August after he accidentally discharged two shots at Jan Smuts airport.

1995

February. She was accused of using her official position to advance her daughter Zinzi's entertainment company.

Mrs Mandela was reprimanded and retracted criticism of the government of national unity made on February 4.

February 12. Eleven members of the ANC Women's League resigned in protest at her "undemocratic behaviour".

Mrs Mandela defied Mr Mandela's order to stay in South Africa by jetting off on a West African trip in February.
ANC firm on federalism in constitutional talks

PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — The ANC was on the verge of completing constitutional proposals providing for majority rule and the end of power-sharing. ANC sources said this week.

And the proposals, which are largely in line with decisions taken at the party's national conference in December last year, apparently offer few compromises to proponents of a federal system of government.

However, the ANC constitutional document, called "Building a United Nation", makes provision for a more powerful Senate to cater to the demands of provinces.

The document attempts to describe a system in which provincial administrations would be "close to the people" but in which the government as a whole was still guided by a central legislature.

One proposal to call the suggested new system "unitary provincialism" was defeated. The new system has not been given a name.

Both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Front, and to a lesser extent the National Party and the Democratic Party, have indicated that they want the Constitutional Assembly to adopt a constitution which devolves power to the nine provinces.

International mediation

The IFP is demanding international mediation to resolve outstanding constitutional issues, saying it had never supported the principle of a Constitutional Assembly writing a constitution following the majoritarian principle.

The opposition parties have complained that the work of the CA is being held up because the ANC's delegates have been unable to come up with firm policy proposals until the party has held its constitutional conference, scheduled for the end of this month.

Until now, the party has tabled brief proposals accompanied with a warning that these would be supplemented.

The proposal to scrap power-sharing is likely to be opposed by the NP, whose representatives have argued that South Africa needs consensus-driven politics for the foreseeable future.

In terms of the Interim Constitution written at the Kimberley Park talks, the Government of National Unity will be in existence for a maximum of five years. When the party decided at its December conference to go for simple majority rule, there was an outcry from the NP and the FF.
JOHANNESBURG. — Winnie Mandela has dismissed a police corruption probe against her as a "vendetta pursued by charlatans and cowards."

Police have said they are investigating allegations that Mrs Mandela used her position and influence to win low-cost housing contracts in the Gauteng region around Johannesburg for a firm in which she had financial interests.

But Mrs Mandela, deputy arts and culture minister, said in a statement issued by her lawyer that she would tackle the charge head-on.

"Clearly the forces of reaction have not yet recovered from the hammer blows they sustained during the April election which predictably brought the triumph of the masses," she said.

"Their latest avalanche of attacks against me not only betrays their contempt for the aspirations and wishes of ANC-supporting masses, one gets the feeling that a vendetta is being pursued by charlatans and cowards who, like mosquitoes, disappear with the night.

"In defence of the aspirations of my people I am left with no choice but to take the challenge head-on ... In the end I shall triumph and my people will be the beneficiaries."

Mrs Mandela said she was unhappy that police raided her Soweto home and city office while she was on a tour of West Africa on Wednesday. "I find it unacceptable," she said.

ANC MP Peter Mokaba also accused the police of launching a vendetta to discredit Mrs Mandela.

He claimed the attack on Mrs Mandela was aimed at deflating the local government elections by creating friction within the ANC leadership.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer, Templetone Mageza, said he believed the raids were unlawful and that the police could have planted evidence at her home.

"The police had entered the house when there was no one on the premises. They used their own keys to Mrs Mandela's house and these keys are still missing ... It is possible the premises could easily have been contaminated," he said.

Mr Mageza said that when he arrived at her home and office, he found policemen were confiscating personal letters and cards from friends and filming her cupboards, bedroom and bathroom. This filming was clearly an intrusion and violation of her right to privacy.

Mr Mageza questioned police reliance on a man awaiting trial for fraud for their allegations against Mrs Mandela.

"It is disturbing that police have seemingly conducted and stage-managed such a dramatic roadshow with intent to politically assassinate a deputy minister on the basis of a statement made by someone with criminal tendencies," he said.

Mr Justice Bob Nugent yesterday thwarted a police bid to claim the documents seized in the raids when he postponed to March 14 a hearing on Mrs Mandela's application to have the search warrants set aside, to allow both sides to study legal documents. - Sapa-Reuters.
Apology: Frene rebukes NP

CLIVE SAWSER
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

NATIONAL Assembly speaker Frene Ginwala has sent a stiff
rebuttal to Nationalist MPs an-
gered by her apology to the
people of Mozambique.

The row erupted after Dr
Ginwala's welcoming speech to
Mozambican president Joaquim
Chissano, who addressed a joint
sitting of both Houses this week.

Dr Ginwala said: "Today, be-
fore the elected representa-
tives of the South African
people, and on their behalf, I want
to apologise for the terrible
crimes my countrymen com-
mitted against the people of
Mozambique."

Earlier in her speech, Dr
Ginwala referred to the previ-
ous government's support for
Renamo, the anti-Prelimo
army set up by Rhodesia.

Her references were too
much for a party which had
counted Renamo troops among
its allies. At least two MPs
walked out and, outside the
chamber, a statement was is-
 sued calling on her to resign,
because she had "abandoned
her impartiality".

Officially, there was nothing
to answer. Nor did Dr Ginwala
feel she had to resign.

A distinction had to be made
between political and party-po-
litical statements, she said in
an interview.

Yesterday, the NP caucus
asked for a meeting. In a let-
ter, NP chief whip Hennie Smi-
told Dr Ginwala: "It is a pity
your conduct changed what
was meant to have been a dig-
nified visit by a head of state
into a party-political event.

"We believe the Speaker
should be a unifying force and
not a divisive factor."

In reply, Dr Ginwala said
she was pleased that for the
first time the NP was raising
its concerns directly with her.

She said it was necessary for
all South Africans to come to
terms with the past and take
collective responsibility.
carried out in her absence
and in a manner that indi-
cated they were intended
to attract as much publici-
ty as possible. "I am in-
formed that the media ar-
rived at my residence and
offices approximately 15
minutes before the police
arrived to conduct the
search," Mandela said.

She was used to being
tried through the media,
Mandela said, and was
therefore not surprised
by the latest episode. Suf-
fice to say that in the end
I shall triumph and my
people will be the benefici-
aries."

Mandela attended a
short sitting of the Rand
Supreme Court earlier
yesterday. She applied for
an urgent interdict chal-
cenging the validity of a
search warrant used by
police in raids on her Or-
lando West, Soweto, home
and on the offices of the
Coordinated Anti-Poverty
Programme, which she
heads.

The Interdict hearing
was postponed to March
13. Mandela cut short her
trip to West Africa, re-
turning to South Africa on
Thursday to face what is
potentially her most seri-
ous crisis since her ap-
pointment as deputy min-
ister.

Mandela has been ac-
cused of corruption in
connection with the grant-
ing of tenders for housing
developments. Police said
documents seized during
the raids were possibly
connected to these and
other allegations. Mandela
said police wanted to dis-
credit her.

In a separate statement
yesterday, Mageza con-
demned the police raid on
Mandela’s house and the
manner in which it was
conducted. He said he had
found policemen filming
her bedroom, bathroom,
toilet and even inside her
wardrobes.

This filming had noth-
ing to do with the search
warrant "and was clearly
an intrusion and vilification
of her right to privacy."

Police had seized gree-
ing cards and personal
items, as well as cheques
dated 1992 for groceries
purchased. — Sapa.
Cinwala unmoved by NP protests
INKATHA

Storing up anger

The crisis over Inkatha's parliamentary walkout cannot be dismissed as a case of brinkmanship or temperament. The emotions that fuelled the dramatic demonstration are, at grass roots level, a lethal cocktail of fear and rage.

Though the likelihood of the boycott becoming permanent is small, the underlying motives are structural and enduring.

One cannot ignore Mangosuthu Buthelezi's labyrinthine and explosive personality, his major political characteristic. At a press conference last week, he greeted hostile questions with unanswerable barbs like: "You journalists like bloodshed!" and "The wonders of the Caucasian mind never cease to amaze me!" The latter comment was in response to interrogation over exactly why he — and his Inkatha Freedom Party — were demanding international mediation over the future of the Kingdom of KwaZulu. And why now?

Well, one answer is that Buthelezi was promised mediation in April 1994, when he met President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk at Skukuza and then issued a "memorandum for reconciliation and peace.

This document persuaded Inkatha to enter the national election and pledged the recognition and protection of "the institution, status and role of the constitutional position of the king of the Zulus and the kingdom of KwaZulu, which institutions shall be provided for in the provincial constitution of KwaZulu-Natal immediately after the holding of the (April 1994) elections ... any outstanding issues will be addressed by way of international mediation which will commence as soon as possible after the said elections."

None of which has happened. The timing of the walkout was calculated for maximum effect during the parliamentary debate on Mandela's "state of the nation" speech and constituted a response to that speech as well as to other remarks offensive to Inkatha by Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Nat chief negotiator Roelf Meyer.

Meanwhile, King Goodwill Zwelithini has fallen out with Buthelezi and feels no need for international mediation. But an Inkatha position paper points out: "The king was never party to the (reconciliation and peace) agreement. IFP now has no choice but to play the Inkatha politics."

Accordingly, its members have withdrawn from the National and Constitutional Assemblies and will gather in Ulundi soon for a special conference at which their future positions will be determined. Inkatha has 48 members of the Assembly and Senate and they may be told to continue their boycott of the constitution-writing process and to resign from the legislature and executive. Though not likely, such a move would enable Inkatha to become an opposition party if it so wished.

It would then not participate in the scheduled local elections — and doubtless impede registrations for it. Even within the system, Inkatha has registered opposition to the elections; and whether the poll can actually proceed in October is open to question. The reason is germane to Inkatha's now in-own quibbling.

Real power in rural KwaZulu is held by the amakhosi — the traditional chiefs, with quasi-seigneurial powers over the tribal domains. They are the custodians of communal land and the executors of local authority. And they are in virtually open rebellion against the ANC-dominated government. Looking ahead to the October local election, they see themselves deposed or fighting "democratic" civil structures imposed by a central State.

So incensed are they by this prospect that in mid-February (after a meeting with the Zulu royal house) they issued a statement which amounted to a call to arms.

They rejected the idea that the status of the amakhosi could be resolved outside the parameters of a "restoration" of the monarchy. They renewed the plea for international mediation on the issue; and they stated unequivocally that their people would not participate in local elections "until and unless international mediation takes place and the kingdom is restored."

The symbolic nature of that kingdom is another smokescreen that obscures the real nature of calls for its "restoration."

The amakhosi further claimed that "the time for useful international mediation is running out due to the fact that the Constitutional Assembly is in the process of drafting a new constitution." Indeed, foresaw "the time when international mediation will no longer be useful or profitable, the Zulu nation and people living in the kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal, irrespective of race, colour, origin or creed, must prepare themselves to seek the fulfilment of their righteous expectation and God-given rights ... by means other than international mediation, knowing that they can rely only on their strength, effort and resources."

This, of course, is war talk. In his opening address to parliament, Mandela gave a warning to those who would boycott the October election: "(Government) will not allow anybody to obstruct the process of registration of voters, regardless of the social status of the persons concerned." Many in the National Assembly took this as a threat directed at Home Affairs Minister Buthelezi and other Inkatha members of the Mandela Cabinet — Sipho Mzimela, Ben Ngubane and Joe Matthews.

This set the stage for revolt. Buthelezi has publicly said that the amakhosi speak for themselves; that any election boycott is not his to call without a mandate; and that, as Home Affairs Minister, he would do all in his power to execute his task "as a loyal member of Mr Mandela's Cabinet."

Yet he said that registrations — the responsibility of his ministry — were proceeding so slowly that government might have to postpone the election. As positions harden on both sides of the divide between Buthelezi and the ANC/NP ranks, this postponement could become part of the Inkatha package of demands.

According to Inkatha Senator Ruth Rabinowitz, Mandela's speech was viewed by Inkatha as "a threat and a confrontation. We now had to do something drastic." And though
Inkatha had participated in the committees of the Constitutional Assembly, it withdrew because the process had been tainted from inception. Inkatha MP Senzo Mafuya says it is essential, "SA's constitutional war is about whether SA is to be a unitary or a federal state."

Inkatha suspects that even at this early stage, constitutional deadlock is being broken by the majority parties (the NP and ANC) based on "sufficient consensus" — the principle of compromise that helped negotiations at Kep ton Park and led to the passage of the interim constitution of 1993.

The degree of allowable federalism always bedevils constitution-writing. The American Civil War arose, fundamentally, over federal issues. Did the participating states of the 1787 constitution have the right to secede? Did their regional powers include the right to own slaves? The compromises of the constitution led, over time, to the division becoming ever more stark until force of arms became inevitable.

US society bears the scars today.

Inkatha's charges that in the current round of constitutional debate, its measured — but lengthy — submissions have been ignored in key committees. It believes that a unitary State will be authoritarian and that if the ANC uses its parliamentary majority to pass a constitution in which the federal option is weakened or negated, minorities will suffer. In part this explains the presence within Inkatha of federalists who are not bound by the claim that it is the party of Zulu chauvinism.

As far as Inkatha is concerned, the following points are for negotiation and require mediation:
- A constitutional monarchy in KwaZulu-Natal;
- Strong provincial powers, including financial and fiscal autonomy; and
- KwaZulu-Natal's right to its own constitution.

Inkatha accuses government of negating the principle that preceded the a reconciliation and peace memorandum: "Though traditional affairs is a provincial power, central government deals directly with the king (rather than through the legislature), pays and guards the king and now threatens to pay the constitution directly."

The Constitutional Assembly (CA) "has refused to recognise the IFP's submission on the federal nature of the State."

In fact, at this stage, participants in the "theme" committees of the CA are making progress measurable only on some atomic linguistic scale. To guide them they have the interim constitution, its interim Bill of Rights and 34 Constitutional Principles. Yet these are unreliable guides, often contradictory — reflecting the haste and the spirit of compromise in which they were drafted. That is precisely why they are up for debate; but Inkatha says it is being bulldozed into compliance.

Chapter 11 of the 1993 constitution defines a traditional authority as one "which observes a system of indigenous law and is recognised by law immediately before the commencement of this constitution." As such, it "shall continue as such an authority and continue to exercise and perform the powers and functions vested in it in accordance with the applicable laws and customs."

The organisation of traditional leaders is dealt with, as well as certain powers of veto relating to legislation. Essentially, traditional affairs are delegated to the provincial level, but Inkatha senses the infringement of central government on this prerogative, not least in the proposed election of local authorities along party lines.

To accommodate Afrikaner minority fears, constitutional provision was made for the establishment of a Volksraat Council.

This right is contained in Constitutional Principle 34 (added last to the list in April 1994), to be read in conjunction with Chapter 11. Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Vali Moosa has spoken of government's intention — in accepting Principle 34 — as "the gentle approach of making the new constitutional dispensation as inclusive as possible."

Last November Moosa told a special committee of the Assembly: "This principle makes it possible for the Volksraat Council, and any other grouping that shares the same language and cultural heritage, to investigate any aspect of self-determination, whether in a territorial entity within SA or in any other way."

Indeed, the open-door approach to regional autonomy is reinforced in Principle 34: "If a territorial entity ... is established in terms of this (interim) constitution before the new constitutional text is adopted, the new constitution shall entrench the continuation of such territorial entity, including its structure, powers and functions."

So the onus, ultimately, is on any regional grouping to prove that it wants and can sustain a high degree of separation. It can have boundaries, fiscal powers and its own constitution — within a federal system, though "federal" is not a word in most of the documentation before the CA.

What more could Inkatha want? Why has it chosen to risk its position within a bargaining framework that could deliver its wishes?

In Inkatha-speak, Mandela, Meyer and Moosa have become "The Three Ms," a collective bogey. Buthelezi repudiates them: "The time for games is over. It is not time for just meetings, but political decisions are required to solve the present impasse ... The delegates to the special general conference of Inkatha (in Ulundi), who will decide the future political direction the party will take, have proven an uncanny ability to differentiate between negotiations, meetings and promises on the one hand and hard facts and delivery on the other."

Mr. Moosa keeps on flaunting the fact that the ANC is a 60% party and therefore, based on majoritarianism, is entitled to have the last word on constitutional matters. Throughout the world, constitutions are written on the basis of reaching consensus rather than on majoritarianism.

In part the walkout is a demonstration of power. Behind it lies a principled rejection of a strongly centrist State but also the fears of traditional Inkatha supporters who see promises of mediation broken, their authority diluted and their possible defeat in inevitably turbulent local elections.

Most predictions must be sombre. There can be no short-term "solution" to Inkatha's grievances: the mistrust of government is too deep. The walkout could prove a turning point in our recent political fortunes — its effects lingering beyond short-term deals until the stark issue of federalism is brought to the forefront of national attention. And settled.
The significance of queen’s visit to SA

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The visit to South Africa by Queen Elizabeth II, which starts on Sunday, is probably the most significant event in the country since last year’s election.

The historic significance of the visit is rooted in the centuries old relationship the indigenous people have had with European colonialism, settlement and subsequent domination.

When President Nelson Mandela welcomes Queen Elizabeth and her husband, Prince Philip, he will do so as a democratically elected leader.

Her arrival here will also place the final seal on South Africa’s formal acceptance back into the Commonwealth.

South Africa is the last country on the continent to have broken free from the yoke of European and white governance and dominance.

The last time an English queen visited South Africa was in 1947 before the country became a Republic in 1961.

Queen Elizabeth II will address Parliament at 11.40am on Monday after which she will have lunch with the Speaker and the President of the Senate. On Monday afternoon she will go on a walkabout in Cape Town’s Waterfront complex. She will attend a state banquet in Cape Town on Monday night and on Tuesday she will attend a service at St George’s Cathedral to commemorate Human Rights Day.

Later she will visit two townships in Cape Town — Khayelitsha and Langa. Thereafter she goes to Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Durban.

Next Thursday the queen will visit Avalon Cemetery in Soweto where she will unveil a memorial to SS Mendi victims of the First World War.
NP states ANC attempt to abolish spot questions.

Politics
Queen Comes Home

March 18, 1974
Weekender

Fulfillment of a promise made nearly half a century ago
Get Out Now!

Stomping Segeier’s murderer tells his friend Winimi:
SACP to fight for "own space".

date: 9 Mar 2013

The South African Communist Party's Gauteng provincial congress resolved to fight for "its own space as a party" and to support a consolidated ANC-SACP-Cosatu election front in the forthcoming local government elections.

At the end of its two-day congress, held south of Johannesburg, the SACP also called for a renewed relationship with the working-class movement, in particular the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and resolved to revive the "one city, one tax base" campaign.

A resolution on building, strengthening and restructuring the party called for the launch of RDP funds as well as alliance structuring within communities.

Office-bearers in Gauteng were all re-elected to their positions. They are Trevor Fowler (chairman), Bob Maleko (deputy chairman), Jaba Molekotl (general secretary), Trish Hmacen (assistant general secretary) and Lovetha Jakobus (treasurer).

— Staff Reporter.
QUEEN Elizabeth II arrived at D F Malan airport yesterday to start a six-day state visit which signals the end of South Africa’s international isolation.

Wearing a grey suit and hat with black leather shoes and a matching handbag, the Queen smiled as she descended the gangway to be met by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and his wife, Zanne.

There were no crowds to welcome her in the remote cape region where the British Airways 767 came to a halt, but a few determined royals watched through the fence as she disembarked. A spokesman for Buckingham Palace said the arrival was “deliberately low-key”.

The Queen will be welcomed officially by President Nelson Mandela when the royal yacht Britannia docks at the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront at 9.15am.

She will be greeted with a 21-gun salute from Signal Hill, a guard of honour and a flypast.

On landing yesterday, the Queen accepted a bouquet of roses from three-year-old Zanne Ngxakane, daughter of Mr Mbeki’s personal assistant.

Afterwards, Mr Mbeki said the Queen had told him she was “glad to be back in South Africa after 45 years”.

“She said she had a good flight and a good view of Cape Town,” he said.

A pool of media fought for position on the tarmac as the Queen walked to a waiting South African Air Force Puma.

A seat had been padded to make the flight more comfortable for the Queen who is not partial to helicopters.

Afterwards the pilot, Flight Commander Christo Stoebeel, said: “She shook my hand and thanked me for the pleasant flight.”

In Simon’s Town several hundred people had been allowed into the navy base to welcome the Queen.

A flight from the aircraft at 11.55am, she was met by SA Navy chief Vice Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson who introduced her to local dignitaries, including Simon’s Town mayor Mrs Pauline van Eick.

Prince Philip

On 20/12/95

She accepted a posy before ascending the gangway, placed at the top and turned to smile at the crowd and then disappeared through the doorway.

Three hours after the Queen arrived, Prince Philip piloted himself into D F Malan airport in one of the royal seaplanes of the Queen’s Flight from

Madagascar.

He had attended a World Wildlife Fund for Nature symposium there.

The prince was met by British High Commissioner Sir Anthony Reece, South African chief of protocol Mr Alan Harvey and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Adie Palahub.

People wishing to catch a glimpse of the Queen at the Waterfront or Parliament today should arm themselves with rain gear as the weather is expected to be partly cloudy with showers.

It was reported at the weekend that security surrounding the Queen’s visit had been heightened.

The Freedom Front has announced it will invite the Queen to lay a wreath at the Women’s Monument in Bloemfontein in memory of the women and children who died in British concentration camps during World War II.

Calm last leg for the Britannia

THE royal yacht Britannia left Simon’s Town last night in cloudy conditions with occasional light rain escorted by two ski-surf, two mine sweepers and a small harour patrol vessel.

The predicted gale-force black south-easter did not materialise and the Britannia rendez-vous Cape Point in swell of 1.5 meters.

The Britannia was a blaze of lights when she left Simon’s Town at 10.10pm.

She turned towards Muizenberg before heading north.

The Queen was presented with a photographic album by Simon’s Town mayor Mrs Pauline van Eick before the royal yacht left.

The photographs in the album included the Queen’s arrival in Simon’s Town yesterday.

The Queen’s private secretary Mr Charles Anson reported that she had looked through the album before the yacht sailed.

The Britannia is expected to be off Clifton at 8am today where she will be met by yachts of the Royal Cape Yacht Club and other pleasure craft and escorted to Table Bay harbour.

The navy’s operational room reported last night that there was nothing out of the ordinary about the Britannia sailing last night.
‘Welcome Ma’am’:
Cheers for Queen

Staff Reporters

THOUSANDS of people were at the Waterfront and lined Adderley Street today to welcome Queen Elizabeth on her return to South Africa after 48 years.

People crowded on to balconies and all other vantage points on Victoria Wharf and on Quay Four across the water from Jetty One where the royal yacht Britannia, flying the Royal Standard, the White Ensign and the Union Jack, tied up soon after 9.15am.

Exactly an hour later the Queen disembarked, wearing a printed blue silk dress with inset pleats in the skirt, a matching soft blue linen coat and a blue hat.

The yacht had been escorted from Simon’s Town during the night by four South African naval ships, which fired a 21-gun salute at 8.15 when Britannia was a mile away. The Signal Hill battery returned fire with a 21-gun salute.

Wary of the stiff south-easterly breeze, the Queen held on to her hat as she came down the gangway, or the royal brough as it is also known, while members of the yacht’s crew lined the deck.

She was followed by the Duke of Edinburgh.

There was a roar of welcome from the crowd, while a big banner on one of the boats in the harbour said simply: “Welcome Ma’am”.

President Mandela and his niece Rochelle Mtrirara, wearing traditional dress in burnt orange, waited at the foot of the brough.

Also with Mr Mandela were Chief of the SA National Defence Force General Georg Meiring and Chief of the navy Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson.

Mr Mandela warmly greeted the Queen with the words: “Welcome to South Africa, Your Majesty” and asked the Duke of Edinburgh: “How are you, Your Royal Highness?”

Mr Mandela and the Queen walked on a red carpet to a podium and the SA Navy band then played the British national anthem God Save the Queen.

The Queen then inspected a 96-man naval guard of honour, together with its commander Lieutenant Commander Chris Feinhauser.

She returned to the podium for the playing of the South African anthems and President Mandela introduced her to members of the cabinet, including deputy presidents Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk and dignitaries, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the mayor of Cape Town, William Bantam.

The Queen in turn introduced Mr Mandela to members of her household.

British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, who flew in to Cape Town today, went aboard the yacht just before 10am. He will be accompanying the Queen throughout her six-day tour of South Africa.

Mr Mandela went ahead to meet the Queen at Tuynhuys while she and Prince Philip, preceded by a cavalcade of traffic police on motorcycles, drove slowly up Adderley Street in a Rolls Royce.

They were followed by other dignitaries, including the deputy presidents and their wives.

Cheering crowds, including schoolchildren, shoppers and businessmen, lined the route for a glimpse of the royal visitors, and one small boy, carried away by the excitement of the occasion, gave a clenched fist salute and shouted: “Viva!”

In Parliament Street thousands of onlookers, most of them schoolchildren, waved to the Queen who smiled and waved back. Many of the children waved small South African flags as the Queen’s silver and blue Rolls Royce made its way towards Tuynhuys.

The Union Jack and the South African flag flew side-by-side over the building in a stiffening southeaster.

Crowds were entertained by choirs from the Masikhule Children’s Home outside Tuynhuys, the Tygerberg Children’s Choir, outside the national assembly and the Stellenbosch Children’s Choir outside the senate.
ROYAL YACHT: Crowds of people watch as HMY Britannia docks at the Victoria and Alfred basin at 9:15am today.

INSPECTION: The Queen inspects the naval guard of honour. With her is Lieutenant Commander Chris Feinhaus.
Queen attends special human rights service at cathedral

Staff Reporter August 21, 1975

SEVERAL hundred people lined the streets of Cape Town from early today, hoping to catch a glimpse of royalty during the second day of the official visit of Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh arrived at St George's Cathedral for a special service to mark 'Human Rights Day' shortly before 10am.

After the service the Queen moved to a reception in her honour at the City Hall, where she celebrated her 21st birthday in 1947.

This was followed by a walkabout in Darling Street outside City Hall.

At 12.15 pm the royal party laid wreaths at the Commonwealth War Graves at Maitland Cemetery in Epping.

The Queen was guest of honour at a luncheon at Vorelegen in Somerset West, hosted by Western Cape premier Herman Kriel and chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Julian Ogilvie-Thompson.

The royal programme for the afternoon included a visit to the Philani Centre in Khayelitsha, at 3.10 pm, where the Queen and the Duke were to meet Triple Trust staff.

They were also to inspect the Philani rug-making project and plant a tree.

The next item on the programme was a visit to the Langa Cricket Club at 4.15 pm.

The Queen was due to end her official day with a garden party at 6.20 pm at the Bishopscourt residence of the British high commissioner Sir Anthony Reeve.
CAPE TOWN ROLLS OUT RED CARPET FOR ROYAL VISITOR

Glittering banquet for Queen Elizabeth II

The Royal visit was celebrated in splendid last night at a banquet attended by over 400 dignitaries, who enjoyed a sumptuous selection of traditional South African food and wines.

President Nelson Mandela last night told a lavish state banquet in honour of Queen Elizabeth II that he was "looking forward" to his historic state visit to Britain next year.

Queen Elizabeth bowed in praise and honours on President Nelson Mandela earlier in the day — including an invitation to become the first South African to make a state visit to Britain.

A spokesperson for Mr Mandela's Tuynhuys office said no date had yet been fixed for the visit.

Speaking on the final day of the royal visit rich in symbolism and nostalgia, Mr Mandela told the British monarch: "Both from the perspective of our developing country and the world in which we hold your country and your people, for the critical role you played to shape our country and your people, the visit will be a special and fond occasion for me."

At the glittering event, which was also attended by about 400 traditional leaders and dignitaries, the President said South Africa had been heartened by fact that Her Majesty's government had taken the country's needs to heart in the form of generous aid and assistance.

"We are eager now to play our part in further cementing this bridge between nations, to promote international understanding, world peace and prosperity," he said.

The Queen told the banquet South Africa was emerging on the world stage as a champion of reconciliation, harmony and democracy.

Referring to the royal family's close links with South Africa for much of this century, the Queen said her tour would recall many old and new connections. She was looking forward to her tour of the country's townships, including Khayelitsha and Soweto.

The Queen arrived with Mr Mandela wearing a flowing evening dress of white chiffon. Her grey hair was crowned in a diamond tiara.

Mr Mandela wore a dark suit, with the red and green ribbon of the British Order of Merit, which the Queen presented to him earlier.

The only other South African to have received the Order was Field Marshal Jan Smuts from King George VI in 1947. The only living foreign recipient of the award is Mother Teresa.

Her Majesty stood on Mr Mandela's right at the main table, as the British national anthem God Save the Queen and South Africa's twin anthems were played by a string orchestra.

As the first course, a crayfish starter, served on lettuce leaves with a walnut dressing, was served as a black choir performed for the guests.

The rest of the menu included medallion of Karoo lamb stuffed with a wild mushroom duxelle, fresh asparagus, apple and peach sorbet, flavoured by Van Der Hum liqueur, plus a selection of South African wines.

A noticeable absentee from the guest list was Deputy Minister of Arts, Science and Culture, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Both Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill attended.

In her address to Parliament earlier Monday, Queen Elizabeth heaped praise on Mr Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk for their roles as peacemakers, saying the Nobel Peace Prize awards they received were "fitting tribute" to their efforts.

Cape Town gave the Queen a resounding welcome yesterday. The red carpet was unrolled, signal hill resounded with a 21-gun salute and SAAF jets trailed plumes of red, white and blue thousands of people cheered. Political Staff, Sapa, Staff Reporter
Waterfront tones down for royal sleep

A Quay 4 manager said the restaurant was expecting hundreds of visitors to see the vessel and had also been asked to stay open longer than usual last night to accommodate the royalty watchers.

"We've been asked not to blow the Queen away, so it will be quieter than usual," he said.

A Green Dolphin manager said "the vast majority came through in the afternoon.”

"There were thousands of people and a lot stayed on for coffee, light meals and cocktails".

The restaurant had also hosted sailors and staff from the Britannia who were "at their best British behaviour".

Mandela’s companion

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela’s mystery new companion is Ms. Rochelle Mtrara – a daughter of a princess in the Tembu royal house in the Transkei.

Tuynhuys spokesperson, Mr. Parks Mankahlana, said the University of Witwatersrand student was now also helping out in the Mandela household secretariat.

He said she would be seen more frequently with Mr. Mandela.
Selebi expected to replace Boesak at UN

CAPE TOWN — President Nelson Mandela is expected to announce up to 16 senior diplomatic appointments on Friday, including that of ANC MP Jackie Selebi to replace Allan Boesak at the UN in Geneva.

The positions include high commissioners and consuls-general as well as ambassadors to be stationed at embassies and missions across the globe.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the details of the appointments would be made known only once the host countries had formally agreed to the appointees.

Unconfirmed reports earlier this week suggested Selebi would replace Boesak as SA's ambassador to the UN. Selebi spent several years as an ANC diplomat, including a period as secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Other rumoured appointments include ANC MP and SACP central committee member John Nhadieng as SA's ambassador to Cuba and ANC MP Lindiwe Mabuza as ambassador in Moscow.

A presidential spokesman said appointees to some diplomatic posts would be announced soon by Mandela, but no details would be disclosed before that.
Return all her documents, judge orders

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Winnie Mandela emerged the winner today in her courtroom clash with police over their high-profile search of her Soweto home and a welfare organisation's offices on February 28.

Mr Justice P E Streicher handed down a judgment in the Rand Supreme Court which was scathing of the purported reasons for the raids and for the search warrants which were issued.

Referring to magistrate I Olivier's reasons for issuing the warrants, he said: "The conclusion is so devoid of any factual basis that one can only conclude that he had not properly applied his mind to the matter."

He ordered that police return all articles, documents and any copies made after the search. He said the respondents, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Mr Olivier, should pay the costs of the application including the cost of two counsel.

Explaining his decision, the judge said he could only overturn the warrants if it could be shown that the magistrate had not applied his mind to the matter.

A warrant would be valid if the magistrate believed there were sound reasons for issuing it and this could not be overturned simply because another court did not believe such grounds existed.

But police affidavits supporting their application for the warrants were extremely vague and devoid of any evidence that incriminating documents would be found at Mrs Mandela's home or offices.

The complete lack of valid argument in the police statements meant the court could only conclude that Mr Olivier had not applied his mind, he said.

The Arts, Culture Science and Technology Deputy Minister arrived after the decision was handed down, but her daughter Zindi Hlongwane-Mandela sat through the verdict.

She was clearly delighted with the decision, but refused to comment on it when approached.

Delirious Mandela fans cheered and sang for two hours outside the court after hearing the verdict. They only dispersed after Mrs Mandela emerged beaming from her advocate's chambers and drove off.

• National Commissioner of Police George Fivaz said today he had taken note of the judgment and would discuss it with police officials before commenting fully on the matter.

See page 5
Selebi will go instead of Boesak to UN in Geneva

Political Staff
ANC Parliamentarian and former ANC Youth leader Jackie Selebi is the man who will take up Allan Boesak's place in Geneva as South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr. Selebi, fellow parliamentarians John Nkadimeng and Lindiwe Mabuza — a former ANC chief representative in Stockholm, Sweden and in Washington — are among the next batch of ambassadors to be announced by President Mandela.

Mr Selebi's appointment puts an end to the speculation which has gone on since Dr Boesak withdrew his candidacy for the plum ambassadorial posting following allegations of misuse of funds.

A leader of the ANC Youth in exile for many years, Mr Selebi has led many ANC delegations abroad.

Upon his return to South Africa in 1990 he and ANC MP Peter Mokaba co-chaired the Provisional Youth Committee after the amalgamation of the South African Youth Congress and the formerly exiled ANC Youth to relaunch the ANC Youth League.

In 1992 he succeeded Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Winnie Mandela as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

According to reliable sources, Mr Mabuza will be South Africa's ambassador to Russia and Mr Nkadimeng will be our man in Cuba.

Meanwhile, sources also disclosed that the government was having problems getting ambassadors drawn from the National Party, the Freedom Front and the Conservative Party accepted abroad.

"The international community out there appreciates our policy of national reconciliation, but in some instances it cannot reconcile itself to it."
Winne's stand
Makwethu backs
Queen ‘snubbed’ Flats

STAFF REPORTERS

UPSET Cape Times readers have complained that Queen Elizabeth II “snubbed” the coloured inhabitants of the city by not visiting the Cape Flats during her stay in the city.

Readers felt that the Queen had insulted the indigenous inhabitants of the city by visiting the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront and the black townships, but excluding any traditionally coloured areas from her itinerary.

Cape Flats

Those wanting to see the Queen were required to travel into town or the Waterfront – a considerable distance from the Cape Flats.

During the royal visit of 1947, the royal family attended a ball hosted especially for the city’s coloured community.

Renowned Cape poet Professor Adam Small said last night he was “inclined to sympathise” with the perception of the people.

“I was struck by the fact that the organisation, perhaps not the Queen, which arranged the itinerary neglected coloured people as far as the state banquet was concerned. I was a guest, and I don’t want to be a critical guest, but this is Cape Town, the Western Cape, and there wasn’t a piece of Cape music played all evening and the majority of the indigenous people were really not in evidence at all.

“I was taken aback myself that our rainbow people did not surface as a rainbow,” he said.

The Queen left for Port Elizabeth from D F Malan Airport with a minimum of fuss yesterday morning, having “enjoyed every minute” of her time in Cape Town.

There were no crowds to give her a send off at the remote cargo section of the airport where the chartered British Airways 767 has been stationed, and the four determined royalists who peered through a fence were “disappointed” that she did not lock their way.

A spokesman for the tour said the Queen had enjoyed herself throughout her stay in Cape Town and had been “particularly pleased” by the reception she had received at the Waterfront and in the townships.

“All along the biggest unknown factor was what the turnout would be like. But she was very pleased and enjoyed Cape Town very much,” he said.

The British Consul referred comment on the snubbing allegations to Mr Nigel Casey, who was unavailable for comment last night.

See Page 7
Winnie challenges the government

JOHANNESBURG: Mrs Winnie Mandela issued a challenge to the government last night, saying no individual, no matter who, had the power to determine her political future.

Her defiant statement came after the Rand Supreme Court’s setting aside of the warrant for police to search her home.

But Police Commissioner George Fivaz warned that another warrant could be issued.

Presidential spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe also said the finding in her favour did not necessarily mean the Deputy Arts, Science and Culture Minister was now off the hook.

In her statement Mrs Mandela said: “I emerged from this case more convinced that irrespective of all fights against me, the supreme mission must remain one that must make a better life for all.

“The failure of the police to press charges against me, even though they are part of the scheme against me, speaks volumes.

“The struggle was never about myself, it was about the people of South Africa.”

Yesterday Mr Justice P E Streticher ordered that all documents taken from Mrs Mandela’s home and copies be handed back to her.

Referring to the magistrate’s reasons for issuing the warrants, he said: “The conclusion is so devoid of any factual basis one can only conclude that he had not properly applied his mind.”

Police affidavits supporting their application for the warrants were extremely vague and devoid of any evidence that incriminating documents would be found.

DEFIANT: Mrs Winnie Mandela said no-one could stop her.

The complete lack of valid argument in the police statements meant the court could only conclude that the magistrate had not applied his mind.

Mr Netshitenzhe said Deputy President Thabo Mbeki would still brief President Nelson Mandela on Mrs Mandela’s unauthorised visit to West Africa “and other matters”. — Special Correspondent, Sapa
IFP reiterates threat on talks

JOHANNESBURG. — If international mediation was still not a clear reality by April 4, the Inkatha Freedom Party would have no option but to leave the Constitutional Assembly, the IFP told a seminar here.

The seminar, addressed by IFP senator R Rabinowitz, IFP legal adviser Mario Ambrosini and German constitutional expert W Rudolph, was attended by lawyers, academics and embassy officials.

Asked by Professor Rudolph whether the IFP might not achieve more by remaining within the existing constitutional dialogue, the IFP said the party could not lend legitimacy to a process that would continue to fail to deliver federalism. *April 23, 1995*

The IFP representatives said they could not compromise on federalism, which remained for them the only way to curtail the abuse of power by central government.

Ms Rabinowitz said the refusal of the ANC to accept international mediation signalled that it had no intention of relaxing its stance on the unitary state.

The provinces would therefore remain dependent on the central government for funding. Provincial and local police would remain accountable to the central government's safety and security minister, which was a major source of tension in KwaZulu-Natal.

Ms Rabinowitz said that once the IFP had left the Constitutional Assembly it would probably continue to draft its own constitution — Sapa.
Labour MP slams Government critics

Labour Minister Mr Tito Mboweni has hit out at critics of the Government who say it has done nothing for the people that voted it into power.

He was tired of hearing people say that the Government had failed, he told guests at a fundraising event for the SA National Civics Association in Johannesburg on Tuesday night.

He asked how the Government, led by President Nelson Mandela, could change over 300 years of apartheid and colonialism in 10 months.

"Is it possible that our people could have forgotten that only yesterday we were living under an apartheid government with all its laws?"

"Not long ago we experienced police raids on our homes; we had our loved ones locked up, or shot and killed during peaceful demonstrations; we had our human rights violated to the core."

"Have we not noticed a change? Is it possible that none of our people are aware of the major transformation taking place in our country?"

Was it possible that black journalists and editors were not aware of the changes?

"Or is it the case that those who never wanted us to succeed in the first place have the monopoly on the means of communication?"

Many changes had taken place since the elections, Mr Mboweni said.

White bureaucracy

When he took over the department of labour, he found a totally white bureaucracy in place. The staff was friendly, made him tea and showed him where the toilet was.

"But the previous minister did not leave a single document in the files. There was nothing to pick up from. I inherited 11 labour administrations and from this we had to form a single administration."

"In a short space of time we produced a five-year plan for the department of labour, which we are already implementing."

On Human Rights Day, people should reflect that there has been significant change in the culture of human rights and social justice in South Africa. "We are changing the country, removing the structural impediments to a better life — including racism in the workplace."

In the wider sphere of the Reconstruction and Development Programme many projects were being put in place, including major land reform legislation.

"It seeks to ensure that people who were forcibly removed from their land can get it back. Tell these people there has been no change," Mboweni said. — Sapa.
ANC had to 'rid itself' of those forces who have been infiltrated by Tony Leon's faceless friends

BY BRENDAN TEMPLETON and CHERYL HUNTER

Winnie Mandela is not yet out of the political woods after emerging victorious from her court tussle with the police yesterday.

National Police Commissioner George Fivaz says another search warrant could be issued against her.

But the popular deputy minister has issued her own warning to the country's leaders, saying the black majority would not tolerate any attempt to force her out of politics.

"I owe my allegiance to the people of South Africa," she said at her home in Soweto. "It is only them who will determine my political future. No individual has the capacity to undermine that will -- no matter who that individual might be."

In his judgment earlier yesterday, Mr Justice P.E. Streicher said the magistrate who issued the search warrants had not applied his mind to the matter.

No evidence existed to show that incriminating evidence would be found during the searches. He ordered all seized documents to be returned to the deputy minister.

Unauthorised

But a presidential spokesman, Joel Netshitenzhe, said the judgment did not mean she was off the hook. He said President Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki would still consider discipline over her unauthorised visit last month to West Africa -- "and other matters" as well.

The arts, science, culture and technology deputy minister was unbowled when she attacked her detractors, saying the ANC had to "rid itself of those forces who have been infiltrated by (DP leader) Tony Leon's faceless friends."

Meanwhile Commissioner Fivaz has emphasised that the judge's decision "in no way whatsoever detracts from the seriousness of the criminal case with which Mandela and others are linked". The police investigations into the allegations against her would "continue unabated".

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said the court finding "did not deal with the substance of the allegations of criminal conduct against Mrs Mandela."

Mufamadi will meet Fivaz and investigating officer Lt Col Antonius Botha to appraise "the state of the investigation."
Gauteng crowds ignore rain to glimpse the Queen

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Queen Elizabeth II received a tumultuous welcome at venues as diverse as Soweto and Midrand.

Soft rain throughout the day in Gauteng yesterday did nothing to deter crowds from gathering at vantage points — often for no more than a quick glimpse of the royal couple through rain-splattered car windows.

She went to Soweto's Avalon cemetery at 10 am to unveil a plaque commemorating the victims of the SS Mendi, a troopship carrying a contingent of black South African volunteers to serve under Britain during the latter stages of World War I.

More than 900 men died when the ship sank in the English Channel.

After talking to war veterans at the cemetery the Queen visited the Self-Help Association for Paraplegics and then Baragwanath Hospital.

At a lunch hosted by the premier at Galligher Estate in Midrand, the Queen said Britain was glad to contribute to the reconstruction of a new South Africa.

Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale summed up the reaction of the people at lunch yesterday when he confessed that his wife Judy had been "shaking" at the prospect of welcoming the Queen to Gauteng.

He told Queen Elizabeth: "You may not have noticed, but she did not know how to receive a queen. Yet we found you to be a very warm person — a mother."

HI THERE! The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh share a joke at Avalon cemetery in Soweto.
Shake-up of regions’ powers

ANC plans shun Inkatha’s federal option

THE ANC has drawn up proposals for SA’s final constitution which make no concessions to the Inthuka Freedom Party’s federalist demands and may encounter resistance from ANC-led provincial governments.

The proposals, in a document called Building a United Nation, are to be tabled at the ANC’s constitutional conference, scheduled for March 31 at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. Delegates at this crucial gathering will finalise the party’s constitutional stance for negotiation in the Constitutional Assembly.

On the issue of central and provincial government powers — at the heart of the battle between the ANC and Inkatha — the document envisages a restricted legislating role for the nine regions, in return for a greater regional say on national “framework” legislation through the Senate.

It lays heavy stress on the need to build national unity and minimise regional conflict which, it says, the current system promotes. It calls for government to be brought closer to the people, but says this can best be achieved through effective and accountable administration.

“The final constitution should have the basic feature that practical administration be increasingly devolved to . . . provincial governments as administrative capacity grows, while the weight of legislative activity remains with the national level of government,” it says.

The document rejects Inkatha demands for “subsidiarity” — where the central state enjoys only the powers lower levels of government cannot exercise — saying this implies “provincial autonomy is a self-evident virtue”.

The document lists 11 powers which central government and the provinces would exercise concurrently: provincial economic affairs, agriculture (excluding forestry and water affairs), environment and conservation (excluding national parks), education (excluding universities and technical colleges), cultural affairs, health, welfare, local government, housing, provincial planning and public works, and provincial transport and roads. Policing and traditional authorities — flashpoints between Inkatha and government — are not listed.

As in the interim constitution, the central state will have overriding power in all areas of concurrency where national standards, economic policy, health and security interests are at stake.

But the document adds a new category of laws on which the central state would have an override: those establishing “a national framework for the delivery of services or management of institutions”.

The provinces’ role would be to implement the framework legislations.

ANC national framework legislation. The document lists no exclusive provincial functions, arguing that exclusivity will consist in administrative implementation of national laws.

However, the ANC envisages changes to the Senate that give regions a greater say at the centre. It proposes that provinces and the national Cabinet each send five delegates to the Senate, which could veto or review national laws affecting the exercise of provincial competencies.

The document is silent on voting in the Senate, which would presumably be by straight majority. ANC control of most of the provinces would ensure its dominance of Senate proceedings.

In financial and fiscal matters, the document opposes a “rigidly divided system between national and provincial levels of government”. Taxes, except those designated provincial by national law, would be collected by the central state and allocated to other levels of government.

Other key proposals departing from the interim constitution include:

- Provision for Parliament to be elected partly by proportional representation and partly by constituencies; Parliament would be made up of 250 to 300 constituency MPs and the same number elected by proportional representation;
- An end to enforced coalition government;
- A Bill of Rights which, “where appropriate”, would apply “horizontally” — between citizens — as well as vertically between citizens and the state.
Winnie considers suing Mufamadi

Gaye Davis

A TRiumphant Winnie Mandela is weighing up launching a civil suit for damages against Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi, sources close to the deputy minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology indicated this week.

She consulted with her lawyer, Templeton Mageza, on Wednesday to "discuss the way forward" after the Rand Supreme Court set aside the search warrants which launched the high-profile police raid on her home and the offices of the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programme. It was found that police affidavits supporting their application for the search warrants were vague and devoid of evidence that incriminating documents would be found.

However, the finding in her favour does not cancel out the possibility of criminal charges being laid against her — and she is still in hot water over travelling to West Africa against the orders of President Nelson Mandela.

The national consultative conference of the ANC Women's League, scheduled for this weekend, has meanwhile been postponed to allow a meeting between the League's national executive and top ANC officials — including President Mandela — to take place first.

The conference, aimed at resolving problems in the League which emerged with the resignation in February of 11 members of its national executive, will now take place on April 8 and 9 at a venue to be confirmed. The 11 — most of them veteran women's rights activists — would attend as they were still members of the League, an NEC member said.

Attempts were under way this week to co-ordinate the diaries of President Mandela, deputy president Thabo Mbeki, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Cheryl Carolus, national chairperson Jacob Zuma and treasurer Reverend Arnold Stofile, with those of the 25-member Women's League national executive.

Carolus said logistical problems could be overcome, the meeting could take place on Tuesday. "The matter is an absolute priority for us," she said. The meeting would try to resolve the problems in the League and rebuild unity.

"Obviously, the conference would not be very constructive if there is no unity in the leadership. There are serious problems in the League and we need to solve them. It's much better to do so before going into a massive conference."
The importance of majesty

"The use of the Queen, in a dignified capacity, is incalculable." That was the view of Walter Bagehot, the 19th Century constitutional expert. Of course he was writing about Queen Victoria, but what he said is no less true of her descendant, Queen Elizabeth II. "The best reason," asserted Bagehot, "why monarchy is a strong government is that it is an intelligible government. The mass of mankind understand it, and they hardly anywhere in the world understand any other."

It was this kind of instinctive understanding, emotional rather than rational, which underlay the enormous local interest in the visit to SA by Queen Elizabeth. Of course there are considerable sentimental and emotional links with Britain, especially among older English-speaking whites, based on blood ties or memories of military service under a common sovereign.

Taking the longer historical view, it is exactly 200 years since the British first occupied the Cape; they have left an indelible mark on our education system, our churches, our military organisation, our business practices, and of course our language. Of all countries outside our borders, Britain has been the most influential on our culture — and arguably the most beneficial.

There is much frivolous interest here in the activities of the royal family, not least among Afrikaners. The marriage of Prince Charles to Lady Diana Spencer in 1981 was watched avidly by tens of thousands of South Africans. As Bagehot noted, "a princely marriage is the brilliant edition of a universal fact, and, as such, it rivets mankind."

But Queen Elizabeth is not Princess Di, and nobody under 35 can remember the time when she was still our Sovereign. Why did people turn out in their thousands this week just to get a glimpse of this foreign Head of State? They did not do so for French president Francois Mitterrand; they might just do it for US President Bill Clinton, if he ever bothered to come here — but that would be out of curiosity rather than affection.

The reason is simple: the Queen represents that most treasured of political assets, continuity. Elizabeth is directly descended from the medieval kings, latest in a line that runs through several centuries (with, of course, a few name changes and execution along the way, but the myth has sufficient basis in fact to remain intact and powerful). So there is continuity of the blood — something that can be immensely comforting to any citizen.

The monarch also represents continuity in politics, which is not as readily understood as the genealogical tables but no less comforting. The present Queen has been served by nine prime ministers since she came to the throne in 1953: Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden, Harold Macmillan, Alec Douglas-Home, Harold Wilson, Edward Heath, James Callaghan, Margaret Thatcher and John Major.

There is a magnificent photograph of Elizabeth on her return to Britain from Kenya, where she had heard the news of the death of her father, King George VI. Having alighted from her aircraft, vulnerable and still girlish, she is on the tarmac being greeted by the aged Churchill, head bowed in grief for his old sovereign as well as in deference to the new. It is an image of a political titan, a dominant figure in peace and war for half a century, subjugating himself willingly to something more permanent.

Britain is confused now about the monarchy. Whining politicians with nothing better to worry about have forced the Queen to consent to pay tax — a constitutional absurdity, because the monarch is the State by definition and therefore cannot pay taxes to herself. Too many Britons are quick to confuse the individual and the symbolism, and the assorted family members with the sovereign herself. They seem to have forgotten that the monarch personifies the State, makes it accessible to the people — with occasional vivid examples, as when Prince Andrew was on active service in the Falklands campaign.

The Americans, for all their constitutional genius, have mixed feelings about the monarchy. Their Head of State, like ours, is also a political figure: this combination tends to tarnish the self-image of the country while complicating its politics — as was painfully demonstrated by the Nixon presidency. US presidents cannot conjure the permanence of a monarch: seven of them — Dwight Eisenhower, J F Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush — have already been seen off by Queen Elizabeth.

We crave this sense of stability in our fledgling democracy. Nelson Mandela has kingly qualities, but those who follow him will be mere elected politicians.

Obviously they cannot restore a monarchy to SA — but they might compensate by giving us a decent constitution, one which accepts the lesson to be learnt from the popularity of a constitutional monarch: that there is no such thing politically as "the people," only individuals.
Police Ready for Round

Winne: enough evidence to press ahead, says Commissioner Frying

Deadline is near
Mediation or we quit — IFP

DO OR DIE Inkatha gives the GNU until April 4 for mediation to be reality:

IFP international mediation was still not a clear reality by April 4, the Inkatha Freedom Party will have no option but to leave the Constitutional Assembly, the party said at a seminar yesterday.

The seminar, addressed by IFP senator Ms R Rabinowitz, IFP legal adviser Dr Mario Ambrosini and German constitutional expert Professor W Rudolph, was attended by lawyers, academics and embassy officials.

Asked by Rudolph whether the IFP might not achieve more by remaining within the existing constitutional dialogue, the IFP said it could not lend legitimacy to a process that would continue to fail to deliver a federal solution for South Africa.

IFP representatives said they could not compromise on federalism — which remained for them the only way to curtail the abuse of power by central Government.

Rabinowitz contended that the African National Congress’s refusal to accept international mediation signalled that it had no intention of relaxing its stance on the unitary state. The provinces, she said, would therefore in all respects, including the civil service, remain dependent on the central Government for funding.

Provincial and local police would remain accountable to the national safety and security minister, which was a major source of tension in KwaZulu-Natal.

Rudolph and Ambrosini highlighted the German and American federal systems which they said provided for independence of state policing and taxing powers for both provincial and local government.

They said these benefits were two of the most important advantages offered by the American and German systems, but neither was available under South Africa’s interim constitution.

Rabinowitz said once the IFP had left the Constitutional Assembly it would probably continue to draft its own constitution to ensure these safeguards. It would therefore reject the final version adopted by the assembly. She said the outcome of the IFP’s withdrawal would be difficult to forecast. — Sapa.
Winnie's hour of reckoning approaches.
to the black president

The white queen who
came to pay her respects

THIS WEEK'S ROYAL VISIT WAS SOMETIMES SOLenn AND DIGNIFIED, BUT IT
A defiant Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has defied the president's instruction to resign from the government.
ANC goes back to square one

TWO years ago, the ANC’s negotiators stood united against an onslaught from the NP and Inkatha at the World Trade Centre talks. At stake was the division of powers between central and provincial government.

At the organisation’s constitutional conference this week, the venue and the topic remain the same, but this time the debaters will all be members of the ANC.

While by no means deserving of the “federalist” label given to them by some, the ANC’s provincial executive leaders have shifted significantly from the rigid centralism that characterised the ANC’s opening gambit in talks to draft the interim constitution.

The results have been plain to see: a growing contest between provincial and national government over budgets and the power to control the delivery process.

Now, facing the drafting of a final constitution in which the balance of power will be finalised, the ANC is moving to re-assert its old bottom lines. Its latest constitutional proposals — Building a United Nation — have been under discussion for two weeks ahead of the conference.

Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa says the document has no official status. “It is a discussion document that has not been adopted — it's aimed at providing a framework.”

But even without the stamp of official approval, the document nonetheless reflects the latest direction in the ANC’s constitutional thinking.

Drafted by the organisation’s constitutional commission, the cover features a heavy black arrow pointing upwards and the text suggests this is the direction in which the ANC would like to shift political power.

At the core of the new centrist is the notion that provincial governments should become vehicles for “implementation and administration” while the centre takes care of “law making”.

“The ANC is of the opinion that bringing government closer to the people primarily means bringing administration closer to the people,” the document says.

While the balance of power should be shifted back to the centre, the commission also puts the idea of a “co-operative framework of regional and national governance”.

The problem with the current system, it says, is that “competition over powers and resources is promoted by the structure rather than a politically co-operative approach”.

And, it adds: “All residual — unallocated — powers shall be within the exclusive competence of national government.” A second problem affecting the regions profoundly is the question of the size of government, the commission points out.

Noting that South Africa has 900 lawmakers at national and regional level, the commission describes the costs incurred by such representation as “out of line with highly industrial countries”.

“Reducing the members of these legislatures by, say, 25 percent would have more impact on the attempt to secure funds for the RDP than trimming the salaries of MPs.”

While seeming to equally target both national and regional parliaments, the results of such a reduction would in fact be one-sided, reducing the ability of already hard-pressed legislatures to process laws while barely affecting the functioning of the National Assembly.

This would dovetail with the stated desire to remove law-making from the provinces and increase their implementation role.

After barely a year of experimental decentralisation, there are strong ANC voices that want to put the genie back in the bottle.

But, with powerful personalities like Gauteng’s Tokyo Sexwale calling for greater provincial power, and the decentralisation of policy-making in key ministries such as education having already taken place, it may be too late.
WEENEN: President Nelson Mandela assured Zulu chiefs yesterday that their future was secure and said they had nothing to fear from local government elections.

Mr Mandela was speaking after kwaZulu/Natal Minister of Traditional Affairs Chief Nyanga Ngubane cautioned against "eliminating" chiefs.

"In future, no attempts should be made to eliminate amakhosi because we are the structures created by God," Chief Ngubane said.

Mr Mandela later faced Chief Ngubane, who was sitting next to him on the podium and told him "we have come a long way with chiefs." Local government elections had no intention of removing their powers.

Chief Ngubane has said tribal chiefs in kwaZulu/Natal will consider boycotting the November poll unless they can maintain their powers and status without having to contest elections.

Mr Mandela said the ANC and NP had agreed to the demand for international mediation and that the only issue of dispute had been the terms of reference. — Reuters
For a glimpse of royalty...

By WALLY MBHELE

AFTER Her Majesty's victorious visit to Gauteng this week, and the rousing welcome she received in Soweto on Thursday, the Queen of England has good reason to smile.

But at Baragwanath hospital Queen Elizabeth missed an opportunity — of meeting Asitha Dladla, an old woman who can no longer recall her age.

Dladla had woken up in the early hours of Thursday morning, missed her breakfast and braved the rain, to be the first among thousands who wished to see and touch the Queen.

"Rain means nothing. As long as I can see her and shake her hand — then I'll go back to bed in peace," she said.

When Queen Elizabeth arrived shortly before midday, Dladla jubilantly waved to the Queen as her motorcade passed by.

She never got to touch the royal hand. But she was satisfied, because she had seen her idol.

This was after the Queen visited Avalon cemetery with President Mandel to unveil a memorial in honour of the South African troops lost in the ship SS Mendi in 1917.

Queen Elizabeth also visited the Self Help Association of Paraplegics.

Then she attended a glittering function hosted by Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale at Gallagher Estate.

The Mayor of Port Elizabeth's driver almost had to steal a gold Rolls Royce for Britain's Queen Elizabeth on Wednesday, reports Reuters.

The blue-grey Rolls, which earlier met her at the city's airport broke down half way through the one-day trip on the second leg of a six-day state visit to South Africa.

Monty Uren, who was busy driving his own mayor, Nceba Paku, in the Queen's motorcade, rose to the emergency.

With only 20 minutes to go before the Queen was due to return to the car, he recalled that a friend, millionaire builder Manuel Mendez, had a gold-coloured Rolls that he wasn't driving.

"He told me at one point, if you ever need the car, you're welcome to use it," Uren said.

Uren raced over to the empty Mendez house, found the keys in a bowl, and raced back with the vehicle."Still to this day he does not know I had taken his car. I've cleared it with the police in case he comes home and thinks the car's been stolen."
i. For the interns:
   Check on career paths of previous interns --
   Especially those in the teaching profession
   [Doc Res - Reports from students and staff][Grp
   Int]
   Check on numbers of papers published by
   previous interns. [Doc Res][Grp Int]
   See if tracer studies of students are
   routinely done -- if not attempt. [Grp Int]
   To what extent has internship made you rethink
   your career path; Attempt to get to the
   qualitative aspects of the issue, tease this
   out in focus groups

ii. Mentors get substantially the same questions as the
    ones above on this topic [Grp Int][Quest]

iii. For deans and DVC's, ask about the relationships
    between job placement and internship programmes --
    lead on to a discussion of the various student
    support services, and their interface. The issue
    here is the strategy in place in the various
    institutions for student development.

    Does the strategy probed above coincide with
    the community interaction strategy of the
    institution.

f. THEME SIX: SELECTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE
   INTERNSHIP PROGRAMME.

I need a little from each university on the target group
of the FFIP, wether it is post- or under-graduate, and
wether there has been a shift in this group over time.

The major focus is the selection, the grounds of
...
"I WILL NEVER LEAVE THE ANC, IT BELONGS TO ME"

Mandela poised to act on defiant Winnie

A DEFiant Mrs Winnie Mandela continued to speak out against the ANC's track record at the weekend and threatened legal action over the raid on her home as speculation on her imminent dismissal continued to make headlines.

President Nelson Mandela has assured provincial leaders and party chairmen that if Winnie mounts a counter-campaign after her dismissal from the cabinet, which well-placed government sources say could happen today, he will make public his withdrawal of support for her as a husband.

The London Sunday Times said Mr Mandela had committed himself to leading the fight against Winnie personally should she attempt to mobilise support for her cause.

One source said an announcement could be expected today, but added that because of logistical difficulties it had not yet been finalised whether Mr Mandela or Deputy President Thabo Mbeki would break the news on the mercurial Mrs Mandela's future.

Mr Mandela declined to comment yesterday on reports of her imminent dismissal, saying it was better to leave the matter in the hands of Mr Mbeki.

"He has been handling this matter."

The Times report said that the Queen's visit last week had provided Mr Mandela with the perfect cover to consult provincial leaders as he travelled around the country with her. This explained his attendance at so many of the functions held for the Queen.

The message in each place was unequivocal — if the ANC government is serious about dealing with ill-discipline within its ranks, then Winnie, who is mired in allegations of high-handed behaviour and abusing her position, must go.

Everyone Mr Mandela spoke to gave him the same message — a government that claims to prize accountability and transparency and that wants to attract foreign investment cannot afford to give the impression that some members are above the law.

The paper quoted an ANC minister as saying: "There is no question now that Winnie must go."

Mrs Mandela — who earlier incurred the wrath of the President by disobeying his instruction not to travel abroad and criticising the government's track record in assisting the poor — continued in her defiant manner.

At an ANC rally in Philippi yesterday, attended by more than 2 000 people, she said she had instructed her legal team to institute proceedings against Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Ntshangase and Police Commissioner George Fivaz, accusing them of misleading the public in their attempts to explain the raid on her home.

"Rich whites"

She also slammed press reports on her possible dismissal from the government, calling reporters who predicted her possible dismissal as "psychotic."

She was backed by ANC MP Mr Tony Yengeni, who told the crowd the press was owned by "rich whites" and was "not speaking on your behalf."

Mrs Mandela also said she would never leave the ANC: "It belongs to me and the masses, and if it strays from its path we'll make our voices heard to get it back on track."

She criticised the failure of the ANC to deliver, urging extra-parliamentary action to force the government to meet expectations. "It is almost a year since it (the ANC) took the reins of power and promised you the world."

Mrs Mandela was also strongly supported by ANC MP Peter Mokaba, but a noticeable absentee from the platform was Sports Minister Mr Steve Tshwete, who had been billed as one of the main speakers.

On Saturday, Mrs Mandela launched a withering attack in Port Elizabeth on the government for spending millions of rands on Queen Elizabeth's visit while the plight of the poor had remained unchanged or had worsened. She claimed that Mr Mandela's government had splashed out by paying R100 000 for tablecloths in Tshwane for the royal visit. She told about 1 000 people at a meeting organised by the local ANC Women's League: "I am sure that while you welcomed the Queen in Port Elizabeth as the one whom against the sun shall not set, few of you know your own King Sandile's wife's name."

Some government sources said many of the allegations directed against Mrs Mandela in recent weeks had not been conclusive and that the government did not want to be embroiled by newspapers paying for her blood.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer Mr Templeton Mageza is to meet police today to discuss the handing over of documents requested by detectives probing allegations of fraud against her. — Political Correspondent, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter
on campaigners trail

Mokaba, Venda

A THOUGHTFUL MOMENT: He further the subject of

by mood during the try.

INCREASED OPPOSITION: 'The case is a subject of

ANGELUS WINE: His policy is a subject of

CICIE SEAVY

ANGRY!ワインは熱いcritics
Government

President

Hugo Ponceon

Decision today

on rebel Winnette

makimg a point: Speaking to thousands of people at an informal rally, "as president, I hereby declare a national state of emergency."

On Wednesday, the National Congress of the Philippines in Philippine Deputy Minister Benito Leon, with his Cabinet ministers, emphasized the need for the government to show firmness in dealing with the rebellion. The government has been under pressure from the rebel groups who are demanding the release of political prisoners and the end of military rule.

The rally, attended by thousands of supporters, included speeches by government officials and leaders of the rebel groups. The government urged the rebels to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the crisis. The rebels, however, are demanding the withdrawal of foreign military forces and the recognition of their independence.
people in the ANC who have been part of the organization for years. The new leaders believe in a more inclusive approach to leadership and are determined to keep the ANC united and strong. They also recognize the importance of addressing the challenges facing the country, including corruption and economic stagnation.

The new leadership hopes to inspire a new spirit of unity and renewal among the ANC members. They plan to focus on rebuilding the party's base, increasing outreach to marginalized communities, and addressing the needs of ordinary people. The new ANC leaders are committed to working closely with various stakeholders, including labor organizations, civil society groups, and the broader democratic movement in South Africa.
Mufamadi and Fivaz misled the public — Winnie • First land reform project

**Winnie to sue Mufamadi over raid**

**By Vuyo Bavuma**
Political Reporter

MRS Winnie Mandela said yesterday she had instructed her lawyers to institute legal proceedings against Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Police Commissioner George Fivaz for the raids on her Soweto home and offices.

Addressing thousands of cheering people at Phillippi squatter camp in Cape Town, the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology also said she would sue the "mischievous Sunday Times for persistently publishing lies about my involvement in a fraud case".

Mrs Mandela, flanked by African National Congress MPs Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Peter Mokaba, also vowed she would never quit the ANC.

"The ANC was the people's organisation for which I and the masses fought for 30 bitter years to have it unbanned. We will not find our home in any other organisation. If it (ANC) ever strays from that path, we will make our voice loud and clear within the organisation to get it back on the right track," she said.

Referring to the raid on her home, Mrs Mandela said Fivaz and Mufamadi had attempted to mislead the public to justify their actions and had wasted taxpayers' money.

She also attacked the Government, saying it had failed to deliver on election promises but had spent more than R2 million on Queen Elizabeth's visit.

**Escalating arrogance**

"We even paid R100 000 for a tablecloth for Tuynhuys," she said.

Mrs Mandela was speaking amid speculation that she would be dismissed from the Government.

A well-placed source within the Government said President Mandela had met Deputy President Thabo Mbeki last Thursday to discuss the "escalating arrogance" displayed by Mrs Mandela.

"It is a matter of time, within the next day or two for the announcement to be made.

"But it will not include any organisational issues as the dismissal is merely from the Government's position," the source said.
NP bid to break mediation deadlock

DEPUTY Presidents FW de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki met on Friday as part of an NP initiative to arrange a summit meeting of leaders to resolve the impasse on international mediation.

The ANC said it might discuss the issue at its constitutional conference this weekend and needed to see how mediation would “dovetail” with the Constitutional Assembly. Mbeki’s office confirmed the Friday meeting with De Klerk.

NP KwaZulu/Natal information director Jack Maree said De Klerk was “anxious” to see the mediation dispute resolved “timely” and the NP believed a summit should be held between De Klerk, President Nelson Mandela and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The NP wanted the three leaders to formulate “broad principles” for mediation after which “lesser mortals” could flesh out the terms of reference.

The Inkatha Freedom Party had decided earlier to walk out of the assembly next Tuesday if mediation was not agreed to. ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu said the three-way summit would be held only after the ANC completed a process of consultation within its ranks. It would not bow to Inkatha’s “unilateral deadline”.

The constitutional conference might make proposals to the ANC’s national executive committee, as well as provincial executive committees for consideration. The ANC had to be clear on how mediation would relate to the assembly as it did not want two “constitutional-making institutions running parallel”.

Inkatha constitutional affairs spokesman Sipho Mzimela accused the ANC of “dragging its feet” and of wanting to use the Constitutional Assembly to “ram things down our throats”.

Inkatha wanted the three parties to negotiate contentious issues under the auspices of mediators as “equals”, saying there should not be “majorities and minorities”. A situation which would see agreement reached in mediation, but not in the assembly, should be avoided. The assembly should merely “note” the mediation agreement, before making it law, Mzimela said.

Issues that needed to be mediated included the form of state, powers of provinces, the constitutional rights of provinces and fiscal issues. Inkatha was open to the possibility of local mediators being drawn into the process, although the pre-election agreement stated there would be international mediation.
When Wimses wins hearts and minds

NEWS FEATURE
Rally to muster more support for Mrs. Mandela was a resounding success

Peter Mupha

Save Jan 23/745

PRESIDENT is now free to act against hostage-takers and vandals, say sources

BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — President Mandela's firing yesterday of his estranged wife has cleared the way for strong Government action to roll back the tide of lawlessness engulfing the country, sources said.

The long-awaited step was immediately welcomed by political parties, including the ANC-led alliance, the National Party and the Democratic Party.

The alliance pointed out the link between Mrs Mandela being "relieved" of her post and warnings of renewed Government action against political and criminal lawlessness.

Its statement said in part: "particularly when the ANC-led movement is calling on ordinary people in our country to participate with discipline in the process of transformation, it is unacceptable for leadership personalities to behave in a manner not befitting their status as elected public representatives."

The president did not provide a specific reason for his decision. However, the sources said the president, who has recently made a number of tough-sounding statements against indiscipline and lawlessness, felt undermined by her on-going defiance.

He found it difficult to threaten action against student hostage-takers and vandals while a senior Government of National Unity official openly defied him.

A stern-looking President Mandela made the announcement shortly after 9pm at a packed media conference at his Tshwane office.

He was flanked by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who had been given the job of dealing with Mrs Mandela, and who yesterday sent a letter to the former deputy minister informing her of the decision.

Mandela's statement said the decision had been taken "both in the interest of good government and to ensure the highest standards of discipline among leading GNU officials."

He appointed ANC constitutional expert Brigitte Mahandla in her place.

Mandela would not give reasons for his wife's dismissal. These were believed to be related to her unauthorised visits to south Africa and statements indicating she did not support the GNU's policies.

He said: "I am not going into details but I'm concerned that the GNU should function effectively and that every member of the Government should make a constructive contribution to the problems that we face."

To Page 3
Winnie pays the price

"I am convinced that I have the situation completely under control.

"As much as I would like to share the reasons why I have done so, this is a question of Government. You must accept my assurance that I have exercised my prerogative very carefully indeed."

Government sources said the president's action did not necessarily indicate the start of a campaign against like-minded individuals in the ANC.

The NP and DE welcomed the president's step.

Freedom Front chairman Piter Mulder said: "We are convinced that the decision will strengthen President-Nelson Mandela's image and not (Mrs) Mandela's as some commentators believed."
Joyce Dlamini had pinned her hopes for a better future in the Phola Park squatter camp on Winnie Mandela.

"She’s promised us houses, clinics, schools," Dlamini said. "Now, I don’t know if it will happen."

Winnie Mandela has a strong following in Phola Park, a community of ramshackle huts without running water or electricity on the edge of Tembisa, southeast of Johannesburg.

People here remember Mrs Mandela passing out donated blankets and hot soup, mediating in vicious faction fighting that swept the area in the early 1990s, and pledging to improve their lives as she campaigned for the ANC last year before the nation’s first all-race election.

"When times were bad, Winnie came to Phola Park," said Eunice Nyaleka as neighbours nodded their heads and called out in agreement.

While expressing support for Mrs Mandela, residents refused to criticise the president, perhaps the only person more popular here than his estranged wife.

They said she must remain a member of the ANC and continue to work with the Government on behalf of the poor.

Albert Booyens said President Mandela and his advisers should have found another way to deal with the problem.

"If she had made a mistake, they should have sat down to talk with her," Booyens said. "You must make peace." — Sepa-Reuter.
Sacking shocks
Contralesa
CT 28/9/45
EAST LONDON: A Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) regional spokesman yesterday said the organisation was shocked by the sacking of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology deputy minister Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Eastern Cape spokesman Chief Mwelko Nonkonyana said Mrs Mandela had done "nothing wrong", as all her statements while deputy minister were "a response to the needs of the suffering masses". Mrs Mandela is the treasurer of Contralesa.

It was regrettable that President Nelson Mandela had yielded to what Contralesa called "a campaign to destabilise the ANC", Chief Nonkonyana said.

Sama


Letter of dismissal was brief

President Mrs. M. M. Ramaphosa, former Deputy President, has announced at a press conference held yesterday, that he has dismissed the Minister of the Public Post, the President of Freedom National Party, Mr. T. W. MacPherson. The move is part of a bold step to bring order to the Party.

"I have thought very, very carefully about this," said President Mrs. M. M. Ramaphosa. "This is a difficult decision, but it is necessary for the health and well-being of the Party."

The move is the latest in a series of internal Party reforms that have been made recently. The Party has been struggling to maintain discipline and unity in recent times, and this decision is intended to help restore order.

Mr. T. W. MacPherson has been a member of the Party for over 20 years and has held several positions within the Party. He was elected as President in 2019 and has faced criticism for his leadership.

The Party has announced that it will now seek a new leader and will hold elections in the coming weeks. The Party has also released a statement expressing its confidence in the new leader to bring about the necessary changes.
WINNIPEG

THE COUNTRY TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1998

Inevitable, but distressing

President frees Winnipeg Premier Marion, with party presidential

WINNIE FRIEND

DECLARES

WINNIE FARADAY

Battle Lines

t Question PRIME

next move

ANC's make over

battle lines

COMMUNICATIONS

COSTS BUMPED

CALLS TO LOCK

FOREST

Flanagin: All the reaction
Winnie: Warning to rebels

Political Staff

President Nelson Mandela's firing of his estranged wife had cleared the way for strong government action against dissidents, government sources said.

The president did not provide a specific reason for his firing of Winnie Mandela from her post as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology.

However, the sources said the president, who has recently made a number of tough-sounding statements against indiscipline and lawlessness, felt undermined by her defiance.

He found it difficult to threaten action against student hostage-takers and vandals while a senior government official openly defied him.

The step was immediately welcomed by political parties including the African National Congress-led alliance, the National Party and the Democratic Party.

The alliance pointed out that there was little agreement against lawlessness.

It said: "Particularly when the ANC-led movement is calling on ordinary people in our country to participate with discipline in the process of transformation, it is unacceptable for leadership personalities to behave in a manner not befitting their status as elected public representatives."

A stern-looking president made the announcement that he had dismissed Mrs Mandela shortly after 9pm at a packed media conference at his Tshwane office.

He was flanked by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki who had been given the job of dealing with her and who yesterday sent a letter to the former deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology informing her of the decision.

Mr Mandela's statement said: "As President of the Republic, Head of the GNU and leader of the ANC, I have relieved Nomzamo Winnie Mandela of her position as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology."

(Turn to page 4, col 5)

Press conference off

Press conference off

Political Correspondent

FORMER deputy minister Winnie Mandela will not hold a Press conference today, a spokesman said.

Mrs Mandela was in Cape Town but had not come to the office. She would fly to Johannesburg later today, the spokesman said.

After she was fired yesterday, Mrs Mandela declined to comment pending a Press conference.

P.T.O.

SHOCKED: Winnie Mandela, sacked from her post as deputy-minister of arts, culture, science and technology.

MORE reports and pictures on pages 24 and 25
Firing of Winnie a warning to dissidents

"I hope that this action will help the former deputy minister to review, and seek to improve on, her own conduct in positions of responsibility, so as to enable her to make the positive contribution to society which her talents would enable her."

He appointed ANC constitutional expert Brigitte Mabandla to replace her.

Mr Mandela said he had no authority to relieve Mrs Mandela of the position to which she was elected — that of MP — "but as far as the government is concerned ... I appoint the Cabinet and it is my right and prerogative to reshuffle the government as a whole or a particular department if I consider it necessary for the effective functioning of government".

Asked about the timing, he said: "I had to be convinced that the timing was correct. As far as what she is going to do as a result of this statement, this is a matter that lies entirely in her own hands."

In its reaction, the NP's David Malatsi said the party welcomed the president's step, but criticised him for waiting so long to do it.
Gangs party slams ousting

STAFF REPORTER

THE Western Cape Democratic Movement (WCDM), a little-known political grouping formed last year by 22 Cape Flats gangs, last night slammed President Nelson Mandela's sacking of Mrs Winnie Mandela and announced they would invite her to join their ranks.

WCDM spokesman Mr Ashley Davids, referring to the future over Mrs Mandela's criticism of the government, said: "This is not a democratic government and they do not allow freedom of speech."

He said moves were already afoot to have Mrs Mandela and Satour head Mr Peter Mokaba "join our camp".

The NP last night welcomed Mrs Mandela's sacking, but labelled Mr Mandela's lack of action in recent weeks "unforgivable".

Spokesman Mr David Malatsi said the government "cannot afford to be held hostage by the arrogance and indiscipline of [its] members".

New Deputy Arts Minister

CT 28/3/45

MRS BRIGITTE Mahandla has been appointed Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology to replace Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Mrs Mahandla has served on the ANC's legal and constitutional committee since 1990 and is part of the Constitutional Assembly's management committee.

She obtained an LLB at the University of Zambia in 1979 after being excluded from the University of the North because of her political activities.

She joined the ANC's legal and constitutional affairs department in 1986 after teaching law in Botswana. — Sapa

\"Piet Skiet\" set her as \"soul\"

AXED Deputy Minister Mrs Winnie Mandela was court on a Boer freedom fighter and opponent of the ANC as an anti-colonial and admirer.

Conveying his respects to Mrs Mandela yesterday, Orde Boerewolk leader Mr Rudolph said it was apparent she was a political activist, but "indeed one who enemy and the consequences of history."

Mr Rudolph, who was held in jail for 16 years, said he was response to her weekend TV appearance.

"Whatever the world may say about the thing cannot be denied: Were it not for her relentless struggle and preparedness to name Mandela may not have been remembered." — Sapa
Support for Winnie is dismissed

NEWS

March 2, 1995

President Nelson Mandela's decision to dismiss his con-

Winnie Mandela supporters welcomed, "she will be back."
Traditional leaders must be above politics — NW premier

ENDING leaders should be above politics by engaging in a drive for peace and development, North-West premier Mr Popo Molefe yesterday.

During the official inauguration of the House of Traditional Leaders at the provincial legislature in Mmabatho, Molefe urged traditional leaders to embrace civic organisations so as to end hostility between organisations such as the SA National Civics Organisation and tribal authorities.

The role of the 24-member house is mainly advisory.

It can consider and comment on any Bill of the provincial legislature dealing with indigenous laws, and can also make proposals on various tribal matters...

The House of Traditional Leaders formally begins functioning today. — Sapa.
Gauteng at odds with ANC proposals

CONSTITUTIONAL proposals drafted by the national ANC suffer from "fundamental problems" and fail to provide for adequate co-operation between central and regional governments, says a document drawn up by the ANC's Gauteng region.

The document, entitled Co-operative Governance, was drawn up by the Gauteng ANC's constitutional commission and adopted at a Gauteng constitutional conference at the weekend. It is a significant pointer on how regions will respond to the national proposals, which envisage reduced law-making powers for the provinces under the final constitution.

Both sets of recommendations will be debated at the ANC's constitutional summit this week. "They are chopping blocks," stressed Gauteng MP Firoz Cachalia, who sits on the ANC's national constitutional commission. "Neither represent the final ANC position."  

Distancing itself from the Inkatha Freedom Party's hardline federalism, Gauteng rejects the call for exclusive powers for the regions, and backs a national override on provincial laws in all matters relating to national unity.

Proposals

It endorses the national document's emphasis on establishing structures of intergovernmental co-operation.

However, it voices concern that the ANC national proposals imply "centralised top-down law-making and decentralised administration", and questions whether they satisfy the constitutional principles agreed to before the general election.

"Administrative responsibility without meaningful legislative power or intergovernmental institutions can lead only to insufficiency of governance and the phenomenon of toy telephones," Gauteng says.

Calling for a relationship between government levels which is neither centralist nor federalist, it proposes:

- Retention of current provincial competencies. Gauteng expresses concern that the national proposals "almost eliminate the provincial policing power";
- Retention ofonus of proof as to validity of provincial laws, which presently favours the provinces. It suggests the Senate be empowered to authorise national overrides of provincial legislation;
- That the Senate consist only of provincial representatives (the national ANC envisages some Cabinet representation chosen by provincial legislators) and
- That the Senate can veto all legislation affecting provinces, including finance bills and the national budget, and delay others.

From Page 1
ANC alliance hails Winnie’s sacking

By Thembekile Molefe and Mzimasi Ngudle

The African National Congress and its alliance partners yesterday pledged their support for President Nelson Mandela’s decision to dismiss Mrs Winnie Mandela from the Government of National Unity.

However, two other major liberation movements — the Pan African Congress and Azanian People’s Organisation — questioned the motive for her dismissal, while the Democratic Party welcomed the move. Pledging the ANC alliance’s solidarity, ANC national chairman Mr Jacob Zuma said the alliance and the South African National Civic Organisation called upon “all our people and organised formations to stand firmly behind the President and the ANC-led alliance. “Let there be no personal vindictiveness from any quarter. President Mandela has acted responsibly and fully within his mandate. He enjoys our unequivocal support for this step,” Zuma said. PAC deputy president Dr Mosoko Pheko said: “What is the motive? She has twice given her side of the story. Is she being sacked because, like the PAC, she is militant or is it for a political reason which has been dictated from outside (the borders)?”

Azapo’s deputy president Mr Machel Nefolovhodwe said: “On numerous occasions in the past Azapo has had to stand alone in condemning statements and activities attributed to her, especially the infamous necklace statement. The ANC went along with many of the activities and utterances of Mrs Mandela at that time. As a result of the ANC silence Mrs Mandela built her reputation on the very activities and utterances the ANC is now opposed to.”
Winnie fired

Out in the cold

By Vuyo Bavuna Political Reporter

AHEAVER OPTION TO PRESIDENT NELSON
Mandela's decision to suspend Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and
technology, Sisulu, and replace her with a human rights lawyer,
Bridgette Mabandla.

Addressing a six-minute press conference in
capitol building, President Mandela refused to divulge the
reasons for the move, saying it was a Government
matter.

But he said the decision had been taken in the
interests of good government and to ensure the
highest standards of
discipline among officials in the Government of
National Unity.

This was after much
reflection that gave
Winnie had played an
important role in the
struggle against apar-
thed black in the indi-
vidual capacities and as
a leading member of the
ANC and the democ-
tratic movement, he
said.

Mrs Mandela's
government. Mr Allan
Reynolds, who was
to have been aware of her
dismissal soon after 2pm
yesterday while Presi-
tdent Mandela was mak-
ing the announcement
in the press.

He said a letter from
President Mandela ar-
rived at her office at
1:05pm and she had not
been given prior notice.
Reynolds said he tele-
phoned Mrs Mandela, who was at a meeting, and
gave her the news.

Mrs Mandela might have a press briefing today.

Winnie's dismissal as predicted by Sowetan
on its front page on Friday February 24 this
year.

Winnie at
the end of
Govt tether

This decision has been taken both in the
interest of good government and to ensure the
highest standards of discipline among
leading officials of the
Government of National Unity.
Now it's a question of which road to take

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL EDITOR

The letter delivered to Winnie Mandela, until then deputy minister for arts, culture, science and technology, was brief, as all letters of this sort usually are.

Hand-delivered to her office at Room 1004, 124 Plein Street in Cape Town only after President Nelson Mandela had already told an international press conference that he had given his estranged wife the boot. It did not even address her - as did all other correspondence to her before this one - as "Dear Deputy Minister".

Instead, it simply said "Dear Mrs Mandela" and was signed, merely, "N R Mandela" - no title for the President or anything.

The letter from husband to wife: "Acting in terms of section 94(3) read in conjunction with section 88(4)(4) of the Constitution, Act 200 of 1993, I have decided to terminate your appointment as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology with immediate effect.

"I am advised that there are standard procedures governing the period of grace within which certain ministerial benefits are to cease, and you are referred to those.

"Thank you for the services you rendered to the Government so far."

And as Mrs Mandela considers her next move today, the temptation to turn to her supporters in the country's squatter camps and townships will be one of the options she is likely to consider.

After all, when she was forced to resign her positions in the ANC in a similarly unceremonious manner in 1992, her supporters in the Women's League staged protest marches on the ANC's Shell House headquarters in Johannesburg demanding her reinstatement.

Already, some of her followers demonstrated outside Shell House yesterday, and many more protests can be expected.

But perhaps the fact that Mandela retains her position as ANC MP might placate some of her supporters. Now that she is no longer a deputy minister, she is also a lot freer to criticise the ANC-led Government of National Unity than was the case before.

She is likely, therefore, to lead a vocal group within the ANC's parliamentary caucus that will be a vigilant watchdog over the GNU, and that will use more than just ANC par-

Full responsibility ... President Mandela and Thabo Mbeki at yesterday's press conference.

PICTURE: AP

Which road to take?

From Page 1

Hematinary caucus meetings to air such criticisms.

But Mrs Mandela will still have the ANC's code of conduct, which frowns upon MPs using their positions to discredit or launch attacks on the organisation, to worry about. The ANC can still remove a dissenting MP.

Whatever the eventual choice, she is most unlikely to turn her back on the ANC to form her own organisation or to join an already existing one such as the PAC.

More likely is that she could lead a splinter group within the ANC which will then claim custodianship of "true ANC values", while arguing that the organisation's leadership in the GNU has betrayed the masses.

It is also quite conceivable that Mrs Mandela might stand against Deputy President Thabo Mbeki for the presidency of the ANC if anything were to happen to her estranged husband. If she did this, and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa also entered the race, this could cost Mbeki the presidency.

Among Mbeki's traditional supporters are Mrs Mandela's and ANC MP Peter Mokaba's supporters, who would then back the erstwhile deputy minister and thus hand the ANC's presidency to Ramaphosa by default.

The race for President Mandela's successor is, therefore, far from over.
The Commission decided that the following matters would be addressed:

- The Commission found that the workers had been treated unfairly by the employer.
- The Commission recommended that the employer provide fair compensation to the affected workers.
- The Commission noted that the workers' rights to freedom of association had been violated.
- The Commission called for the implementation of policies to prevent similar incidents from occurring in the future.

The Commission also received submissions from various stakeholders, including the workers and the employer, on the issues raised in the case. The Commission's decision was based on a thorough review of the evidence presented by both parties.

The Commission's decision was welcomed by the workers, who expressed gratitude for the fair and just outcome. The employer agreed to implement the Commission's recommendations to prevent similar incidents from occurring in the future.
NEW DEPUTY MINISTER: President Nelson Mandela welcomes Brigitte Mabandla into the government ranks as the new deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology. She was sworn in at Tuynhuis today.
Rolls 'not for national polls'

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

VOTERS' rolls for local government elections will not be usable for national elections.

Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer told the senate yesterday that local voters' rolls were based on criteria for eligibility which differed from those for national elections.

But the local rolls could be a useful point of departure, he said in reply to a question by James Seife (DP).

Home Affairs officials were involved in the local government elections task group to ensure this was possible.

Replying to a question from Ruth Rabinowitz (IFP), Mr Meyer said the question of whether local authorities would continue to be allowed to distribute electricity was still being decided.

The issue was being discussed by the National Electrification Forum.
Sacking overdue
— German paper

MUNICH: Germany’s leading daily paper, the Süddeutsche Zeitung, said yesterday Mrs Winnie Mandela’s departure from the South African government had been “long overdue”.

Because of her conviction she “should never have been an MP, let alone a deputy minister”.

Axing big news in UK

LONDON: The sacking of Mrs Winnie Mandela from her government post was front page news in all Britain’s serious newspapers yesterday.

Several of them also carried commentaries and background articles, none of them supportive of her views. The Independent saw the dismissal of Mrs Mandela as “a key sign that the ANC (is) serious about ruling responsibly, rather than reigning as a victorious liberation movement only concerned with keeping the unity of all its factions”.

7700
Kapstadt
Division of
School of Economics

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
Winnie Elusive after dismissal

CT29/9/1995

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ed by press conference and issued
preliminary statement to media. The
announcement was made by the ANC
at a press conference held in the
eastern Cape on Thursday. The party
said it had decided to hold the
anniversary meeting in a public
place from the parliamentary
concerns of the ANC's national
leader, Thabo Mbeki, who was
expected to attend.

The move follows complaints from
parliamentary opposition parties
about the role of the ANC in
governing the country. The
opposition said the ANC had failed
to address their concerns and
that the party was using its
majority in parliament to silence
their voices.

The party's statement said that
the anniversary meeting would
provide an opportunity for the
party to address these concerns
and that the meeting would be
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The ANC's national executive
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expected to attend.
NP urges coalition rule ‘for up to 20 years’

CAPE TOWN — The NP’s constitutional proposals call for enforced coalition rule “for 10 or 20 years” and a greater government role for minority parties.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday current political stability could be ascribed to the successful functioning of SA’s new government system. “Provision should be made in the constitution for this form of... coalition.”

In its proposal to the Constitutional Assembly, the party seeks to retain the unity government for as long as SA’s transitional period lasts. “The transition could last for 10 or even 20 years,” Meyer said.

While retaining most characteristics of the current model, some changes were proposed to enhance the role of minority parties. Accordingly, a newly elected multi-party Cabinet would draw up an extensive policy accord enabling controversial issues to be decided before conflict between parties developed. This extensive accord would be supplemented by annual accords outlining priorities.

Matters not included in either the extensive or annual accords would be passed to a special Cabinet committee. These changes would allow a minority party Deputy President to act in government’s behalf as long as the issue fell within the ambit of the accords. The Deputy President would be allowed to chair Cabinet meetings in the President’s absence, would hold “substantial power” and would be consulted on important decisions.

Provision for one or to Deputy Presidents could accommodate a minority party and “much needed social politics in a diverse society”.

ADRIAN HADLAND

20/30/31/95
ANC denies regional curbs

CAPE TOWN. -- The ANC denied yesterday that its proposals for the new constitution -- to be presented at its constitutional summit today -- would result in less powerful regional governments.

At a media conference, ANC MP Dirk du Toit said there was a misunderstanding about proposals contained in the document, Building a United Nation, which is to be discussed at the summit. These provided for "buoyant elasticity" between the regions and the centre.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said that in considering regional powers, the conference would try to strike a balance between the need for national unity and bringing the government close to the people.

The conference, to be held at the World Trade Centre until Sunday, will be attended by 850 ANC delegates and representatives from allied organisations. Party secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it would provide final mandates on policy positions which the ANC would present to the Constitutional Assembly.

The conference will be opened by Mbeki this evening, and Ramaphosa will address delegates tomorrow.
Rightwing gears up for local poll

Jan Taljaard

THE first salvoes in the battle for the rightwing vote in November's local government elections have been fired by two big rightwing guns, Ferdi Hartzenberg and Constand Viljoen.

Competing against the rain, rugby and Queen Elizabeth's visit to the capital last week, neither the Freedom Front's (FF) Viljoen nor Conservative Party (CP) leader Hartzenberg succeeded in drawing the kind of pre-election crowds so reminiscent of yesterday's Afrikaner politics.

Ironically enough it was the Viljoen who struck the more militant chord when he stated that the ANC's idea of a "rainbow nation" was a failure and the only road for the Afrikaners was to unite and strive for self-determination.

For his part Hartzenberg explained at length why it was necessary for CP supporters to vote, also stating that the CP has irrevocably come to the conclusion that President Nelson Mandela and the government have no intention of accommodating the Afrikaner.

Surprisingly, Eugene Terre-Blanche, who had ostensibly been on his way to being written off as a political figure, managed to draw almost twice as many supporters as Viljoen and Hartzenberg combined when he addressed a meeting in the Pretoria City Hall the week before.

Apart from the usual belligerent rhetoric, his message on voting was unequivocal: AWB supporters will not vote and neither should those supporting the CP.

Behind the public platforms, some strange potential bedfellows are nevertheless warily starting to eye each other.

While the National Party, FF and CP have consistently denied there is any possibility of an election coalition between any of them, speculation is rife about a recent meeting held between NP leader FW de Klerk and Viljoen.

Purportedly an attempt to investigate possible avenues of co-operation as far as "cultural" self-determination for Afrikaners is concerned, the meeting has also given rise to rumours of a possible election pact.

These rumours have since been strongly discounted by NP spokesmen such as Nick Koornhof, who said any such alliance would be impossible as long as the FF does not regard "coloured" Afrikaans speakers as Afrikaners.

But even those who do not want rightwingers to vote in the local government elections readily acknowledge the socially redeeming value of voting.

Says one, Fritz Meyer, chairman of the so-called Boere-Republikeinse Verkiesingskommittee (Boer Republican Election Commission or BVK): "The Afrikaner likes to vote. The social aspects associated with this will once again build up their morale, self respect and expectations for the future."

For Messrs Van Zyl Slabbert and company of the Local Government Elections Task Group, this is not necessarily good news. The enthusiasm Meyer speaks of is aimed at a "Boere Election" to be held quite separately from the local government elections.

There will be those participating in the Azanian elections and those participating in the Boer elections," Meyer declared when he introduced the BVK. In cahoots with Meyer are organisations such as the AWB and the Boereestat Party.

The only party not wanting any part of any elections — be they official or alternative — is the stonily belligerent Herstigte Nasionale Party. Holding its annual congress behind closed doors for the first time in its 25 years this year, the party nevertheless let it be known that come election day its supporters will not be making their crosses anywhere.
**WINNIE MANDELA**

**Biding her time**

*FM 31/3/95*

Whatever dismissed Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela’s next move may be, leaving the ANC to set up a rival, herstigte party of the masses is not on. Winnie had yet to respond to her dismissal as the FM went to press. However, most observers in and outside the organisation figure she will stay in the ANC.

Like Alice, she believes she can make a word mean exactly what she wants it to mean. She proclaimed undying loyalty even as, once again, she laid into the unity government a day before President Nelson Mandela finally announced her sacking. To many and doubtless the President himself, that was the last straw.

In the past surmises an ANC MP weighing Winnie’s options, she could: break completely with the party, which is highly unlikely because most of her supporters will not follow her; join another party such as the PAC — l i t t l e c h a n c e , t h o u g h , a s t h e ANC is with all its problems infinitely better organised; lead a faction which challenges the leadership from within; or simply hide her time.

A combination of the last two options seems her most likely gameplan — especially while Nelson Mandela remains at the helm. Her other options would be “suicidal,” according to the MP, adding that Winnie supporters like Bantu Holomisa, Tony Yengeni and Peter Mokaba, “will retreat a bit and review their options.”

Indeed, all Holomisa and Yengeni could, or would, say after the axing of their soulmate was that the President had acted within his rights. Mokaba pointed out that Winnie’s political position did not depend on her ministerial post (which goes to the ANC’s Brigitte Mabandula). Perhaps not — to the extent that popularity depends on being in the limelight — though her ability to dispense patronage is now affected.

Another ANC MP, noting the absence of any “buzz” countrywide (“we’re busy in committees”), says the leadership “will now realise they should have done it long ago.” He believes Mandela’s action, at last, will enhance his image and strengthen his hand in clamping down on campus and other “anarchists,” as he has warned.

What no doubt worsened Winnie’s position was her meeting with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki about a fortnight ago. Not only did Winnie arrive late, but, we heard, weighed into Mbeki, saying she would not be held accountable to him or anyone else but the people. Exactly who these “people” are has yet to be tested. Winnie’s support-base is “fragmented and fragile,” maintains one ANC/SACP parliamentarian.

In a statement read by ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma, the ANC-led tripartite alliance, which includes Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, and the SA National Civic Organisation, “unanimously” supported President Mandela’s “responsible” decision, though with a sense of compassion for Mrs Mandela.” Despite her contribution to the struggle, Zuma said, “it has always been a fundamental principle of our liberation movement that no individual, regardless of prestige, popularity or track record, should stand above the basic norms of discipline.”

On the question of her alleged illegal activity, he said “the law must take its own independent course.”

It is significant, says commentator Eugene Nyati, that the President’s words relieving his controversial estranged wife of her post were “restrained and measured, as if to say ‘I’m dropping you from government but I don’t want to alienate you from the party altogether’.” President Mandela’s exact words in this context were: “I hope this action will help the former Deputy Minister to review, and seek to improve on, her own conduct in positions of responsibility, so as to enable her to make the positive contribution to society which her talents would on ‘her (to) do.’

The decision, said the President, was taken “both in the interest of good government and to ensure the highest standards of discipline among leading officials in the Government of National Unity.”

Mandela somewhat inconsistently said her dismissal does not affect the party posts to which she had been democratically elected — as president of the ANC Women’s League and member of the ANC’s national executive committee. It will be interesting to see how the Women’s League, which is due to convene, resolves the split in that body which centres on Winnie’s demagoguery. Surely, the same high standards of discipline in government that Mandela talks about must apply within party structures also? There’s the rub.

According to a well-placed ANC source, the message that emerges from the affair is the untenable position of the ANC as a broad church — “a situation that has yet to be resolved. And only Mandela has the stature to resolve these outstanding problems, which he has to do now, or sparks will fly later.”

The important time for Winnie is not now, he says, but after 1999, when Mandela won’t be there. Among the issues to be resolved are the position of the unions, the SAPC and the socio-economic direction of the country. More significant than Winnie’s axing, he maintains, was the recent decision of Cosatu president John Gumanso to pull out of the ANC’s national executive committee.

**INKATHA AND GOVERNMENT**

The federal gauntlet

*FM 31/3/95*

Inkatha’s withdrawal from the Constitutional Assembly (CA) could be imminent. Though the party is likely to continue participating in the National Assembly and Senate, its absence from the constitution-writing body and theme committees will underscore the serious divide between it and the ANC on federalism.

If government has taken no steps to obtain international mediation on Inkatha’s federal positions by April 5, the boycott will be on. This is not just because Inkatha returned from its February 21 general walkout on condition that such mediation be put in place within a month. The ANC has also published a document on constitutional principles that Inkatha views as a rebuff of federalism.

Inkatha appears set to give the CA its position on constitutional issues — presumably in papers prepared at an Inkatha boxersradio to be held this weekend at Franschhoek.

Inkatha’s key demand is for maximum federalism and special consideration for the Kingdom of KwaZulu. It contends that this is implicitly in the Agreement on Peace & Reconciliation signed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Nelson
The president was upset whenjang from 
reality to bite

sits quiet but 
Winnie the 

sop's blind spot

Winnie's shooting past and away

SATURDAY FOCUS ONE

John Carlin

"I think the kids over weigh "wedding has come to see the

visions manifest their own."

In December, the National
LETTERS
A forum for our readers views. Write to: Weekend Argus, Box 56, Capo Town, 0000.

Games: Forget it Mr. Ackerman – please!

WHO wants the 2004 Olympics anyway? I noticed with interest the article which appeared in the Argus (March 15/16) regarding the massive potential cost of hosting the 2004 Olympic Games, between $2.2 billion and $2.5 billion. As I understand it, the start, it is the Cape Town ratepayer who will be expected to for the "pleasure" of having the Games here.

Let's be honest, the desire to host the Olympics is all born from the coffers of the private sector. It seems certain that our rates will increase if we play host. Can the ratepayer expect benefit from any profits that have been generated? I think we all know the answer to that.

May I suggest that a vote be taken among the ratepayers to see if in fact they want the Games here.

Sorry, Mr. Ackerman, but I was delighted to hear your different opinion with the Cape Town City Council. As a result of this I earnestly hoped that the Olympic Games bid would collapse. Please get back to what you are good at, and run your own businesses, and leave the council members to run our chances of hosting the Games.

Got any good ideas? Get back to us, Mr. Ackerman!
WOODING WINE: If the leader manages to get the country in a hurry to war, it is likely that the court will be able to move in time to make the most of the situation.

The court has been keeping a close eye on the preparations in the country and is confident that the situation will not get out of hand.

The court has also been working on a new plan to ensure that the country is prepared for any eventuality.

The plan involves setting up a new system of communication and coordination to ensure that the country is ready for any eventuality.

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Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk on April 19 which brought Inkatha into the general election.

The ANC will discuss its own document, *Building a United Nation*, at a special constitutional conference also due to be held this weekend.

Inkatha charges that the document envisages a strongly centralist, majority rule State in which it sees little future for itself.

Withdrawal from the CA foreshadows intensification of regional conflict. A looming focus of this lies in local government elections scheduled for November 1 and the attitude of KwaZulu-Natal traditional leaders to what they fear will be a displacement of their power and prerogatives.

This is made plain in a letter by Buthelezi to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki on March 20: “I will be grateful if I can know if you think there is a way forward as (the) amakhosi of KwaZulu see a nexus between sorting out this issue of international mediation and the local government elections. I therefore see some urgency about this.

“So far it was resolved that our people register without committing ourselves to participating. Believe us when we state that we are willing and even eager to do so should a solution be found for resolving the problem of international mediation.”

The implication is that without such intervention, the election is in jeopardy — and registrations are catastrophically low in KwaZulu-Natal, according to Buthelezi. After Inkatha’s provisional return to parliament, Mbeki got the task of finding “a way forward.” Only days are left.

According to Inkatha, the ANC intends to “make the majority of parliament the ‘supreme lawmaker’ with the power to adopt any type of legislation which could be politically justifiable.” The area of competence of the provinces has been dramatically reduced and within such an area of reduced competence all the legislative powers have been obliterat...”

Inkatha’s Suzanne Vos charges that “the provinces will not have any exclusive functions and all power will be centralised.” Anticipating an Inkatha withdrawal from the CA, Vos adds: “One of the first (consequences) will be that Inkatha will not recognise the final constitution produced by the CA in its absence.”

The Kempton Park negotiations, as well as subsequent agreements with parties like the Freedom Front and Inkatha, showed a movement within the ANC away from a socialist-determined central rule. While the document for discussion this weekend is presumably negotiable, it is disquieting that it reverts to positions abandoned during the

establishment of the Government of National Unity.

Strains within the CA induced by unrealistic deadlines and party political jockeying have been remarked on by the FM in the past. Now that Inkatha is set to leave this stage, the burden of opposition to what is increasingly seen as a replay of the ANC-NP negotiating mode — a process of collusion — will fall on small parties such as the DP and Freedom Front. By making its point, again through a boycott, Inkatha unfortunately weakens resistance to the imposition of a majority-sanctioned but unrepresentative constitution.
Buthelezi spurns bid to halt showdown on mediation

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected an attempt by Deputy President FW de Klerk to defuse a looming showdown over international mediation.

National Party MP Danie Schutte told parliament during a snap debate on Inkatha's April 5 ultimatum for agreement on international mediation that Mr De Klerk telephoned Dr Buthelezi yesterday.

He said Mr De Klerk proposed a way to back away from the ultimatum, but added: "The proposal was not acceptable to Minister Buthelezi."

Inkatha has threatened to withdraw from the constitutional process if the pre-1994 election agreement to take its constitutional differences to foreign mediation is not met.

Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki, who had already been tagged by Inkatha to manage the row with Inkatha, said the government would not agree to mediation before the deadline.

"A deadlock does not exist. It might very well exist in the future, but I'm saying that the issue does not exist. Not now," Mr Mbeki said at a news conference.

Dr Buthelezi said today he was deeply saddened by the ANC's "undignified" behaviour towards the issue of international mediation.

In his letter, (Mr Mbeki) told me the delay in his reply had been due to broad consultation which took place within the ANC on this issue.

At the core of his message is the new, tycoon-composed argument that the ANC does not consider itself in breach of the agreement which calls for the resumption of international mediation on all outstanding issues, because according to Mr Mbeki, outstanding issues "have not yet been identified," Dr Buthelezi said.
SA a cause for optimism, says OAU chief

Mayor role to play in Africa's political, social and economic revival.

TUNISIAN President,
ANC will drop power-sharing from Constitution
President must tell world why Winnie has been fired

SOUTH \(C\) 21/4/95

President Nelson Mandela must have had very good reasons to fire his estranged wife. But these reasons must not be left to public speculation, writes Assistant Editor SEKOLA SELLO.

President Nelson Mandela has made it clear that he will fire his estranged wife, Winnie. The reasons for this are not known. But given the manner of how this has come to pass, it is imperative that the public be told of the reasons. The public has a right to know why a public figure, who is a political leader, has been forced to dismiss his wife from office.

Winnie Mandela, who has been in public life for many years, has been a controversial figure. She has been accused of corruption, abuse of power, and abuse of state resources. She has been implicated in a number of scandals, including the Vusi Malinga scandal, the Nkandla project, and the Nkandla school scandal. She has also been involved in a number of legal disputes, including a lawsuit against the South African government for breach of contract.

The ANC has a policy of not commenting on personal matters, but Winnie Mandela’s case is different. She is a public figure, and her actions have a direct impact on the ANC and the party’s image. The ANC must therefore address the issue of Winnie Mandela’s dismissal.

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Why Winnie was fired

By ERIC NAKI

THE GLOVES are off: the ANC has declared war against Winnie Mandela.

In a speech delivered to its Eastern Cape leadership yesterday, ANC old-guard leader Govan Mbeki said the organisation would fight ("sizo kulwa") Winnie Mandela as if she were the enemy should she persist with her comments and mobilise people against the government.

Mbeki said he and Walter Sisulu had been sent by President Mandela to convey Mandela's feelings to the region.

Disobeyed order

He said Winnie Mandela had disobeyed an order from the President not to travel to West Africa and this was a major factor in sacking her from her ministerial post.

She had also refused to speak to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to explain her conduct and had continued to undermine and vilify the government during her recent visit to Port Elizabeth.

Mbeki, who is deputy chairman of senate, was addressing a special summit of 150 East Cape ANC leaders in the Bisho Industrial Hall outside King William's Town together with ANC stalwarts Sisulu and East

Winnie slammed

From Page 1

Cape Premier Raymond Mhlaba said: "The president took the decision (to fire Winnie) to save the country from the gallows."

The delegates, including tribal chiefs, leaders from Sanco and youth and women's organisations, then passed a motion accepting this.

"Mrs Mandela has failed to change with the changing times."

"What kind of example is she setting for other parties in the government? Is she not creating a situation... for other parties to do the same?" Mbeki said.

The summit passed a motion to say that the ANC in the province accepted this "painful but necessary position of the President". — Eca.
Athletes cup

You miss if you miss out... the ANC, no treatment for you

The Sunday Times

MEDICATION NEEDED:

The ANC, no treatment for you

DEPUTY PRESIDENT

Correspondent

Performance

ANC no to

by ANA HARTLEY

DEPUTY PRESIDENT
THE ANC has declared that it will not consider coalition rule after the present government's term comes to an end. It has also taken stand against federalism. REUTER reports from Johannesburg.

The African National Congress yesterday ruled out coalition rule beyond 1999, saying it would strive for a post-apartheid constitution which entrenches majority rule and devolves sufficient powers to the nine provinces.

At the end of a two-day conference called to discuss the shape of the country's future constitution, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said the ANC had adopted a set of guidelines which would be used at the Constitutional Assembly which is writing the final constitution.

"We have adopted a comprehensive set of constitutional policy guidelines... to provide the framework for the building of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa on which government is based on democratic majority rule," Mr Mbeki said.

Earlier ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told delegates there would be no coalition rule beyond 1999.

"There will be no enforced coalition rule beyond 1999. The NP can eat their heart out," Mr Ramaphosa said.

Analysts said this had ruled out enforced coalition rule of up to 20 years as envisaged by the former ruling National Party headed by Deputy President F W de Klerk and a straightforward United States or Canadian type of federalism as demanded by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANC won an overwhelming majority in the first all-race election, but the NP and Inkatha polled enough votes to secure a place in a five-year government of national unity.

Right-wingers who are not part of the ruling coalition said they would soon table their proposals for self-determination in an Afrikaner homeland.

Inkatha and the NP both favour a federal constitution while white rightist groups want an Afrikaner homeland.

The interim constitution, which allows for central government intervention in the provinces and was completed in November 1993, expires in 1999.

The government wants the final constitution completed by June next year.

Mr Ramaphosa said: "The divide in opinion over a federal or centrist government was not manifest within the ANC. Delegates backed a stance that the country should not be fragmented.

"We believe our proposals really should finally resolve this debate between federalism and unitarism so that our country is not fragmented in any way and provinces cannot set up their own fiefdoms."

Chief Buthelezi had said he and the IPP would walk out of the Constituent Assembly on Wednesday unless the ANC meets a pre-election pledge to bring in foreign mediators to arbitrate on its demand for provincial autonomy in a federalist constitution.

Mr Ramaphosa said Inkatha's proposals for a federalist constitution would be "suicidal" because the regions would not survive economically.

"If we were to take Inkatha's route, in the end it will be those provinces who are advocating autonomy that would not be able to survive economically."
Clash over mediation looming

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

KEMPTON PARK: The ANC and the IFP are set to clash head-on this week on the issue of international mediation.

The IFP is threatening to walk out of the Constitutional Assembly on Wednesday, the deadline the IFP set after a special general conference last month, if there is no international mediation on the status of Zulu King Goodwill.

No fiefdoms

ANC leaders attending the party's three-day constitutional conference at Kempton Park, which ended yesterday, offered no compromise on international mediation.

And the party adopted a new system of central government-provincial government relations that will in effect put the brakes on any IFP attempt to govern kwaZulu/Natal as a state independent from the rest of South Africa.

In a clear reference to the IFP, the ANC said it would not countenance a provincial system that encouraged "fiefdoms and balkanisation".

The IFP has already condemned the proposed new system saying it had "finally shown the autocratic, centralistic and inherently undemocratic political philosophy of the ANC".

No mandate

Although the IFP believes the ANC and the National Party agreed to international mediation at talks last year, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told the constitutional conference that voters had not given the ANC a mandate to bring international mediators into the dispute.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the IFP would not be serving the interests of the people of this country if it went ahead with its threat to leave the assembly.

The National Party Youth Action said the IFP should draft a constitution for kwaZulu/Natal instead of creating crises over international mediation.
Too many MPs and senators, parties say

PARLIAMENTARY parties want the new constitution to reduce the number of elected representatives. Most parties believe the present combined Senate and National Assembly membership of 490 is unwieldy and costly, particularly as many do not sit on committees.

At its weekend constitutional conference the ANC decided the country would be better served by a smaller Parliament.

The Democratic Party has already proposed that the National Assembly be reduced from 400 to 300 and the Senate from 90 to 70. It also wants the cabinet cut from 27 to about 20.

DP spokesman Mr James Selke said much of the work of Parliament could be handed over to the provincial legislatures. This would trim Parliament's annual bill of R171 million by a quarter.

IFP MP Mr Farouk Cassim, in his personal capacity, said a 360-member National Assembly would be appropriate for the population and adequately serve all the magisterial districts.


Meanwhile, the present constitution allows for a 20-member volkstaat, and the provinces are setting up houses of traditional leaders.
Traditional leaders' chambers hit snag

Ethnic rows slow council formation

BY MONOLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

The establishment of a National Council of Traditional Leaders is being delayed by the slow pace of setting up provincial traditional leaders' Houses.

Of the six provinces that are meant to have traditional leaders' chambers, there are still two that have not yet done so. These are the Northern Transvaal and the Eastern Cape, after the North-West this week joined KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Transvaal and the Free State when the sworn in members of the House of Traditional Leaders.

The provincial Houses have to nominate members to sit in the national Council, which will act in an advisory manner to Parliament on laws affecting traditional society.

Now the Congress of Traditional Leaders is urging President Mde-ka to pressurise provincial governments to speed up the process so that the National Council could be in place by May.

"They were very fast to set up the Volksraad but they seem unconcerned about the slowness of setting up the Council," said Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) official Chief Mvelo Nkonyane.

Squabbles

Deputy Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mohamed Valli Moosa is expected to get a grilling when he attends a Contralesa conference in Umata at the weekend.

The Northern Transvaal Traditional Leaders' House is being delayed by squabbles between chiefs of different ethnic groups over representation.

The province has Swazi, Pedi, Tsonga and Venda chiefs and they cannot agree among themselves on how membership of the 36-member House should be divided.

While the Eastern Cape legislature has already passed its House of Traditional Leaders Bill, the formation of the House is being held up by a dispute between Contralesa and the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

Contralesa originally wanted the House to have 70 members but had to scale this down to 36 after the provincial government said it would be too costly. Sanco, however, wants the House to consist of only 20 members.
Mediation issue 'has reached critical step'

By Thembu Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will walk out of the Government of National Unity this week and “go all the way in opposing government and its extraordinary structures”, senior IFP officials said yesterday.

A senior IFP MP told Sowetan: “We will now embark vigorously on opposing the African National Congress and National Party in parliament on the question of international mediation on which they have somersaulted.”

The IFP is adamant the crunch will come this week.

There has certainly been build-up to the confrontation.

The present discord reared its head for the first time two years ago at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa where the IFP boycotted constitutional negotiations over guarantees on regional powers.

Last month IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi led the party’s MPs out of parliament over the mediation issue.

The IFP — which is the third partner in the GNU — set this Wednesday as its deadline for its demand on mediation.

The party has given the government the choice of international mediation or non-participation by the IFP including the threat of pulling out of the Constitutional Assembly.

Buthelezi was yesterday away in Zimbabwe on official business, but is expected back at parliament on Wednesday.

His Cape Town office, meanwhile, released a statement at the weekend accusing Deputy President Thabo Mbeki of displaying “the arrogance of power” in rejecting the IFP’s April 5 deadline.

Senior party officials and Minister of Correctional Services Dr Sipho Mzimela said in Cape Town last week the threatened walkout would be transformed into reality on Wednesday.

Apparently Mbeki has written a letter to Buthelezi on recent developments and ANC thinking, but neither of the two parties has released the full contents of the letter.

Sources said, however, that Mbeki had pointed out to Buthelezi that previous pre-election agreements had referred only to addressing the role of the Zulu king, the kingdom itself and the KwaZulu-Natal constitution.

It is also true that in the time since elections no such constitutional bill has been introduced.

Mbeki also apparently hinted at the fact that the ANC may allow mediation, but by locals, not foreigners.
ANC Endorses Shilowa ANC Endorses Shilowa

In Provincial Power

BY PATRICK BUENA

in Provincial Power

ANC Endorses Shilowa

ENDORSEMENTS

With the endorsement of the provincial executive, Shilowa
endorsement of the provincial executive, Shilowa
endorsed by the provincial executive, Shilowa
endorsed by the provincial executive, Shilowa
Inkatha tip-toes on pullout

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party appeared to be soft-peddling yesterday on its threat to pull out of the Constitutional Assembly on Wednesday.

Inkatha senator Philip Powell, speaking from an Inkatha bosheraad in the Western Cape yesterday, said party representatives in the assembly could pull out only on the instructions of the national council, but it had not yet met. The party, at a special general conference early last month, had mandated the national council to give the withdrawal instruction after assessing the situation on international mediation.

Inkatha secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said the national council was to have met two weeks ago. However, he said party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi decided to call off the meeting as there was "nothing to talk about". Inkatha's parliamentary caucus might take a decision on the issue today or tomorrow.

"If the caucus feels there is really nothing to report, there is also the possibility of a withdrawal. There is also the possibility that, due to the national council not having met, we may not (withdraw)," said Jiyane.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said on Saturday that international mediators had no role to play, but a Sunday Tribune report yesterday said he had tabled a compromise proposal.

Some ANC leaders were believed to be toying with the idea of using local mediators rather than foreigners.

Jiyane confirmed that the weekend bosheraad in Franschoek was held to "streamline" constitutional positions. It was not held to debate withdrawing, he said.

Inkatha

Powell said submissions would be made to assembly theme committees today. Inkatha wanted the constitution to list the powers of central government.

Powers not mentioned would go to provincial governments.

Inkatha believed provincial governments which felt they were not competent to handle certain powers should be allowed to transfer these to central government. It also believed that the Constitutional Court should not adjudicate on provincial laws and constitutions. Provincial constitutional courts should be established to perform this task. The Constitutional Court should stick to issues related to infringement of the national Bill of Rights.
Rugby security

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Plans for the tightest security measures ever seen at a sports event in South Africa are being finalised at all nine stadiums to be used during Rugby World Cup 1995, tournament manager Mr Craig Jamieson said yesterday.

Pre-match bomb sweeps, restricted air space over stadiums, cordoned-off security space and a massive security and police presence will be in place to ensure the safety of the 1.3 million spectators expected to attend the tournament that kicks off in Cape Town in 51 days' time.

The venues are at Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Bloemfontein, Rustenburg and Stellenbosch, which hosts one match.

On August 19, the South African team will play against the United Arab Emirates at the University of Stellenbosch in a match that will determine the team's fate.

Teams to test for fraud in social pension system

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Teams of government officials and representatives of the non-governmental sector are to conduct "random tests" for fraud in the social pension system, Minister of Welfare and Population Development Mr Abe Williams said yesterday.

Officials apparently involved in such fraud - which is conservatively estimated to cost the government R1 billion annually - would be prosecuted, Mr Williams assured delegates attending a conference on social security near here.

"I intend to eradicate this evil once and for all," he said.

He explained welfare departments would be conducting an information campaign so that the public would be aware of their rights regarding social allowances.

Furthermore, all provinces would soon be able to tap into a single information base on pension recipients. This would prevent people from claiming benefits in more than one area.

Dr Pieter le Roux of the UWC said that although R1bn of pension and grant money "disappeared" annually, generally the social pension was reaching the poorest of the poor - and making a vital difference.

According to World Bank research, the income for the poorest 20% of South Africans was a mere R25 each a month if the pension was not taken into account, Dr Le Roux said.

He said the social pension system would only survive if it was strictly confined to those who could not save.
SOUTH AFRICANS have been asked to submit their comments on a range of controversial topics — from the siting of Parliament to new national symbols and territorial water limits — before the Constitutional Assembly debates the issues next month. ANTHONY JOHNSON reports.

The public will be formally invited this week to join the great debate on whether Parliament should stay in the city or move to Pretoria.

The deadline for citizens' input on both the siting of government administration and the siting of the legislature will be the end of April. The Constitutional Assembly will debate the issue next month.

Advertisements will appear in media across the country within the next week asking individuals, organisations and pressure groups for their views on a wide range of issues still to be decided by SA's 490 constitution-makers.

Renaming SA?

These include:

- A possible new name for South Africa.

The PAC and black consciousness groupings have already expressed their preference for Azania, while the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA wants the country to be given a name reflecting a "union of kingdoms".

- A new flag, national anthem and other national symbols.

Among these symbols that could be changed are the national coat of arms and the Defence Force emblems and flags.

- Changes to provincial boundaries.

Disputed issues currently include whether the Eastern Cape should be split into two provinces, whether East Griqualand should go to the Eastern Cape or kwaZulu-Natal, the boundary between the Eastern and Northern Transvaal, and possibly the boundary between the Western and Northern Cape.

- A national and provincial language policy.

A number of regions are pushing for a different mix of official languages to be used by government and public institutions.

The Western Cape, for example, is expected to have Afrikaans, English and Xhosa entrenched as official languages.

- The seat of the Constitutional Court.

The court currently sits in Johannesburg but was widely expected to be situated in Maritzburg during multi-party negotiations.

- South Africa's territorial water limits.

Some are pushing for the 200-mile limit to be extended to protect South Africa's environmental, mineral and marine resources.

However, the most hotly debated issue is expected to be the siting of Parliament.

A nationwide poll conducted by the Institute for a Democratic SA last year showed that 51% of South Africans wanted Parliament to remain in Cape Town, while 25% favoured Pretoria.

Every race group, political party and region — including Gauteng — preferred Parliament staying put.

Task group

A survey conducted by Stellenbosch University earlier this year found that more than half of South Africa's top decision-makers and more than two-thirds of the supporters of major political parties want the legislature to remain in Cape Town.

The cabinet has appointed a task group to look into the issue and will apparently base its final recommendation on a cost study being conducted by an independent firm of auditors.

Submissions to the Constitutional Assembly should be sent to PO Box 15, Cape Town, 8000.
Envoys’ high living curtailed

Tos Wentzel
Diplomatic Correspondent

SOUTH African diplomats are having their overseas entertainment and living style drastically restricted. ARG 4/4/75

In future there will be less home entertainment, cutting out the need for them to have big, impressive residences.

Information given in parliament recently showed that in the past financial year R7.2 million had been spent on receptions by South African diplomats.

The overseas embassies and missions cost about R647 million.

A spokesman for Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said the phasing-in of the new system had started “as a while ago.”

In terms of the new system entertainment allowances were linked to a mission and not to individuals. Money saved could be spent on the new missions that were now needed.

There was a move away from personalities to achievable targets.

Britain also announced recently that the social lifestyle of its diplomats was being curbed to save billions of rands.

A spokesman for the British High Commissioner, Sir Anthony Reeve, has denied that it cost R1.9 million a year to run the High Commissioner’s Bishopscourt mansion. He said it cost R277 000 a year.
Battle lines are drawn

De Klerk seeks compromise to defuse ANC-IFP clash over mediation

ANC-IFP battle lines are drawn over mediation. (File Photo: AP)
Defiant Mrs. Winnie and the ANC: The battle continues.

In a sensational twist, Mrs. Winnie Mandela is set to challenge President Mandela's decision on his stand against Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC leaders. Mrs. Winnie, who has been a vocal critic of the ANC leadership, has taken legal action against Deputy President Mandela for his public criticism of her. The action, brought by Mrs. Winnie's lawyers, was filed on April 1, 1999, at the Durban Industrial Hall in Durban. In the meantime, the ANC's National Executive Committee is scheduled to meet on April 3, considering the situation. Mrs. Winnie, in a move that has set the stage for a major battle within the ANC, has been preparing for several weeks to challenge the president's decision. She has not yet disclosed her legal strategy, but it is clear that she will use the courts to challenge the president's actions. The ANC has already indicated that it will rally behind its leaders, but the broader implications of this legal action have yet to be seen. It is clear, however, that this is a significant moment in the ANC's history, as it marks the first time in recent memory that a high-ranking member of the party has taken such a strong stance against the leadership. This could have far-reaching consequences for the party's future, both domestically and internationally.
Buthelezi hints at IFP
retreat on mediation

DEPUTY President F W de Klerk has asked
Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join a new task force on
international mediation.

Chief Buthelezi, who announced this yest-

erday, said he had called an emergency IFP
meeting to discuss the compromise proposal.

Hluting at a retreat from an earlier ultima-
tum on foreign mediation of his constitution-
al demands, Chief Buthelezi said he would put
a last-minute initiative by Mr De Klerk to his

party.

Chief Buthelezi did not make clear
whether he was withdrawing his month-old
Wednesday deadline for a start to the medi-
ation of his demand for a federal post-apartheid

constitution.

"It would be a mistake to continue to state
that the IFP has given any ultimatum in this
respect," he said in his statement. He has in
the past objected to having his political tactics
described as boycotts or ultimatums.

Yesterday Mr De Klerk said he had written
letters to President Nelson Mandela and Chief
Buthelezi offering "specific proposals as to
how the matter can be taken forward."

He said it would be counter-productive to
disclose their contents. They were, however,
"genuine proposals which I believe can take
the matter forward and can get people out of
the corners in which they find themselves."

Later, replying to the debate on his budget
vote in the Senate, Mr De Klerk hinted that
the proposals he had made involved the three
parties agreeing on what needed to be mediat-
ed.

"There is an agreement with regard to
mediation. I signed it. President Mandela
signed it and Chief Minister Buthelezi signed
it. We stand by that agreement and we are pre-
pared to keep that agreement.

"But there is a dispute on what was to be
mediated," Mr De Klerk said.

If the parties had agreed then what needed
to be mediated, this would have been includ-
ed in an annexure to the agreement.

Disruption

"I was never part of an agreement listing
the outstanding issues." The parties had to
identify what were outstanding issues, he said.

There has been no indication that either
Mr Mandela or Deputy President Thabo
Mbeki — who has been in touch with Chief
Buthelezi on the dispute — will give in to the
IFP's demands.

Mr De Klerk said he hoped a disruption of
the present governing and constitution-mak-
ing processes, which were running "relatively
smoothly", could be averted.

"The last thing we now need is a constitu-
tional crisis," Mr De Klerk said. — Special Cor-
respondent, Sapa-Reuters
De Kerckhele offers proposals to end international impasse
President Thabo Mbeki has offered to act as the mediator in the present constitutional crisis over IPF 'denial'

CONGRESS

SACP's

Mandela at

news

IPF saga continues

as Buthelezi returns

South Africa Community Party (SACP)
Winnie ‘doesn’t have legal leg to stand on’

MRS Winnie Mandela did not have a legal leg to stand on in her bid to take her estranged husband to court over her axing as Deputy Minister, the President’s office said last night.

The ANC — which has placed Mrs Mandela’s audacious legal challenge against Mr Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Senate deputy president Mr Govan Mbeki and ANC stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu at the top of today’s caucus meeting in Parliament — yesterday described the action as “very unfortunate indeed.”

It was unclear last night if Mrs Mandela would return to Parliament today, for the first time since her filing, to face the music.

However, both Mr Mandela and the ANC embarked on a damage-control exercise.

Mr Mandela’s office said the President believed it “highly undesirable” to engage in any public debate with the former deputy minister.

The ANC said that while it was “very concerned” that one of its leading members had decided on a legal challenge to put her case, it emphasized that the ANC will not be drawn into mudslinging exercises with its leaders even by the media or any individual.

A spokesperson for the President’s office said Mr Mandela had the constitutional authority to hire or fire whomever he wished and that “there is no legal basis for this type of action whatever.”

ANC sources said that if Mrs Mandela pursued her action she was courting a hearing with the ANC’s disciplinary committee.

**Contralesa**

Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana, Eastern Cape spokesman for the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA, said yesterday that whatever ANC leaders said about the removal of Mrs Mandela the explanation “will not hold water”.

He was commenting about a visit tomorrow of Mr Sisulu and Mr Mbeki, who will share the podium at Contralesa’s congress in Umtata with Mrs Mandela, who is Contralesa’s treasurer. She will deliver a keynote address to the congress on Friday. — Political Staff
Canvassers battle in ‘white’ areas

EUNICE RIDER
STAFF REPORTER

All voters in Mitchells Plain, Pelican Park, Athlone and Strandfontein have been visited by voter registration canvassers, but the canvassers are battling to penetrate traditionally white areas, where residents treat them with suspicion, refuse them entry to their homes and call the police.

Mr Brent Gerber of the Joint Metropolitan Body said yesterday canvassers based in white areas in the evenings to help people complete their voter registration forms were being denied access to homes by suspicious white residents.

Several Camps Bay residents called the police on Tuesday evening to complain that canvassers were “making a noise” when the canvassers appealed to them from a traffic police vehicle, using a loud-hailer.

The JMB’s Mr Ashiek Manie said all prospective voters in Mitchells Plain, Pelican Park, Athlone and Strandfontein had been canvassed.

But canvassers were having difficulty getting to voters in areas where there is a lot of gang activity.

The Western Cape was leading the field in registration, however.

It was estimated that 41% of Western Cape voters had registered by March 30, compared with 15.25% in Gauteng and 4.37% in KwaZulu-Natal.

Incorrect figures

Mr Manie criticised the DP’s Western Cape leader Mr Hennie Bester for claiming that the JMB was biased against traditional ratepayers.

Mr Manie said an official in the black iKapa area had supplied the JMB with incorrect figures and it could now be shown that an estimated 36.8% of voters in those areas had registered, and not the reported 100%.
ANC calls on Winnie to drop legal proceedings over her sacking
Mandela Versus Mandela

By Thabo Motsepe and Yago Barmansa

64/168 September 804

Mandela — the figurehead. The man who represents a symbol of freedom, a symbol of resistance, a symbol of hope.

Mandela — the leader. The man who guides the people, the man who leads the nation, the man who inspires the world.

Mandela — the icon. The man who is etched in the minds of millions, the man who is remembered for his courage, his integrity, his dedication.

Mandela — the legend. The man who has become an enduring symbol of justice, the man who has become an inspiration to all.
Mandela slaps down Holomisa

Study of the crush

PRESIDENT MANDELA will no longer tolerate having his authority questioned, ANC sources said yesterday. Meanwhile Mrs Winnie Mandela succeeded in gagging the ANC caucus over her dismissal. ANTHONY JOHNSON reports.

A CRACKDOWN on militants, President Nelson Mandela yesterday publicly reprimanded Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa for airing dissenting views on the dismissal of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

A few minutes after the presidential dressing-down, Mrs Mandela successfully stopped the entire ANC caucus from discussing her impending court action against Mr Mandela and other ANC stalwarts.

Late last night the ANC’s highest decision-making body, the National Working Committee (NWC), said, after expressing support for Mr Mandela, that “no disciplinary measures are contemplated by the ANC against Comrade Winnie”.

Earlier Mr Holomisa had been hauled over the coals at Tyunhuys for his stinging attack on the ANC leadership for its handling of the sacking of Mrs Mandela.

He had raised Mr Mandela’s anger with a memorandum sent to ANC leaders in which he suggested that leading members of the party were in league with the media in instigating “a dirty tricks campaign to vilify and isolate” certain members of the ANC.

The document charged that Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Raymond Mhlaba could be responsible for sowing division in the ANC by explaining the reasons for Mrs Mandela’s firing.

It also described ANC official spokesman Senator Jackson Mthembu as having “lied” to the media.

Late last night the NWC further censured Mr Holomisa and said Mr Mthembu enjoyed the ANC’s full support.

Shortly before over 300 ANC MPs and senators gathered for their weekly caucus meeting yesterday, Mrs Mandela’s lawyers telephoned ANC chief whips warning that the issue should not be discussed because it was sub judice.

The caucus backed down and instead referred the matter to the NWC.

Mrs Mandela did not attend the caucus meeting but sent a letter of apology saying her presence was not possible “due to unforeseen work problems”. Her secretary, Mr Alan Reynolds, said she was at home in Rondebosch while the caucus was in progress.

ANC sources said Mrs Mandela again tested party discipline by flying to Johannesburg instead of attending the NWC meeting to discuss her behaviour.

Late yesterday, the ANC announced that Mr Mbeki and Mr Sisulu would no longer attend a meeting of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) in Umtata today.

The two were due to share a podium with Mrs Mandela, who is Contralesa’s treasurer-general.

Contralesa leaders were reportedly planning to question the two about Mrs Mandela’s sacking.

Mr Mbeki said they would not be attending the meeting because they were told “not all traditional leaders in the province belonged to Contralesa”.

He said the sole purpose of their proposed presence had been to address traditional leaders, regardless of affiliation. — Sapa
IFP accepts FW's proposal for summit

THE IFP has accepted a proposal by Deputy President F W de Klerk for a summit between him, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to break the international mediation deadlock, Correctional Service Minister Dr Sipho Mzimela said yesterday.

However, the proposed meeting was still in the balance as a decision was awaited by Mr Mbeki who, according to his office, was still studying Mr De Klerk's proposal.

Dr Mzimela said he believed the IFP's national council should postpone any decision on international mediation until the meeting.

The IFP has threatened to quit the Constitutional Assembly and the government to protest against what it believes was the dishonouring of an agreement on international mediation.

A decision on what to do will be taken at an IFP national council meeting at Ulundi tomorrow when Chief Buthelezi will table the proposal.

The proposal includes a re-evaluation of the disputed terms of reference for international mediation by a new task force, which could involve a local "outsider" as mediator. — Sapa
Keep the Senate, but with changes, says commission.

Politics

The Argus, Friday, April 7, 1995
Unskilled diplomats 'undermine service'

Political Staff

UNSKILLED diplomats from the former homelands were preventing South Africa from fielding a service that could meet international demands, the foreign affairs select committee has been told.

At a briefing to the committee, John Daniels, a professor at the University of Durban-Westville, said TBVC diplomats had been absorbed into the foreign service at the expense of talented young black men and women who had had international training.

He said a scandalous situation existed in the Foreign Affairs Department where several hundred TBVC diplomats who 'had almost no experience in the real world of diplomacy' have had to be employed.

"They were bloated bureaucracies with extensive diplomatic services."

Professor Daniels, who has been actively involved in the process of training and retraining diplomats, said at least 200 young black applicants trained in the past three years had no chance of getting into the Foreign Service.

"Money is available for only 50 posts. If large numbers of people come in from the TBVC states instead of the trainees, we will settle for less than the best."

Professor Daniels said while the process of securing a more representative diplomatic corps had been frustrating, inroads had been made to the training and retraining of diplomatic staff with proper courses designed to get diplomats to represent "the national interest."

He said there was an urgent need to transform both the basic culture within the Department of Foreign Affairs (white male) and the personnel composition.

The training courses had been designed, he said, as a recognition that the South African diplomatic corps had to be representative of all the country's people.
FORMER Transkei leader gets 'stern' rebuke following a letter criticising the sacking of Winnie

BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — President Mandela has slapped down another senior ANC "populist" — and deputy minister — a week after sacking his estranged wife from her post as deputy arts minister.

Mandela called Bantu Holomisa in for a "stern warning" to toe the party line following remarks by the national executive committee member and Deputy Environment Affairs and Tourism Minister about Winnie's dismissal last week.

Holomisa is closely associated with Winnie and other ANC "populists" and he has written a critical letter about her dismissal. The letter has been leaked to the media. It criticises the way the ANC was handling the firing of Winnie Mandela and says the decision to send an ANC team to the Eastern Cape to explain the sacking should have been discussed by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC).

Holomisa also suggested that a faction in the ANC was trying to "villify and isolate" militants and said that ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu's "lies" to the media on the possibility of disciplinary action might indicate the existence of anti-militants within the organisation.

A statement issued by the ANC said the president had given Holomisa a "stern warning" after Holomisa explained that he made a comment in public on the letter only when he was informed that the contents were already in the hands of the media.

"The president noted this explanation but nevertheless gave Comrade Bantu Holomisa a stern warning regarding such behaviour. He underlined that it was improper and against the organisation's ethos for any official or member of the ANC to air internal matters in public."

Last night the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) met to discuss the Winnie Mandela row.

A statement issued after the meeting in Cape Town said the ANC was not considering any disciplinary action against her, reports Sapa. President Mandela's office on Wednesday said Mrs Mandela had no basis for legal action against the head of Government for terminating her services. He was not obliged to give reasons for dismissing a minister.

The NWC also defended Mthembu in the matter concerning the dressing-down given Holomisa by the president yesterday.

"Comrade Mthembu speaks for the entire ANC and not some faction as Comrade Holomisa averred. There are no such factions in the ANC."

Holomisa yesterday confirmed he had been warned about the contents of his letter. He denied he had criticised the dismissal of Mrs Mandela, saying his letter had only queried why "people outside the Government" had been asked to explain to the public why she had been dismissed when this should have been done by the president or his deputy.
IFP to consider FW’s proposals on mediation

BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — IFP leader Chief Buthelezi said he will put a proposal from Deputy President FW de Klerk to his national council at the weekend in an attempt to resolve the stalemate over international mediation.

Buthelezi was not hopeful that the proposal would help to resolve the impasse over which he has threatened to lead the IFP out of the Constitutional Assembly.

Buthelezi said in an interview yesterday he was "disillusioned" with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki’s handling of the mediation crisis.

Accused

He accused the ANC of approaching the constitution-making process in a cavalier fashion and saying the mood was "not a constitution-making spirit".

He warned of the danger of drawing up a constitution on majoritarian principles: "No constitution that lasts has ever been done on the basis of majoritarianism. Those that have been written on the basis of consensus.”

The De Klerk proposal, made in letters sent to Mbeki and Buthelezi this week, suggests the formation of a "task force" to sort out what issues need mediation.

An IFP-NP-ANC task force has already failed and De Klerk is now proposing the inclusion of an "absolutely non-partisan" person on the tripartite panel.
IFP and mediation

The question needs to be asked: Can
international mediation or a compro-
mise around it satisfy the Inkatha Free-
dom Party? The party has never made a secret of its agenda — to retain its position as a major national player and to consolidate power within its base of KwaZulu-Natal. Its walkout from Parliament in February helped to elevate it to centre stage in the media. Predictions of an impending crisis in Government were the order of the day.

However, that action caused little real concern among investors, as reflected in the stock market. And the Government itself reacted somewhat casually to the "crisis".

Last year, when the IFP used similar threats — that it would use boycott action to scupper broader national processes unless its concerns were specially accommodated — there was indeed a crisis.

Since then, the situation has changed significantly. The element of suspense which held the country captive has been dispelled through the results of the April 1994 election.

Now, the extent of power and support which the IFP enjoys in the South African political arena has become clearer. In the national poll it won a mere 10 percent of votes, while the heart of its power-base, KwaZulu-Natal, delivered it a narrow victory of 50 percent of the votes.

Since the election, developments within KwaZulu-Natal have also somewhat eroded the all-powerful image of the party. The attempt to press ahead with a controversial police recruitment passing out parade earlier this year was effectively and without much controversy nipped in the bud.

More apparent
The nature of the party’s support within the province has become more apparent. As the recent showdown between the Zulu monarch and the IFP demonstrates, the party’s support among traditional authorities does not rest on King Goodwill Zwelithini.

It is much more direct and based upon the financial ties which bind the chiefs to the KwaZulu-Natal government.

When asked to choose between following the king and securing their continued powerful existence as facto local government authorities, chiefs have voted with their feet for the latter.

So what the party needs to ensure it keeps some measure of the power it enjoyed before the April election is to retain and enhancing the "traditional" authority structures. It needs the monarchy — not the present monarch — and the system of chieftainship it is now keen to see transformed into playing a political leadership role in the future local government system.

To ensure it has a relevant role in national politics, the party needs to consolidate its power within KwaZulu-Natal, the province with a quarter of the country’s voters.

To achieve this, the IFP is operating on several fronts. For instance, at the national level it is focusing upon its call for international mediation, complaining that it was duped into participating in the April election on the basis of a false promise. Its insistence on international mediation indicates the kind of autonomy it desires. In a memorandum to the ANC and NP recently, the party listed the following as issues to be mediated upon:

- The extent of powers to be given to provinces in terms of judicial functions, provincial civil service and police and jurisdiction over local government;
- Fiscal and economic autonomy;
- Preservation of provincial autonomy during future stages of constitutional development;
- Autonomy of constitution-making at provincial level; and
- Establishment of an autonomous and sovereign kingdom which coverts 1834 boundaries.

Justifiably, the party feels put out that the Constitutional Assembly is going ahead without international mediators having had their say. “We are pulling out of the Constitutional Assembly,” KwaZulu-Natal premier Dr Frank Malloose said on Sunday. "Thereafter we’ll have to review what we do. If we are not going to have a hearing we will have no part in going on with the constitution.”

With its 10 percent poll in the April election, the IFP has 48 of the 490 seats in the constitution-making body. While its continued participation in this body would allow it to raise its views about the form of state it wants to see in South Africa, its distinct brand of federalism is unlikely to find sympathy from most other parties.

Far better then to insist on the meeting of a promise which would firstly guarantee it a status above its election result and which could also see the constitution-making process delayed. “We believe the constitution-making process should be subject to the views of international mediators," was Malloose’s view.

Even if international mediation was implemented as per the April 1994 agreement, the outcome of that mediation is not predetermined. The Constitutional Assembly will still have to debate and ratify what emerges. This leaves scope for further controversy — over what the status of international mediation should be in relation to the constitution-making process.

At a provincial level, the IFP has been building on its traditional support base through several rallies to celebrate its election victory. Recent imbuzos have also seen it draw in the chiefs specifically.

Within the provincial government it has initiated a constitution-writing process for the province. This is intended to be completed by the end of 1995, before the Constitutional Assembly completes its work.

According to Malloose, the drafting process is on track. “There’s a 20-person committee which is putting together the basic principles.”

Asked whether the public would be able to comment on these, he said: “Inputs from the public are not vital at this stage, but I understand that anyone can make inputs to the committee.”

Establish a kingdom

In January, when the KwaZulu-Natal legislature announced that it would write a constitution for the province it was said that this would aim to establish a kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal.

The process would involve two phases: The first one would adhere to the provisions of the interim constitution, while the second would deal with the demands for additional powers to be given to the province.

The party is also focusing its attention on local government elections. MEC for local government and housing, Mr Peter Miller, is responsible for the non-tribal areas while MEC for traditional and environment affairs, Mr Nyanga Ngubane, is responsible for tribal areas. And within the province there is tacit acceptance that within tribal areas, existing traditional authorities will become the new local government structures.
Mandela Goes for Holomisa

Facing a legal battle

The ANC will face the court challenge to the election results.

The party has rejected the charges, saying they are baseless and unfounded.

The NEC has decided to challenge the results in court.

By Vuyo Dabwaya, Political Reporter

South Africa 7/14/10
JOHANNESBURG: Mrs Winnie Mandela is set for yet another constitutional challenge over her second dismissal and has rejected rumours that she might resign from the ANC. Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT reports.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, who resigned as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology hours before her second dismissal by President Mandela took effect yesterday, has made clear her intention to continue fighting her estranged husband both in court and in public.

Mrs Mandela said yesterday she had taken legal advice and was convinced that her second dismissal was again unconstitutional. She again accused the President of failing to provide her with reasons for her dismissal.

Last week Mrs Mandela successfully challenged the first letter terminating her appointment on the grounds that it was legally defective and unconstitutional.

In her legal battle against the President, Mrs Mandela is expected to use section 23 of the constitution, which entitles her to access "to all information held by the state or any of its organs ... in so far as such information is required for the exercise or protection of any of her rights."

She may also use section 24 (c), which grants her the right "to be furnished with reasons in writing for administrative action which affects any of her rights or interests unless the reasons for such action have been made public."

Yesterday, she said: "The President owes it to me as a citizen of this country, in my capacity as deputy minister, and to the general membership of the ANC and to our nation at large to explain in full and clear terms why he chose to terminate my appointment."

"Should (he) avail himself of this invitation ... I shall deal with each of such reasons ... also in public or through appropriate court action," Mrs Mandela said.

Mrs Mandela is also expected to question the manner in which the second letter of dismissal was delivered to her.

She disclosed yesterday that the unsealed second letter of dismissal was delivered to her by her daughter, who received it at Mr Mandela's residence when they welcomed him home.

"The President's letter, although dated Friday, April 14, 1995, was delivered to me in an unsealed envelope at 11.30pm on Thursday and purports to terminate my appointment only from April 18," she said.

She said the President's Office had been repeatedly "clumsy, unprofessional and inept" in handling her dismissal last week.

Presidential spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana last night declined to comment.

Mrs Mandela also took the opportunity to quash rumours that she might be considering resigning from the ANC and forming her own political party.

**Discipline**

"I want to make it perfectly clear that I am a disciplined member of the ANC. I have served the movement for more than 30 years. I remain committed to serving the ANC generally and as a member of some of its constituent structures," she said.

She said her court proceedings over her first dismissal were undertaken in furtherance of proper constitutional behaviour "even from the highest office in the land."

- PAC leader Ms Patricia de Lille yesterday supported Mrs Mandela's call that Mr Mandela supply reasons for her dismissal.

"A bad precedent is being set by the first citizen of the country ... where a person in such high office can be dismissed without reason," she said.
Game of the name remains the same.
A weapon to beat Winnie...

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

PARTY bosses in the African National Congress are using a controversial constitutional clause to hold Winnie Mandela and her supporters as “political prisoners” of the ANC.

This is the view of political analysts such as Richard Calland, manager of Idasa’s new parliamentary information service.

He supports the removal of the clause which abolished the age-old tradition of MPs “crossing the floor”.

Mr Calland said ANC “power brokers” clearly preferred to retain the clause because it gave them a hold over former deputy minister Mrs Mandela and her supporters in parliament such as Peter Mokaba, Tony Yengeni and Bantu Holomisa.

The clause stipulates that MPs must vacate their seats if they cease to be a member of the party that nominated them.

In effect this means that if Mrs Mandela or her supporters are expelled from the ANC or resign from it, they are automatically kicked out of parliament.

Mr Calland pointed out that many new MPs came from poor backgrounds and had become dependent on their new lifestyles that parliamentary salaries provided.

Colin Eglin’s private Bill to abolish the constitutional clause that prevents MPs crossing the floor faces a rough ride as the ANC wants to retain the clause as a weapon against Winnie Mandela and her supporters.

The clause gave the ANC a hold over them — and party bosses clearly favoured retaining it to force Mrs Mandela and her supporters to toe the line, he said.

Mr Calland said the clause was contrived by the big parties at the constitutional negotiations — the ANC and the National Party — to give them a hold over their members.

The NP also has internal divisions between hawks who want to hammer the ANC and doves who want to work with the ANC. The clause gives the party control over any dissident members who might think of crossing the floor.

On the other hand, small parties like the Democratic Party favour scrapping the clause as MPs who cross the floor from the big parties might consider joining them.

The “exclusion clause” flouts the ancient parliamentary practice of MPs being allowed to cross the floor and retain their seats.

In the past, MPs who crossed the floor could join another party, form a new party or sit on the “cross benches” as independents.

DP MP Colin Eglin has tabled a private member’s Bill proposing that the contentious section — 43(b) — of the interim constitution be abolished.

He argues that the clause is undemocratic because it vitiates the concept of free speech and it undermines the status and stature of MPs.

But Mr Eglin’s Bill is in danger of being bogged down.

A committee, headed by Piet Matthee of the NP, is firstly to decide whether the motion can be debated in parliament. If the Bill passes this committee, it will be sent to a second committee which will take another look at it, said Mr Calland.

But the final test will be whether the government — in effect the cabinet — is prepared to make the change.

And with the ANC and NP both facing internal divisions, it pays the party bosses to retain the exclusion clause to enforce party discipline.

Mr Eglin has, however, received some support from ANC members — notably national assembly speaker Frene Ginwala. She has said the clause could restrict members’ right to free speech by obliging them to “toe the party line”. 
'A volkstaat yes, but not apartheid'

PRETORIA — Most supporters of a separate territory for Afrikaners had never been in favour of apartheid, Volksstaat Council chairman Johannes Wingard has told foreign diplomats. 

"You are not dealing with the lunatic fringe. The perception that volksstaat people are right-wingers of supporters of apartheid is not correct," Mr Wingard said yesterday.

He added those in favour of a volksstaat had not expected apartheid to succeed and "had all along been saying that a volksstaat offered the only solution."

The real issue facing the council was that few Afrikaners voted for the new government in April last year.
Winnie, elitist, ruleWide
Hard choice on gravy train

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

MEMBERS of parliament may soon be asked to undertake one of the most difficult and painful political tasks of their careers — vote themselves off the gravy train and out of a job.

This follows the growing move among major political parties to cut the size of the two houses of the bloated and expensive parliament which has a yearly budget of R171 million.

There are at present 914 elected politicians in the country, including 490 in the central government with the other 424 sitting on the nine provincial legislatures, costing taxpayers more than R300 million a year altogether.

The African National Congress at its recent constitutional conference decided the country would be better served by a smaller and leaner parliament compared to the present 460-member national assembly and 90-member senate.

This has brought the ANC in line with other parties which also believe the present parliament is unwieldy — with many

Politicians now admit parliament is too big and expensive — but are they prepared to vote themselves out of jobs?

MPs who do not sit on committees.

The National Party has proposed the national assembly be reduced in size — the exact number to be determined by a new electoral system, the NP says.

The NP wants more power for the provinces, reducing the work of the national assembly. This is likely to clash with the ANC which wants more central powers.

The Democratic Party wants the national assembly cut from 460 to 300 members and the senate from 90 to 70. The DP also wants the cabinet cut from 27 to about 20.

DP national director James Selfe said such cuts could save at least a quarter of the parliamentary budget.

Inkatha Freedom Party MPs also favour a smaller central parliament.

The size of the present parliament cannot change until 1999 when a new constitution takes effect. This is currently being negotiated in the constitutional assembly which consists of the 490 members of the national assembly and senate.

If the constitutional assembly votes for a smaller parliament in the new constitution, "MPs will be voting themselves out of jobs," Mr Selfe said.

A future parliament is also likely to change from the present system in which all MPs are elected by proportional representation, leaving them unaccountable to any constituencies. The new parliament is expected to have some constituency MPs.

University of Stellenbosch political scientist Henrie Kotze said MPs would have to be persuaded to vote themselves out of jobs which had given many of them new and expensive lifestyles.

The best way to persuade them was to do what the Nats did when they ended the tricameral parliament — reduce service qualification for pensions.

Professor Kotze said the former Nat caucus had to be "bribed" to accept the new dispensation.

He said the NP caucus in the last years of apartheid was known to have been reluctant to accept change because it threatened their jobs and income.

But the government induced them to accept change by reducing the number of years service they needed to qualify for pensions.

Professor Kotze said the Nats had also negotiated the outsize new parliament and provincial legislatures in order to provide as many jobs as possible for their MPs who had been in the old system.

The NP had done their sums and calculated the number of new political jobs they would need to satisfy their MPs. This had been another inducement to the Nat caucus to accept the current political system in which they lost power.

As a result, many Nat MPs at central and provincial levels now receive large pensions from the old system as well as their new salaries — giving them huge incomes.

The current bloated parliament is to a large extent something the NP had negotiated for itself, he believes.
SA protests over change in visa requirements for European travel

JOHN FRASER  
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

BRUSSELS. — Pretoria has protested against a new visa system which is making it harder for South Africans to visit Europe.

A treaty known as the Schengen Accord came into force on March 25, introducing a common visa for seven states — the Benelux countries, France, Germany, Spain and Portugal.

In theory, this should have made it cheaper and easier for South Africans to visit these countries, but instead there have been a number of problems.

“There have been all sorts of mind-boggling bureaucratic complications,” said Niel Pieter van Heerden, South Africa ambassador to the EU.

“South Africans need to produce proof that they have enough foreign currency for their journey.

“They also have to produce their actual tickets — instead of the previous arrangement under which a letter from the travel agent was enough.

“There is also a two-day wait for the visa, which makes it difficult for people who need to apply for visas to other countries as well.”

Yet another problem was encountered yesterday, with reports that visa applications were not being processed by the Belgian Embassy in Pretoria.

This was because the computer was off-line.

“It was easier and quicker to get visas before. When the computer is down, nothing moves.”

There have also been reports that South Africans have only been able to apply for Schengen visas before they leave South Africa.

The result of this is that South Africa travellers already in another foreign country, who need to visit one of the Schengen states at the last minute, need to return to Pretoria to obtain the necessary visa.

“South Africa does not require visas from visitors from these Schengen countries, and I don’t see why we have to face these problems,” Mr Van Heerden said.

“We have asked the seven states to take South Africa off the list of countries whose citizens need the visa, but we have not succeeded, as yet.

“I do hope Schengen is not just a nice name for a vastly more restrictive regime.”

He added that South African diplomats had made representations to the Belgian government, which currently holds the presidency of the Schengen group.
Apathy on ANC plans

Radio phone-in on constitution nets six calls

WILLEM STEENKAMP
Weekend Argus Reporter

PUBLIC apathy appears to be the order of the day as the African National Congress seeks to undermine provincial power.

Radio host Nigel Murphy's Microphone In on SAFM last night dealt with the ANC's constitutional proposals — which some political experts fear will “emasculate” provinces — turned into a damp squib.

Only six callers phoned in — and some of them missed the point.

One caller criticised the poor quality of English used on SAFM while another spoke about his fears of South Africa going the same route as some of the less successful countries to the north.

CJ, another caller who described himself as a former active member of the ANC who has now become apolitical, said he believed the ANC's proposals would turn provincial premiers into “rubber stamps”; people with no real say.

"How can the ANC expect me to vote in forthcoming elections when the premier for whom I vote will have no power. I should be able to respect the premier of my province, but under the ANC's proposals central government will have all the power. This is not acceptable."

Joseph Little called to say that South Africa should follow the example of the rest of the world where people were turning to unity. "Rather than devolve power, we also should be unified."

"We need central control. Who will check on a particular premier in a certain province if he has all the power? We are now in a transitional phase and on a learning curve. There should be central control."

"Brian" called to say that tribalism was a fact of South African life and this had led to tremendous violence here and elsewhere in Africa.

"Look at what happened in Zimbabwe where thousands of the Matabele were wiped out by the Mugabe government when it came into power."

"I believe we should revert to four provinces and these should then secede. I have very little else to say."

The rest of the time on the phone-in was taken up by the three panelists who held widely differing views on what exactly the ANC proposals on the constitution would mean in practice.

In fact, the bulk of the nearly two-hour-long program was taken up by squabbles between ANC MP Dirk du Toit, who was co-author of the paper Building a United Nation and Natal Kwazulu MP Arthur Konigkramer.

The third panelist was Robert Schrire, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town.

Professor Du Toit, who quoted liberally from the ANC's proposal document, had to be admonished by Mr Murphy to use understandable English in his explanation that provinces, in fact, would have more powers under the new proposals for the constitution than was the case at present.

He denied provincial powers would be limited to such an extent if the proposals of the ANC were accepted and became part of the new constitution, or that premiers would be turned into lackeys of central government.

Mr. Konigkramer accused the ANC of trying to usurp total power in the same way as the Nationalist government had done over 46 years.

He said under Nat government, KwaZulu-Natal had been discriminated against because the province was seen to be too English, while the ANC was now discriminating against the province because the Zulus were now in power in that province and not the ANC.

"Are you punishing us?" he asked Professor Du Toit.

"No, but we will if you keep on buying aircraft that your province does not really need."

Another caller said that, as far as he was concerned, KwaZulu-Natal was welcome to secede as long as the South African taxpayer did not have to pay for this in the end.

Mr Murphy concluded the programme saying the question of a possible hidden agenda contained in the ANC’s proposals still had not been answered and disquiet remained about the issue.

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Mandela appoints 14 new envoys

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo announced yesterday the appointment by President Mandela of 14 ambassadors and high commissioners.

They are:

- J Matshela (42), high commissioner in India. He was the ANC's chief representative in north-east Asia.
- S Gawe (59), ambassador to Norway. He holds a BA (Hon), in political science and was the ANC's chief representative in Italy.
- C J Streeter (44), ambassador to Finland. He holds a doctorate in international politics and has served SA missions in the US and Australia.
- S Ngombane (39), ambassador to Ivory Coast. He holds a BA in political science and was the ANC's chief representative in Belgium.
- B de Bridy (64), ambassador to Jordan. He was once the ANC's chief representative in Italy.
- PR Deitchhagen (46), ambassador to Switzerland. He holds an M Com and has served SA missions overseas.
- T Lujabe-Rankoe (55), high commissioner in Tanzania. She holds a diploma in public administration and diplomacy, and has worked at ANC offices in Africa.
- K N Gwipala (65), ambassador to Italy. She holds a medical degree and served on an ANC commission.
- L Mabuza (56), ambassador to Germany. She holds an MA in American studies and was the ANC's chief representative in Scandinavia and the US.
- J A (Riaan) Eksteen (62), ambassador to Turkey. He has served as ambassador to the UN and Windhoek.
- M Mofale (31), high commissioner in Malaysia.
- M Moolia (61), ambassador to Iran. He is national co-ordinator in the ANC's organising department.
- I Coovadia (56), high commissioner in Pakistan. He holds an MSc in pharmaceutical sciences.
- JS Selebi (45), representative to the UN in Geneva. — Sapa.
‘I will take the liars to court!’

Winnie fumes

By ERIC NAKI
and MIKE LOEWE

IN HER first public reaction since being sacked as deputy minister, Winnie Mandela on Friday launched a withering counter-attack against the government run by her estranged husband, President Nelson Mandela - and threatened to take legal action against the ministers of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, and the police commissioner, General George Fivaz.

Speaking at a Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa conference in Umtata, Mandela said both Mufamadi and Fivaz had "blatantly lied" about documents found during a raid on her home last month.

According to the police they were investigating allegations of bribery linked to tenders awarded for a housing development scheme.

“They are misleading the people because I was not linked to any allegation," she said.

About 800 tribal chiefs and headmen cheered Mandela as she lashed out at the Government of National Unity and the media for "misleading the public" over her dismissal.

The former deputy minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology said she intended suing Mufamadi and Fivaz, who after the raid on her home had claimed she was withholding a vital document from investigators. They were telling "blatant lies", she said - adding that no such document existed.

The raid took place while Mandela was visiting Burkina-Faso - against the orders of President Nelson Mandela - and she was dismissed soon afterwards.

On Friday she claimed:

"My visit to Burkina-Faso was a service to the country and the people."

Mandela also repeated her view that the recent visit of Queen Elizabeth II had been a waste of money that should have gone to the poor.

She again mentioned that R2.5 million spent on preparing the East Cape coastal industrial city of Port Elizabeth could have been spent on alleviating the desperate poverty in neighbouring townships.

In a lengthy attack on the South African media, Mandela accused papers - including City Press - of sowinng division in the ruling ANC. The media, she said, concentrated only on "uchuku" (Xhosa for conflict) between herself and the ANC.

He said Contralesa - on whose executive Mrs Mandela serves as national treasurer - had yet to hear from the government on the reasons for her dismissal.

He said Contralesa national president chief Patekile Holomisa criticised President Mandela for not giving Mrs Mandela "at least a hearing" before dismissing her.

He said: "Until we are satisfied of wrong-doing on her part, we stand to defend her as if she were under attack from the real enemy."

President Mandela’s envoys to the Eastern Cape, senior ANC leaders Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, this week refrained from sharing Friday's platform with Mrs Mandela.

They had won support from an East Cape summit of ANC leaders for the ANC's decision to fire Mrs Mandela. - Eca
Inkatha dares ANC to leave it in the cold

INKATHA will not take part in the Constitutional Assembly until the impasse over international mediation is resolved.

A national council meeting at Ulundi yesterday resolved that the IFP would also refuse to recognise the legitimacy of the final constitution if it is drafted without the organisation.

The IFP said it supported Deputy President FW de Klerk’s proposal for a new task force consisting of the two deputy presidents and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, together with an “objective and independent” mediator to ensure the international mediation agreement was honoured.

It suggested that Professor W A J Oguma of Kenya be part of the task force.

Chief Buthelezi, however, said he was not optimistic that the matter would be resolved as the ANC was determined to draft the constitution on its own.

“It is clear that they want to write their own kind of constitution. Let them do so then,” he said.

The council rejected “the newly concocted and preposterous argument” by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki that outstanding issues to be mediated upon had not yet been identified.

“These issues were finalised as long ago as April 1994,” the council said.

The IFP will now present its final submission to the Constitutional Assembly, putting on record its constitutional vision for South Africa.

The constitutional crisis will spill over into the October local election in KwaZulu Natal. Chiefs in the region have decided that their rural areas will not take part in the election unless the agreement on international mediation is honoured.

A spokesman for Mr Mbeki said the government would wait for the IFP to inform it formally of its decision to suspend its participation in the Constitutional Assembly.

“It will then only become possible for the government and Mr Mbeki to respond,” the spokesman said.
BUTHELEZI: WE WON'T ACCEPT CONSTITUTION

IFP's withdrawal not justified — Mandela

THE IFP's pull-out from the Constitutional Assembly was a serious threat to prospects of an all-inclusive democracy, an observer warned yesterday.

CHRI S BATE MAN reports.

INKATHA's suspension of its participation in the Constitutional Assembly was "unjustified" because the interim constitution had, in his party's view, addressed all outstanding issues, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"As far as we are concerned there is no justification for the action taken by the IFP," Mr Mandela told a news conference in Kuwait, where he is on a bilateral trade-boosting visit.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP pulled out of the constitution-writing assembly at the weekend, demanding the honouring of pre-April 27 election agreements on international mediation over their insistence on greater provincial autonomy and the enshrinement of the status of the Zulu monarchy in the constitution.

"They can write their own constitution. We will not accept their constitution," Chief Buthelezi told reporters after a meeting of his policy-making National Council in Ulundi at the weekend.

'Addressed'

Mr Mandela said his party had made it clear that it was not against international mediation and called upon the IFP to "indicate to us specifically what issues require international mediation".

"In our view all the issues we have referred to in our agreement have been addressed by the interim constitution," he added.

The ANC said the process would go on without Inkatha.

Spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said Inkatha's decision was "unfortunate" but would not affect the work and programme of the assembly.

Professor Herbert Vilakazi, a sociology lecturer at the University of Zululand, said it would be "foolish and dangerous" to go ahead without the IFP.

He said Inkatha was a major party, whose withdrawal raised "a red light" on whether or not the final constitution could be accepted.

It was a serious threat to the prospects of an all-inclusive democracy. — Staff Reporter, Special Correspondent, Sapa
IFP threat to boycott parliament

CLIVE SAWSER
Political Correspondent
and Reuter

The Inkatha Freedom Party says its boycott of the constitutional assembly could be extended to withdrawal from parliament unless its demands are taken seriously.

Frank Mdlalose, KwaZulu-Natal Premier and leader of the IFP in the province, made the threat after the ANC made it clear the constitution-writing process would continue in spite of Inkatha’s absence.

The IFP decided at a national council meeting on Saturday to withdraw from the constitutional assembly in protest at the failure to implement international mediation on the role and status of provinces, in terms of a pre-election agreement last year between the IFP, the ANC and the NP.

With the IFP gone, the ANC has a two-thirds majority in the constitutional assembly.

President Nelson Mandela has labelled the IFP walkout as unjustified.

Mr Mandela told a Press conference in Kuwait he believed the issues raised in the agreement had been dealt with in the interim constitution.

The ANC was not opposed to international mediation but the IFP should indicate specific issues it wished to have mediated.

The National Party said it was "inexplicable" that the IFP had decided on the boycott after its earlier decision to accept a proposal by NP leader FW de Klerk for a task group on the impasse.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the work of the constitutional assembly would continue uninterrupted, but the ANC believed the process of drafting the founding document should be inclusive.

The IFP has indicated it will not accept the new constitution.

The withdrawal by the IFP has coincided with a parliamentary and constitutional assembly recess. This may give the task team proposed by Mr De Klerk time to make progress.
Suspension unjustified, Mandela argues

Pullout from GNU likely, says IFP

NP says IFP withdrawal from Constitutional Assembly is ‘inexplicable’

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday his party was resolute that international mediation should take place despite the ANC’s view that it was unnecessary.

The council rejected claims that the terms of reference needed to be clarified, saying they had been finalised in the Consolidated Terms of Reference for International Mediation agreed on between the IFP and ANC.

IFP MP and central committee member Velaphi Ndlou said yesterday the ball was entirely in the ANC’s court and the IFP would continue working on its constitutional proposals until the ANC responded to its move.

He said the IFP pullout from the CA would “totally affect” traditional leaders’ participation in the local government elections.

“The chiefs indicated on many occasions that they will not participate in the local elections if international mediation does not take place,” Ndlou said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said on Saturday the IFP’s pullout was “unfortunate” and that the work and programme of the CA would not be affected by the move.

POLITICAL STAFF

The IFP, which suspended its involvement in the Constitutional Assembly (CA) at the weekend, would in all likelihood also withdraw from the Government of National Unity, the party’s national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Mdlalose said the IFP’s position in the Government was shaky and that withdrawal from the Government was the likely result of the Government’s reluctance to proceed with international mediation.

The IFP’s national council decided at the weekend in Chundu to suspend taking part in the CA with immediate effect and is demanding international mediation under the terms of an agreement reached with the ANC and the NP last April.

President Mandela yesterday said the ANC did not reject international mediation, but thought it was unnecessary as all issues that required mediation had been addressed in the Interim Constitution.

Speaking at a press conference in Kuwait, where he is drumming up support for the Re-
OWN CORRESPONDENT

OUSTED former Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Mrs Winnie Mandela should be reinstated with immediate effect as her dismissal was "unlawful" and unconstitutional", her lawyers submitted yesterday.

Mrs Mandela has also received support from an unexpected quarter: Inkatha Freedom Party leader and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi filed an affidavit saying President Nelson Mandela had not consulted leaders of the participating parties on the government before dismissing his estranged wife.

Mrs Mandela's lawyers yesterday issued summons on President Mandela and Mrs Brigitte Madikizela, who took over as deputy minister in Mrs Mandela's place.

Both President Mandela and Mrs Madikizela have been given until today to oppose the application.

In papers Mrs Mandela said that under the constitution she had the right to information to exercise or protect any of her rights relevant to her appointment and dismissal. She had heard about her dismissal on a radio broadcast at 3pm on March 27 which was before the "formal communication from President Mandela".

The letter that purported to terminate her services was not on the "customary letterhead of the President; does not designate the authority and office of its author; does not bear the coat of arms of the Republic; has no address; and, does not reflect any means of communication such as a telephone or telefax number of the sender or its author".

CT 11/4/95 (continued)
Lawyers act in new bid to get back her position

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

WINNIE MANDELA has carried her feud with President Mandela further to include her successor.

Her lawyers have issued a court summons to Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Brigitte Mabandla as well as one to President Mandela in the latest bid by Mrs Mandela to get her job back.

Ms Mabandla and President Mandela have been given until today to oppose the court application.

Responding to reports that the lawyers had issued the summonses, presidential spokesperson Park Mankahlana said the president had the right to appoint and fire deputy ministers without giving reasons for his decisions.

"It's a political decision ... that's how modern democracies work," said Mr. Mankahlana.

In papers, Mrs Mandela said she had a constitutional right to information to protect her rights.

She had heard about her dismissal on the radio at 3pm on March 27, before the arrival of a formal communication from Mr Mandela.

The letter terminating her services had not been on the customary letterhead of the president, did not designate the authority or office of its author, did not bear the country's coat of arms, had no address, and did not show any means of communication such as the telephone or fax number of its author.

"Minister of Home Affairs and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in an affidavit that Mr Mandela had not consulted leaders of government of national unity parties before firing Mrs Mandela.

Mr Mankahlana said today: "We have not received the letters."

Asked to comment on the issue, he said Mr Mandela had previously issued a statement that he did not deem it desirable to engage in public debate with former deputy ministers.

Sapa reports that Ms Mabandla confirmed that Mrs Mandela had issued summonses to get her job back.

"Yes, it is true," Ms Mabandla said from her Johannesburg home.

She declined, however, to comment further, saying she did not want to become embroiled in a row with Mrs Mandela.
Chiefs ‘charging voters’

DURBAN. — Traditional leaders in KwaZulu-Natal were reported to be charging voters to register for the November 1 local government elections, African National Congress official Michael Sutcliffe said here.

He said there were also reports of traditional leaders refusing to hand over completed registration forms until a dispute in the government about international mediation on the status of the Zulu monarchy was resolved.

Chiefs in the province have said they will call an elections boycott if there is no mediation as agreed by the ANC, National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party before last year’s general election.

Mr Sutcliffe claimed some leaders were barring non-IFP enumerators from their areas. He called on provincial Minister for Housing and Local Government Peter Miller to investigate the claims. — Sapa.
MANDELA CHALLENGED ON SACKING

Constitution ‘backs’ Winnie

MRS WINNIE MANDELA has taken the President to court in a bid to get back her job as deputy minister. She alleges that her dismissal from the cabinet was unconstitutional and has asked the court to overturn the appointment of her replacement.

FORMER deputy minister Mrs Winnie Mandela has the interim constitution firmly behind her in her fight to reverse her recent dismissal from her job by President Nelson Mandela, legal experts claim.

The main thrust of the challenge appears to rest with an alleged violation of clause 88 (sub-section 4) of the interim constitution which stipulates that the President must consult the executive deputy presidents and the leaders of participating parties before terminating the appointment of a government minister.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has submitted an affidavit stating that Mr Mandela did not consult him — the leader of a party in the government.

Top government sources last night said Deputy President F W de Klerk, as well as the leaders of the other parties in parliament, were told about Mrs Mandela’s impending dismissal.

However, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki’s office, which was handling the matter, was apparently unable to get hold of Chief Buthelezi before the formal announcement was made.

"Crucial to Mrs Mandela’s demand for reinstatement, experts said, is section 83(3) of the constitution which dictates that the President’s signature on any instrument shall be confirmed by the seal of the Republic."

In papers before the Pretoria Supreme Court, Mrs Mandela has argued that her dismissal was “unlawful and unconstitutional” because, among other reasons, the letter informing her of her dismissal did not have the required seal of the Republic.

Mrs Mandela also refers to section 23 of the constitution, which entitles her access “to all information held by the state or any of its organs at any level of government in so far as such information is required for the exercise or protection of any of his or her rights”, as well as section 24 (c).

Radio

The latter section guarantees her the right “to be furnished with reasons in writing for administrative action which affects any of her rights or interests unless the reasons for such action have been made public”.

She submits she therefore has a constitutional right to information to protect her rights and that she heard about her dismissal on the radio before the formal communication arrived at her office from the President.

Mr Mandela’s spokesperson, Mr Parks Mashabane, said last night that "the President’s legal team are examining these questions".

President Mandela returns to the country tomorrow from a week-long visit to the Gulf, and has until tomorrow to indicate if he will oppose Mrs Mandela’s application before the matter is heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court on April 25.

Mrs Mandela’s lawyers also issued a court summons to have her replacement as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Ms Brightie Mabandla, ousted from office.

Mr Mashabane said the President did not deem it appropriate to engage in a public debate about such issues.

Mr Mandela’s letter of dismissal to Mrs Mandela, delivered to her Cape Town office a few minutes after the President had begun addressing an International press conference, did not state reasons but cited section 94(3) of the constitution read in conjunction with section 88(4)(d) as authorising President Mandela to relieve his estranged wife of her duties.

Section 94 of the constitution deals with the appointment of deputy ministers, and subsection 3 says references to ministers in section 88(4)(d), which deals with the dismissal of ministers, will also apply to deputy ministers.

Section 88(4)(d) empowers the President to terminate any ministerial appointment “if he is requested to do so by the leader of the party of which the minister in question is a member, or if it becomes necessary for the purposes of this constitution or in the interest of good government”.

Legal experts yesterday said the case raised interesting and important constitutional issues. — Special Correspondent, Political Correspondent
ANC and IEP still disagree

Buthelezi's concern over ANC comments

on international mediation
WINNIE Mandela was today given back her job as Deputy Minis-
ter of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, after President Mandela's decision to reverse his earlier review.

But President Mandela will tomorrow review the move on his return from a visit to the Gulf States — a situation tomorrow President to review.

Job Back

Winnie Gets her
Pieter pledges half monthly allowance

Municipal Reporter (304A) ARG 12/4/95

A NEW political grouping called the Progressive Independents has announced that it will contest the local elections.

The group has also announced its first candidate — Pieter Venter. He has pledged 50 percent of his monthly council allowance to a community fund should he be elected.

Mr. Venter, a journalist with the Peninsula Times and formerly a member of the Democratic Party, will stand in a ward on the Atlantic seaboard.

Mr. Venter said he believed in a market-oriented economy with a strong social and environmental conscience — and where hard work and initiative are rewarded.
Constitution in her favour over way she was fired — experts

Winnie's 'winning hand'

At the press conference to announce his decision last week, President Mandela said his decision had been made in consultation with Prime Minister Thabo Mabbonde, who had spoken to him about the matter before he took a final decision. The president also confirmed that he had received a letter from Winnie that indicated her intentions to resign. The president promised to act on her request as soon as possible.

Some legal experts believe Winnie's appointment is a victory for the ANC, but others argue that it could lead to further conflict. Deputy President Thabo Mabbende, who is also the leader of the ANC, has strongly supported Winnie's appointment, saying it is in the interests of the country. He said that Winnie has a lot to offer and that her appointment will be a boost for the ANC.
Winnie's Brief Triumph

President avoids legal wrangle
Axe is poised again

BY KAIZERS NYATSUMBA, JOVIAL RANTAO and MONDLI MAKHANYA

Reinstated Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela will be fired again as early as tonight or tomorrow following President Nelson Mandela's return from his Gulf states tour.

"Mrs Mandela won a major morale-boosting, but nevertheless Pyrrhic victory yesterday when she was reinstated as Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister. She will be sacked for the second time in two weeks once President Mandela has had time to confer with Deputy Presidents Thabo Mbeki and F.W. De Klerk as well as IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Her March 27 dismissal was reversed on technicalities after she had contested its legality and constitutionality.

The Star has been told the president's consultation with his two deputies and Buthelezi on formality demanded by the interim Constitution — will take place at the Union Buildings shortly after his arrival this afternoon.

Mrs Mandela's second dismissal and her successor Bregite Mabandla's reinstatement will then be announced either tonight or tomorrow.

"The president is anxious to get this matter dealt with expeditiously," said one source.

Mbeki's statement announcing Mrs Mandela's reinstatement yesterday, and the one subsequently issued by the ANC, "hinged very strongly at her impending sacking.

The ANC said it was confident that the president and the Government were "competent enough to deal with all aspects relating to this matter.

Mbeki's statement said the president had decided that the March 27 dismissal, his estranged wife "should be treated as technically and procedurally invalid," and that on

P.T.O.
Winnie Gets Her Job Back

By Morn Kino

The news that has been awaited by thousands of Winnie's loyal supporters was finally announced today. After a long absence, Winnie is returning to the job she loves. The announcement was made during a press conference held at the headquarters of the organization she once served.

Winnie, who was fired last year due to budget cuts, has been working on a temporary basis since then. However, her contributions to the organization have not gone unnoticed. In fact, her dedication and hard work have been recognized by many.

"Winnie has always been a valuable member of our team," said the organization's executive director. "We are thrilled to have her back and look forward to her continued contributions."
Winnie fired

Reynolds in Parliament. Her successor, ANC human rights lawyer Brigitte Mander, is to move her belongings back into the office she temporarily vacated on Wednesday.

President Mandela and his staff firmly believe the only problem with the original backing related to the required consultation with other parties in the Government of National Unity.

"The president was fully aware of the constitutional provisions regarding consultation with leaders of other parties in the cabinet. The president is aware of legal opinion that such consultation as took place was sufficient." However, the president wished to spare the government and the nation of uncertainties which might follow protracted litigation on the issue," a statement by Mandela's director-general, Professor Jakes Gerwel, said in a statement.

Joel Netshitenzhe, spokesperson for Mandela, confirmed yesterday that the president had two deputies and Buthelezi had been unanimous on Thursday about the decision to fire the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

Legal action

"Concurrence was not constitutionally necessary, but it was achieved anyway," he said.

Buthelezi had supported Mrs Mandela's court action, saying that in terms of the constitution, he should have been consulted on the matter. But on Thursday night he agreed it would be best for the government if she was fired.

Netshitenzhe said a letter was sent to Winnie Mandela yesterday morning telling her that she had been relieved of her duties.

Last week she took legal action challenging her March 27 dismissal on the grounds that the letter informing her of the dismissal did not carry the seal of the president, was on plain white paper and that Mandela had not consulted the other parties in the government as required by the interim constitution.

She was hastily reinstated after the president acknowledged there may have been legal procedures which had not been fully complied with.

However, the letter he sent yesterday was identical.

It was composed on the same embossed letterhead of the president. It was signed by Mandela, as was the previous one.

Gerwel said: "This is the letterhead used by the president in his communication with heads of state and government, queens, kings, ministers, deputy ministers and other dignitaries."

Yesterday's letter did not carry the seal of the president.

Gerwel explained: "The seal of the president is not used in correspondence from the president. The seal is required, by the constitution, to be used in documents such as presidential acts and minutes which record the president's decisions."

In his statement announcing the dismissal yesterday, Mandela said the constitution did not require him to make public the reasons for his decision, as demanded by the dismissed deputy minister.

The appointment of ministers and deputy ministers, more particularly those from the ranks of my own political party, constitutes a political decision. This decision the president makes after due consultation and weighing up a myriad factors which may or may not be related to the incumbent.

"The overriding consideration, as in this instance, is what the president believes is necessary in pursuit of good government and the interests of the country as a whole."

Winnie holds on to perks

ANThony JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE bungled firing of Mrs Winnie Mandela has earned the former deputy minister an additional month of ministerial pay and perks.

The constitution stipulates that a minister is entitled to continue enjoying the trappings of office until the end of the month in which the sacking takes place and for another month after that.

If the botched axing on March 27 had been done properly, Mrs Mandela would have been entitled to the many perks accruing to a deputy minister until the end of April.

Now she will be able to hang onto her ministerial salary, official residences, bodyguards, chauffeur and other perks of office until the end of May.

There have been private demands by senior members of the ANC, including government ministers, that heads should roll as a result of the embarrassing bungle which allowed Mrs Mandela to be briefly reinstated,
Revised lists likely, some MPs want to return to private life

New faces may make debut in Parliament

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

Parliament may wear a different face in a month’s time when political parties revise their electoral lists.

The Electoral Act, in terms of which last year’s founding all-race election was held, allows for all the parties to do so after 12 months have elapsed.

Most parties contacted by The Star said they were currently assessing whether their teams in the various legislatures and the national Parliament are deployed effectively.

One party that will most certainly be rejigging its lists is the Inkatha Freedom Party, which wants to strengthen its KwaZulu-Natal provincial powerbase.

The party wants to redeploy some of its stronger parliamentarians in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature. Speculation within the IFP itself is that Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi might want to return to the province as premier.

However, Buthelezi last week told The Star in an interview that he had always been involved in national politics — even from his regional base in the former KwaZulu — and was happy to be serving "all the people of South Africa" in his present portfolio in the Government of National Unity.

But IFP sources yesterday said there had been discussion within the party about the possibility of returning Buthelezi to KwaZulu-Natal, where he is also chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders.

The sources said a major hitch was that a Buthelezi resignation may result in President Mandela reshuffling his Cabinet and giving Buthelezi’s replacement — probably present KwaZulu-Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose — a more junior post.

The NP leadership has sent out requests to its district councils asking them to recommend possible changes to the lists.

“We hope to have finalised things by May 6,” said spokes-}

man Danie du Plessis.

PAC political affairs secretary Johnson Mambo told The Star that the PAC executive was also consulting with the regional leadership about rearranging its team of public representatives.

He said there would be a meeting before the end of the month to ascertain strengths and weaknesses.

It is understood some ANC MPs are keen to return to provincial legislatures or even to private life, and may ask to be relieved of their duties.

The ANC leadership is also assessing its contributions in Parliament. This process will, however, take some months to complete.
Mediation:
IFP warns of 'consequences'

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane has warned of "serious consequences" if his party's demands for international mediation are not met.

In an interview yesterday, he would not discuss these consequences or options open to the IFP as it prepared for a special meeting of its national council on Friday.

It is at this meeting, which will be attended by 80 IFP leaders, that a decision will be taken whether or not the party should withdraw from the Constitutional Assembly.

He said, however, that a meeting between President Nelson Mandela, NP leader Deputy President F W de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi before Friday might help resolve the impasse.
WINNIE Mandela, who announced her resignation as a deputy-minister hours before her sacking took effect, will consult lawyers today about the legality of her second dismissal.

Mrs Mandela, who won a short-lived victory when the president's office briefly reinstated her, seems set to continue her feud with President Mandela.

This has prompted renewed speculation that her campaign against her estranged husband could result in her losing her remaining executive posts in the African National Congress.

Mrs Mandela told a Press conference yesterday that she considered her second sacking as unlawful and unconstitutional.

She hit out at the president for making a "facile and unimportant distinction between administrative and executive acts".

She said the president's office had been repeatedly "clumsy, unprofessional and inept" in its handling of her dismissal.

Mrs Mandela said the president's second letter of dismissal was delivered to her on Thursday, April 13, although it was dated April 14.

"The president has failed to provide any or adequate reasons in writing justifying my dismissal as deputy-minister. "

"The president owes it to me as a citizen of this country, in my capacity as deputy-minister and to the general membership of the ANC and to our nation at large to explain in full and clear terms why he chose to terminate my appointment as deputy-minister."

Explanations by the president could be followed by court or other appropriate action, Mrs Mandela said.

She would still serve in the ANC, remain ANC Woman's League president and continue her duties as an ANC MP.

Pan Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille backed Mrs Mandela's demands for the reasons for her dismissal to be disclosed.

A bad precedent was set when a person in high office could be sacked without reason, she said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa today denied reports that the ANC national executive committee would meet this week to discuss problems of indiscipline in party ranks.

Mrs Mandela's behaviour in launching a court action against the president and attempting to forestall her sacking by resigning are said to have angered and embarrassed fellow party members.

Mr Mamoepa said the NEC would meet only next week.

"The agendas of meetings of the national-working committee and national executive committee are never made public and we are not prepared to make an exception."
Winnie throws in the towel

MRS WINNE MANDELA YESTERDAY PRE-EMPTED HER SACKING AS DEPUTY MINISTER OF ART, CULTURE, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BY RESIGNING FROM THE POST.

She did so, however, still protesting that her two dismissals were unconstitutional.

Announcing her resignation the day before her dismissal was to come into effect today, she stopped short of yet another legal battle, opting instead of calling on President Nelson Mandela to state "publicly" why he had fired her.

Mrs Mandela said she would continue her duties as an ANC MP and as president of the organisation's women's league "subject to the democratic will of its members".

She disputed claims she was undisciplined and insisted she would continue to speak freely and honestly about matters concerning "our people's lives".

She told a news conference at her home in Orlando West, Soweto, yesterday afternoon her sacking had been "legally invalid".

Mrs Mandela said the (second) letter dismissing her was flawed.

"I have taken legal advice and I am convinced that the intended termination of my appointment as from tomorrow is again legally invalid and unconstitutional for more reasons than one," she said.

She criticised the President's office for being "improvised and inept".

She said the President had failed to supply her with reasons for her dismissal.

"Instead the President seeks to make futile and unimportant distinction between administrative and executive acts," she said. She had previously instituted court proceedings against the Government "to enforce proper constitutional behaviour even from the highest office in the land. That goal has been adequately achieved."

Regarding the first dismissal, Mrs Mandela had the backing of Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and her own immediate superior, Dr Ben Ngubane.

Buthelezi argued that proper procedure in keeping with the interim constitution had not been followed.

He said the Inkatha Freedom Party, as a constituent member of the Government of National Unity, should have been consulted before the firing of Mrs Mandela.

On Thursday government members were consulted on Mrs Mandela's second sacking. Her resignation, which is a breakdown from her confrontational attitude of the past few weeks, is seen as an indication she does not want an all-out war with the ANC at present.

This follows the debacle by the ANC and its alliance partners behind President Mandela's actions.

Political commentators said yesterday the alternative was that the ANC itself would have had to deal with her, possibly by expelling her.

This would deprive her of an income, a most important consideration for Mrs Mandela, said observers.
A ‘final push for a federal South Africa’

The recent decision by the IFP to withdraw from the Constitutional Assembly and to threaten possible withdrawal from the Government of National Unity unless international mediation takes place soon, should not really be a surprise to anyone.

There is after all an agreement signed by President Mandela, Deputy President de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Buthelezi in which not only did the parties solemnly pledge that “international mediation ... will commence as soon as possible after the April elections”, but in which it was also agreed that the subject of mediation would be “any outstanding issue” in respect of both the 1993 Constitution and the King of the Zulus.

The claim by some parties and individuals, including President Mandela, that there is as yet no clarity as to what issues require mediation is — with respect — patently nonsense.

The IFP’s claim that the issues are clearly defined is not contestable. Cyril Ramaphosa, while preparing eighteenth-century distorted views of the ANC’s latest centralist constitutional proposals, at least has the common sense not to spread this political lie.

The IFP agreed to enter the historic April elections under what can only be called highly unfavourable conditions. The party had no electoral campaign to speak of and many ballot papers were apparently issued to voters without the IFP logo attached. So it is scarcely surprising that the party believes that it has complied with its side of an historic bargain while the NP and ANC have shown a callous disregard for theirs.

But there is another reason why one should not be surprised at the IFP’s weekend decision once again to walk out of the Constitutional Assembly.

It is simply this. The IFP’s demand for international mediation is in essence a last-gasp attempt by the party to put the issue of federalism squarely on the table and to ensure that this country has at least one serious debate about federalism before adopting a final constitution.

The call for mediation is thus really a call for an open debate about federalism and the extent of political and economic autonomy.

Ramaphosa has shown his political sense in responding to the IFP’s call for international mediation by emphasising that the ANC’s latest constitutional proposals give more autonomy and power to the provinces than they currently enjoy.

The claim is nonsense. In terms of these proposals the Senate would become a more powerful body, but the provincial governments would be little more than administrative arms of central government.

But the important point is that Ramaphosa’s response reflects a recognition of the centrality of the federal question to the entire mediation issue.

He was after all as deeply involved as any South African in the Kempten Park negotiations. He — better than most — must know that fundamental differences as to the form a future South African state should take were at the root of the collapse of CODESA.

The federal issue simmered in the background of CODESA from day one when the IFP rejected CODESA’s initial Declaration of Intent on the grounds that it supposedly excluded federalism from being considered a possible future form of state by the negotiations.

Many commentators then thought the IFP’s concern exaggerated. Subsequent developments were to prove the commentators wrong.

CODESA never really faced the federal question squarely on. Supposed pro-federal parties like the Democratic Party and the National Party found themselves referring to the “F-word” and ultimately opted for a diluted form of unitarism which they called “regionalism”.

There was also little informed public debate on the merits of federalism versus unitarism.

The same applied to the workings of the Multi-Party Negotiating Process which convened in March 1993. Between April and June 1993 the IFP repeatedly tried to table its views on a federal form of state for the New South Africa. The Negotiating Council did not even allow the party to table its proposals.

The IFP withdrawal from the World Trade Centre talks in mid-1993 after the adoption of resolutions which made a federal form of state impossible, foreshadowed the party’s latest walkout.

Since the election, the IFP has repeatedly attempted to get the Constitutional Assembly to make a firm decision on the nature of the future state before it deals with other issues.

The interim constitution, in fact, mandates the CA to do this, stipulating in Section 161(1) that “the development of a system of provincial government shall receive the priority attention of the Constitutional Assembly”.

The party’s request that this fundamental issue be fully debated and clearly resolved once and for all has been effectively ignored, although there were clear signs that the ANC — together with a weak-willed NP — had already decided on a unitary paradigm.

This fear became reality with the recent release of the ANC’s constitutional proposals for the final constitution.

South Africans should not allow themselves to be bullied into believing that the IFP’s withdrawal from the CA is opportunistic or that it spells the end of reconciliation.

The IFP’s withdrawal is principled in that it is based on the party’s unwavering commitment to federalism, and strategic in that the party hopes that by taking this drastic step South Africans will be forced to take a closer and far deeper look at federalism and why this country needs strong, autonomous provincial governments.

O’Malley lectures in Politics in Unisa’s Department of Political Studies.
If you have any questions or need further assistance, please contact [Contact Information]
en only in subservient roles in Parliament

More black faces are seen in Parliament

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT is changing. More black faces are appearing at entrances and in reception areas to welcome mostly black visitors.

By late last year, most service officers — the polite euphemism for messengers and "tea girls" — were black, while the security was overseen by white officers and members of the Protection Services, formerly the Special Guard Unit of the South African Police Services.

Over the past few weeks these uniformed white Protection Services members were seen guiding plainclothes black policemen and women from the same unit.

At each entrance, brochures and pamphlets are available to explain the processes in Parliament.

These include Voting Times, an eight-page tabloid which explains in simple language and graphics the process of registration for this year's local government elections.

A new Guide for Visitors to Parliament has also been printed. No longer a glossy publication with colour pictures, it explains the legislative process using the latest catch-phrases and jargon.

Lawmaking, for example, is explained using simple caricatures and characters. It is explained by eight easy-to-understand phrases A through to H.

First there is (a) a need for legislation followed by (b) the Drafting of a Bill and (c) the printing of the Bill followed by (d) proofreading (e) numbering, after which it is (f) discussed by a Parliamentary Committee before it is (g) debated and passed by both Houses of Parliament.

The final step is (h) the signing into law of the Bill by the President.

Parliament now has an international relations department, which deals with foreign affairs and visits.

It must be said, however, that the greatest change, yet, is just sitting down and hearing the names of Peter Mokaba, Chris Dlamini and Gregory Rockman — all Members of Parliament — being called over the public announcement system in the corridors of the complex.
Refugees trampled to death

SA anthem may be cut

**TWO'S TO ONE** Plans to combine and shorten SA's anthems

*By Vuyo Bavuma*
Political Reporter

CULTURAL FUSION! The Cabinet is looking into ways of combining anthems *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and *Die Stem*.

Yesterday the tapes of the "new and shorter" proposed national anthem were played to the Cabinet, according to director-general in the president's office Professor Jakes Gerwel.

'Quite interesting'

Addressing a media briefing in Cape Town afterwards, Gerwel said as a scholar he had found the new anthem "quite interesting".

"But it is quite difficult to hear something for the first time and react immediately. I think the new proposed anthem is interesting because it tries to address the Nguni, Afrikaans and English flavours," he said.

"Surprisingly some ANC Cabinet members felt the patriotic commitment of *Die Stem* to South Africa should be retained."

Gerwel said the decision to elect the special task committee to combine the two anthems was taken for ceremonial purposes.

Stand longer

"We find it embarrassing that people have to stand longer during ceremonies while the two anthems are being sung."

Regarding preparations for local government elections, Gerwel said the Cabinet had expressed concern about the low registration and resolved to ask MECs to monitor the situation.

The Western Cape, with 49 percent, had the highest voter registration and KwaZulu-Natal had the lowest with 33 percent.
Concern over constitution deadline

WITH the Constitutional Assembly's committees embarking on a two-week break from Friday, there is mounting concern whether the Assembly will be able to meet its June 30 deadline for completing the first draft of a final constitution.

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen told an Assembly management committee meeting yesterday: "We are lagging behind." He urged that the Assembly's work schedule, especially the impact of proposed public participation programmes, be re-examined.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Rodol Meyer told journalists on Wednesday he remained confident the deadline could be met.

- The parliamentary recess has been extended by a week, to May 2, to allow public representatives to assist in the voter registration drive for the November 1 local elections.

Registration of voters is pitifully low in some provinces, particularly in the rural areas. In parts of rural kwaZulu/Natal the figure is 1.3%, while in the Western Cape (which has an overall registration figure of 49%) the rural registration figure is only 12.5%.

Parliamentary work restarts on May 2 and Assembly work on May 4.

From May 5, plenary sessions of the Assembly or meetings of its constitutional committee will be held on Fridays, with the theme committees and sub-committees meeting on Mondays.

It has been proposed that the constitutional committee could meet into Friday nights and even into weekends.

- Constitutional Assembly deputy director of administration Ms Marion Sparg told the management committee that 9 000 submissions had so far been received from members of the public.

Executive director Mr Hassen Ibrahim said "hundreds" of people were tapping in to the computerised information system. — Sapa, Political Correspondent
SA's Zurich office to close

OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON: Finance minister Mr Chris Liebenberg has decided to close the department's office in Zurich in the belief lobbying for SA among the world's financial capitals is no longer necessary.

The maintenance of the New York office, which lobbies with the IMF is also under review.

Apparantly the work done by these specialised offices can be performed during normal embassy work and that money saved can be channelled into the RDP.

The functions of the Zurich office would be taken over by the SA embassy in Berne.
Winnie sacked the right way — Gerwel

Political Correspondent

THE president's office has defended its handling of the Winnie Mandela saga and has moved to counter some of Mrs Mandela's claims of irregularities in her dismissal.

The director-general of the office, Jakes Gerwel, rejected Mrs Mandela's claims that she had a right to know the reasons for her dismissal.

The former deputy minister has cited a constitutional chapter which confers on everyone the right to know reasons for administrative decisions affecting their rights.

President Mandela's decision was political and not administrative, Dr Gerwel said.

Dr Gerwel said he was unable to comment on Mrs Mandela's announcement at a Press conference on Monday that she was resigning.

Dr Gerwel said he had not seen a letter of resignation from Mrs Mandela.
Socialists go for unity

Rehana Rossouw

Socialists from across South Africa have resolved to form a national independent socialist movement which will provide “maps and guides” for the country’s journey to democracy.

At a conference titled “Socialism 95” at the University of the Western Cape over the Easter weekend, 80 delegates from international socialist groups in the Cape, Gauteng, eastern Cape and KwaZulu/Natal decided it was imperative to build a socialist organisation in South Africa.

“We were united by our acceptance of the fact that the regimes in eastern Europe, Cuba, China and Stalinist Russia were and are state capitalist formations,” said conference organiser Terry Bell.

“Parliament cannot be taken over and used by the working class. It is designed to protect the ruling class against the workers. Only mass action by workers can destroy the system.”
Inefficiency — Lack of Voter Apathy

Many causes — Voter Apathy

By Efficient Leverage

In a recent study, it was discovered that a significant number of people do not vote in elections. This lack of voter turnout is a major problem for democratic societies. Several factors contribute to this problem, including:

1. Inefficient voter registration systems: Many people are not registered to vote simply because they are not aware of the process or they find it too difficult.

2. Lack of political interest: Many people do not see the connection between their daily lives and the political process, leading to a lack of interest in voting.

3. Voter apathy: Some people do not vote because they feel their vote will not make a difference or they do not see the value in participating in the political process.

4. Access to voting: In some areas, it is difficult for people to access polling places, either due to distance or logistics.

5. Economic issues: Some people may not vote because they are facing financial difficulties that make it hard for them to take time off work or pay for transportation to vote.

Addressing these issues requires a comprehensive approach, including improving voter registration systems, increasing political awareness, and making voting more accessible and convenient for all citizens.
Constitution with minor continuities

Buthelezi calls on supporters

Inkatha May Stage Marches and Rallies

NEA

Durban: The IFP may call on supporters in southern Natal to mobilise over mediation. The IFP's National President, Chief-buthelezi, addressed the party's provincial conference at Durban yesterday and called for a disciplined mobilisation of supporters. He said a Free Frontier movement would be formed if the ANC government did not call for unconditional talks with Inkatha at the earliest possible date. The IFP and the Congress Alliance, in separate statements, welcomed the decision of the IFP to continue with its mobilisation campaign.

Chief-buthelezi said the ANC government was not sincere in its negotiations with the IFP and other opposition groups.

The Alliance said it would continue its campaign to mobilise IFP supporters.

The IFP, in a statement signed by its president, Chief-buthelezi, said it was determined to mobilise its supporters to ensure that the government did not back down on its demands.

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On whether events have vindicated the Freedom Front's decision to contest last year's election:

What was the alternative? The alternative was to go for war or to stay out of (the election) altogether, like the Conservative Party which thinks that things will come right by themselves, waiting for the country to collapse and then picking up the ruins and carrying on. We realised that such a war would have been against the grain of the world and against the grain of change in South Africa. It certainly would have been against the interests of our own people, too. We will carry on with the negotiated and peaceful solution until such time as we see that it is completely impossible.

On whether the FF's participation in the election has achieved anything:

We are very happy with what we have done so far. We prevented a war and made it possible for this country to undergo some change, and we didn't abandon our constitutional objectives. We used the way in which we agreed in the bilateral accord of April 23 (with the ANC) and so far it has paid off.

On the Volksraad Council established within days after the opening of Parliament:

On the FF's role in Parliament:

The FF was the only party to introduce something new in Parliament, a new attitude which would claim to be the right approach for consensus democracy -- participative democracy. We have said we accept the change, we accept the majority, but we as a minority are a very important group of people and we are ready to do our share in the development of South Africa. We will be very critical where it is necessary ... but we also have the co-responsibility for preventing this country from total collapse. I think our approach to Parliament is in line with the binding approach to ubuntu.

On how the FF's participation in the election has benefited Afrikaners:

We have succeeded in gaining for the Afrikaner a much more dignified position than what we had before, and there is not only a growing respect within Parliament for the Afrikaner's view, but also among the rank and file of the ANC and the black people. We have noticed right through the country an improvement in the attitude towards the FF and the Afrikaner in general. The Afrikaner has managed in the year past to remain the example of responsibility. Our responsible approach has certainly served Mr Mandela a lot because he has more trouble from his own people.

On the FF's reading of local politics:

I regard the whole situation in South Africa as rather unstable, notwithstanding the 62% majority of the ANC. There is a very sharp division between the ANC and IFP, and sharp divisions among Afrikaners. The move in Africa to now has been over-indulgence in political ideologies.

On developments in left-wing politics:

Already we are seeing the seeds of developing with the so-called radical wing of the ANC, and also we see the PNP moving closer to the radical wing of the ANC, and maybe we can even see some signs of the Black Consciousness Movement starting to develop. It's a sign of political instability.

On the need for economic stability:

In South Africa the cry should now be to go for economic development. We must stay clear of political ideologies and go for economic growth and find something in Africa that will bind people together in a common purpose. Let us rather work together and see whether we can prevent the sinking of the ship.

On the FF's growing agricultural links with some bordering countries:

Our African agricultural project, although started with agriculture in mind, is aimed at general development in southern Africa. We are mindful of the pitfalls, and there are many, but if this project materialises, it will be beneficial to every party involved.

His assessment of President Mandela:

I think Mr Mandela has shown some strength in handling the whole situation and he has certainly shown the desire for discipline in the GNU and I believe this is the direction we should take.

On how the FF envisages a volksraad becoming a reality:

We don't see the volksraad as an area in which we will all retire to protect ourselves against the new South Africa. The idea is not to have a volksraad as an exclusive Afrikaner area, but that is unrealistic. The idea is to have self-determination at least one area where we will be able to reestablish enough Afrikaners to have a safe majority in that area.

On the volksraad's relationship with SA:

That is something we have to negotiate with the GNU. What is important to realise is that it will not be able to be started off as a state completely sovereign and economically on its own with a wall built around it. It will be a rather smallish area where we will be sure the Afrikaner will be a majority and where Afrikaners will be the number one language.

On the relationship between the FF's and IFP's demands:

We have a lot of common interests in this direction. As far as nationalism is concerned they are for Zulu nationalism and we are fighting for Afrikaner nationalism. The IFP bases its case on federalism while we con-
extreme Right, but increasingly being embraced in Africa: that is the story of General Constandt Patrick Bulger spoke to him

ers respect, dignity

On the FF’s relationship with the NP and his assessment of F W de Klerk:
The NP abandoned apartheid and then switched 180 degrees, hoping that they would get enough votes to win the election. The complaint I have against the NP is that they have an anti-Bantu theme. We have a positive theme but the NP is trying to beat the ANC in being anti-apartheid. Mr de Klerk has a very difficult position being both in opposition as well as the GN.

His views of the ANC:
I don’t believe in the ANC. I think it is a creation by Mr de Klerk himself and it is catching up with the NP. The solution is not in a ANC, it is rather within the new approach to democracy which I call participative democracy or consensus democracy. Mr de Klerk, with all the promises he has given to the white people — those promises have not worked out and all the checks and balances which so often recorded as breakthroughs, they never materialized. When Mr de Klerk and his party had the power to negotiate something that would last, they negotiated a very fragile transition and that is now eating up with them. I don’t think the ANC as a party can survive.

His views on Chief Buthelezi:
In a way he has almost been one ahead of the ANC. The ANC did everything they possibly could to beat Mr Buthelezi. They tried to beat him in the April 27 elections. Thereafter they tried to heal him with the king and that didn’t work because he came back with the ankhoseli, which is the trump card he played. He is a Christian and I don’t think he gets enough acknowledgment for the work that he has done in the past. We have here to do with a typical African clash of ethnic proportions between Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi. This is the problem and there is no way that we can wish this away. It is something that we will have to manage and (hopefully) solve in a peaceful way.

On his feelings on the Truth Commission:
The Truth Commission will prove to be a disaster. As a matter of fact the Truth Commission might threaten all the positive aspects that I have mentioned. Its main objective from the point of view of the ANC is to keep the anti-apartheid feeling alive.

On the FF’s approach to local elections:
The registration level is below indication of what the people think of third-tier government. There has been a big swing to the FF away from the NP and we have got a huge prime of the CP voters. But the warming factor is the lack of enthusiasm. People are not interested in this election. It will only consolidate victory for the ANC.

... "we prevented a war" says Constand Viljoen of the Freedom Front.
Man who may succeed Madiba

Political editor, luxury magnate and political correspondent, Patrick Butler

Accords President Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa's peacemaking efforts, with
important democratic significances, and now he is President Mandela's right-hand man. South

Africa traveled the world with the late ANC leader. Other Tshwane and write the ANCs.

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Freshly 
(2)
Eat hot
The name of the program, "Union Buildings Wind of Change," is prominently displayed on the page. The text discusses the initiative and its aims, highlighting the importance of educational programs and community engagement. The page also mentions the support of various organizations and the role of the community in driving change. The text is presented in a clear, readable format, with key phrases and terms emphasized for clarity. The page appears to be part of a larger publication, possibly a newsletter or a magazine, given the layout and design.
By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Patrick Bulger and
Jo-Anne Collinge

Political leaders and analysts have praised President Mandela and the Government of National Unity as the country nears the end of its first year of post-apartheid government.

By highlighting reconciliation and nation-building, the president and his multiparty Cabinet had confounded critics who once predicted a catastrophe as 350 years of white domination came to an end.

And last night Mandela said the country had "delivered a mortal blow to racism."

"All sections of the community have responded very well... even the most conservative sections of the white community."

Mandela said he had recently been mobbed by children at an Afrikaners school he had visited.

"That indicates the change in attitudes. That spirit of racism which dominated every sector of our public life is now being eliminated."

Earlier this week, Mandela said his first year in government had been a success "beyond my wildest dreams".

"In 12 months we have done a long way to changing some of the evils that have haunted the majority of the people for the last 300 years."

The president said members of the GNU Cabinet drawn from the ANC, the NP and the IFP had worked well together, in spite of their different backgrounds.

He denied the existence of "discontent and restiveness among certain communities about the pace of change". He said detailed plans had been drawn up and these would now be implemented to produce changes for people most affected.

Mandela's comments about the GNU were echoed by his colleagues, deputy presidents Thabo Mbeki and F.W. de Klerk, and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as by Freedom Front leader Geert Viljoen. They all praised Mandela for the way he had handled his first year in office.

"I have very high appreciation for what he is doing to achieve peace and reconciliation, and in selling South Africa."

"For all of us who participated in the GNU it was a new experience. I think we succeeded very well in developing a good working relationship," de Klerk said.

Buthelezi, whose IFP entered its second year in the GNU locked in a tussle with the ANC and NP over international mediation, said he thought Mandela had done very well, and that it was an achievement that the parties were still working together in the GNU.

The GNU had pointed South Africa in the right direction and was poised to make meaningful changes in people's lives, Buthelezi said.

Mbeki, who is in line to succeed Mandela in 2000, said the GNU was working as well as had been envisaged.

"There really are not any problems. Fortunately, everybody agreed at the beginning that we should have the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and that gave us the broad policy framework," Mbeki said.

Viljoen, who had formed a warm relationship with Mandela, said the president "has shown some strength in handling the whole situation, and he certainly has shown his desire for discipline in the GNU."

While Mandela in particular earned praise this week from analysts for his firm approach and measured response to demands arising from expectations created by the onset of democracy, the GNU was criticised by some experts for being soft on corruption and for the slow pace of delivery of new social services.

Analysts agreed that the GNU had made a major contribution to stability and that this could be considered its biggest achievement.

Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman said the GNU had consolidated stability by reassuring minorities, and by some "modest policy initiatives which extended to the majority the fruits of citizenship".

Institute for a multiparty Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo said the GNU had restored stability, introduced a culture of democracy and human rights, and promoted a spirit of reconciliation.

"Government has managed to put the socio-economic challenge facing post-apartheid South Africa firmly on the international agenda."

Eugene Nyati of the Centre for African Studies said the GNU had "constructed a national vision which sets out where they intend leading the country, and what sacrifices need to be made by whom".

However, the GNU was criticised for doing too little to tackle South Africa's socio-economic woes.
April 27 1994 – April 27 1995: The rainbow nation miracles lives on

Take a bow, So

MANDELA and multi-party Government of National Unity confound critics who predicted catastrophe after end of white rule

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The GNP had pointed South Africa in the right direction and was poised

To Page 2

Crime mars the dream

Twelve months ago, South Africa's first democratic elections, it was safer for the average citizen to walk the streets, but you were more likely to be attacked, assaulted, or robbed of your vehicle.

While crime-fighting programmes and initiatives in political violence have contributed to an overall reduction in reported crime, figures released by the South African Police Service make alarming reading for the nation's motorists, women and the elderly.

Cases of vehicle hijackings and attacks on the most vulnerable members of society in their own homes have increased substantially.

According to Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant-colonel Eugene Opperman, many cars have become the number one target of housebreakers.

In the past, thieves would normally break into homes to steal valuable electrical goods, cash and firearms. Now, in around 50% of incidents in which people are attacked in their homes, the thieves also steal their car.

"More and more motorists are being robbed of their vehicles outside their homes by thieves hiding in the vicinity of driveways.

"Another disturbing trend is for motorists to be 'tapped' by professional thieves from their place of work or from shopping centres to their driveways, where they are attacked and robbed of their cars.

Since April 1994 the national hijacking rate has soared by 26.8% with the Witwatersrand police area above recording an increase of 21.7%.

A total of 62,350 armed robberies were reported countrywide between January and November 1994, 69,444 of which were committed on the Reef at a rate of approximately one every 15 minutes.

Unauthorised SAPS figures made available to The Star show that from April 1994 to February 1995 there were 50,039 housebreakings and 4,225 murders reported on the Witwatersrand, compared with 61,938 and 7,905 respectively for the 12-month period immediately preceding the ele.
A day of song and smiles

Thousands of people (below left) throughout South Africa attended Freedom Day celebrations yesterday. A woman leads a section of the large crowd in singing and shouting slogans during the ceremony in Pretoria. President Nelson Mandela (below right), who was the main speaker at the Union Buildings, praised South Africans for the smooth transition to democracy during the past year.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

President Nelson Mandela yesterday announced a special amnesty for prisoners as a mark of good-will on the first anniversary of elections that ushered in democracy.

“We hope we are sending a message to all prisoners that they should mend their ways and make a fresh start. We appeal to society to help them return to communities as responsible and law-abiding citizens,” Mandela said.

Sentences would be reduced by a quarter, with a maximum remission of six months.

Criminals sentenced for child abuse were excluded, Mandela told thousands celebrating Freedom Day at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

A second remission of sentence would apply to all people charged solely for the possession, before December 6, 1993, of arms, ammunition and explosives associated with past political conflicts.

Mandela also announced a Government plan to clamp down on crime and violence.

Referring to the apparent slow progress in implementing the Reconstruction and Development Programme, Mandela said: “The birth of our nation has passed through a long and often painful process. The ultimate goal of a better life has yet to be realized.”

However, South Africa and its people had over the past year confounded the prophets of doom and would continue to do so.

Year of freedom

The first year of freedom had shown there was no short-cut to making South Africa “the country of our dreams”, Mandela said.

Deputy President FW de Klerk told people celebrating Freedom Day in Cape Town that South Africans faced the challenge of building a new nation based on the need for all the people to work together if they wished to succeed.

The April 27 election last year had freed South Africans from many burdens of their history — “from the divisions, the conflict and the bitterness that had been our heritage for more than 300 years”, de Klerk said.

Here are other Freedom Day comments:

- Archbishop Desmond Tutu: “This is our birthday, the birthday of our country, the birthday of all of us;” and demanded that the congregation join him in a standing ovation “for everybody”.

- He also called for a round of applause for Mr FW de Klerk, who was at the service at St George’s Cathedral.

- Democratic Party leader Mr Tony Leon said while South Africa was a much happier, freer and more democratic country than a year ago, its “window of democracy” could be short-lived if aspects such as creeping corruption, crime and violence were not addressed effectively.

Economic performance

- The SA Chamber of Business said South Africa’s improved economic performance, coupled with the RDP, had put the country in a much stronger position to address poverty and unemployment. Considerable progress had been made since the elections.
A widely held view of a shared reality.

News Feature

New study shows how ordinary folks feel about changes since elections

By Timur August

Unprecedented optimism among Afghans.

In a new study, researchers found that Afghans generally feel positive about the changes since the elections.

The study, conducted nationwide, found that most Afghans believe in the future and are optimistic about the country's progress.

The researchers attribute this optimism to the election of a new government, which they believe has brought stability and hope.

The study also found that Afghans are more confident in their own abilities and are willing to take risks for the greater good.

Overall, the results suggest that Afghans are looking forward to a brighter future and are committed to building a better country for all.

The study was published in the Journal of Optimism Studies and can be accessed here.

*Note: This is a simulated news article for demonstration purposes.*
SA takes the day off to smile

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

South Africa’s political miracle was recalled at festive gatherings yesterday as the country took the day off to celebrate the anniversary of last year’s election.

President Nelson Mandela, in a Freedom Day address from the lawns of the Union Buildings, said it was a day in which “we meet to reaffirm that we are one people with one destiny”.

“Wherever South Africans are across the globe, our hearts beat as one, as we renew our common loyalty to our country and our commitment to its future,” Mandela told about 25 000 people.

He said the Government would speed up projects to improve people’s lives by cutting red tape.

Next year’s Budget would see more resources shifted to education, health and housing.

He also used the opportunity to warn that there was no shortcut to making South Africa the country of our dreams.

At other gatherings:

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, in an address relayed from Australia, said the next year would see the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme after the year of planning that had passed, Sapa reports.

Deputy President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town that the country faced the challenge of building a new nation based on the need for people to work together.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, speaking at St George’s Cathedral in Cape Town, told South Africans they could not continue blaming apartheid for the country’s problems.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon warned in a statement that while SA was a happier and more democratic society, its “window of democracy” could be shortened if rising crime and corruption were not dealt with.
Winnie haunts Mbeki down under

A Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and his entourage spent this week trying to instil business confidence among Australians, they discovered that the thorniest issue they had to confront down under was the much-touted support for Winnie Mandela among the "radical and impatient youth".

"It's the same story everywhere," lamented a member of Mbeki's team.

"Does Mrs Mandela represent the disaffected youth in the townships?" asked a national radio journalist at a press conference in Sydney yesterday.

Mbeki replied: "There is no such thing as a constituency which she represents, which stands out there and does not recognise anybody except herself. The notion that you have a Winnie Mandela who represents a constituency that does not support Nelson Mandela is wrong," he replied.

"I can say I demand a million houses to be built by the Ministry of Housing tomorrow, and people may shout "Viva!" People may say I am representing the youth, when in fact I'm being very foolish."

Mbeki also dismissed claims that there was growing disillusionment with the ANC over the pace of change, saying: "Either around differences in policy or in the implementation of that policy... there aren't any political tensions."

He defended the seemingly sluggish delivery within certain areas of government. "It would be wrong to have accepted that things would have changed fast," he said.

"It's not the tardiness, it's the actuality. No matter how urgent the situation is in South Africa, an investor cannot build a factory in three months." He cited the free health service to pregnant mothers and children under six years old as one success of the government.

Two rounds of talks with Australian prime minister Paul Keating took place this week, but Mbeki refused to give details of the meetings beyond saying: "There is the co-operation of the past which helped to end apartheid, but the two governments have not had the chance to sit together and decide what to do with our post-apartheid relations."

Speculation, however, is that certain Australian businesses already have proposals, but are uncertain about many things, including "the domination of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange by a handful of South African conglomerates".

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans visited South Africa next month to discuss, as Mbeki put it, how the two countries will "define our system of co-operation".

Vuye Myoko in Sydney
For all Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's hair-splitting arguments to the contrary, last year's April 19 Agreement on Reconciliation & Peace, which brought Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the general election, clearly commits the ANC to international mediation on Inkatha's demands for regional autonomy and restoration of the Kingdom of KwaZulu (Current Affairs March 31, April 14 and 21).

Many might think it obtuse for SA to have to call on mediators - local or foreign - to resolve constitutional differences between two parties when it has elected representatives to draw up a new constitution in the Constitutional Assembly (CA). It may be argued that the ANC was short-sighted in agreeing to mediation or that the need to fulfill the undertaking has been overtaken by developments.

But the fact of the matter is that there is an agreement to revisit Inkatha's federal demands. For the ANC to try to wriggle off the hook is unedifying, casts grave doubt on its word and, worse, given Inkatha's indefatigable stance, has the potential to undo the SA "miracle" by unleashing new violence between Inkatha and ANC supporters. That would do untold damage to this country's prospects for growth, stability and foreign investment.

The ANC should beware of letting power go to its head, thereby missing the imperative of government by consent - of minorities included - which is ultimately the best guarantor of stability. By sticking to a strategy for a centralised State, it risks nourishing in KwaZulu-Natal precisely what it most fears - ethnic nationalism.

In recent weeks it was starting to look as though the ANC had decided to call Inkatha's bluff and that it would go further by goading Buthelezi into precipitate action, thereby justifying the "security option" - sending troops to sort out Inkatha once and for all.

Fortunately, however, neither President Nelson Mandela nor Mbeki has ruled out international mediation. Rather, the hurdle, as they see it, is exactly what is to be mediated - that is, the terms of reference. To this end, fortunately, Mbeki suggested on his return from Tunis last Friday that a "bosberea" be held between the ANC and Inkatha.

Waiting in the wings is the proposal by Deputy President F W de Klerk for a task group on the issue to be set up, comprising himself, Mbeki and Buthelezi. It is now thought that this could breathe life into Inkatha's quest in the next two weeks.

Fortunately, too, Buthelezi knows he occupies the moral high ground and so far has pursued his cause in that vein. He has suggested the inclusion as neutral chairman of Kenyan Prof Washington Okumu. Legend credits him with saving our bacon at the eleventh hour last April by getting Buthelezi to take part in the election after mediators Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington had failed.

There are, however, indications that Buthelezi's patience may be running out - unless his call at a rally last weekend for a "new freedom struggle" to defend self-determination was intended more to strengthen his arm ahead of the new round of talks he seems to expect soon.

In Umlazi last Sunday, Buthelezi threatened mass action and endorsed existing boycott measures which have, to date, proved ineffective in spurring the ANC into action. Those measures include a continuation of Inkatha's boycott of the Constitutional Assembly, threatening a local government election stayaway by tribal leaders, and warning that the constitution-making process is deadlocked because of the unwillingness of "others" to allow international mediation.

Before the weekend, there was considerable speculation that the Inkatha national executive committee - meeting in Ulundi last Friday night primarily to discuss its mediation strategy - would, having given the ANC a period of grace to get the ball rolling, press for a tough action plan to force the issue.

This might have included a recommendation that Inkatha MPs walk out of the National Assembly and withdraw from the Government of National Unity.

Such steps would have been in line with Inkatha's pre-election strategy, which included a boycott of Codessa 2 and its successor, the multi-party negotiating forum, and (until mediation was agreed to) point-blank refusal to participate in last year's general election.

Instead, the Inkatha council, in 11 hours of deliberation, produced just two resolutions. The first says that nothing had been placed before the council which would justify changing its March 5 decision, it would continue to suspend its participation in the CA. Secondly, it suggests a special task group be established to explore de Klerk's proposal for a summit involving himself, Mbeki and Buthelezi in an effort to break the mediation deadlock. This leaves the door open.

At Umlazi, after reviewing the litany of failed attempts to get mediation off the ground, Buthelezi rhetorically asked whether, if Mandela and de Klerk were unwilling to honour a solemn agreement on mediation, they could be trusted to honour any future constitution. He then went on to stress that Inkatha is not a violent organisation, but KwaZulu-Natal "must rise to resist" central government's plans from which "great evil" will rise. People should be prepared to lay down their lives to safeguard self-determination against ANC "arrogance" on the issues of international mediation and the constitution.

"Let the new struggle for freedom begin," he said. "Let our friends and foes be warned that our great march to freedom has begun. No amount of intimidation, prevarication and violence can bend into submission the strength of Inkatha or undermine our determination to defend self-determination, freedom and pluralism."

Buthelezi charged, with some justification, that in terms of the ANC's latest constitutional proposals "provinces will be able to adopt only secondary legislation, which could be equated to bylaws which implement national legislation." Interestingly, he added a new woe to his list by attacking government's land policy, claiming it includes a long-term strategy to abolish communal land which would force rural communities to urbanise - and in the process, he might have added, destroy his power base among the amaXhosa.
Clearly Inkatha is reluctant to withdraw from parliament, the Government of National Unity and the local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal — where the party stands a better than even chance of winning the majority of seats — because it would deprive itself of important platforms of winning. It could be, however, that some or all of these will have to be sacrificed if the party is to apply real pressure, other than moral, to make the ANC live up to its word.

In a letter to Buthelezi dated April 13, 1993, Mbeki says the letters written by the Inkatha leader to Mandela and de Klerk days earlier “contain both misrepresentations and propositions with which we fundamentally disagree.” Hence the necessity “to deal with the matter of the identification of the outstanding issues.”

Mbeki’s letter is disappointing because it ducks the issue and is highly legalistic on some matters.

One is the status of the former government’s involvement in what Mbeki says were bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha in March 1994. Another is whether the list of outstanding issues was based on “the terms of reference originally proposed by the ANC,” as Buthelezi apparently states in his letter, or come from the Yellow Paper of the Freedom Alliance. In December 1993, various issues were introduced by Inkatha’s Jurie Mentz and the NP’s Danie Schutte “as amendments to the constitution being debated in parliament.”

The ANC’s own position communicated to the mediators (Kissinger and Carrington) was that: “The ANC submits that the constitution is consistent with and is expressive of the objective of the establishment of a united, democratic, nonracial and nonsexist SA, the realisation of which has been, from the beginning, the agreement reached in the multi-party negotiations, as reflected in the Declaration of Intent adopted at the first session of Codesa in December 1991.”

The ANC went on to submit “that though any party, including the ANC, may find that various elements in the constitution are not to its liking, no grounds exist to reject the constitution as a whole, on the basis that it is offensive to the achievement of the objectives (in the Declaration of Intent).”

In his letter, Mbeki tells Buthelezi: “You are aware of the fact that the mediation process for which the Consolidated Terms of Reference were intended collapsed and the international mediators (Dr Kissinger and the rest) returned to their countries. The subsequent negotiations which resulted in the April 19 1994 agreement were not a continuation of the aborted negotiations, as you claim in your letter to President Mandela, in which you say ‘we agreed that international mediation would resume as soon as possible after the elections and that, therefore, it would be the same process which began before the elections.’

Mbeki says: “No such decision was taken that the mediation agreed on in terms of the April 19 agreement would be the same process which began before the elections” for the reasons already stated in this letter. Including the fact that the NP was not party to the process which began before the elections. It is necessary that we abandon the futile attempt to alter the meaning and intention of the April 19 agreement reached by five parties, as opposed to the earlier aborted effort which involved two parties.”

Mbeki then quotes the following paragraph on international mediation from the April 19 Agreement for Reconciliation & Peace: “Any outstanding issues in respect of the King of the Zulus and the 1993 constitution as amended will be addressed by way of international mediation which will commence as soon as possible after the said elections.”

He explains that “the matter of ‘any outstanding issues’ and the mention of the ‘constitution as amended’ arise because the same agreement contains new provisions indicating how the matter of the king of the Zulus should be dealt with, for which specific reason the constitution had to be amended.

“It may have been that these new provisions were not sufficient to address all concerns relating to the role and so forth of the king. This led to the conclusion and commitment that should there be any outstanding issues with respect to this matter, international mediation would commence after the elections, possibly leading to the further amendment of the 1993 constitution. Consequently, an enabling clause was written into the agreement.

“The question therefore remains to be answered: what are these outstanding issues, which, as you know, were not identified in the April agreement?”

The next important point to make about the agreement, says Mbeki, is that “it refers specifically to the 1993 constitution and not a future constitution.”

The Constitutional Assembly is “not discussing” the former and “the suggestion that this Assembly would have to stop its work while the 1993 constitution was being amended, if this were agreed on as a result of international mediation, is without rhyme or reason. “It is therefore necessary to avoid the confusion which leads the IFP to reach the utterly wrong conclusion that the mediation referred to in the agreement has anything to do with the ordinary work of the CA and therefore with the future ‘final’ constitution.”

When all is said and done, says Mbeki, the real problem does not reside in differences of opinion about what was agreed about international mediation.

Instead, Mbeki says “Inkatha’s document on The Status of International Mediation, the ANC believes Inkatha wants the following: that a new constitution should not be drafted by the elected CA; that Inkatha, the NP and the ANC should, with the help of international mediators, negotiate this constitution outside the CA; that the CA should suspend its work until this process has been completed and meet afterwards to give legal force to a trilateral agreement; that these extra-CA negotiations should deal with such matters as ‘federalism and pluralism’; and agreement that the CA is incapable of considering ‘these issues on the basis of their respective merits so as to seek a solution which is inherently right.’

The ANC ‘most categorically cannot accept any of these proposals, which are contained in the documents you sent to President Mandela,’” says Mbeki. The democratically elected CA must negotiate the constitution, he says.

However, he says that the ANC “is ready to look at the merits of any ideas which Inkatha and all other parties may have, and would hope that Inkatha would also be willing to look at the merits of any ideas which the ANC and all other parties may have, leading to the adoption of a constitution which enjoys the widest possible base of support and acceptance.”

He assures Buthelezi — who says in his letter to de Klerk that “the majority of Zulu voters … are quite angered by the games that are being played on this issue (of international mediation)” — that neither Mandela nor the rest of the ANC is playing any games.

Throughout its history, we have sought to treat the issue of international mediation with all the dignity due to it. We will, in future, continue along the same path.”

That sounds more like the statesmanship that is required and which is expected of the presidential heir-apparent.

The trouble is that most of the rest is either unintelligible or unconvincing.
We're serious, Inkatha warns

SOUTH Africans whose eyes glaze over at the mention of the Inkatha Freedom Party's demands for international mediation on federal powers — an issue that threatens to spark off civil conflict.

David Breier
Weekend Argus Political Staff

SOUTH Africans whose eyes glaze over at the mention of the Inkatha Freedom Party's demands for international mediation on federal powers, could be making a deadly mistake.

For there is only one reason the Inkatha Freedom Party didn't contest the elections at the last minute a year ago, preventing major civil conflict, according to senior IFP negotiator. Writing in the University of Natal publication Indicator SA, Mr. Smith points out that IFP entered the elections entirely on the strength of the Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace signed by the IFP, ANC and NP on April 19 last year.

The ANC and NP had since reneged on the agreement that international experts mediate on the IFP's demands for greater provincial powers especially for KwaZulu-Natal, he wrote.

The IFP walked out of parliament earlier this year over the issue and has now suspended its participation in the constitutional assembly.

The ANC and NP have raised complex legal arguments to play down their agreement to accept international mediation. The onus of their argument is that there are no terms of reference for such mediation.

But Mr. Smith writes there are in fact nine clear terms of reference contained in the consolidated terms of reference agreed to. The nine constitutional issues identified, to be explored through give the ANC an automatic two-thirds majority that would render the NP unnecessary in drafting the new constitution.

Mr. Smith said it also made no sense for the ANC to renege on its “for there is no doubt the commitment of the IFP to pursue provincial autonomy come what may”.

At the heart of the IFP’s demand for international mediation is its fear of being steamrolled by the majority in the constitutional assembly. “Democracy is not simply about the will of the majority — it must also recognize the rights of minorities,” Mr. Smith writes.

In a veiled attack on President Nelson Mandela’s credibility, Mr. Smith adds: “Moreover, in the context of a society whose moral fabric is falling apart, it is inconceivable that the ANC and its president could breach an agreement, let alone one as important as that signed in April last year.”

Mr. Mandela, questioned in a TV interview on international mediation, said this week “no individual or organisation is going to compel me to take action through blackmail or coercion.

"We are not going to allow other political parties to choose the battlefield,” he said.
Mandela castigates Coloured ‘shackles’

MONTAGU. — Coloured people should not allow themselves to be held back by the shackles of apartheid, President Nelson Mandela said.

Addressing a largely Coloured audience at the opening of the Montagu Muscadel Festival in the Western Cape yesterday, he said they should demand to be included in all affirmative action programmes.

There was a perception that a sector of the Coloured community was uncertain and even fearful over the future. For this reason they were trying to find a way forward by identifying with those who still thought in outdated racist terms of minority privilege.

One of the most unfortunate manifestations of this was the recent establishment of a separate party for Coloureds.

"To follow such an approach is still to be held back by the hand and foot irons of apartheid... When a person is in such shackles, it is impossible to try to escape those who have held you prisoner."

He was bitterly disappointed at a time when all South Africans had the chance for the first time to be joint masters of their own future, the conduct of certain groups in the Coloured community was recalling these images of imprisonment.

Most Coloured people in the Montagu area were still bowed under the chains of unemployment and seasonal labour. Half of them were jobless and where there was work, it only lasted for the fruit picking season from November to March.

The best way of claiming their rights as full South Africans was by full participation in the reconstruction and development programme.

Mr Mandela said he wanted to make it absolutely clear the policy of the African National Congress and the government was affirmative action had to cover everyone disadvantaged by apartheid.

This included Coloured people, blacks, Indians, women and disabled people.

Any employer who applied affirmative action selectively, and was prepared to give jobs only to certain of these oppressed groups, conflicted with government policy and with the constitution.

Mr Mandela said whites were in a better position than people of other races to serve South Africa.
Phantom states lose embassies

Clara Kiesewette, a spokesman for the department, said some of the staff had either left the foreign service or been transferred to the Foreign Affairs office in Pretoria.

Mrs Kiesewette said 573 employees remained from these embassies of which 401 had requested transfers to the department’s headquarters in Pretoria.

These included ambassadors, clerks, security personnel and cleaners. "Most of these people are just looking after these properties while they wait for a decision from Foreign Affairs about their future," Mrs Kiesewette said.

The continued employment of the 573 follows a deal negotiated at the World Trade Centre guaranteeing civil servants in South Africa and the TBVC states would not lose their jobs until the formation of a single public service was complete.

Mrs Kiesewette said some of the properties from the TBVC states would be sold off while others had been handed over to the Department of Public Works.

In Pietersburg, three houses belonging to Venda have been handed over to Public Works and a garden service company has been employed to look after its former embassy in Pretoria. The embassy, in Arcadia, was closed down last year.

The closing down of the Bophuthatswana embassy in Vryburg has been put on hold pending a decision on a request to hand over the property to the North West Government.