S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1995

JANUARY — FEBRUARY

The race for parliament . . .

Another round to Cape Town

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

Influential decision-makers in favour of Mother City

MORE than half of South Africa's top decision-makers and more than two thirds of the supporters of the major political parties want parliament to remain in Cape Town.

This emerges from an attitude survey by the University of Stellenbosch's Centre for International and Comparative Politics.

The survey, conducted among 1 457 "opinion-leaders" in business, the military, bureaucracy, agriculture, academia, the right-wing, parliament, media, and the church, shows 62 percent support for keeping parliament in Cape Town with only 30 percent favouring a move to Pretoria.

About six percent of the respondents were undecided.

This follows a poll by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) last year in which 51 percent of respondents wanted parliament to remain in Cape Town and 23 percent favoured Pretoria.

The Stellenbosch survey also finds that supporters of the three main parties in the

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government of national unity are "unequivocal in their support for Cape Town" — African National Congress (60 percent), National Party (63 percent) and Inkatha Freedom Party (71 percent).

Similar support levels were evident among supporters of the smaller parties.

Support in the provinces is also pro-Cape Town.

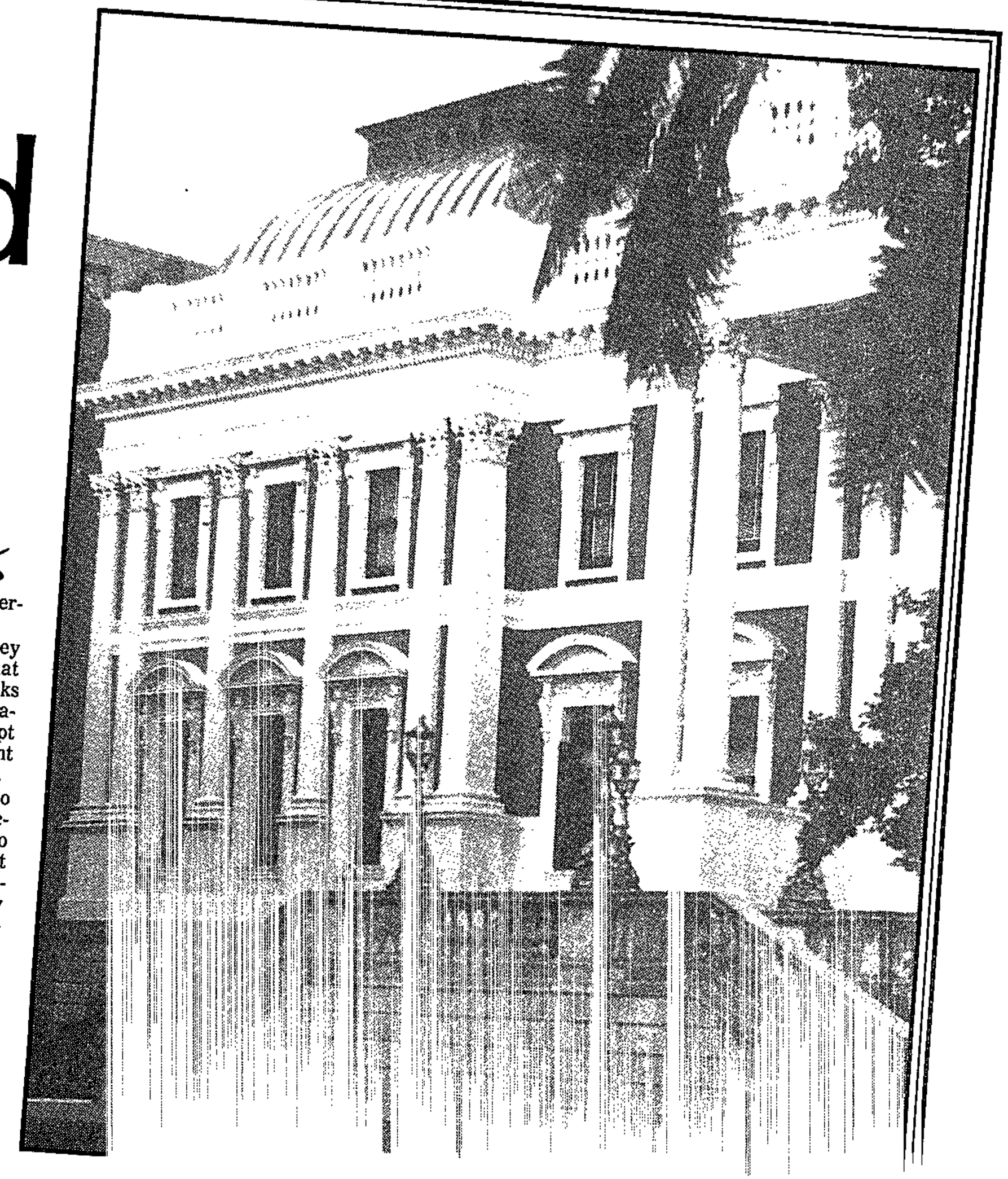
The survey finds that keeping parliament in Cape Town is not as strongly supported in the bureaucracy (49 percent) and the military (52 percent) as in other sectors.

The report on the survey says the findings suggest that "South Africans of all walks of life and political persuasions are not about to accept the relocation of parliament to Pretoria without a fight".

Urging the government to take public opinion into account when it gets round to making a decision, the report says "it seems that parliament as an institution may also be legitimised more easily if it stays in Cape Town".

The pollsters believe "South Africans are largely uneasy about the concentration of power in the Gauteng region" and are concerned that reconstruction and development programme funds could end up being wasted on new parliamentary buildings.

304A
ARG 14/2/95



Parliament to go says NAFCOC

(304A) 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 4 400 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

CT 26/1/95 (304A)

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 (Nafcoc) slammed its Gauteng counterparts for siding with "Pretoria's greedy graspers" in the battle for the siting.

Nafcoc's Western Cape president Mr Temba Pasiwe attacked a decision by the Gauteng chapter of Nafcoc 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 Nafcoc 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

(304A) Sowetan 15/2/95

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, roughy 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 fellow chiefs who are mostly IFP-aligned.

NO LONGER WELCOME ... hereditary chief and Contralesa regional secretary Everson Xolo is a marked man. He is in hiding after surviving an assassination attempt and an attack on his home Picture: M S ROY

Nowadays, he says, he no longer receives invitations 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," is how he describes the source of his troubles.

> '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'

Like most chiefs in the province, Chief Xolo received several G3 rifles from the former Kwazulu government and was asked to recruit people to undergo weapons training in Ulundi.

"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 for us to be aligned politically," he said.

He knows he is swimming against the tide. Out of approximately 300 chiefs 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 stipend can be withdrawn or reduced, as 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.

ST 1/1/95

Minister works on his dream to the end

(304A)

'Action man' Slo

61/1/95

BY ESTHER WAUGH
BRONWYN LITTLETON
and COLLEEN RYAN

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

Late last night, ailing Housing Minister Joe Slovo was still working on his dream to house the nation. At 3 am today, he died in his sleep after a four-year fight against cancer of the bone marrow.

One of his closest comrades and friends, President Nelson Mandela, spent 40 minutes with him last night.

A veteran campaigner for democracy and nonracialism, Slovo will be remembered for his strategic interventions in the struggle while in exile as well as in negotiations with the National Party.

Slovo, an early member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, headed the military wing's special operations command while in exile — which made him extremely unpopular among many whites, but a hero to black South Africans.

Slovo's spokesman Stephen Laufer said the minister had met the director-general of housing, Billy Cobbett, yesterday and spent much of his day working on the campaign to end rent and service boycotts.

The last Cabinet meeting — on December 7 — passed Slovo's draft White Paper on Housing.

"That will be his legacy," Laufer said.

Slovo will also be remembered for his brilliant interventions around the negotiating table. When negotiations deadlocked between the ANC and NP, Slovo argued that a Government of National Unity should be established and civil servants be guaranteed their jobs — an intervention which cleared the way for last year's historic election.

Mandela visited Slovo's family at 5 am today.

A spokesman for the president's office, Joel Netshitenzhe, said Mandela had been consulting with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa and SA Communist Party general secretary Charles Nqakula since news of Slovo's death was received.

He said funeral arrangements would be made after consultation with the family.

Mandela hailed Slovo as one of the country's greatest patriots. Mbeki, who knew Slovo for 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 Slovo, Transport Minister Nac Maharaj took up the same theme.

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

Mike Fowlds, spokesman for the South African Housing Trust, who worked with Slovo since his appointment as Housing Minister, said Slovo 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 Slovo's death on housing plans, Fowlds said Slovo had managed to surround himself with the right people and had completed so much groundwork himself, that to continue would not be too difficult.

John Holloway, a banker who represented the Association of Mortgage Lenders on the Housing Board, said it was with apprehension that he — and other bankers — first met Slovo.

"We knew where he came from — and, frankly, we were concerned. But at our first meeting, Joe told us he was not going to upset the applecart and he chose to listen to us. My admiration for him was immense."

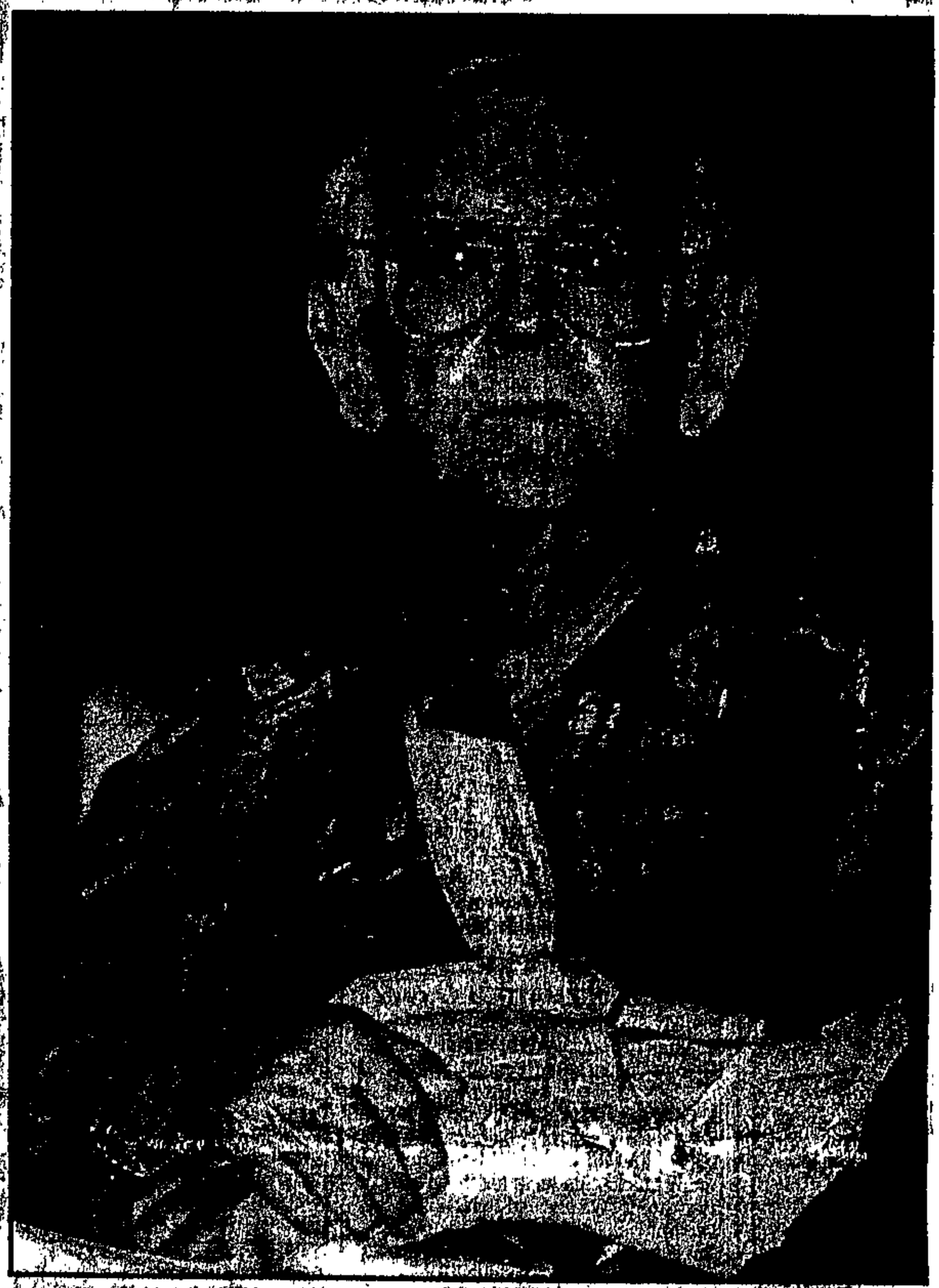
In the last major intitative before he died, Slovo held a press conference in Pretoria in December to release the Government's draft White Paper on Housing.

At that occasion he was clearly very ill and had his left arm in a sling. He bravely explained away this injury, saying it was the result of a "reckless decision to take a holiday". He said he had fallen while running up some steps from an East London beach and had broken a bone.

Slovo earned the respect of many non-communists. Former SA Council of Churches general secretary and anti-apartheid theologian Dr Beyers Naude said he had first met Slovo while he was still in exile.

"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 incredible that with a similar issue or problem that Christians and communists could stand together, and he laughingly remarked: 'Why should that be incredible?'," said Naude.

Slovo, who faced his approaching death with immense courage, described his months as Housing Minister as the most fulfilled time of his life.



Frail figure . . . Slovo nurses a broken arm in Bloemfontein last month at the opening of the ANC's first national congress since coming to power. PICTURE: AP

WEEKEND SPECIALS
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Slovo — Dr Jekyll to blacks, Mr Hyde to whites

◀ From Page 1

South Africa, his image among whites or, more accurately, an influential sector of them, began to change. He came to be perceived as an avuncular figure who exercised a moderating influence on radicals in the SACP and the ANC. He was increasingly seen as a benign social democrat rather than a diehard communist. These changing perceptions were prompted by a number of factors.

One was his role in steering the SACP away from its Stalinist past, as manifest, preeminently, in his seminal discussion paper: *Has Socialism Failed?* In that paper, drafted shortly before F W de Klerk's celebrated speech of February 2 1990, Slovo lamented the divorce that had occurred between socialism and democracy in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and committed the SACP to multiparty democracy.

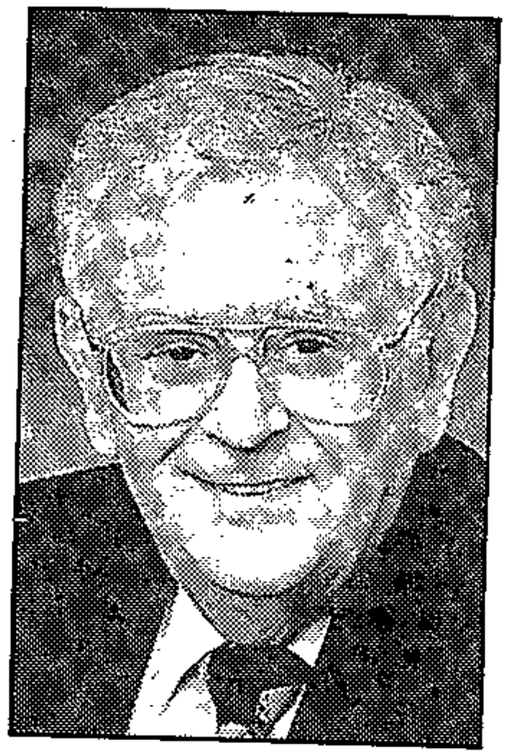
At its congress in December 1991, the SACP endorsed multiparty democracy, a concept which it had sneeringly referred to as "bourgeois democracy" in the past.

Another factor was Slovo's pivotal role in persuading the ANC to accept power-sharing as an interim measure during the transition from racial oligarchy to nonracial democracy. He saw it as a vital measure to ensure that South Africa's infant democratic order was not strangled at birth by rebels in the white-dominated security forces and civil service. His view prevailed after vigorous debate in ANC and SACP ranks.

Under Slovo's influence, the SACP appeared to put socialism — in the sense of public ownership and control of the economy — on the back burner. It accepted the need for a mixed economy, concentrated on making a success of what it labelled the national-democratic revolution and, significantly, warned against "artificial leaps into collectivism."

But for conservative whites, Slovo's short spell as Minister of Housing in Mandela's Cabinet was of decisive importance in redeeming him in their eyes. The man once feared as a doctrinaire socialist came to be seen as a pragmatist.

His pragmatism was manifest in the way in which he wooed bankers, persuading them to stop red-lining poor black areas and, instead, to join forces with him in a drive to establish a foundation from which to launch a plan to build 300 000 a houses a year.



Slovo . . . former bogeyman came to be seen as an avuncular figure exerting a moderating influence.

In return, Slovo gave bankers a guarantee: the Government would make good their investments if black home owners reneged en masse on their commitments, or if a breakdown in law and order make it impossible for bonds to the repaid.

To fulfil his commitment, Slovo urged the ANC's black constituents to end rent boycotts.

Slovo minced no words in his address to delegates at a housing conference in Botshabelo in October. "Those of you who are continuing with boycotts are stabbing in the back your brothers and sisters," he said. "They are knocking Nelson Mandela, our first democratically elected president."

Later, in one of his last press interviews, Slovo said: "I don't believe leadership should follow in the wake of popular prejudice. We should not ride roughshod over what people think, but in the end you have to provide political leadership. If one becomes unpopular, so be it."

While winning over the bankers, Slovo persuaded the South African National Civic Organisation to throw its considerable weight behind the campaign to end the culture of non-payment.

His steadying influence prevailed over the swashbuckling style of Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale and his housing MEC, Dan Mofokeng. They talked extravagantly about building 150 000 houses in Gauteng alone in the first year, at the cost of bonding themselves to a single construction company.

Where they adopted a scornful attitude to proposals to help poor people upgrade their houses gradually, Slovo spoke admiringly about the spirit of people who were prepared to contribute their sweat and meagre financial resources to the rebuilding of South Africa.

Slovo was, however, not allowed to forget his long silence, and that of the SACP, on the crimes of communist generalissimos, from Stalin to Brezhnev. One of his fiercest critics was Pallo Jordan, a fellow ANC leader.

In a celebrated article in response to Slovo's monograph, *Has Socialism Failed?* Jordan wrote: "One cannot lightly accept at face value Comrade Joe Slovo's protestations about the SACP's non-Stalinist credentials . . . Any regular reader of the SACP's publications can point to a consistent pattern of praise and support for every violation of freedom perpetrated by the Soviet leadership, both before and after the death of Stalin."

Shortly before his death, Slovo expressed regret about his uncritical support of the Soviet Union and its model of socialism: "I was wrong and I am ashamed of some of the traps that I was led into." His remark, however, contained an element of self-exoneration. He was "led into a trap". He did not willingly enter it.

Shortly before his death, Slovo's comrades bestowed on him the ANC's highest honour, the Isithwalandwe/Seaparankoe award. Mandela praised him as a strategic thinker and a man of intellectual courage, a judgment few would dispute or begrudge.

His courage during the last weeks of his life was inspiring. Diagnosed as having cancer of the bone marrow in mid-1991, Slovo soldiered on bravely, urging friend and foe alike to commit themselves to the task of building a new South Africa based on freedom and justice.

He eschewed sympathy and curiosity as he visibly wasted away. "Life is a terminal illness," he said. "For you, for me, for everyone."

Praise from across the spectrum

"JOE Slovo was a great patriot who avoided the lifestyle of the privileged minority to live by the non-racial ideal of the African National Congress." — Parliamentary Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala.

"He brought to our liberation movement and our party a rigorous intellect, a strong sense of realism and a sharp wit. It is a tragedy that these were qualities that a wider South African public was only able to appreciate in the last years of his life." — Charles Nqakula, general secretary, SACP.

"A hardworking Minister dedicated to finding a workable policy for the housing problems of South Africa's underprivileged." — Constand Viljoen.

"His warmth and humour, his excellent example of hard work, and his strategic and negotiating skills leave warm memories and an influential legacy to those who must follow." — The Black Sash.

"Although we differed on questions of ideology, we salute Mr Slovo for his patriotism and dedication." — Tony Leon, Democratic Party.

"He played a crucial role in the negotation process which led to our new constitution, the April election and the establishment of the Government of National Unity." — Deputy President F W de Klerk.

"Although our views were diametrically opposed to each other, and in a sense we were political enemies for decades, I had great respect for his honesty as far as his adherence to what he believed in was concerned. Although he was an ardent Marxist, he tried to be flexible if he felt that reality demanded it." — Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"Comrade JS will always have a special place in the hearts of South Africa's working people. His life was dedicated to replacing a society founded on exploitation and oppression of the working people, with a society centred around social justice." — COSATU.

"Comrade Slovo has a long and distinguished career in the national liberation struggle. As national Housing Minister he also tackled a very difficult job with vision and pragmatism." — Pan Africanist Congress.

He lived to see his vision fulfilled

ESTHER WAUGH

JOE Slovo had an unwavering commitment to turn his vision into reality — a democratic South Africa free from racism. He was just as passionate about uplifting the socio-economic conditions of the poorest of the poor.

To this vision he dedicated his life.

Slovo was, however, no armchair revolutionary, no dinner-table philosopher.

Slovo combined astute and sophisticated political beliefs with a deep-seated pragmatism. No single article can do justice to either the man or his work.

But it should be said that Slovo possessed a rare combination of abilities.

He was both a strategic thinker as well as an activist, and that enabled him to match his clear-cut vision of change with a set of definite strategic objectives.

He was frequently a trailblazer in the ANC's major political and military campaigns, and no obstacle was too big or too complex.

Supported struggle

More than 30 years ago, when it became impossible to effect change in the country through negotiations or other peaceful means, Slovo supported the strategic necessity of an armed struggle.

By the late 1970s, with a growing impasse in the armed struggle, Slovo understood that there was a strategic need to attack the previous government's economic power. This led to the establishment of Special Operations, which fell under his command.

And, by the mid-80s when there was a growing militarist tendency in the ANC, Slovo became one of the main proponents that military actions should be accompanied by the establishment of political bases inside the country.

When his vision of a democratic South Africa was realised last year, Slovo began in earnest to transform his belief in the need to uplift the lives of all South Africans into a reality.

Slovo's death is an unquantifiable loss for the country, but he left behind the fruits of his lifelong commitment — a free South Africa.

Flowers and sympathy pour into the Slovo household

Star 7/1/95 (304A)

Memories lift sad day

ACTIVITY in the quiet leafy street was solemn and intense as people came and went, bearing flowers and sympathy for Joe Slovo's wife Helena and daughters Shawn, Gillian and Robin.

By 8 am, President Mandela, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, ANC stalwart Walter Sisulu, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Law and Order Minister Sydney Mufamadi had already been and gone. Looking beyond the phalanx of photographers, bodyguards and official cars, you could see and feel the emotion of people experiencing the loss of a man dearly loved.

Eyes glazed with grief, Adelaide Tambo spoke of the pain Slovo's death had caused. His family appeared to be coping well, she said. "They are not crying. They know what Joe's life was like and they are proud of him."

It was the memories of happier times that made Tambo's tears well up. "Immediately after our marriage, he and Oliver came to our house unexpectedly for dinner. I made them chopped baked beans with onion and tomato and toast ... and it was fine."

Others had memories of other meals. Emotion brimming to the surface after decades of friendship and shared political ideals, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils recalled the years he spent with Slovo in England from 1965 to 1975.

"We were both keen on football," he said. "He supported Chelsea and I went to Arsenal. We had a standing bet that whoever's team came lower on the table would buy the other one lunch. In all that time Arsenal came higher.

"This meant that Slovo bought me lunch at an amazing Greek restaurant in Gooch Steet in London

AS FRIENDS and comrades gathered outside Joe Slovo's Johannesburg home to share their grief yesterday, they shared memories — not just of Joe the politician, but Joe the man. Report by MAUREEN ISAACSON and NEWTON KANHEMA.

— he loved Greek restaurants. We would drink retsina and smoke cigars and end the meal with Greek brandy. We'd really enjoy ourselves. After 10 years Chelsea dropped out. He said he enjoyed the meals so much we should keep up the lunches anyway."

Kasrils described Slovo as irreplaceable. "It was the way he unified theory and practice." He also spoke warmly of a good friend. "He was a fulsome human being, a warm and witty guy. He was an emotional person. The key thing with Slovo when he relaxed was the

See Editorial and Undercurrent Affairs on Page 8

anecdotes. He had a wonderful memory and a great mind.

"At a difficult point in the negotiations, when the (ANC's) national executive committee was receiving a lot of criticism because various spokespeople were speaking in 'different voices', when we came to the point where people were debating whether or not there should be two national anthems, Slovo said we could accept two anthems as long as we spoke in the same voice.

"I will always remember him as a friendly, wonderful human being, a man for all seasons with the gift of inspiring everyone."

Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale said he met Slovo in the Soviet Union in 1977. Slovo was an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander and Sexwale was a very young man.

"He was always the beacon — it was good to know that there was a white person fighting on our side. I was impressed by his warmth. He was always the first to strech out his hand. Joe was a great intellectual ... prepared to cross intellectual swords. He had no malice, he had great respect for people. He was prepared to disagree but would make an effort to find out why there was a disagreement.

"It was unlike the death of Chris Hani," he said. "At least Slovo had prepared us."

Among his most recent memories is the Housing Minister holding his wrist and saying: "More houses."

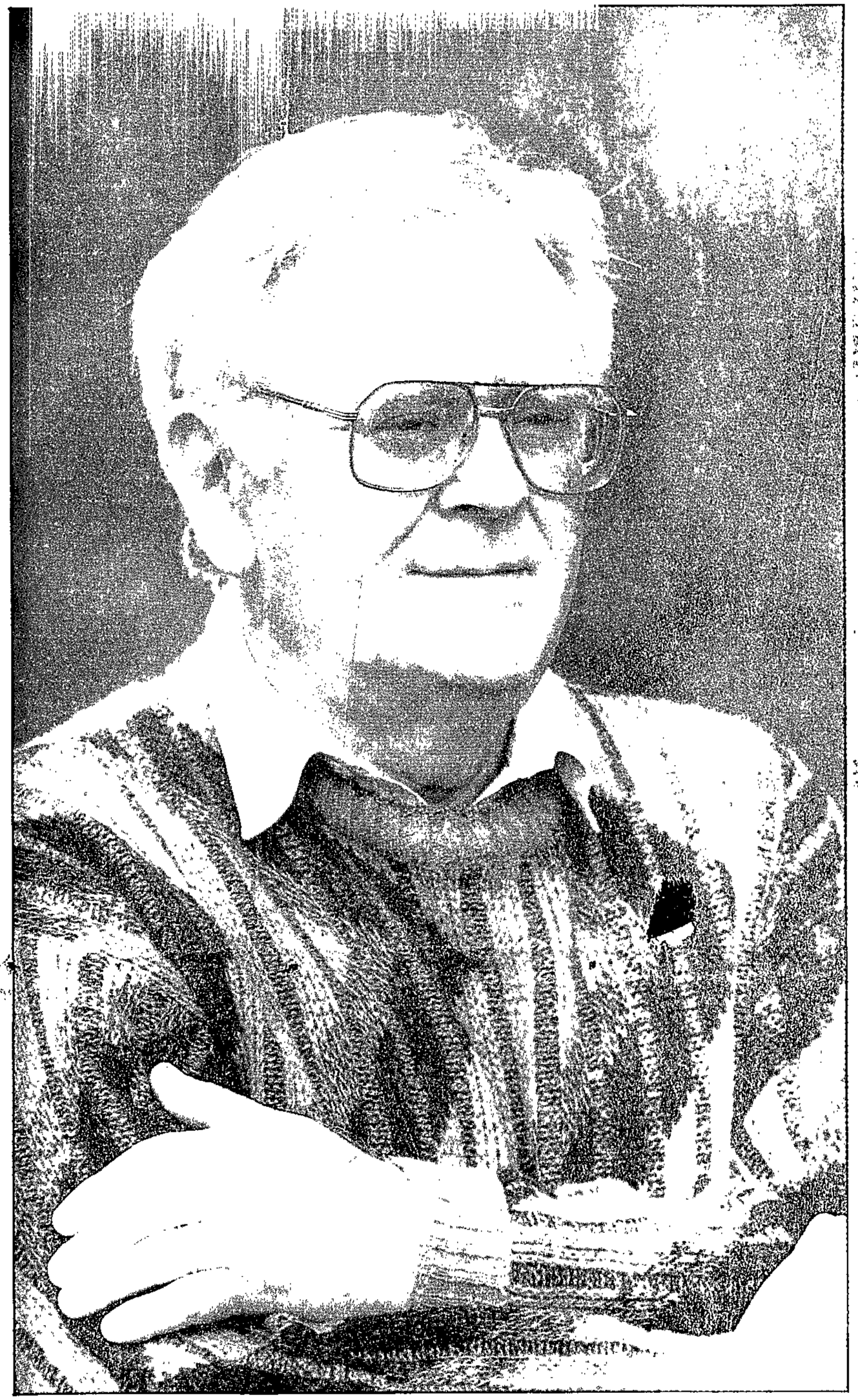
National Sorghum Breweries chief executive Professor Mahale Mahanyele said Slovo's humbleness touched everybody he met. "Joe was a people's servant. He was not ostentatious, despite his office."

Dayo Konde (74), who with his wife Margaret worked for Slovo for 20 years, will forever treasure the watch he received from him as a Christmas present last year. "He is just like my father. He was always kind to us. He never changed. I stayed with him when his wife, Ruth, was killed by the bomb. He was shocked when she was killed. She was also very kind.

"I don't think you will find another man like that — he was kind to everyone and considerate, and respected people in the same way."

Konde and Maggie Matseho, who has been working in the Slovo house for the past week, spoke of the silence of the past few days when Slovo stopped eating, asking only occasionally for a drink. "He never complained."

Felicia Mabuza-Suttle said Slovo was "a great dancer with good rhythm, for a white man".



SORELY MISSED: Joe Slovo has been described as irreplaceable — a warm, friendly, wonderful human being who was always the first to stretch out his hand in reconciliation, and who had the gift of inspiring everyone.

The gentle fighter

Friends and rivals pay tribute to Comrade Joe

(Sowetan) CP 8/1/95

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 Jay 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 Frene 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 Sexwale 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 incomparable contribution to South Africa's liberation would remain embedded in the minds of the people.

■ Northern Transvaal Premier Ngoako Ramatlhodi said Slovo's "sterling contribution" as a SACP leader had made him one of the apartheid regime's prime enemies.

■ Eastern Cape Premier Raymond Mhlaba 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 SA 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 Nqcukana 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 Civics Organisation and the African branch of the Commonwealth Speakers and Presiding Officers' Conference and many others. – Sapa.

Private service, State funeral and national day of mourning

Soweto burial for Slovo

(304A) Star 9/1/95

Avalon burial for 2nd white

■ BY PATRICK WADULA

Joe Slovo will in death join amother veteran anti-apartheid activist as the second white person to be buried in Soweto's Avalon Cemetery.

Helen Joseph, who died aged 87 on Christmas Day in 1992, was the first. She asked to be buried at the township cemetery so she could be alongside her friend, Lilian Ngoyi, the fiery trade unionist and a founder of the ANC Women's League.

The two women were among the accused in the mass treason trial of the 195's, and after all the accused were acquitted, the two friends continued the fight against apartheid.

Lillian Ngoyi died in 1980. Joseph was buried next to her at Avalon on January 7 1993.

Like Joseph, Slovo received the ANC's highest honour, the Isithwalandwe/Seaparankoe — "one who wears the leopard skin".

TRIBUTES to a 'giant among giants' pour in locally and from China, Vietnam and around the world

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

There will be two funeral services next weekend for the late Housing Minister, Joe Slovo, who will then be buried in Soweto on Sunday — which will be a national day of mourning.

A private family service will be held on Saturday at the Johannesburg City Hall — a venue Slovo frequently attended for political meetings and cultural happenings.

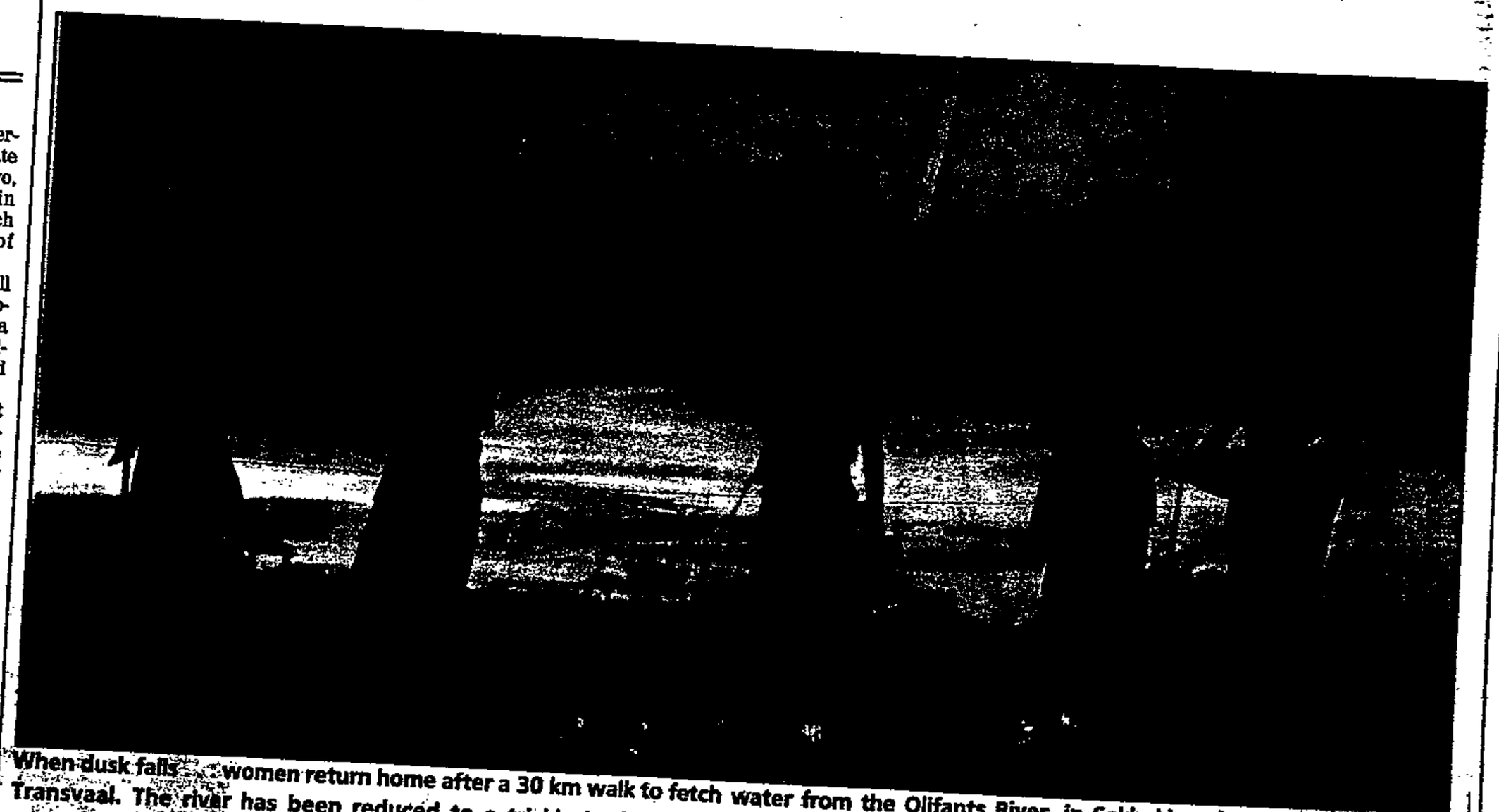
The new government's first State funeral will be at Soweto's Avalon Cemetery after the body has been on public view at the Orlando Stadium. Memorial services are being held around the country, acording to the ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Slovo's body will be on view to the public at Orlando Stadium from 7 am and a "multi-faith" service will follow at 10 am before the burial at Avalon Cemetery.

Slovo died last Friday after a long and painful battle against bone marrow cancer.

▶ To Page 3

The long haul home



When dusk falls ... women return home after a 30 km walk to fetch water from the Olifants River, in Sekhukhuneland, in the Northern Transvaal. The river has been reduced to a trickle by blistering heat. ▶ Suffering under the sun – Page 7 PICTURE: MOTLHALEFI MAHLABE

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▶ To Page 3

Slovo to be buried in Soweto

◀ From Page 1 Star 9/1/95 (304A)

Fulsome tributes have, since then, poured in from home and abroad.

The funeral arrangements are being made by a committee of representatives from the ANC, SA Communist Party, Cosatu, the SA National Civic Organisation and also the Government of National Unity.

Ramaphosa said yesterday the "multi-faith" service would include Jewish prayers and prayers from other religious faiths, but could not elaborate further.

He added in his statement that Slovo was a strategic and an intellectual thinker, a "giant among giants" who had turned his back on all privileges that went with his whiteness.

"He joins the likes of (Oliver) Tambo (former ANC president), Chris Hani (assassinated SACP general secretary) and (Moses) Mabhida (former SACP general secretary) in the echelons of SA heroes and heroines.

"To this movement comrade Joe Slovo is not dead, but has left a vacuum to be filled and a stature to be emulated."

The tributes were soured by a statement from Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder, who said that his party would not mourn the death of a "communist leader".

The communist parties of both China and Vietnam sent telegrams of condolence to the SACP.

One of the people who visited the Slovo home yesterday was Sankie Nkondo, his successor as Housing Minister. She was previously deputy welfare minister and becomes the third woman in the Cabinet.

SA mourns amid praise for Slovo

ARG 9/1/95

Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa has been called to mourn Housing Minister Joe Slovo's death on Sunday, when his body will lie in state in Soweto's Orlando Stadium before being given a state funeral at the township's Avalon Cemetery.

At the same time, memorial services will be held throughout the country's provinces, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa announced at a media briefing yesterday.

Details of the services will be disclosed by the ANC this week.

Mr Slovo's body will be on view to the public at Orlando Stadium from 7 am and a "multi-faith" service will follow at 10 am prior to the burial at Avalon Cemetery.

A private family service, which Mr Slovo had requested prior to his death on Friday morning, will be held on Saturday at the Johannesburg City Hall — a venue he frequently attended for political meetings and cultural happenings.

Mr Slovo died of bone-marrow cancer on Friday morning. His death was followed throughout the weekend by floods of tributes from home and abroad.

Funeral arrangements were made by a funeral committee made up of representatives of the ANC, SA Communist Party, Cosatu, the SA National Civic Organisation and the government.

Mr Ramaphosa said the "multi-faith" service would include Jewish prayers and prayers from other religious faiths, but could not elaborate further.

Mr Slovo will join anti-apartheid campaigner Helen Joseph in Avalon Cemetery.

Mr Ramaphosa added in his statement that Mr Slovo was a strategic and an intellectual thinker to his peers, a "giant among giants" who had turned his back on all privileges that went with his "whiteness".

"He joins the likes of (Oliver) Tambo (former ANC president-in-exile), Chris Hani (assassinated SACP secretary-general) and (Moses) Mabhida (former SACP president), in the echelons of South African heroes and heroines.

"To this movement Comrade Joe Slovo is not dead, but has left a vacuum to be filled and a stature to be emulated," Mr Ramaphosa said.

Tributes continuing to pour in yesterday were shadowed by a statement from Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder which said his party would not mourn the death of a "communist leader such as Joe Slovo".

Mr Slovo had been a convinced communist and had defended the doctrine of Lenin and Stalin "who were responsible for the biggest mass-

(30449)

murder in history", Mr Van Tonder said.

China's Communist Party yesterday sent a telegram of condolence to the SACP, praising Mr Slovo as an "outstanding patriot and socialist theorist."

The People's Daily published the telegram of condolence from the party's central committee on its front page.

It said Mr Slovo, who joined the Communist Party when he was 16 years old, was a major leader and outstanding theorist of the SACP and a loyal son of the South African people.

It said he had devoted his life to the struggle against apartheid and oppression and to win equality and democracy.

He had combined theory and practice, it said, actively promoting scientific socialism and had made an important contribution to building the post-apartheid South Africa.

It said Mr Slovo's death meant the loss of a dear friend to the Chinese Communist Party and people.

Soweto burial for Slovo

(3049) Sowetan 9/7/95

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

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 sta. : from 7am.

ANC smiles on Freedom Front

Star 12/1/95 (304A)

THE Freedom Front has confounded soothsayers with its constructive approach. MICHAEL MORRIS reports

Constand Viljoen's rapid accession to leadership through the grumbling ranks of the right wing in one of the most tense phases of the negotiation process seemed ominous.

Within weeks, he had grasped the hopes of a disaffected white Right and projected them into the national political debate with a startling suddenness and efficiency.

Many believed he was intent on soldiering recklessly into the political fray, upsetting the delicately balanced forces of the major deal-makers on each side in pursuit — at all costs — of a merely romantic and politically unattainable notion of Afrikaner separatism.

Yet fears that the general was destined to be a dangerously naive influence on already fractious and volatile Right/Left — and even black/white — political relations in South Africa have proved to be unfounded.

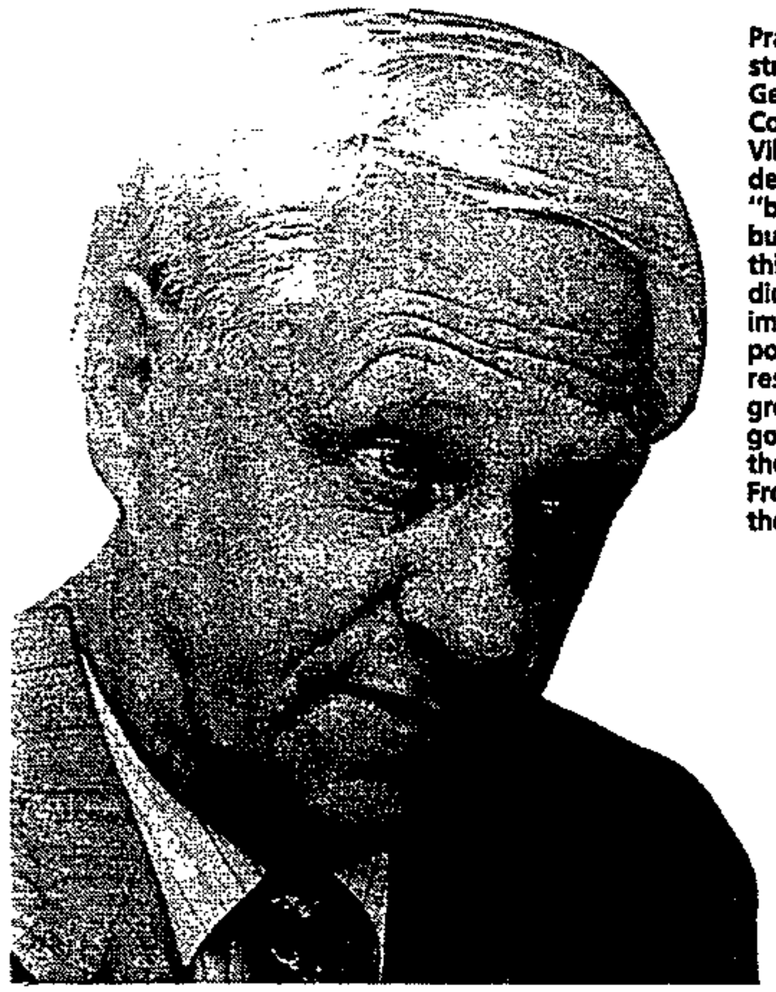
He showed, before the election, that he was willing to talk, and did so in good faith.

And when April came, despite the considerable forces of the alienated Right ranged against him, in sentiment at least — Viljoen the strategist mustered 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 1994.

One who has expressed this most strongly is Western Cape MP, Willie Hofmeyr, who concludes 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 "has lost sight of how close we came to the possibility of a Northern Ireland-type low-intensity civil war in the run-up to the election".



Pragmatic strategist . . . General Constand Viljoen's decision to "bite the bullet and do things that did not seem immediately popular" has resulted in a great deal of goodwill for the Freedom Front from the ANC.

This was highlighted by the crisis in Bophuthatswana and the spate of pre-ballot bomb blasts.

"I think two factors ensured it didn't happen.

"The first is the kind of measures taken by the ANC to allay the fears of the right wing, such as compromises to guarantee civil servants their jobs, the reconciliatory 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.

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

"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."

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

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

It is not surprising, then, that, as Hofmeyr puts it, General Viljoen's decision to "bite the bullet and do things that did not seem immediately popular" is seen from within the ANC as a sign of leadership. As a result, there is a great deal 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 then 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."

She is out to engage constructively in pursuit of the ideal of a volkstaat, but not one that amounts to a laager 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, recognised, 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."

Realism on the right

(304A)

GENERAL Constand Vijoen and his small, but vigorous Free dom 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.

ARG 12/1/95

CONSTAND Viljoen's rapid accession to leadership through the grumbling ranks of the right-wing in one of the most tense phases of the negotiation process seemed ominous.

Within weeks, he had grasped the hopes of a disaffected white right and projected them into the national political debate with a startling suddenness and efficiency.

Many believed he was intent on soldiering recklessly into the political fray, upsetting the delicately balanced forces of the major deal-makers on each side in pursuit — at all costs — of a merely romantic and politically unattainable notion of Afrikaner separatism.

Yet, fears that the general was destined to be a dangerously naive 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 mustered 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 1994.

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 "has lost sight of how close we came to the possibility of a Northern Ireland-type low-intensity civil war in the run-up to the election".

This was highlighted by the crisis in Bophuthatswana and the spate of pre-ballot bomb blasts.

"I think two factors ensured it didn't happen.

"The first is the kind of measures taken by the ANC to allay the fears of the right-wing, such as compromises to guarantee civil servants their jobs, the reconciliatory 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 generals have is that they know what war means, they do not sloganeer. This, I think, is very much the case with Constand Viljoen."

More than that, Mr Hofmeyr says, the Freedom Front "came into parliament with the idea of playing a very constructive role. 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. I think they realise that 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 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 co-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 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 the heat" out of the volkstaat debate and that, partly as a result of this, the Freedom Front is moving towards more realistic models for a volkstaat.

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 from within the ANC as a sign of leadership. As a result, there is a great deal of goodwill towards the Freedom Front in the ANC caucus.

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"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, Pieter Grobbelaar, notes: "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 a debate and nobody can put a stone on it ... it's not going to go away."

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

Mr Grobbelaar adds: "We feel we have a case, 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 scooping cities into a volkstaat, or of moving people in order to create a predominantly Afrikaner settlement is "totally unrealistic".

"What we are saying loudly and clearly is that we are not some *herrenvolk*, some special people, and that our position is an alternative. We are saying that, in this time of reconciliation, we are part of the solution."

Tellingly, the ANC thinks so too.

General Constand Viljoen, whose leadership of the far right initially raised fears of a belligerent and even violent confrontation with the new government. Instead, the ANC and other parties have been surprised by the Freedom Front's willingness to negotiate in good faith and to abandon some of the more unrealistic positions of other rightist groups. His decision to break with the rest of the right and to contest the nonracial elections has been widely praised as a courageous and constructive step.

Last month President Nelson Mandela recognised Joe Slovo as 'an outstanding revolutionary' by presenting him with the Isithwalandwe award, the ANC's highest honour PHOTO: SOUTHLIGHT

Glimpse of the promised land

WM13-19/1/95 (304A)

Joe Slovo was the man who brokered the agreement which lead to majority rule. **Jonathan Steele** pays tribute to 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 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 consummation. Out 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 clear in his last report as general secretary. The end of political apartheid was a giant step, but "the wretched of the earth make up over 90 percent of humanity. They live either in capitalist or capitalist-oriented societies. For them, if socialism is not the answer there is no answer at all."

Slovo arrived in South Africa in 1934 to join his father, who had left Lithuania to escape the pogroms.

The family was always poor and Slovo had to abandon secondary school 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, Umkonto 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 the financial and military help without which the movement might have foundered.

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 *perestroika* stumbled, he accused Gorbachev of "colluding 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 1976, 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 Sasol 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 fullscale invasion.

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

> "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"

Back in South Africa, he took a major role in the ANC's negotiations with FW de Klerk. While his communist faith upset 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 retreating 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 communism led him to the view that control 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 set 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, Shawn, Gillian and Robyn.

WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN
January 13 to 19 1995

A man of principle: Yossel Mashel 'Joe' Slovo. Born May 25 1926; died January 6 1995

Death of a real mensch

WM 13-19/1/95 (304A)

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 Communist Party 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 these five decades he was an active participant in many of the key moments of our struggle: the mineworkers' strike of 1946, the wave of mass mobilisation through the 1950s, the turn to 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 entry into government.

Through all of these events Slovo played a leading, 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 past few years. But 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 dock-side 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.

"No fine. I convened all my staff and I said to them: 'Here I am, the lousy commie bastard you've all heard about.' That broke the ice."

Over the past two and a half years in ANC national executive committee meetings the phrase "belling the cat" started to be overworn with use. There was a time when every fourth NEC member was declaring: "Comrades, we must bell the cat."

It was Slovo who began the fashion when, invoking the somewhat arcane phrase, he developed the "sunset clause" and government of national unity proposal. It became, as we know, the basis for the present settlement. "We cannot conduct ourselves at the negotiations as if we had defeated our opponents outside these negotiations," he argued in 1992.

He endured much invective from within the alliance, not least from many of his own South African Communist Party members for this stand. "From *No Middle Road* to the middle road.", wrote a close friend and leading left London academic, referring polemically to an earlier book by Slovo, published by Penguin in the 1970s.

But Slovo stood his ground on the GNU proposal. He belled that cat by locating a necessary tactical and theoretical shift within a broader strategic perspective.

Principled pragmatism — that was always his strength, welding together intellectual rigour, moral purpose, timing and context.

In 1989 he produced a ringing critique of state bureaucratic "socialism" in his pamphlet *Has socialism failed?*. He did this months before the Berlin Wall went down, and a year and a half before the Soviet Union fell apart.

Those who specialise in retrospective far-sightedness will shrug their shoulders. But in the middle of 1989, if there were signs of crisis in the East, no experts, left or right, predicted such an imminent and dramatic collapse. Slovo's pamphlet was not a sudden opportunism. He wrote it as a "personal input" but, as everyone knew, he happened at the time to be the general secretary of the SACP.

He had joined the Communist Party 47 years earlier, and now he assumed responsibility for the growing crisis as a communist. He refused the Boris Yeltsin option ("Communism? Never heard of it."); and, while welcoming Mikhael Gorbachev's original calls for *glasnost*, he grew increasingly critical of what he saw as an untheorised, unprincipled and boundless retreat.

The pamphlet was translated into Spanish and studied in Salvadorean guerrilla camps. It also found its way into academic seminars on at least one Canadian campus. In Zimbabwe, its critique of one-party systems had an important reverberation at the time. In content it was not necessarily an entirely unprecedented contribution to the topic, but it was absolutely timely and, above all, it carried the authority of its author.

Once again, the timing was there; so was Slovo's abiding concern to provide leadership by thinking through strategic and theoretical implications in a shifting political context.

He had done this earlier for the armed struggle. Then, too, timing was a central concern: "In 1961 history left us with no option but to engage in armed action as a necessary part of the political struggle," he was to write some time afterwards. "It was a moment in which ... untimely inaction would have been worse than untimely action."

He played a critical strategic role for the post-1976 situation, helping a largely exiled organisation to position itself effectively in terms of the internal waves of semi-insurrectionary struggles.

He also played a seminal strategic role in the 1980s, winning the new trade union movement over to the broad ANC. "A failure to understand the class content of the national struggle and the national content of the class struggle in existing conditions can hold back the advance of both the democratic and socialist transformations which we seek," he wrote, taking, in a typically dialectical fashion, a swipe at "workerists" and "populists" alike.

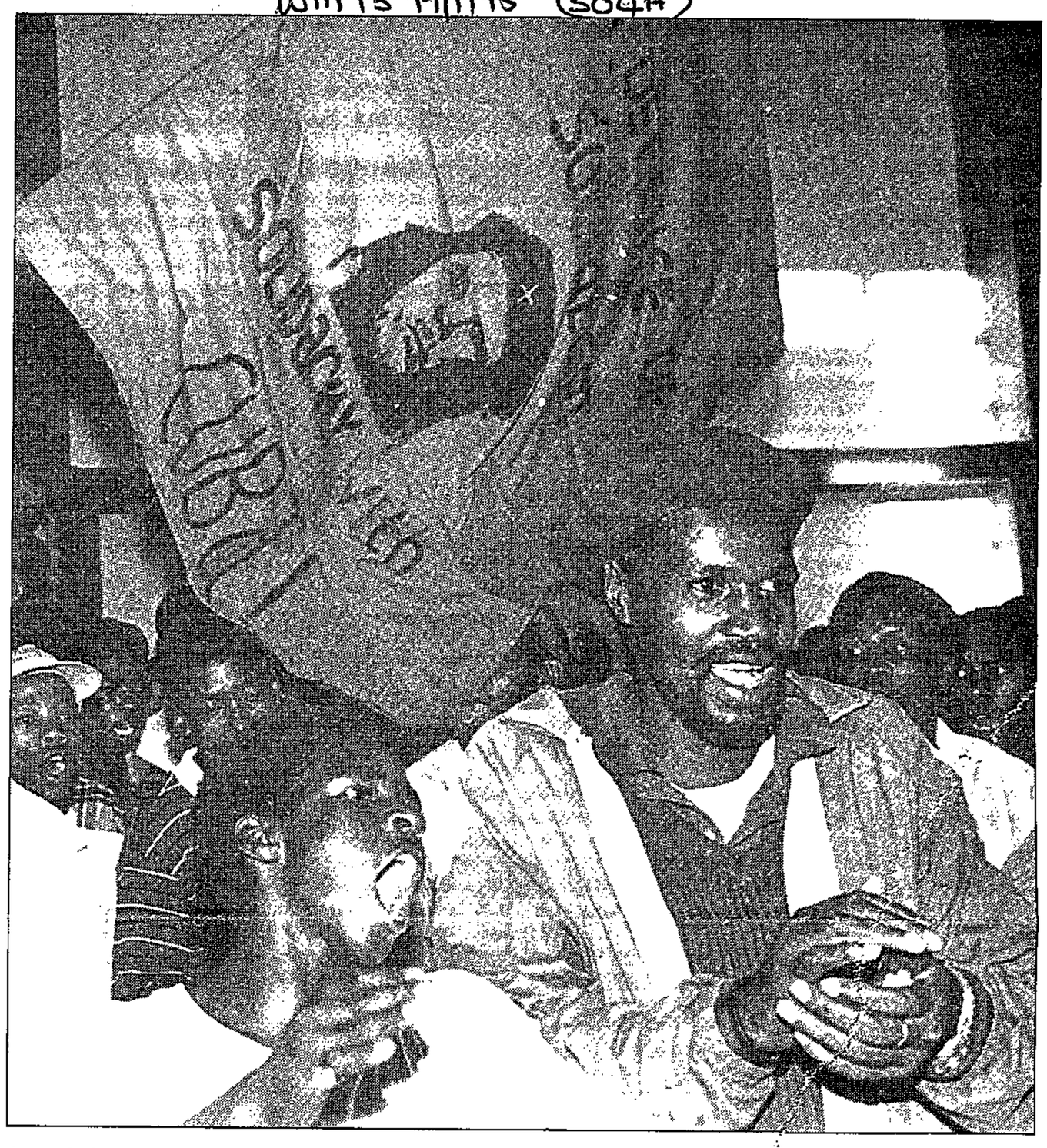
For those close to him, family and colleagues, he was warm and caring. But he could also be maddeningly absorbed in his current obsession, whatever it happened to be — MK special ops, or the party underground, or negotiations, or housing.

In its lack of dogmatism, in its intellectual curiosity and culture, Slovo's socialism belonged to traditions that go back beyond those of the 20th century, to Marx himself, and to earlier traditions of humanism and enlightenment. But he also owed a lot intellectually, morally and in terms of political savvy, as he constantly repeated, to several generations of outstanding African leaders: JB Marks, Kotane, Duma Nokwe, Tambo, Walter Sisulu and, especially in the last years, Nelson Mandela himself.

In the past days I have been serving on a Slovo funeral media subcommittee. One of our tasks has been to come up with apt and pithy slogans for the occasion. It is not easy to catch a life as full as Slovo's in a single line. Our best effort we had to reject because of its inability to work cross-culturally in our South African context. It read simply:

JOE SLOVO,
1926-1995. MENSCH.

Jeremy Cronin is a central committee member of the SACP



A revolutionary spirit remembered: Hundreds of people attended a memorial service at the Soweto Ipelegeng community centre. Other services were held around the country

PHOTO: RUTH MOTAU

The builder of our nation

Adriaan Vlok, former minister of law and order, pays tribute to an old foe

I WANT to express my sincere condolence to the Slovo family and friends. He was a prominent, valuable and influential member 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 multifaceted, low-intensity but vicious 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 himself very well.

We welcomed this — he made it easier for us to use in 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 activities of his cadres. We had the impression that he always did this with dedication — he believed in what he was doing, and was not sorry about anything he did. 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 I may say so.

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 DF Malan, 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 — prepared to listen to you. Although I differed fundamentally from him, I respected him.

I believe that it was after he became minister of housing 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 that it was impossible for the state to care for all the needs of everybody. 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 real 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.

National Party Congress: Soul-searching for a defeated party seeking a new role

FW de Klerk may indulge in a little ANC bashing PHOTO: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

Yesterday's leaders want a morsel of power

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, watered-down powersharing after the 1999 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 of national unity.

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, but a new multi-party council, called a *staatsraad*, will deliberate 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 guidance to members. But it is expected that a number of the 1 200 delegates will voice dissatisfaction with 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 viewpoint. People say we are becoming meek and mild 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 "reaffirms its dedicated opposition to the ANC/SACP alliance and its policies"; while the PWV region urges that the NP "ensures 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 RDP is an ANC policy document, 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 in 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 an awkward position: tough 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 will 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 home in on 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 — both internal and external — 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 1994 election, it is estimated the NP won 65 percent of white votes, 60 to 70 percent of coloured and Indian votes, but only three to four percent of the African vote.

"There are two schools of thought," one NP leader said. "One is that we should consolidate our present power base, do nothing to put it in danger, and after we have done this, we can move into the black community. The other school suggests we start afresh — we must position ourselves as a party which puts its main focus on the black community.

"Everyone agrees we should become a non-racial party. 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 whites, coloureds and Indians make up only about 27 percent of the electorate. But an African constituency will have different demands on policies such as affirmative action and the RDP.

Although 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 Chuenyane and Senator David Malatsi.

Chuenyane said 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".

Malatsi said this week that he believed the party needs to "articulate its positions 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 has gone underground. But we can't be a submarine party, we should always be there for the people.

"We have to ask how we can keep stability in the GNU — in the interests of all South Africans — and be an effective opposition."

Congress will focus on building an opposition

WM 13-19/1/95 (30449)

Marthinus van Schalkwyk

THE forthcoming federal congress of the National Party symbolises a party which must accept important challenges to maintain its indispensible role in South African politics. It is a party which — after more than 40 years — has, for the first time, had to undergo the traumatic experience of losing power.

The NP congress must not be seen against a background of a party which wishes to cling to power at all costs. It must be seen as the first step in a process of building a party which bases its political philosophy on:

- **Traditional (Christian) values within the context of freedom of religion.**
- **Action against crime and unemployment.**
- **A free market economy with as little as possible state intervention and regulation.**
- **A constitution based on federal principles.**

Marthinus van Schalkwyk

The congress will illustrate that the NP does not and will not stand in the shadow of any other party. We will have to initiate the process of bringing other parties, which concur with our political philosophy, close together. The ANC has succeeded in building a "broad church" on the socialist/social democratic side which, notwithstanding internal tension, is not about to split.

The process of building a political movement based on our philosophy as against that of socialism/social democracy has everything to do with the healthy rivalry of ideas and posing alternatives to ensure a democracy. This includes co-operating in the country's interests with political groups which are not socialist/social-democratic.

The NP congress will also place matters of topical interest on the national agenda. The great disadvantage of the present government of national unity (GNU) set-up is that it hobbles public debate between the strongest parties and shifts debate from the public domain to the closed cabinet chamber.

An analysis of the motions and points of discussion show that NP supporters want the following issues on the agenda:

- **Bringing back the death penalty under certain circumstances.**
- **Courts refrain from making bail so easily available for serious criminals.**
- **The psychosis of strikes which is harming the economy be ended.**
- **Abortion on demand not be legalised.**
- **Ensuring educational standards not be jeopardised.**

Congress will be an indication of the state of mind of NP supporters. After an initial period of adaptation to a new role, there is ever increasing commitment to the role of constructive opposition. Congress will be a measure of the NP's adaptation to the role of constructive opposition not only in its criticism, but also by posing alternative policies. Great emphasis will be placed on policy frameworks which will form the basis to be used by our representatives in the GNU in formulating policies to-gether with other parties.

These have been formulated by a number of working groups over several months, and will be submitted to congress. These policy frameworks include education, safety, security, constitutional matters, the economy and the reconstruction and development programme. They are so formulated that they not only clearly spell out the NP's policy, but that they also create scope for negotiation for our representatives in the GNU.

The NP has successfully expanded its support base in all other communities with the exception of the black community where we attracted little support in the election. One major challenge will be to address this issue in a committed way. All of us must guard against political parties, be it the NP, the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party, just becoming flag-bearers for limited ethnic interests. The NP can do it. In the interests of the country, it must succeed in obtaining a broad power base with a modern agenda based on our political philosophy.

We must provide an alternative to the ANC in its present form. If we don't we will be faced with all the consequences of a de facto one-party state, however benign, and the absence of constructive democratic debate.

Marthinus van Schalkwyk is an NP MP and the party's director of media and information

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From the ashes of Avalon Cemetery will emerge freedom, justice and peace

Sowetan 13/1/95 (304A)

Slovo praised for his contribution

By Joe Mdhlela

THE South African Communist Party, or *Amabomvane*, as black communists prefer to call themselves, will accompany dead comrade Joe Slovo to his resting place at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto.

Slovo, who fought courageously against a dreaded disease and the whole apartheid edifice, will go down in history after an illustrious political career, often with a revolutionary flavour.

Slovo, who was Minister of Housing, had committed himself to "delivering homes" to millions of blacks who either lived in shacks or did not have a roof over their heads.

A journalist in a weekend publication observed that Slovo's body had been wasted and emaciated by the disease.

The reference seemingly offended Slovo's comrades at the SACP.

At a memorial service at St Paul's Anglican Church in Soweto on Wednesday, the SACP leadership referred to this remark and promptly directed a tirade at the Press for daring to write so slanderously about Slovo.

Hierachy suggested

The hierarchy suggested they would have had no problem with that being mentioned, if Slovo's good works had also been amplified.

Secretary-general of the Congress of South African Trade Unions Mr Sam Shilowa said the Press should learn to be even-handed and give due praise where it is deserved.

The service in Soweto heard how Slovo was described as a man bent on "transforming this society".

Speakers described Slovo as a revolutionary who sacrificed his whiteness and the privileges that went with it at the altar of the struggle.

Also, Slovo was described as a strategist who hated dogma and was prepared to do the right thing even if that made him unpopular.

General-secretary of SACP Mr Chales Nqakula said if anybody deserves praise for having quickened the liberation victory, it is Slovo.

He said full marks should go to Slovo, who through Operation Vulindlela, set the country on the road to the first nonracial democratic election on April 27 1994.

"From the ashes of Avalon Cemetery will emerge freedom, justice and peace," Nqakula said.

Death a great loss to SACP

By Blade Nzimande, SACP central committee and politburo

COMRADE JS was arguably the best known South African communist, nationally and internationally.

He was also a personal incarnation and living symbol of the long-standing and unique relationship between progressive African nationalists and communists in South Africa.

Comrade Joe was one of the key political strategists and intellectuals of the national liberation movement, in particular the SACP.

He had a profound sense of strategy and tactics with most of his writings appearing at crucial moments in the South African revolution.

At the height of the mid-1980s repression, SACP underground literature — especially JS' pamphlets — were the prized possessions of every activist. Comrade JS brilliantly combined theory and action.

Slovo's perspective on the SACP in the present period is perhaps best represented in his paper, *Has socialism failed?*

Although many comrades disagreed with some of his arguments, this paper served to focus communists both inside the SACP and internationally on the issue of the relationship between socialism and democracy. For him, the challenge for the SACP was the struggle for deepening democracy both inside the party and in wider South African society, and to abandon the thinking that socialism was by its very nature democratic.

One major strength JS brought to the party was his boldness and forthrightness, no matter how controversial his views were.

Only someone of Slovo's stature could suggest such compromises and still remain popular with the people. His paper on the "sunset clauses" generated an almost unprecedented debate within the ranks of the movement.

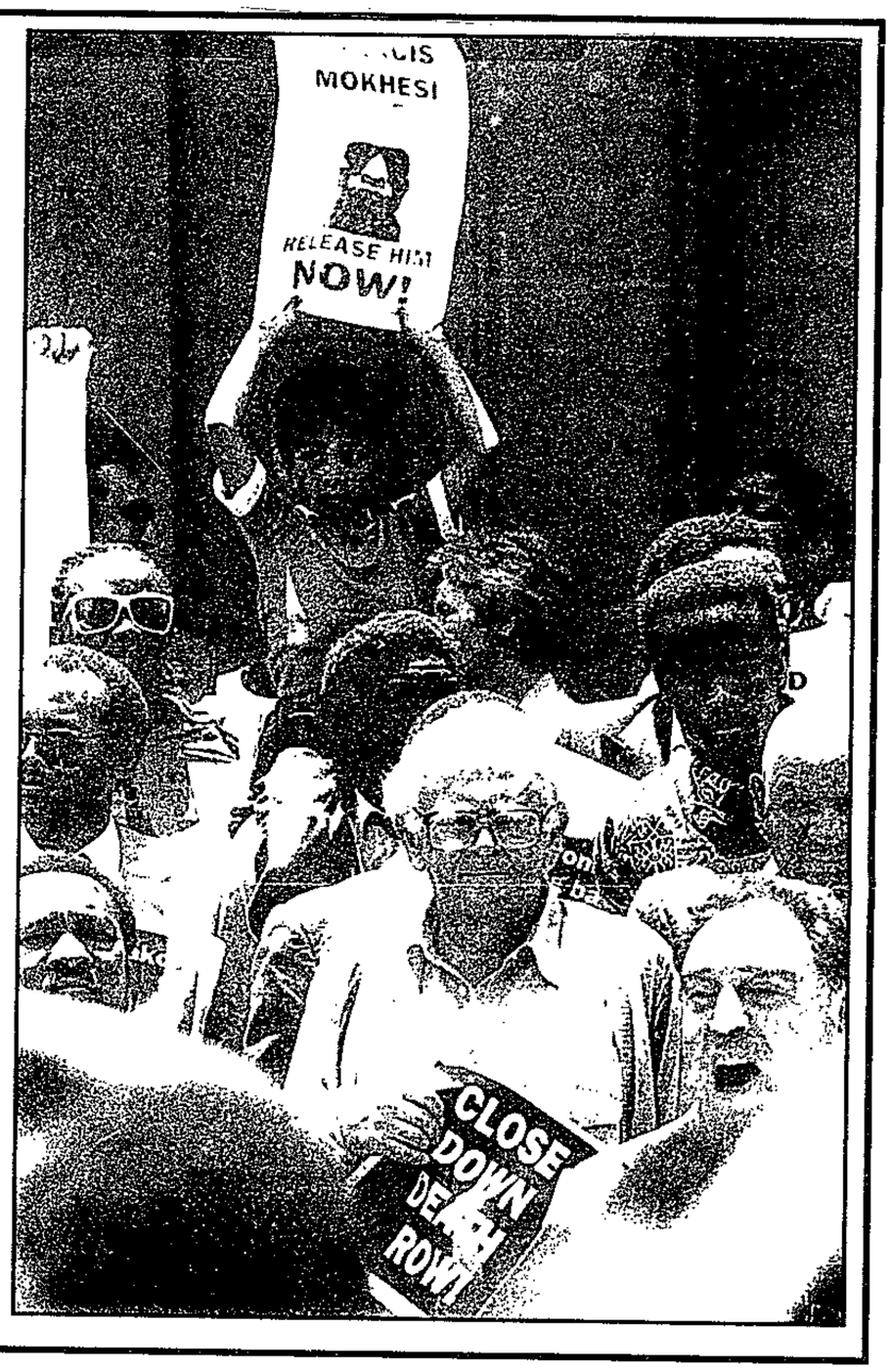
Despite my own disagreements with the paper, it clearly illustrates Slovo's boldness. He stood his ground on these proposals even though some of our comrades called it a "sell-out" position.

However, Comrade Joe was not rigid, even in his own views, and he raised issues for debate in order to clarify strategies and tactics inside the party and the ANC.

The loss of JS is a great blow to the party. It is even greater since it is barely two years since the assassination of Comrade Chris Hani.

Much as it would not be easy to produce another JS, the SACP can build on his contribution and example to strengthen itself as it faces the future. *Hamba kahle*, JS!

Slovo — the voice of the masses



Joe Slovo at work ... leading the masses in a just cause.

Joe Slovo's favourite poem

In praise of Communism

It's sensible,
anyone can understand it.
It's easy.
You're not an exploiter,
so you can grasp it.
It's a good thing for you,
find more about it.
The stupid call it stupid
and the squalid call it
squalid.
It is against squalor and
against stupidity.
The exploiters call it a
crime
but we know:
it is the end of crime.
it is not madness, but
the end of madness.
It is not the riddle
but the solution
It is the simplest thing
so hard to achieve.

Bertolt Brecht

The issues that dominated his life

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

HERE in his own words, are some of the issues that preoccupied Joe Slovo:

On the leading role of the ANC: "We've had examples of radical youth and quite a few radical workers too have come to us and said: 'We're not joining the ANC, we're waiting for the party to come out and we've told them on that basis there's no place for them in the party because they'll have to be re-educated politically.

"And it's not because we want to have a presence in the ANC, it's because we believe that the task of the party has been and must continue to be to strengthen the most important national force."

On the armed struggle: "In 1961 history left us with no option but to engage in armed action as a necessary part of the political struggle. It was a moment in which (to use Lenin's words) 'untimely inaction would have been worse than untimely action'. We could not refuse to fight. We had to learn how to do so.

"And, in many respects, we had to learn on the ground, in the hard school of revolutionary practice."

On religion: "It is my contention that there is a major convergence between the ethical content of Marxism and all that is best in the world's religions.

"But it must also be conceded that in the name of both Marxism and religion, great damage has been done to the human condition. Both ideologies have produced martyrs in the cause of oppression."

Joe Slovo and Peter Mokaba sharing some of the most remebrered moments on stage.

On the apartheid regime's disinformation campaign against him: "For the past decade and a half they have been saying I am a KGB colonel. I must be the most unsuccessful spy in the world — in 15 years I haven't had a promotion."

Has socialism failed? "For our part, we firmly believe in the future of socialism, nor do we dismiss its whole past as an unmitigated failure...But it is more vital than ever to subject the past of existing socialism to an unsparing critique in order to draw necessary lessons. To do so openly is an assertion of justified confidence in the future of socialism and its inherent moral superiority."

Has capitalism succeeded? "The wretched of this earth make up over 90 percent of humanity. They live either in capitalist-orientated societies. For them if socialism is not the answer, there is no answer at all." (December 1991)

On multiparty democracy: "The single party state, except at rare moments in history, is a recipe for tyranny."

On the challenges of a new South Africa: "It is our task to give millions of South Africans an essential piece of dignity in their lives — the dignity that comes from having a solid roof over your head, running water ad other services in an established community."

Looking back: "As far as I am concerned, what I did, I did without any regrets. I decided long ago in my life that there is only one target and that target is to remove the racist regime and obtain power for the people." (December 1994). — Quotes courtesy of the Joe Slovo Funeral Committee.

All aboard for the people's constitution

(30LLA) Star 14/1/95

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 490 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

ARGT 14/1/95 (304A)

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 1976 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 Womens' League. Former president of Azapo, Thami Mcerwa — who was murdered at the end of last year — and Black Consciousness leader Letsatsi Mosala 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 Lekoame Mothopeng. 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 Mothopeng 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 500 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 cemetry at Dawn Park, East Rand.

Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

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

PAYING TRIBUTE: Parliament's flags fly at half-mast while marchers, led by Local Minister of Environment Affairs, Nature Conservation and Tourism Lerumo Kalako, middle, religious leaders and members of the ANC Women's League bear wreaths in honour of Housing Minister Joe Slovo.

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 Ramatlakane 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 Bhadra Ranchod, Mr Yengeni and others laid wreaths.

Joe Slovo was a gracious man with sheer grit

JEREMY GORDIN

IN ABOUT September 1993, I was, as editor of the soon-to-be-launched first issue of South African Playboy, looking desperately for the person who would be our first major interviewee.

US Playboy had traditionally made its monthly interview the centrepiece of its non-pictorial content, and had featured over the years people ranging from Jimmy Carter to Yasser Arafat and Martin Luther King.

The office of the then president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, said US Playboy already had a request in, and that if he were to agree to an interview, it would be with our US parents. The then state president, F W de Klerk, considered our request for some days — then decided, it seems, that a Playboy interview would not win him any extra votes in the April election, and a request to Cyril Ramaphosa was turned down.

The truth was that most "visible" people were not keen then to appear in the magazine. It had not yet appeared locally and no one knew just how risque it might be. In what was almost desperation, I decided to ask Joe Slovo whether he would agree to an interview.

After all, he was the man most (white) South Africans loved to hate (he was contentious); he had, as chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, apparently been involved in numerous cloak-and-dagger activities (he was adventurous); chances were better than good that after the election he would end up being a member of the Cabinet; and he had surprised many people by being a sensible and conciliatory negotiator during the various rounds of CODESA talks.

But, given the general bias in those days against Playboy and the fact that CODESA was then in full swing, I left a message at his office without holding out too much hope that he would return the call.

I was mistaken. Unlike most politicians — unlike most people — he returned the call promptly and he returned it himself. I immediately began burbling about the respectability of Playboy but he said he had absolutely no qualms about appearing in the magazine.

Thus began my series of interviews with Slovo, during the course of which I spent about 15 hours with him, in his office and at his home, discussing in detail his life and outlook.

I had become a young journalist in the days when Slovo was public enemy number one, when even the avowedly anti-government newspapers on which I worked hated to let facts spoil a good story about Slovo. He had been continually portrayed as a bloodthirsty atheist and Marxist functionary, the honorary KGB colonel with a dacha on the Black Sea. (He told me, incidentally, that he had not been a colonel nor had he been given a dacha.)

HAPPY FAMILY: Joe with his first wife Ruth First, who was later murdered in Mozambique, and their young daughters Robin (with Slovo) and Gillian.

I also knew that Slovo was being continually berated in the press and on talkshows about being a Marxist when the Marxist "empire" had pretty much crumbled — and I wondered, a little anxiously, how he would react to questions on the issue. I also wondered, even more anxiously, how to ask him about his first wife, Ruth First, who had been murdered in Mozambique, apparently by the operatives of the South African government.

Having been searched by some bodyguards, I was met in the passage by a quietly spoken, unassuming man — there was no officious secretary or minder, no pomp or ceremony.

As regards his bloodthirstiness, he startled me by saying quite offhandedly that he had never believed the solution to the country's problems lay in the armed struggle, that MK's various actions had simply been a method of reinvigorating morale inside the country following the hammer blows it had received in the years between Sharpeville and the 1976 unrest.

As for his atheism, he said he was undoubtedly a non-religious person but he spoke with great affection of his Jewish upbringing in Lithuania, where he was born, and of the valuable role such an upbringing played in his life.

He knew, he said, that Marxism was flawed but that, in any case, he did not think a debate about Marxism was the central issue — the main point was for the country to find a system that would redress the wrongs that had been inflicted on the majority of its population.

He also spoke openly about the death of Ruth First, saying that bitterness was pointless.

It struck me, as we talked, that here was a person who had, as the US phrase goes, received a bad press — at least in South Africa. He was straightforward and clear in his thinking and willing to consider every issue on its merits, as rationally as possible.

It struck me too, as we talked then, as well as later at his house in Observatory, and as I reflected on his general modus operandi and insistence, for example, on honouring undertakings (even if they were small ones, like returning a phone call), that he reminded me of the best of his generation — son of a poor immigrant, devoted because of his background to ameliorating the lives of others, but unimpressed by the trappings of power — and always gracious.

But of course, Slovo had something more. He had sheer grit. He refused to give up, no matter how badly the odds were stacked against him. He refused to give up his ideals, though, as a devoted master of realpolitik, he was smart enough to know where and when to compromise — and, by being able to do so, he became one of the major architects of this country's new dispensation.

■ *The author is managing editor of the Argus group's forthcoming supplement, Business Report. He was previously editor of Playboy.*

How Shantytown was won

By ZB MOLEFE

WHEN Joe Slovo lied in the early hours f Friday morning, a iece of Soweto died.

That piece is Orlndo – or Shantytown f old.

There is a genertion of black South Africans who will ever forget the pitchd battles they fought gainst the white muicipal rulers in the 0s and 50s to settle here.

Foremost in their memories will be Joe Slovo who led a small band of dedicated anti-apartheid whites – most of them South African Communist Party members – into that crucial battle.

Slovo and his allies sided with the "father of Soweto", James "Sofasonke" Mpanza and his followers, who were demanding that sites at Orlando be given to homeless blacks.

That generation is today scattered throughout Soweto and parts of the country. Now in their 60s and 70s, they will not have forgotten those turbulent years and Joe Slovo's fine role.

Orlando and Pimville were the embryo of Johannesburg's black townships which would later balloon into Soweto.

In 1944 Johannesburg was bursting at the seams. Thousands of blacks were streaming to the "City of Gold" from the rural areas searching for jobs and a better life. The city experienced unbearable overcrowding in Ferreirasdorp, Bertrams, Fordsburg and Prospect Township, as it was called then.

It was obvious that the model township, Orlando, built in the late 30s and named after city councillor Orlando Leake, could not handle the growing black population. Hunger for land became the order of the day.

The 40s also saw the rise of charismatic James Mpanza. It is history that Mpanza took hundreds of his followers and homeless blacks onto a piece of land opposite what is now the Orlando Communal Hall and staked his claim for the land to be given to the homeless hundreds.

After numerous pitched battles with the Johannesburg City Council – in one incident a black municipal policeman was killed – Mpanza won out when officials backed down and Shantytown, a famous Soweto landmark of yester-year, was born.

In the mid-50s Shantytown had to be demolished and its residents moved to a number of townships that had sprung up – Dube, Mofolo and Zondi – which heralded the birth of Soweto proper.

Today, Shantydown has been replaced by Soweto's modern industrial park that stretches from the Orlando swimming pool in the south to the north near Mlamlankuzi Railway Station where the Soweto Highway starts.

Shantytown has gone, but its memory – and the memory of Joe Slovo's role in its formation – lives on in Soweto.

Hamba Kahle, Joe Slovo

304A

15/1/95 City Press

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 !Khoisan 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.

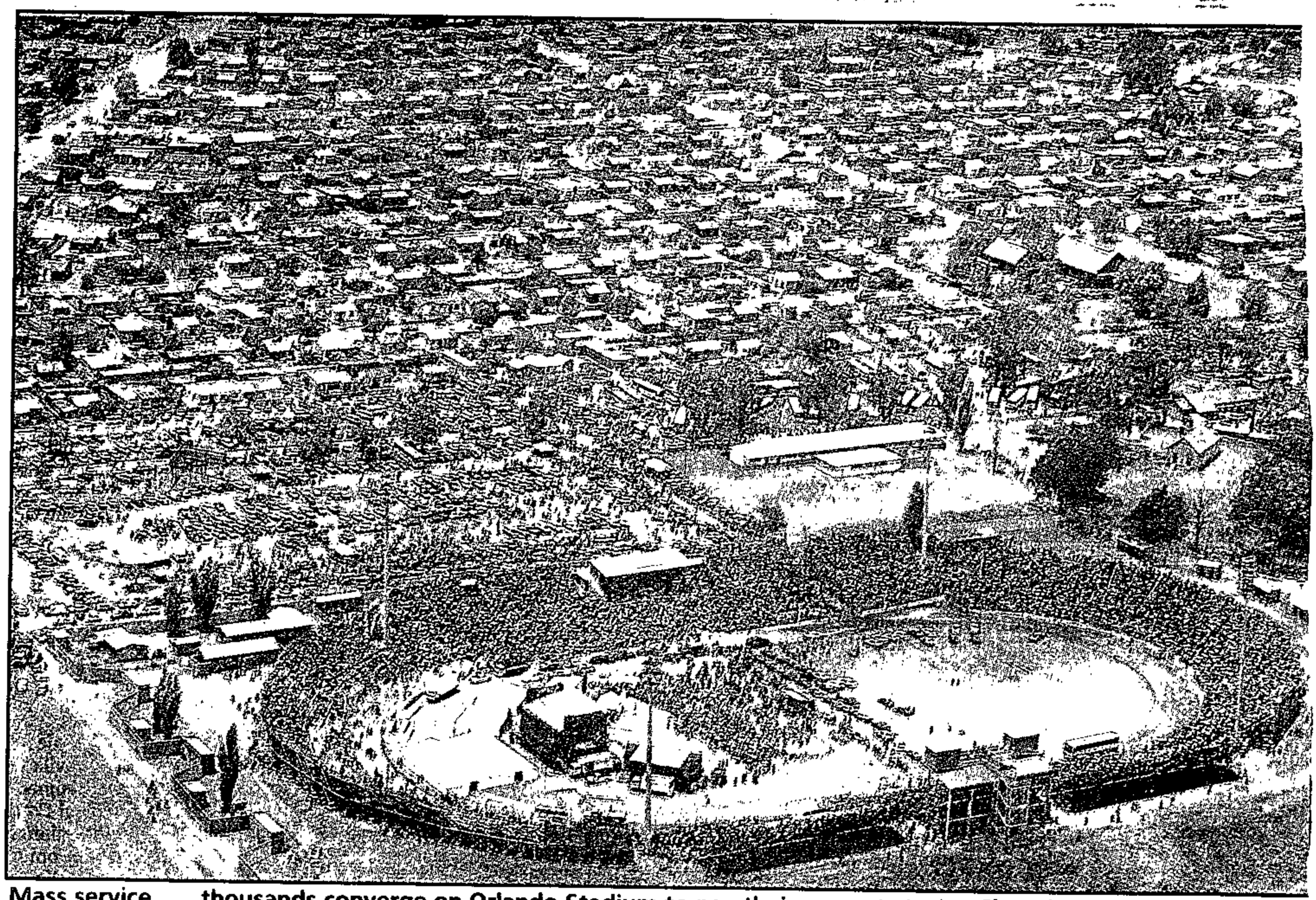
Among other speakers will be Cosatu president John Gomomo and SA Communist Party general secretary Charles Nqakula.

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



Mass service . . . thousands converge on Orlando Stadium to pay their respects to Joe Slovo in Soweto yesterday. But at Avalon Cemetery marshals lost control of the crowd, and the security risk meant that Nelson Mandela could not see his friend and colleague laid to rest.

PICTURE: JODI BIEBER courtesy RADIO 702

(304A) Star 16/1/95

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 on 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 surging 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 Thenjiwe Mtintso 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 dress 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 Gomomo 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

Star 16/1/95 (304A)

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 marshals lost control of a crowd that surged forward to get closer to the grave.

ANC officials at the cemetery 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 bent over 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 programme.

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

▶ **Slovo mobbed in death as he was in life — Page 3**

"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 Gomomo 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 practising 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.

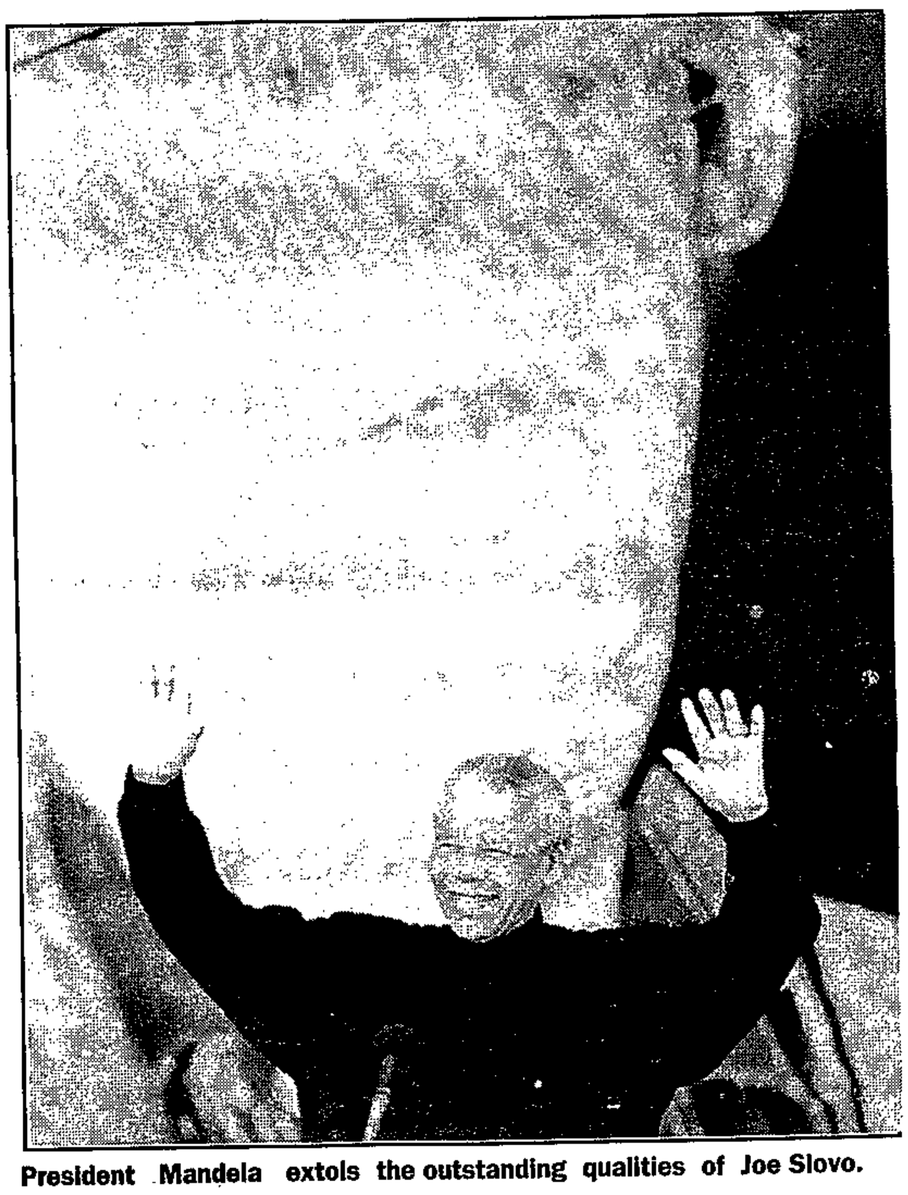
The crowd was silent only when Slovo's wife, Helena, said a moving farewell.

Among those at Orlando were five National Party MPs.

Slovo helped lay the foundations for a better life...

(304A) Sowetan 16/1/95

■ GREAT REVOLUTINARY *Men and women of rare qualities are few and hard to come by, says President Nelson Mandela:*



President Mandela extols the outstanding qualities of Joe Slovo.

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 Slovo.

"We are assembled to mourn the passing of a leader, a patriot, a father, a fighter, a negotiator, an internationalist and an organiser," President Mandela said in praise of Slovo.

"Indeed, it is the combination of all these qualities so splendidly in one individual, which made Comrade Joe Slovo 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 made the more profound and the more difficult to manage.

Yet we do draw comfort, Comrade Joe:

- from the knowledge that the greater part of the journey that was the passion of your life has been traversed;
- from the knowledge that you left a legacy which we shall all strive to emulate;
- from the knowledge, Comrade Joe, that you continue to live in each one of us through your force of example, vitality of spirit and passion for justice.

Today, as the nation bids you final farewell, we are at the same time celebrating a life lived to the full; the richness of which touched the hearts of millions and made an indelible mark on the history of our country.

When future generations look back on the 1994 breakthrough, they will be justified in saying: Uncle Joe was central in making it happen.

Chief architect

When the working people start enjoying, as a right, a roof over their heads, affordable medical care, quality education and a rising standard of living, they will be right to say, Comrade Joe was a chief architect who helped lay the foundation for a better life.

When those yet to be born marvel at how South Africans of our times managed a delicate transition, they will be within their right to sing, as we did during the years of armed struggle: *u'Slovo ikomando*, a commando of reconstruction and development, a warrior of peace and reconciliation, a builder par excellence.

Comrade Joe Slovo was one of those who taught us that individuals do not make history. Yet, in each generation there are a few individuals who are endowed with the acumen and personal bearing which enable them to direct the course of events.

Comrade Joe Slovo, *Isithwalandwe-Seaparankoe*, belonged in that category. In that sense he was a rare species, an institution. To reflect on Joe's contribution is, therefore, to retrace the evolution of South African politics in the past half-century.

Such is the life we celebrate today: a life not so much of white generosity to the black people of our country; for JS did not see himself as a white South African but as a South African. He was a full part of the democratic majority, acting together with them for a just and democratic order. Comrade JS lived the life not merely of a theoretician, confined to the boardroom and library. He was at all stages of struggle there at the forefront, generating ideas, and there too, in their implementation.

When, in 1934, the village of Obelkei in Lithuania, bequeathed to South Africa an eight-year-old Yossel Mashel Slovo, there was no pre-determined course that his life would follow.

Revolutionaries

Forced to leave school at an early age because of poverty; part of the passionate political debates of that period among immigrants in Johannesburg; a poor Jewish family upbringing in the period when Nazism was rearing its ugly head — all these factors helped mould one of the greatest South African and African revolutionaries of our times.

Joe Slovo was among the few white workers who understood their class interest and sought common cause with their class brothers and sisters irrespective of race. In this sense, Comrade JS leaves the South African workingclass — black and white — a challenge, particularly now that the walls of racial division are finally collapsing: the time for unity has come!

The young Joe could have chosen a lucrative life, after returning from service in the Second World War, and acquiring the opportunities accorded white veterans. He could have elected, as many in his position did, to part ways with his black colleagues as they rode into oblivion on the bicycles given them as the thankless reward for their service in the war. But Joe Slovo was a full human being at heart. And he possessed the passion and natural intellect to see reality for what it was. He had, at the age of 16 joined the Communist Party of South Africa.

Racist regime

To use his own words, he had decided that in his life there was only one target, and that target was to remove the racist regime and obtain power for the people.

Those of us who had the honour to be closely associated with Comrade Joe, know that he live and true to the dedication he knew full well that he would walk again and again through the valley of the shadow of death to reach the mountain-tops of his desires.

I was fortunate to meet him in our younger days at Wits University. With his future wife, Rurth First, Ismail Meer, Harold Wolpe, Jules Browde, JN Singh and others, we would debate many issues well into the early hours of the morning. His sharp intellect and incisive mind were apparent then.

But Joe was a well-rounded human being. Up to his last days, he lived life to the full. He never claimed to be a saint. He was a good organiser of enjoyable parties. He liked to eat and dress well.

He had humour in abundance.

It is this passion for happiness in his life and the lives of others that we saw in his contribution to the campaigns of the working people; in court as a devastating human rights lawyer; in the underground; and in the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961.

When we were on Robben Island, we managed on a few occasions to exchange correspondence. But if there is any form of intimate contact that one could point at, it was the glowing praise from the young cadres who joined us and who had developed both politically and militarily under his guidance.

It is precisely because of his seminal contribution to the liberation struggle that Comrade JS was loved by those struggling for freedom.

Special operations

Though the defenders of apartheid sought to obliterate his memory, the struggling people knew that he was an effective and skilful MK Chief of Operations; they knew that he was a loved and respected MK Chief of Staff; they knew that he planned and inspired many special operations of the people's army that shook the foundations of the apartheid establishment.

They knew too that he was at the core of collectives that drafted many strategy and tactics documents of the movement.

The most central factor in his approach to struggle on any front was the understanding of the political situation, the balance of forces and thus the approaches necessary to advance that struggle. Thus he was able to appreciate changes in the objective conditions and initiate discussions on changes to the tactics to be applied.

He knew when to compromise. Yet he never compromised his principles. He was a militant. Yet a militant who knew how to plan, assess concrete situations and emerge with rational solutions to.problems.

We shall forever remember Slovo as one of the embodiments of the alliance between the ANC and the SACP. Joe knew that the interests of the working class in our country were intimately bound up with those of the rest of the oppressed majority in pursuit of democracy and a better life.

He knew too that, for the working class to realise these interests, it had to play an active role in the liberation struggle and the liberation movement.

Joe appreciated that the Alliance between the ANC, the SACP and the progressive trade union movement was premised on concrete democratic and social tasks. He appreciated the need to strengthen this Alliance especially now when we are reconstructing and developing South Africa.

More than in theory, his own practical life demonstrated his profound understanding of the nature of the relationship between the ANC and the SACP: the leading role of the ANC; the principles of consultation, consensus and criticism within disciplined structures of the allies. The advocates of racial superiority could not understand how Slovo could be part of the liberation struggle and operate under the leadership of the hapless inferiors they despised. But Joe took part in struggle as an equal, as part of the people.

End to dominance

The defenders of national oppression could not understand why Slovo would seek to end the dominance of his racial "kith and kin". But Joe's kin was all humanity, especially the very poor.

The champions of privilege and concentration of wealth could not fathom why Slovo identified with the wretched of the earth. But Joe knew that these were the creators of wealth and they deserved their fair share.

It is the tragedy of South Africa that his humanity, pragmatism and industriousness were realised by many, particularly among the white community, only after close on to 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.

Let it be said loud and clear today, that the qualities Slovo demonstrated in abundance in the past few years were the same attributes that spurred him to struggle, the qualities that drove him to join the liberation movement and the qualities that he helped engender in these organisations.

We in the Government of National Unity know intimately what vacuum Minister Joe Slovo's departure has left in our midst. We shall miss not only his incisiveness, experience and verve.

We are conscious that it is given to a few to so ably combine theory and practice, as Joe demonstrated in his portfolio.

But we know too that he has left us a legacy which will continue to guide our approach. And that is to mobilise all the role-players in any area of work for joint efforts to build a better life for all.

The depth of it all is captured in the profound messages that we have received from the civics movement, mortgage-lending institutions, the construction industry, property owners' associations, the banks and many others.

Contained in all of them is the appreciation of Joe's central theme that all of us have a responsibility to ensure that the RDP succeeds. Those with resources have a crucial role to play. The government should discharge its responsibility. But, above all, ordinary people themselves should guide policy formulation and implementation.

Among the last issues he was working on with a passion only typical of him was the launch of a campaign to ensure delivery of houses and services; and at the same time, to mobilise communities to pay their bonds, rents and service charges. I wish on behalf of Government to reiterate that the course Joe Slovo had charted will continue to guide us in fulfilling the housing programme.

His firmness in dealing with obstacles to this programme will remain one of the central features of our work.

If we have taken liberty to claim Comrade Joe as ours today, this merely underlines that there are those to whom he was more than just a revolutionary and a friend.

30 000 pay last respects to Slovo

CT 16/1/95

(30419)

JOHANNESBURG — Thousands of people crammed into the Orlando Stadium in Soweto early yesterday to pay their last respects to Housing Minister and South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo.

The more than 30 000 crowd toyi-toyied, sang and chanted before moving to Soweto's Avalon cemetery for the burial.

President Nelson Mandela said: "We are assembled to mourn the passing of a leader, a patriot, a father, a fighter, a negotiator, an internationalist and an organiser."

Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris said: "Every fibre of his being went to help the lot of his black fellow human beings."

After the ceremony former MK soldiers placed Mr Slovo's simple wooden coffin, draped with the national, ANC and SACP flags, on an SANDF gun carriage for his last journey to the cemetery.

The arrival of Mr Slovo's family and friends, cabinet ministers and other dignitaries was delayed more than an hour as roads to the cemetery were blocked by mourners.

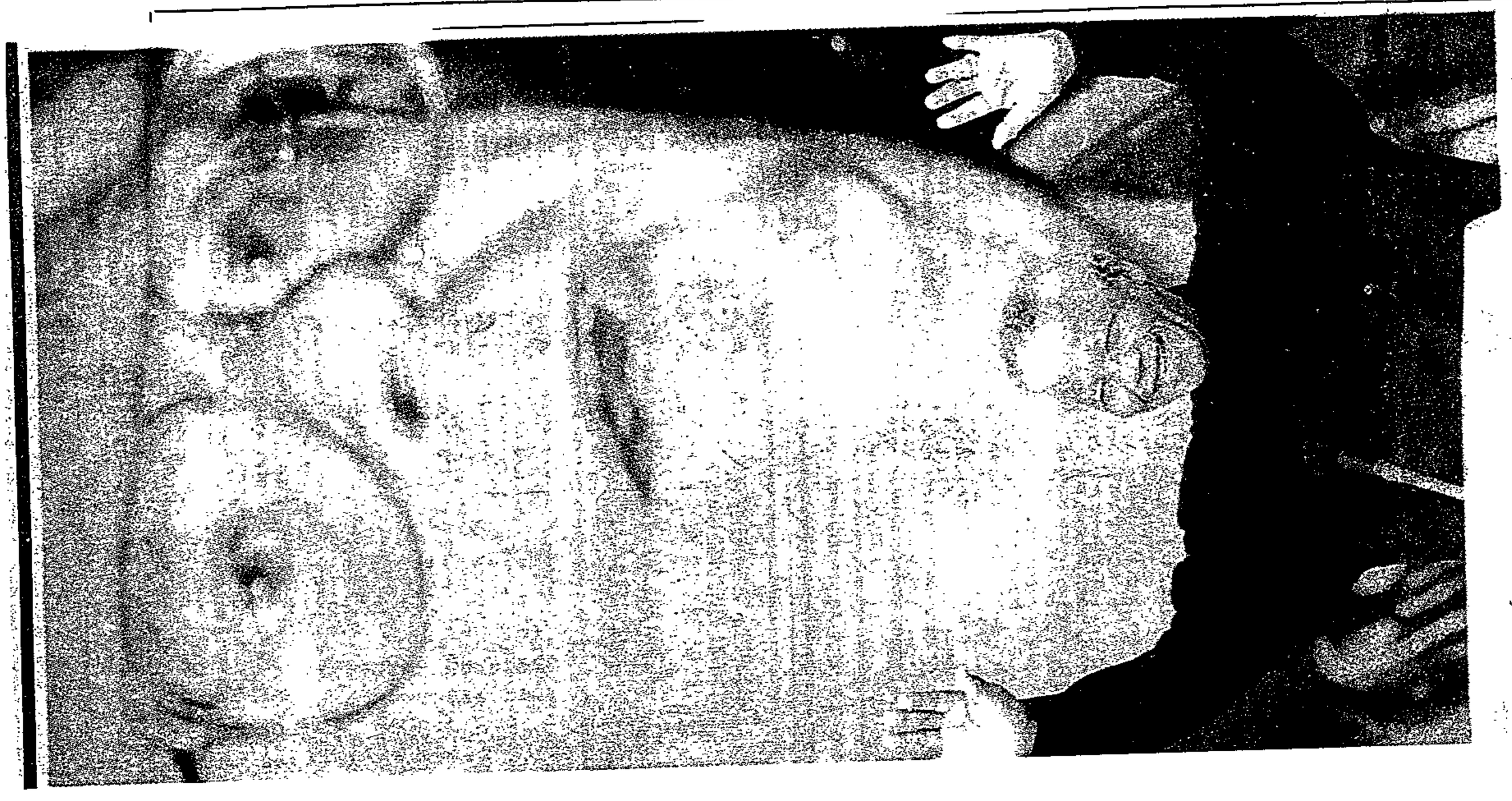
At Heroes Acre a section of the crowd of mourners broke through cordons and shoved their way to within metres of the grave.

Shots were fired and stones were lobbed in the direction of the grave, but police said the only reported injury was by a police constable in civilian clothes struck by a brick thrown into the VIP area at the graveside.

A salute of 18 shotgun rounds was fired.

Mr Slovo was finally buried about 3.15pm.

● Call to probe plots on Slovo — Page 2



TRIBUTE ... President Nelson Mandela, against a giant backdrop portrait of Mr Joe Slovo, greets mourners before paying tribute at Mr Slovo's state funeral yesterday. A crowd of more than 30 000 toyi-toyied, sang and chanted at the ceremony in Orlando Stadium, Soweto. Picture: AP

Unity government 'necessary, working'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

304A

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".

CT 18/1/95

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

(304A) Star 19/1/95

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
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 1 200 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 Coetsee

ARG 19/1/95 (304)

Political Staff

DEPUTY President F W de Klerk denied today that he was about to resign from the government of national unity.

He made the announcement because of turmoil in the National Party over the African National Congress-dominated cabinet's decision to nullify 3 500 indemnities granted secretly before the election.

Today Mr De Klerk and his NP lieutenants met on the issue, but he emerged to tell the NP women's federal congress: "There is no truth in the allegation that I have resigned.

"I will from my side, in the most responsible manner, try to manage and help manage these problems towards solutions that will be in the best interests of South Africa but which the NP will be able to live with."

Mr De Klerk confirmed to reporters that "serious problems" had arisen within the government and said: "I am deeply upset about the present situation."

He is expected to elaborate when he opens the party's full federal congress at the World Trade Centre tonight.

NP sources said the party would demand that the cabinet decision not to recognise the indemnities be rescinded.

A hastily convened crisis meeting took place last night between President Mandela and two NP ministers after the exchange of harsh words between the ANC and NP over the indemnity controversy at a routine cabinet meeting.

Sources say that at the meeting Mr De Klerk said he might have to reconsider his position in the government because of strong criticism by Mr Mandela in the indemnity row.

Kobie Coetsee at the centre of the storm — page 2

The late-night meeting was attended by Mr Mandela, Transport Minister Mac Maharaj and NP ministers Pik Botha and Roelf Meyer.

Although sources would today not disclose details of the talks, it is understood the matter was not resolved.

But Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and the ANC's former chief negotiator on indemnity, Penuell Maduna, said on television last night the government was not in a crisis over the indemnity issue. The cabinet had agreed not to act irrationally and to move in a direction where a law could be passed to deal with indemnity effectively.

The cabinet announced yesterday that two former ministers and 3 500 policemen who applied for indemnity last year had not been indemnified.

Jakes Gerwel, director-general of the president's office, told a news conference at the Union Buildings that the cabinet had decided that former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, former Defence Minister Magnus Malan, police commissioner Johan van der Merwe and 3 500 policemen who applied for indemnity in the weeks before the election had not been granted indemnity.

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."

FW demands response from ANC

Nats threaten to reconsider role in govt

(304A)

TIM COHEN

THE government of national unity was last night experiencing its most serious strains yet as a result of sharp differences between President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk on the issue of indemnity granted to 3 500 policemen and two former Cabinet Ministers.

De Klerk said yesterday he had been forced to reconsider his position in government following a "comprehensive, sharp and insulting attack" against the party during Wednesday's Cabinet meeting.

Opening the NP federal congress at Kempton Park last night, De Klerk demanded the ANC leadership take "appropriate steps" without delay to remedy the "unfair ... and unacceptable attack". The NP had been "viciously insulted, not only on the indemnity issue but also on such matters as the reconstruction and development programme, affirmative action and the party's good faith".

An NP management committee meeting had endorsed his view that the ANC would have to respond positively to ensure the NP's co-operation within government.

He demanded that government conventions and procedures be supplemented to ensure "honourable co-operation" and avoid a repetition of recent events.

He would be meeting Mandela tomorrow and if the President's reaction was positive, the government of national unity would continue its "good work". If not the NP would be obliged to "give thorough consideration to all available options".

De Klerk's comments referred to heated exchanges understood to have taken place between himself and Mandela in the Cabinet meeting during discussion on the issue of indemnity for 3 500 policemen shortly before the April election.

De Klerk said the NP did not agree with the Cabinet decision and dissociated itself from the view that the policemen had not been indemnified. The NP said if it was true that the policemen had not acquired indemnity, then the same would apply to ANC members who had not adequately specified offences they had committed.

De Klerk denied that the NP acted clandestinely and dishonourably with regard to the indemnity applications. Neither did the NP try to conceal or hide the fact of the applications, he said.

Reacting to De Klerk's speech, ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu said last night the ANC was considering its position and would issue a comprehensive statement today.

An NP source yesterday described Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel's description of Wednesday's Cabinet meeting as "lies".

Gerwel told a news conference Cabinet had decided the 3 500 policemen had not been granted indemnity. He claimed there were no indications that the government of national unity was under threat.

Yesterday a senior NP member said: "We are not going to remain members of the government of national unity just for the convenience of the ANC."

De Klerk's speech followed a tense

☐ To Page 2

Indemnity

☐ From Page 1

meeting of the NP's federal council at which sharp differences were understood to have emerged about the way some party members had handled the issue.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pik Botha denied suggestions that other party members were critical of statements he had made before the Cabinet meeting in which he concluded that amnesty had not been granted to the policemen and former Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan. BD 20/1/95

Botha insisted yesterday that his interpretation of the indemnity question was the only legally correct one. Neither the 3 500 policemen, nor thousands of ANC members had specified the offences for which they wished to be indemnified — as required by the legislation — so they could not have been granted indemnity.

Of the 10 000 people, including the policemen, who had applied for indemnity, only 318 had formally been granted indemnity, Botha said.

Wednesday's Cabinet meeting was followed by a crisis meeting attended by Botha and several ANC Cabinet members, intended to smooth over differences. Botha would not comment on it but said he had reported back to the NP's federal congress.

INGRID SALGADO reports that investigations into the actions of former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok are to continue following the Cabinet decision that he had not been indemnified. Vlok is being sued by former ANC activist Shirley Gunn for crimen injuria and defeating the ends of justice for his alleged role in the 1988 Khotso House bombing.

Safety and Security Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday SA Police Service investigators would be picking up where they had left off. The investigation was suspended after police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe raised the issue of indemnities for certain former NP Cabinet Ministers and 3 500 policemen.

Gunn has rebuked Van der Merwe for failing to notify her lawyers about the state of the investigation against Vlok. She said yesterday it had been unacceptable that Vlok had indemnified himself.

Cosatu said yesterday it was discussing with lawyers possible charges arising from the bombing of Cosatu House and attacks on its leaders.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

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

(304A) ARG 20/1/95

AMONG 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 fledgling and, for the most part, entirely new administrations have had virtually to invent federal or provincial law-making, confusion, inexperience, lack of staff and money and the incomprehensibility of legislation have emerged as some of the key concerns.

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 section to deal with "extensive and worldwide inter-parliamentary contacts" — and a recruitment campaign is in progress.

National parliament's report does not deal with the vexing issue of MPs' overlapping schedules — which sometimes meant that meetings of the house lacked a quorum — but the fact that the committee section is to be "expanded considerably" is probably aimed in part at helping to resolve this kind of organisational headache.

Some provincial parliaments appear to be having a harder time than others.

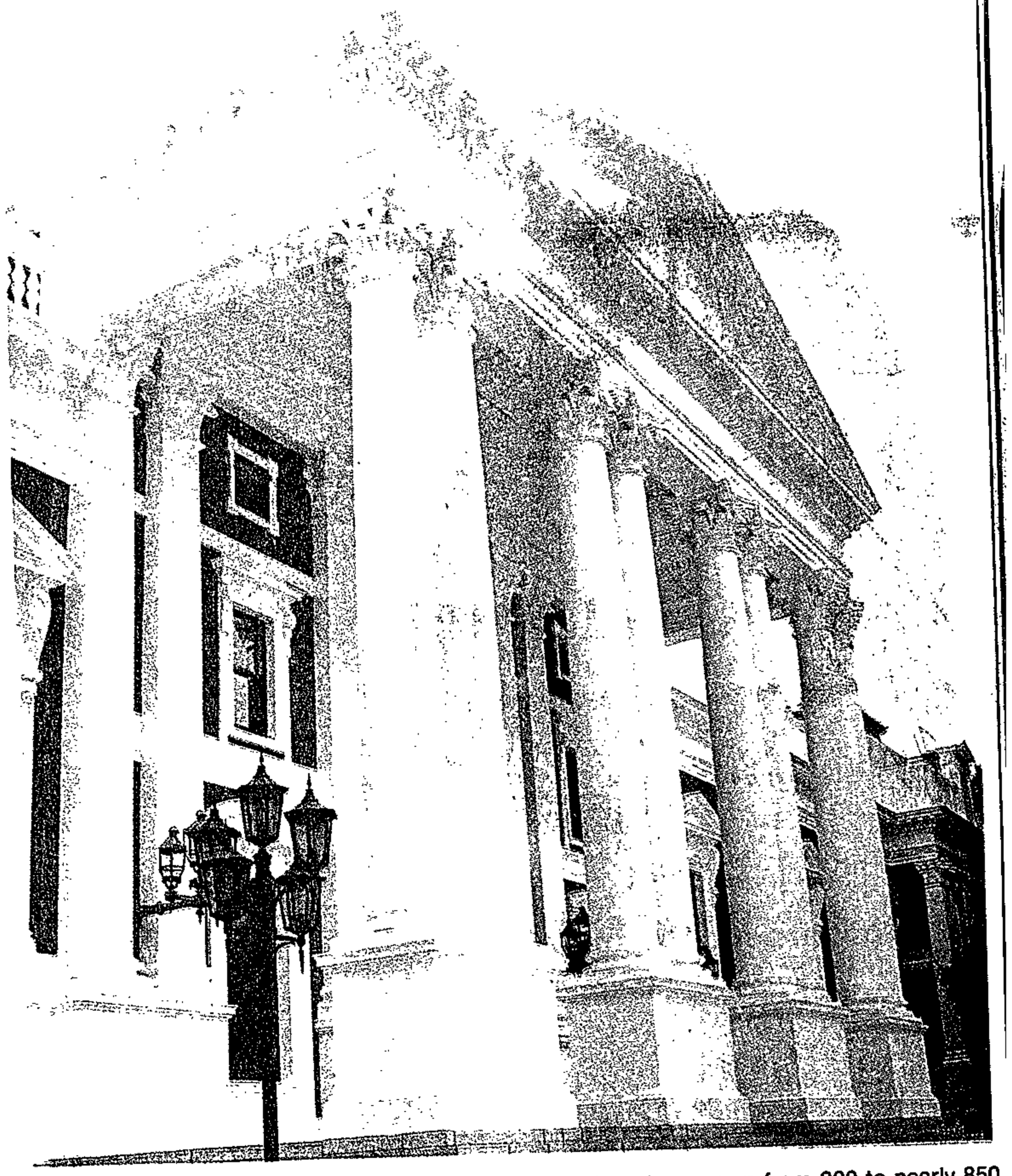
One of the most striking reports is from the KwaZulu-Natal legislature which notes that while "some sessions have been interesting and productive ... it has not been smooth sailing".

"Our past differences still haunt us and affect debate on some issues," it says, adding that debates had "proved that the majority party in matters they 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 had



BOOM TIME: The number of parliamentary staff members has grown from 300 to nearly 850 since April.

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 pintpoints the "apparent gap, or lack of contact" between the province's ministers 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. (304A)

The poll, carried out in November, involved 2 320 people living mainly in major cities. CT 20/1/95

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 26% 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 Ms 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

CT 20/1/95 (304A)

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 insulted" Mr De Klerk during a lengthy "outburst" and launched a withering attack on the NP's integrity and good faith.

In a hard-hitting address to the NP's federal congress here last night Mr De Klerk told a multiracial audience of over 1 500 delegates he would meet Mr Mandela in a bid to make "a fresh start" and resolve "the serious crisis that has developed between the NP and the ANC in the government".

NATS WERE VICIOUSLY INSULTED, SAYS FW

Mr De Klerk told his supporters — many fuming at the NP's being "short-changed" in amnesty negotiations — that the NP was prepared to continue with co-operation in the government only if the ANC leadership without delay took "appropriate steps" to remedy the "unfair, unjustified and unacceptable attack on our integrity and good faith".

Nationalist cabinet ministers, still reeling at the vehemence of the "unbridled attack" Mr Mandela launched against their leader at the stormy cabinet meeting, said last night that Mr De Klerk would also demand today that the amnesty issue be reconsidered so that all parties were treated even-handedly.

Mr De Klerk said of his make-or-break meeting with the ANC leader: "If the reaction is positive, the government will, I hope, soon continue with the good work that has already begun (since the election)."

But he immediately warned: "Should the reaction be negative, the NP will be obliged to give thorough consideration to all available options."

He added: "This could lead us to choose options that could be painful for South Africa."

Top NP sources said that one option would be to walk out of the government and become a fully-fledged opposition party.

Mr Pik Botha, who has been involved in fence-mending meetings with Mr Mandela and ANC ministers after the cabinet blow-up, said in an interview that the course of action followed by the NP would depend to an important degree on the reaction of NP delegates, many of whom want the NP to become more critical of the ANC.

Other top NP members frankly acknowledged that the party was facing "a crisis of perceptions" among supporters.

"Some of our supporters are calling us traitors because there is the perception that we have dropped the police and failed to stand up to the ANC," one senior source said.

However, Mr De Klerk was warmly applauded when he said the NP would resist all ANC bullying designed to force the NP to become the ANC's "surrogate" or "stooge".

'Outburst'

He added that the NP was "thoroughly sick and tired" of the ANC becoming "rudely insulting" when the NP stood up to them in a civilised manner.

Mr De Klerk said the country needed the stability, economic growth, reconciliation and co-operation afforded by a well-functioning government.

"What the constitution does not ask, however, is that minority parties should dilute their identities and become ja-broers who simply fall in line, subserviently and docilely, whenever the majority party cracks the whip.

"The NP is not prepared to accept this," he said to roars of approval from the party faithful.

Mr De Klerk told delegates that the cabinet meeting was already beginning to get "warm" during its discussion on the amnesty question but that this then led to "an outburst from the ANC side" involving a "much more comprehensive, sharp and insulting attack" against the NP.

"The NP in general and I in particular as the leader were viciously insulted, also with regard to other matters such as the RDP, affirmative action and the NP's good faith.

"It was so serious that I felt myself obliged to inform the cabinet that I would have to reconsider my position," adding: "In this I enjoy the unanimous support of all NP ministers and the NP's federal management committee."

Mr De Klerk noted that at first glance the crisis that had arisen between the ANC and the NP appeared to be about indemnity.

"But in reality it goes much deeper," he said.

● Earlier yesterday President Mandela said that the government remained on course and was very strong, despite the indemnity controversy.

"We have differences here and there, but we have had differences right from the beginning," he said during a visit to a school in Verwoerdburg.

● NP to fight for amnesty equity — Page 2

GOVT CRISIS ... Deputy President Mr F W de Klerk at the NP Congress yesterday. He and President Nelson Mandela are to hold a crisis meeting today. Picture: AP

ANGRY ... President Nelson Mandela

Rift row rocks markets

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's bonds market lost more than 20 points yesterday through persistent fears of a rift in the government, dealers said.

"The rumours have created uneasiness and nervousness, every man and his dog were selling bonds today," a dealer said.

Dealers said trade had been volatile and rates had moved on the back of rumours which sent shivers through the market.

SA analysts and portfolio managers, however, shrugged off yesterday's political developments, even though they helped to wipe thousands of rands off the value of shares on the JSE yesterday and hit the bond market and financial rand. They called them a "temporary phenomenon".

But they agreed that signs of political instability in this country would discourage foreign investors.

"When politicians play around with the future of our country like this, foreign investors will obviously be disenchanted," said one.

● Political jitters unsettle JSE — Page 11

A picture emerges of a mature, pragmatic, reasonable constituency among the masses

Revolution turnabout

Star 21/1/95 (304A)

NOT SO SWEET HOME: A typical squatter's shack at Tamboekiesfontein, near Heidelberg.

RESEARCHERS from the Centre for Policy Studies decided to close their ears to the conference room and media chorus about "the rising tide of expectations" and growing militancy.

Instead they tuned in to what people were saying.

What did they hear? In the words of researcher Craig Charney, that people in the squatter camps and rural backwaters, in township homes and on the factory floor are "more realistic in their expectations and more patient and hopeful about the future than conventional wisdom holds".

have to play sewerage.

Furthermore, that (although there is definite disappointment with the pace of change during the first seven months of the new order) people have not turned away from the Government.

They still want "to make the system work for them, not bring it down".

Modest though expectations may be, there is an imperative for the Government to meet the people on their terms and begin producing what they urgently want. Otherwise the likely outcome is a "crisis of cynicism", he concludes — that is, "a turning away from politics ... marked by declining electoral participation, a less vigorous political system and an increase in disorganised social protest, crime and violence".

This is not to be mistaken for the so-called second stage of the revolution. Charney says that such a revolutionary scenario, eagerly awaited by some ideologues and feared by others, "seems to be on indefinite hold".

This is the gist of Charney's 72-page report, "Voices of a new democracy: African expectations in the New SA".

The researchers got together 13 groups of "grassroots" participants: eight of them drawn from urban communities in Gauteng and five from rural communities in the Northern Transvaal and the North West.

These are some of the expectations:

A keen awareness of the constraints on government: Group members were well able to identify and appreciate the practical obstacles which the Government faced in improving living conditions, the study found.

Individuals were not blinded by their own plight to the bigger picture. A West Rand squatter said: "At the moment I am deeply sad because I'm old and have no proper home. Yet when I think realistically, I can see that I can't fix many things overnight."

A number of participants mentioned the dependency of change on investment and training.

A desire to accept less in order to spread benefits. Asked to choose between high standards for a limited number and lower provisions for many more people, most opted for the latter.

Egalitarianism

Charney observed there were mixed reasons for this — a positive belief in egalitarianism and a fear of the consequences if some were excluded from benefits. A typical comment from this majority group was: "(Wage) increments should be low so that the ones on the outside can get in."

However, on the question of high wages versus more jobs, Charney noted, unionised workers and better educated township residents opted for the high wage route.

Limited and realistic expectations. Members of the groups were well able to distinguish between their desires and their expecations, and the latter were far from Utopian.

"Participants are most optimistic about progress on education, fairly optimistic about housing and water supply, pessimistic about job creation and uncertain about rural electrification," the report notes.

"Notably absent is the blind faith in receiving a job, house and car soon that has worried the exponents of the 'excess expectations' idea."

That people see job creation as the toughest nut for the Government to crack is more striking because jobs were what all groups viewed as their most urgent requirement.

When it came to education, the view prevailed that quite a lot could be achieved in the five-year term of the Government of National Unity, because basic facilities were in place.

Likewise, with housing, most expected the backlog to be dented within five years. Typically they rated the problem of homelessness as likely to be "half way" eradicated by then.

"It is particularly instructive to note that shack-dwellers — the most deprived urban population in terms of housing — generally did not expect their housing to change in the immediate future. While they are aware of constraints and are willing to wait, they display neither pessimism nor unlimited patience. When asked when they expect their housing circumstances to improve, the most common reply is 'in five years'."

Rural participants — who rate water as their most desperate need after jobs — had a real expectation that piped water was on the way. Many referred to activities such as the laying of pipes and the installation of taps as definite signs of this.

"What is noteworthy about how group members describe their expectations is not how high or excessive these are, but rather how limited and realistic. They are hardly looking forward to social upheaval in which the last becomes the first," Charney says.

"They expect significant progress in the easier-to-manage fields of education, housing and water — and rather less in the intractable area of jobs."

But the fact remains that these modest wants are strongly felt. And the **failure to see change in this area has led to significant disappointment — but not to despair.**

Responses such as "I think things are standing still. My children can't go back to school because they are short of bursaries" and "Things aren't moving in the right direction — I can see changes but I'm not satisfied" were common but not quite universal.

This sense of disappointment was allayed, Charney reckons, by the patience of participants, and above all by the legitimacy of the Government.

The Government is viewed as one which the people "own" and which they have a right to make claims on. Charney highlights the fact that people want to prod the system, not smash it — as they were inclined to do in the past.

He quotes an unemployed Soweto man, not yet 25 years old, who says: "They're doing a good job. It's just that they are slow. So we need to exert pressure on them so that they can speed up the process."

The study revealed an absence of the kind of blind anger necessary to foment instability. Indeed, when groups were asked about strike action, there was quite a lot of hostility to strikers. Unemployed people and shack-dwellers, in particular, were likely to see strikes as damaging to the economy and an embarrassment to the Government.

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 to contribute to development efforts. Although the concept of the RDP was generally poorly understood, some participants spoke of the need for the community to work with the Government.

In housing, especially, groups spoke of using their own "diligence" and "assisting our government". Rural women professed to be willing to dig ditches for water pipes — with or without remuneration.

Entitlement

Charney argues that, overall, participants revealed a rejection of the "culture of entitlement" that elitist observers are so keen to saddle them with.

He claims his research goes a long way to debunking "the image of militant black masses who form a united, radical bloc ..."

He argues that the diversity of opinion is striking, as is the concrete non-ideological focus of the people. "Not a single group could be pigeon-holed as militant or moderate, Left or Right."

Soweto housewives might condemn strikers, but they favoured the rent boycott. Trade unionists defended their right to strike, but they "could not have been more moderate" on the rent boycott. The unemployed youth were most unsympathetic to continued protests and indiscipline in schools.

The picture Charney submits is of a mature, pragmatic and reasonable constituency.

Thunder from heaven

ST 27/1/95 (304A)

The inside story of the row that nearly ripped the government apart

Mandela accused De Klerk of speaking in cabinet as 'white men used to speak to blacks'

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

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 issue that sparked the crisis was the secret attempt by two cabinet ministers and 3 500 policemen to obtain indemnity on the eve of the election.

For Mr Mandela, who believed Mr de Klerk had been part of a "komplot" dishonouring an agreement that security force 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 NP that the indemnities were invalid.

Mr de Klerk had maintained throughout the meeting that he had been kept in the dark, despite disbelieving 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 are 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 litany of complaints made by Mr Mandela bear this out.

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

Minister Pik Botha, 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 1986 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 men 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 messily.

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 *per se*. 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 irritation 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 as he had not consulted the RDP office. In addition, the aid money would have gone only to the Rural Foundation, which operates mainly in the NP's Western Cape stronghold.

□ To Page 2

ion for one-legged people

FW gets NP vote of confidence

Sowetan 23/1/95

■ BROAD BASE NP drive for many members from "*ander volke*":

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter (30uA)

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, *Alukho Uvalo* (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 Damascan 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 a tumultuous week in which Mandela was understood to have chided the former State 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 Kempton Park on Thursday, De Klerk said the National Party would not tolerate the "ANC's double standards" on indemnity.

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COURSE STARTS 4 FEB

NP wants to share power after 1999

CT 23/1/95 (304A)

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 Tertius Delport called for the principle of "proportionality" in executive and legislative appointments.

MPs condolence motion: Joe Slovo was 'a mensch'

(304A) ARG 24/1/95

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 showed 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 Motsuenyane (ANC) described Mr Slovo as a man who had displayed courage and consistency when fighting for better living conditions for the poor. Agriculture Minister Kraai 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 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 'set for close ties'

(304A)

ARGUS 24/1/95

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 intergovernmental 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.

BUY 1 METRE GET

ARG 24/1/95

Ideas for our new constitution flooding in

(304 A)

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 1999 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

CT 24/1/95

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" (304A)

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

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Criticism sought on constitution

(304A)

CT 24/1/95

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 490-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 right 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 (304A)
Political Editor

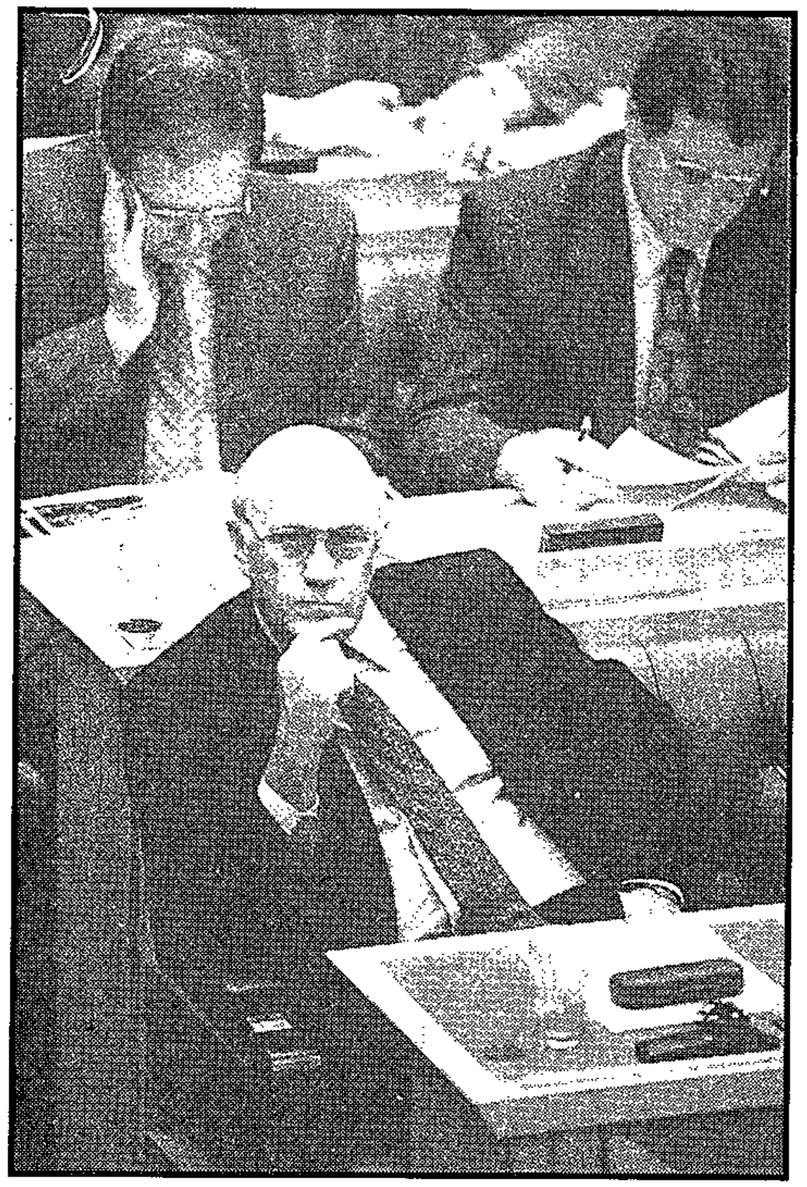
THE ANC has dumped the idea of forced coalitions beyond the existence of the interim Government of National Unity. Sowetan 25/1/95

Addressing the Constitutional Assembly in Cape Town yesterday, ANC deputy president Mr 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.

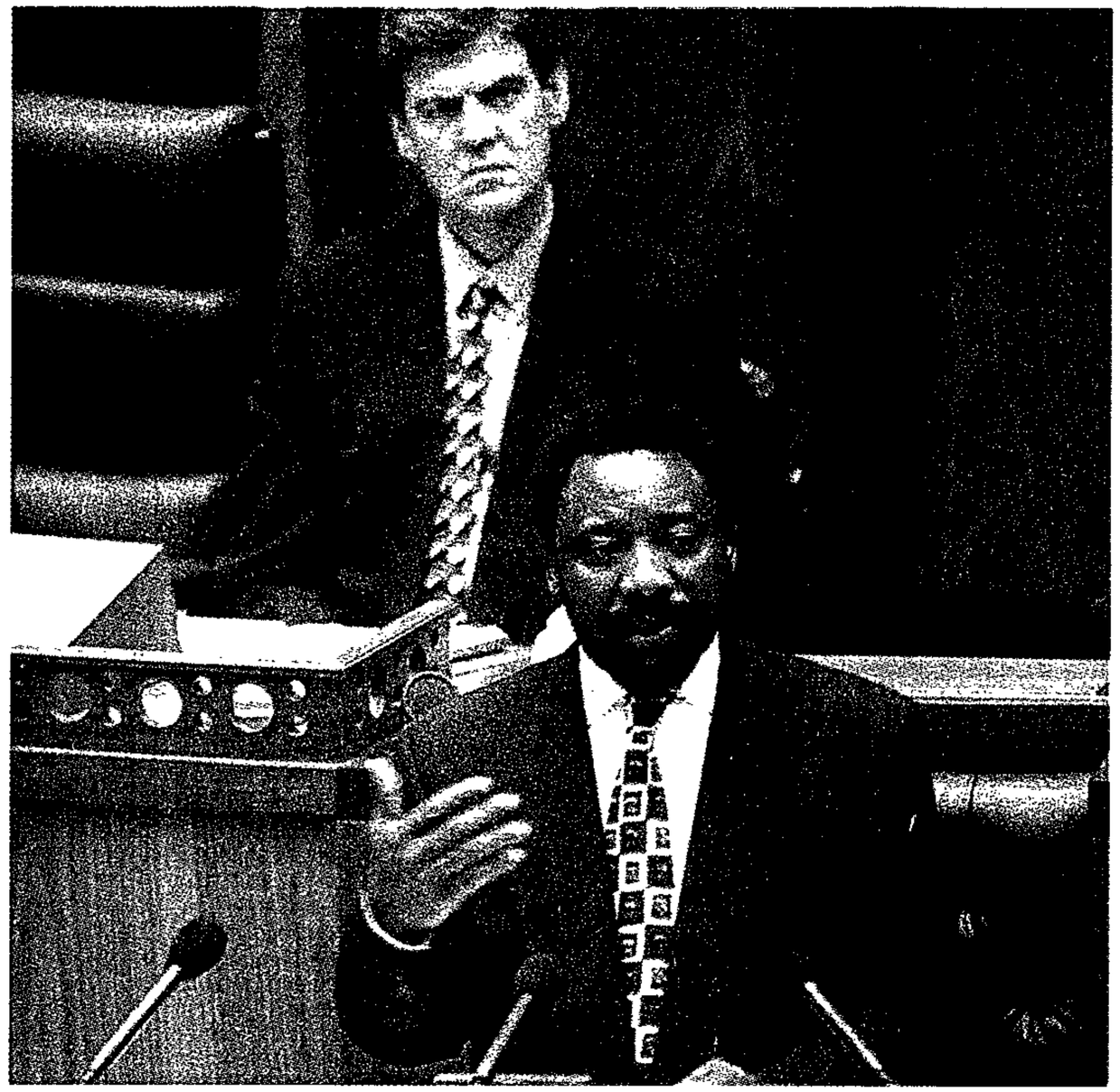
Proportional representation should, however, be maintained, though constituencies must be introduced. He said the ANC believed that a multiparty system was critical for the development of a democratic state.

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.



CLOSE ATTENTION: A pensive deputy president F W De Klerk, leader of the NP, follows proceedings in parliament while senior MP's study motions tabled.



CRUCIAL DEBATE: Constitutional assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC) opens proceedings in parliament which will simultaneously determine the final constitution. Behind him is his deputy, Leon Wessels (NP). Pictures by: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

DEEP IN THOUGHT: PAC leader Clarence Makwethu and PAC Western Cape leader Patricia de Lille wait their turn to speak while IFP leader and home affairs minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, right, listens attentively.

BIG THREE: DP leader Tony Leon, flanked by party colleagues Doug Gibson, left, and veteran Cape MP Colin Eglin, monitor proceedings in parliament.

'Let winning party govern alone'

ARG 25/1/95 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa will have multi-party democracy in the 21st century, but one party will control the government, if the African National Congress (ANC) has its way.

Parliamentary parties yesterday disclosed their visions for the 1999 constitution at a meeting of the constitutional assembly.

The assembly, made up of members of the national assembly and senate, has to draw up a new constitution by May 10 next year.

Deputy president Thabo Mbeki (ANC) said there should be regular elections, monitored by an independent electoral mechanism, and a mixed system of constituency and proportional representation.

Power-sharing should not be enforced. It could be negotiated, he said.

There should be a bill of rights and an independent judiciary.

Water affairs and forestry minister Kader Asmal (ANC) said the new constitution should enable a redistribution of power to put on a firm footing the social and economic rights of all South Africans.

He said calls for "traditional values" and "community values" should not mask the neo-apartheid reality they represented.

There should be checks and balances, "but checks and balances can be code words for all checks and no balance".

Provincial autonomy or self-determination should not be used to frustrate the national will or lead to the dismemberment of South Africa, Professor Asmal said.

Provincial and constitutional development minister Roelf Meyer (NP) said multi-party democracy should be extended.

There should be accountable government and administration.

Political minority groups' right to take part should be recognised.

The power of government should be distributed to national, provincial and local level, according to which level would best exercise which powers.

The devolution of power was a practical matter rather than an ideological one, Mr Meyer said.

Ray Radue (NP) said fundamental human rights in the interim constitution should be included undiluted in the 1999 constitution.

Rights should be expanded to include children's and family rights.

The NP sought to ensure that cultural and language rights were adequately protected in the new constitution, Mr Radue said.

Lionel Mtshali (IFP) said federalism was the only system which would reflect the complexity of South Africa and the needs of its people.

Provinces should have some exclusive powers, including judicial powers.

The free market system should be entrenched and the government allowed to intervene in the economy only where the private sector could not provide effective services.

Colin Eglin (DP) said his party's perspective was that the constitution should be liberal, democratic and federal.

The interim constitution was not perfect but should be used as a working document.

Some things could be improved and should not be scrapped before they were tested in practice.

These included the bicameral legislature, executive presidency, a popularly-elected cabinet accountable to parliament, provincial governments, a constitutional court and a finance and fiscal commission.

The new constitution should have strong checks on executive government and the decisions of bureaucrats, Mr Eglin said.

The constitution should reject all racial discrimination and provide for cultural, religious and language diversity.

"Each South African, whether acting as an individual or with others with whom he or she shares a common heritage, must feel comfortable and secure under the new constitution," said Mr Eglin.

James Selfe (DP) said his party supported federalism because people in different regions had different needs.

All citizens should be guaranteed the right to claim services of substantially equal standards.

The constitutional assembly should devise a fiscal equalisation mechanism, Mr Selfe said.

Warning that a perception had taken root that the senate was an unnecessary and expensive replica of the national assembly, he said its role had not yet been defined.

In the final constitution, its responsibilities could be expanded to include confirmation of senior public service appointments and the endorsement of treaties.

Richard Sizani (PAC) said the protection of private property should not be absolute, but should be accompanied by a land restitution clause.

Political battle lines drawn as ANC takes stand against federalism

(304A) BD 25/1/95

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — Federalism emerged yesterday as the biggest hurdle facing negotiators as they prepared to begin drafting the new constitution.

Political battle lines were drawn at a meeting of the Constitutional Assembly, with the NP, Inkatha Freedom Party and DP lining up against the ANC.

Constitution-making begins in earnest today with the meeting of the assembly's six public participation theme committees. The 490 MPs have until May next year to complete the new constitution.

The ANC, backed by the PAC, made it clear that it was not prepared to dilute central government's powers.

It also ruled out constitutionally enforced coalition rule — which the NP favours — beyond the 1999 general election. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said: "Coalitions or mutually agreed co-operation of parties represented in Parliament should not be prescribed but be a matter for negotiations and voluntary co-operation. The party that wins the majority of votes should form the government."

Voicing ANC opposition to demands for more provincial powers, he warned against "balkanisation and fragmentation of society". Provincial and local government powers had to be "subject to the need for national uniformity, national reconstruction and development as well as the values enshrined in the Bill of Rights".

Senior ANC negotiators said afterwards the party would never agree to the further devolution of substantive powers to provinces. One said: "We are prepared only to tinker with provincial powers."

NP and Inkatha speakers, however, called for the new constitution to be underpinned by the federal concept of "subsidiarity". Inkatha MP Lionel Mtshali said subsidiarity required that the higher level of government should not perform functions which lower tiers of government could do adequately.

Constitutional Development Minister and chief NP negotiator Roelf Meyer launched a special plea for education, housing and health powers to be further devolved to provincial level. The reason was practical and in the best interests of ordinary citizens, he said. Not every province should be assigned the same powers, only those they were able to exercise.

One senior ANC negotiator claimed afterwards the NP had "reverted to its old (pre-interim constitution) position" on federalism. But he was confident the NP, like Inkatha and the DP, would not succeed. "We will tear them apart like we did at the World Trade Centre."

DP senior negotiator Colin Eglin said a liberal, democratic and federal constitution was most suitable. "SA needs a constitution which is not based on the will of the elite, but on the will of the people."

Better ties — Mandela in India

(304A)

CT 25/1/95

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 Khursheed 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 Rochelle Mtirara, 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 R350 million. — Sapa

ANC 'no' to power-share call

'PREVENT ABUSE' ... Roelf Meyer

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday flatly dismissed National Party calls for continued enforced power-sharing and vowed that undiluted majority rule would come into force with the new constitution.

The ANC also opposed moves to strengthen federalism during an historic Constitutional Assembly debate which served to draw the constitutional battle line between the ANC, the NP and the smaller parties.

But the three-hour debate also saw the ANC joining with most other political parties in backing a new electoral system that included both constituencies and proportional representation.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was warmly applauded by ANC benches when he told the plenary session that the party which won the 1999 election should form the new government.

Opposing any continuation of a constitutionally-entrenched government of national unity, Mr Mbeki said that any future coalitions between parties should be a matter of voluntary co-operation and negotiation.

Later in the debate, Nationalist proposals for ensuring multi-party participation in the structures of a future government were greeted by loud groans of disapproval from ANC and PAC members.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said that South Africa needed a form of representative government taking care of the interests of the whole nation in order to prevent the abuse of power by a single party.

He said the issue of "representativity" needed to be taken into account when considering the composition of the cabinet and the functions of the head of state.

Among the possibilities being floated by the NP are an executive president directly elected by voters, a rotating president and proportional appointments to executive positions.

NP, Inkatha and Democratic Party speakers were also criticised by the ANC and the PAC when calling for a beefed-up form of federalism in the new constitution. (304A) CT 25/1/95

'MAJORITY RULE' ... Thabo Mbeki

aders

Chiefs call for national body

(304) Sowetan 26/1/95

■ **VITAL INPUT** Chiefs 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 the 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, ANC MP and president of Contralesa, Chief Patekile Holomisa, said the council was important and its contribution should form a 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 *Volkstaatsraad*, 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 MP's 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.

Mandela in India pact

CT 26/1/95 (304A)

NEW DELHI. — Leaders should look into forming an Indian Ocean Rim trading block, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday as South Africa and India signed agreements signalling a new epoch in relations between the countries.

Two pacts were signed to strengthen diplomatic ties and expand trade as two-way trade topped the $100-million (R350m) mark in the first half of 1994.

Delivering the keynote address at the Golden Jubilee Rajiv Gandhi Foundation lecture in New Delhi, the president said the concept of an Indian Ocean Rim could lead to socio-economic co-operation and other peaceful endeavours.

An Indian Ocean Rim could band together all those countries in Africa, the Gulf and Asia that had their main ports and harbours on the Indian Ocean.

"We are linked by the vast Indian Ocean in the present age of regional co-operation," he told about 700 prominent Indian politicians and members of the diplomatic corps.

"(We) have to develop the tenacity required to pursue goals that are old and familiar, yet new and not fully explored in the current world milieu."

To help change the world, political leaders had to study the positive elements and possibilities that existed.

International relations could now be conducted without "the aberration of military and ideological blocs which tended to cloud fundamental issues, including human rights and political freedom."

In South Africa it was possible "to reach our goal of a better life for all in the shortest possible time" as his government based its confidence on a vision shared by most South Africans.

"If we are able today to speak proudly of a 'rainbow nation' ... it is in part because the world set us a moral example which we dared to follow," he said.

Mr Mandela held talks with Indian President Shankar Dayal Sharma and Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao before signing two agreements, one creating the India-South Africa Joint Commission and a second establishing principles of bilateral co-operation.

The joint commission would promote close co-operation in the political, trade, economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields, and discussions in combating the international drugs trade were well advanced.

Trade between India and South Africa was non-existent before relations were restored in 1993, and has since soared.

"An expansion of economic activity on a spectacular scale is within our reach," Mr Mandela said.

"What these agreements represent is the beginning of a new epoch in relations between India and South Africa."

● Mr Mandela last night paid tribute to his countrymen at a lavish state banquet, saying South Africans had shown a remarkable determination to reject their history of violence and division and "were united in peace".

● Mandela amuses — Page 2

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Golden Jubilee Raj... hi Foundation
lecture in New Delhi, the president said
conducted without "the aberration
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THE CONSTITUTION (304A) FM 27/1/95

Hurry but don't rush

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 rainbow 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 acknowledgment and protection of our diversity of language and culture, under which can be subsumed the *volkstaat* 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 contumely by the outgoing Nationalists — will influence the climate of debate.

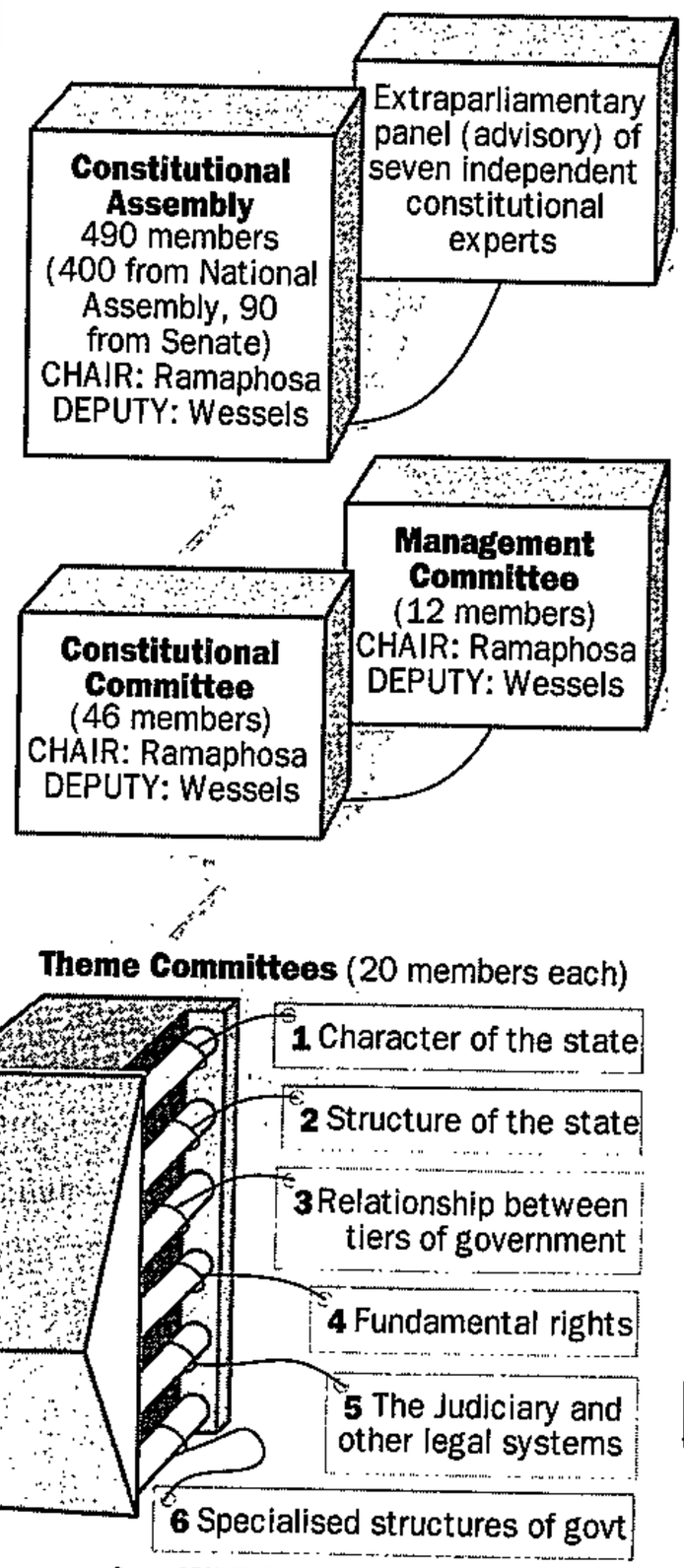
Meanwhile, anyone wishing to make his or her views known on any constitutional matter should put it in writing to: The Secretariat, The Constitutional Assembly, PO Box 15, Cape Town 8000. The CA's members are being encouraged to hold public meetings and what amounts to *huisbesoek* to spread the word 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 pleas and protestations for the CA, some germane, some trivial and time-consuming, is very real.

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

BUILDING BLOCKS OF FREEDOM

The Constitutional Assembly and its committees



Source: SECRETARIAT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

Most likely, as at Codesa and its offspring, Cyril Ramaphosa — chairman of the CA — will play an important deadlock-breaking role, though an extra-parliamentary panel of constitutional experts has been agreed on to advise the assembly as well. Ramaphosa's deputy is the National Party's Leon Wessels, and he could play a similar role in the evolution of the constitution to that played by Roelf Meyer in the negotiations.

Since the electorate voted for the CA at the same time as the National Assembly (the members wear two hats, as it were), it can reasonably be asked whether such a thorough canvassing of public opinion is worth the time, money and effort. Why doesn't the CA just get on with it?

The answer is that the assembly is concerned that the whole process be as "transparent" as possible and that it not be seen as a rubber stamp. Part of that transparency lies in ensuring that the constitution is not, in the end, rammed through by dominant individuals. Accordingly, the theme committees (each with 30 members, making a total of 180 from the CA/National Assembly-Senate) have a PR-style representation and the chairmanship rotates from one meeting to the next.

Within the theme committees, core groups of six-eight members will assess progress and refine agendas. With work started on January 23, the committees have their work set out on a daily basis until July. For example, on Monday May 8, theme committee one will be meeting (in parliamentary premises) from 6 pm until 10.30 pm. They may be considering animal rights, while theme committee six, elsewhere, discusses women in management.

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

P.T.O.

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 *boeremusiek*.

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

(304A) ARG 27/1/95

Reports: ANDREA WEISS, Municipal Reporter

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 common voters roll for the metropolitan area, along with the mammoth task of double-checking any inconsistencies.

About 1 000 registration officers are also 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.

Henk Eichorn, 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 franchised 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'

ARG 27/1/95

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.

'No fixed address' problem in election registration plans

(304A) ARG 27/1/95

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 it's property-based past.

POLITICS New laws needed for local government elections in rural areas

Contralesa fears election chaos

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

(304A) Sowetan 27/1/95

■ NEW LAW Duties of chiefs and councils need clear definition:

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa says local government elections cannot take place in rural areas unless legislation is passed to demarcate clearly lines of responsibility between the new councils and traditional leaders.

Contralesa president and ANC MP Chief Patekile Holomisa, told *Sowetan* in a wide ranging interview in Parliament in Cape Town that unless a new law was passed, elections in rural areas would bring chaos.

"As matters stand now, the law applies only to urban areas and not rural areas. Amendments are needed to the present law, and we have been informed by the Government that a new law is being drafted. Until that law is passed, there can be no elections in rural areas as there are no rules by which the elected councils would operate," Holomisa said.

He said Contralesa maintained that traditional leaders were the custodians of authority in their areas, a position recognised in the present law. However, when local elections are held, the organisation wants the outcome to include representation of hereditary leaders, although they would have to be in the minority.

Contralesa would however fight all attempts to phase out traditional rule, as it felt these African institutions should be enhanced, not abolished.

Holomisa rejected imputations by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki on Tuesday that traditional African rule oppressed women.

Democratic election

Holomisa said while the system of heredity did not make room for democratic election of chiefs, the system itself was democratic as the chief acted in council with his headmen and head women.

Mbeki told the Constitutional Assembly on Tuesday that while the ANC supported the concept of traditional leaders and institutions, these should not supersede the democratic structures elected by people.

Mbeki also said rural African women should be able to participate in the new dispensation. Holomisa said Mbeki was "moving from the wrong premise that the system was undemocratic.

Chiefs do not evolve customs, they enforce them. If people feel that some things are wrong, they should come forward with proposals, and not use the customs to discredit the entire system.

"Women have been discriminated against in all societies; some religions do not even allow them into church, and that is why the gender issue is so high on the agenda.

"But we have women chiefs and regents and our women membership is growing dramatically."

Power struggles

Holomisa expressed concern that the creation of a national Council of Traditional leaders, which must be elected by houses of chiefs from the provinces, was hitting snags because of power struggles in some regions.

"In the Eastern Cape for example, there is a tussle between Sanco and the chiefs. There is a tussle for control of the rural areas and Sanco wants the abolition of some aspects of traditional leaders, such as headmen.

"And because the MEC in charge of traditional affairs there is a former Sanco official, they are delaying passing legislation and the establishment of the house of traditional leaders at provincial level, as they say they still want to canvass opinions of people.

"This is unnecessary and is a futile exercise as the law says they must establish the house.

"The sooner this is done the better, for the national house must become a part of the constitution making process to ensure that traditional leaders are not relegated to mere customary issues, but are made a part of the entire process of governance as they are involved in the provision of schools, health and other needs of their communities," he said.

Traditional leaders

He said traditional leaders in the Northern Transvaal province were divided. Those from the former Lebowa bantustan wanted more representation in the 36 member provincial house and those from Venda and Gazankulu supported an equal representation of twelve each.

Contralesa supported this position, he said, as they did not want the house to be used to promote tribal hegemony. Other provinces affected were the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal, where the houses had been established, although the latter house was embroiled in political turmoil since its inception over the involvement and leadership of the IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Eastern Transvaal still had to bring its house about, while Gauteng, Western Cape and Northern Cape were not to have such houses.

However Contralesa has now been approached by the Griquas in the Northern Cape for their traditional leadership role to be recognised. This would mean the Northern Cape would, if accepted, have to establish its own house of traditional leaders, Holomisa said.

An Israeli soldier checks the identification of a Palestinian driver at a roadblock set up on the border between Israel and the West Bank town of Galqiliya, seen in the backround, following Sunday's fatal bomb attack in Beit-Lid. Israel is proposing to keep the Israeli and Palestinian populations apart by building a fence similar to the one that separates Israel and the Gaza Strip.

Voters need to register

(304A)

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. CT 27/1/95

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.

● Registation 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. (304A)

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. CT 27/1/95

"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-Reuter

Out with gobbledygook, in with plain English

WHEN Members of Parliament complain they can't understand the laws they are supposed to pass, it's time for plain English, says African National Congress MP Willie Hofmeyr. (304A)

He has declared war on jargon and gobbledygook and has launched a campaign for clear, understandable language, backed by an informal group of supporters and other MPs.

Mr Hofmeyr also has invited anyone interested in working with the group, or who has examples of gobbledygook, to write to him at Parliament.

One of his own favourites, he said in an interview, was section 236 of the constitution.

"Not only is it totally incomprehensible, but I'm led to believe there are at least two or three different interpretations of it among the senior legal fraternity," said Mr Hofmeyr.

"Even in the Bill of Rights there are clauses that are not clear and are difficult for ordinary people to understand."

Mr Hofmeyr attended a conference on plain English in the United States, last year. He was shocked, he said, to see how far behind South Africa was when the rest of the English-speaking world was demystifying the language.

An area needing major attention here was the government form, which included everything from tax returns to welfare applications.

"There's also a disempowering process here. People are so intimidated by forms they don't understand that they often don't bother to apply for things to which they may be entitled."

Mr Hofmeyr, an attorney by profession, said lawyers carried a huge share of the blame for generating jargon.

However, in Australia a firm had begun its own "Plain English" department.

Another major area for language reform was consumer contracts, including life assurance policies, hire-purchase agreements and leases.

Most people, including lawyers, seldom bothered to read all the fine print. "And when you do, you just get totally lost about what it's trying to say."

The European Community recently passed legislation requiring consumer contracts to be in understandable language.

An advantage of such a law was that it could create a market in the private sector for lawyers who were willing to write in plain language.

A lesson to be learned from overseas experience was that government forms should be tested for user-friendliness on groups at which they were aimed. ARG 28/1/95

Other basic rules for the government and the private sector were to avoid long sentences and long words, and to use short paragraphs. Layout of documents should be clear and readable, and reams of fine print were taboo.

■ Mr Hofmeyr's address is: Parliament, P O Box 15, Cape Town, 8000.

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CP 29/11/95 (304A)

Ordinary South Africans do not expect miracles, researchers find

By ZB MOLEFE

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 in 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 politics was 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.

And it was "the masses", 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 Umlazi, 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, "the masses", that the Johannesburg-based Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) between November 11 and 26 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 Charney and CPS researcher Gardner Khumalo, with in-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 the masses" syndrome had become "so deep-rooted that to challenge it was to consign oneself inevitably to the lunatic fringe. There was the assumption that 'blacks harbour very high (socio-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 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 African 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 life-styles.

"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 "prioritised boreholes, pipes, and spigots for a steady supply of clean water", the report says.

Attainable changes

"In other words, the sorts of changes sought by the public are far more attainable than either the conventional wisdom of the new pessimists 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 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 "the 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 on government among the African public, as well as a striking political sophistication;
- People are prepared to accept less to spread benefits more widely and equally;
- 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, satisfation 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 a need for visible, widespread, incremental change – failing which the likely danger 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 assessments also vary with their diverse backgrounds, outlooks and interests, forming a socially pluralistic community rather than a militant monolith."

GREAT EXPECTATIONS? ... Winning the election last year brought joy to 'the masses' but not the expectation that unreasonable demands would be met, a study has found.

What REAL people want

CP 29/1/95 (304A)

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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. (304A)

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. CT 30/1/95

The High Commission is headed by Mr B Moolman. – 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 1993 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 (304A) CT 31/1/95

ALL THE PRESIDENTS' MEN

So, where are they now?

ARGUS 31/1/95 (304A)

...ring indemnity row has focused
...on on National Party cabinet
... of the past, some of whom are
...overnment. But where are the
...now? Political Correspondent
CH...

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 restful retirement.

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 redoubtable 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 "F W" 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 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 Inkathagate scandal, which prompted his sideways shift from the Law and Order portfolio, loyally supported the post-1990 reforms, but, for personal reasons, chose to withdraw from the fast-changing political landscape. Now in retirement.

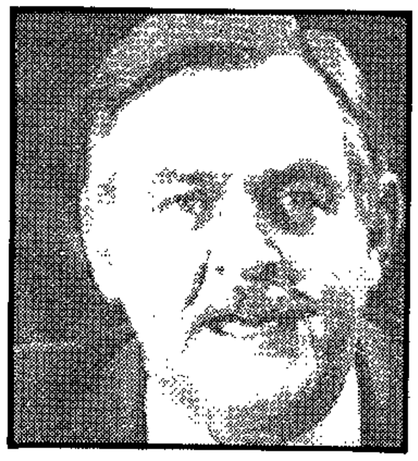
● Sam de Beer (Education and Training), unassuming, but highly thought of in Nat ranks, he is now NP spokesman on the civil service in the National Assembly.

● 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-cum-ecology 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 remains 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.

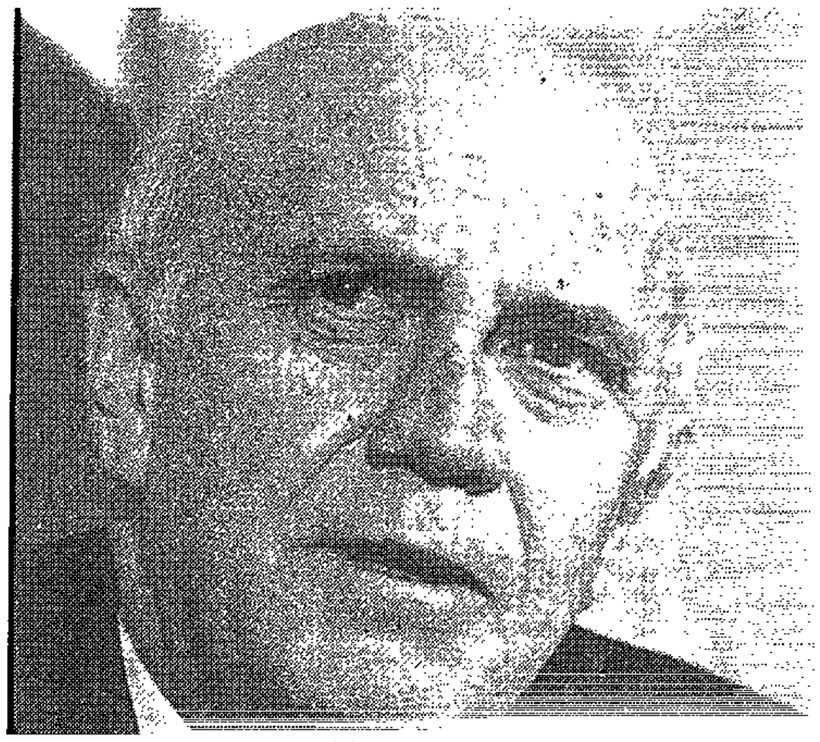


PIK BOTHA, former Minister of Foreign Affairs: Returned as Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

● Piet Welgemoed (Transport, Posts and Telecommunications) has 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 skilful negotiation with the ANC at the World Trade Centre talks. He is now Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development.

● Leon Wessels (Manpower), another "new boy", a loyal Nationalist, but one of the keenest to embrace the new South Africa. Won considerable 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.



F W 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.

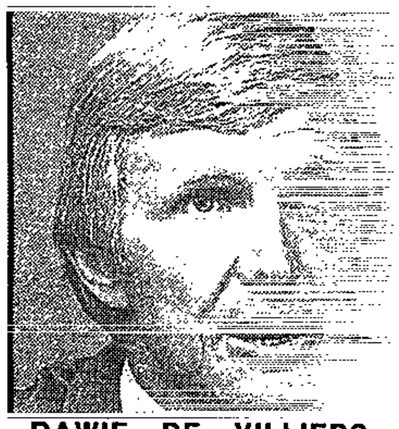
● Derek Keys (Finance, Trade and Industry), politically unencumbered, bold, extremely able and widely respected, he was pointedly retained by Nelson Mandela after the April 1994 election. His bombshell resignation last year unnerved many, though he insisted it was for personal reasons. He is now chief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

● Jac Rabie (Population Development), a tricameral system "new Nat", he rose quickly in the NP when the party opened its doors to all races, and is now a member of the National Assembly, where he is the party's spokesman on housing.

● Abie Williams (Sport), controversial Labourite-turned-Nat, derided by opponents, but evidently liked within the fold. He was among those least expected to be anywhere near Mandela's cabinet, but is now Minister of Welfare and Population Development.

● Tertius Delport (Local Government), former academic, who played a significant part in the early stages of the post-1990 negotiations, though floundered 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), former South African ambassador to the European Community in Brussels, whose uncontroversial tenure as Minister of Tourism stood him in good stead to take up the post of Deputy Speaker in the National 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, he 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.

net (1989):

● P W Botha (President), last of the NP patriarchs, prised from power after a stroke in 1989, he 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 Vijoen (Education and Development Aid), classicist whose transition from academia to politics seemed imperfect. Incisive 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 conceiver 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.

● Eli 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 Kotze (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 enthusiastic supporters of moves towards democracy. He is now a farmer.

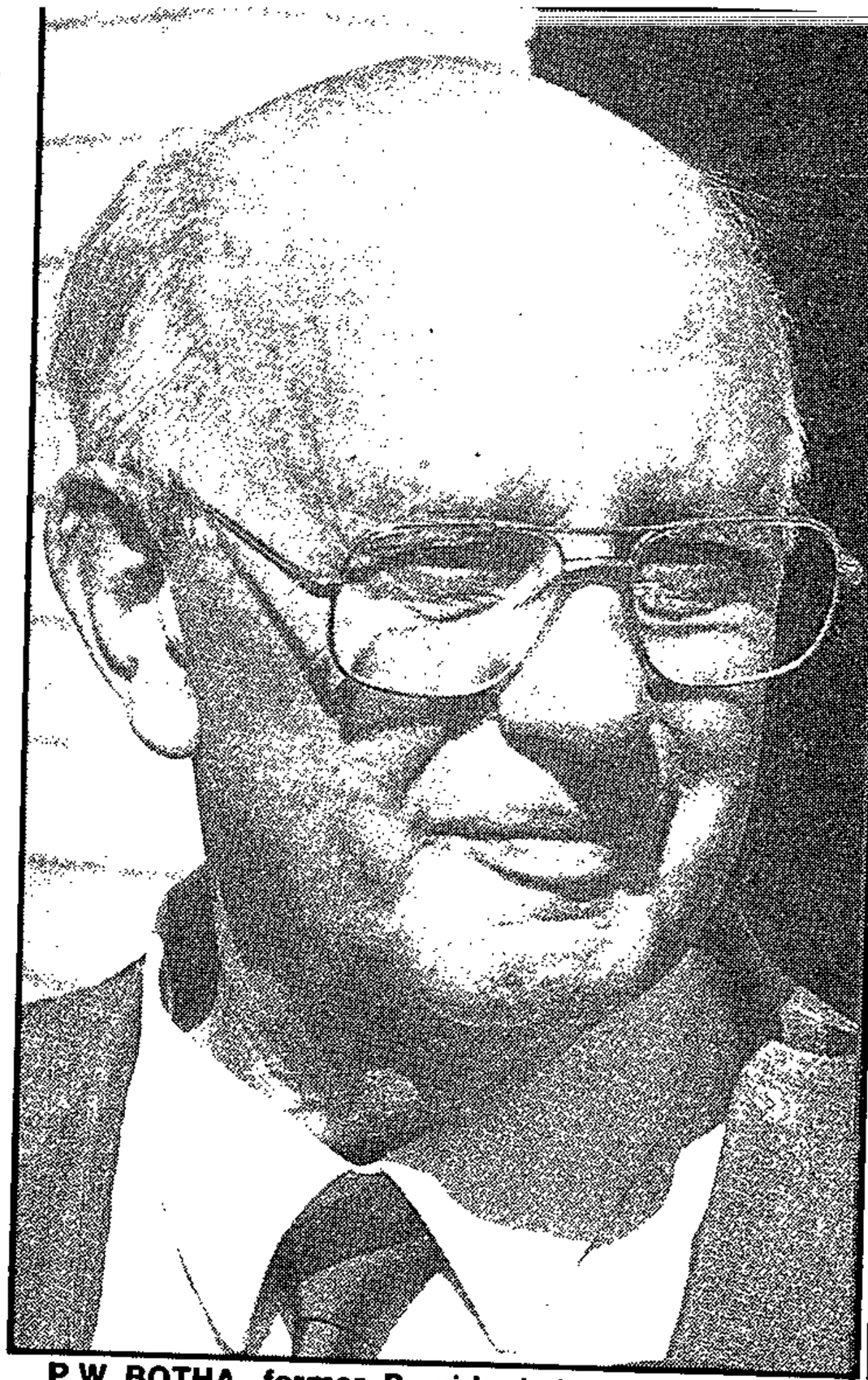
● Stoffel van der Merwe (Information), among the top party propagandists in the late 1980s, he was also a key strategist, eventually leaving the cabinet to become secretary general of the National Party. He has since retired from politics altogether and is now a political consultant.

● 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.

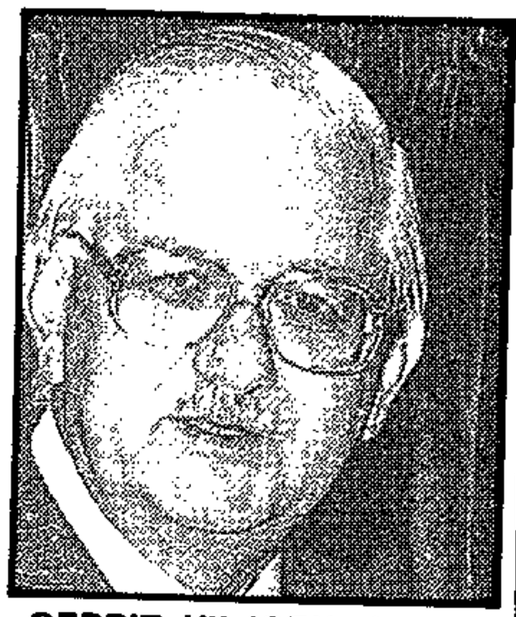
● Greyling Wentzel (Agriculture), an MP since 1966, he entered the cabinet as Minister of Agriculture in 1982. Defeated by the Conservative Party in 1987, he returned as a nominated MP, but retired to his farm two years later.

● Danie Steyn (Economic Affairs and Technology), lives in retirement on a smallholding near Pretoria, indulging his passion for carpentry.



P W BOTHA, former President: In retirement at Wilderness, working on his memoirs.

CHRIS HEUNIS, former Minister of Constitutional Development: Returned to his private law practice in Somerset West.



GERRIT VILJOEN, former Minister of Education and Development Aid: Retired and preparing his memoirs.

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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 rands 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 R22 800 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 Mdlalose has to reply by February 14.

(304A) ST 15/1/95

No regrets — FW

'I would not take any different decisions now with regard to February 2, 1990

ARG 2/2/95 (3044)

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 1989 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 Codesa 2 and a nine-month breakdown in talks.

Mr De Klerk said a disappointment was that successes such as the Groote

● See pages 8 and 9.

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 realised 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 Netshetenzhe, 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

(304A)

ARG 2/2/95.

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.

Genadendal 'conciliatory'

(304A) ARG 3/2/95

BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's deep concerns about political tension in the Western Cape — and the apparent disaffection of sections of the coloured community — had a direct bearing on changing the name of Westbrooke to Genadendal.

This has emerged since the formal announcement of the name-change earlier this week.

Mr Mandela raised the issue in private discussions while holidaying in Cape Town for a few days in December.

The other topic raised at the meeting with key coloured leaders from the church, academic institutions and the community was the perception that significant sections of the community were not engaging as energetically in the democratic process as he had hoped.

The president is known to be deeply concerned about the dangers of a schism developing between the coloured and black communities in the Western Cape, and the need for strong and imaginative leadership to generate consensus on a genuinely post-apartheid vision for the province.

Inter-community tension in the Western Cape was particularly evident during the election campaign when the National Party was blamed for capitalising on fears about the future by focusing racist propaganda at coloured voters, the decisive segment of the electorate.

While the controversy over former ANC leader Allan Boesak appears to have a bearing on misgivings about political leadership in the province, sources made it clear that Mr Mandela's concerns were not party political, and that he had expressed them "as the president of all South Africans".

Re-naming Westbrooke was intended as a symbolic, unifying gesture, rather than an attempt to extend the ANC's ethnic allegiance in the region.

It was chosen, in part, as a means of recognising the role and importance of the dominant group in the region.

Genadendal, with its strong religious, scholastic and social associations in Western Cape history, has a particularly acute resonance in the coloured community.

The mission station, near Greyton in the Overberg, was established by the Moravians in the late 1730s and became a haven for people of different racial groups after the emancipation of slaves in the 1830s, and became an important language and cultural centre.

It is also strongly associated with significant figures in the struggle against political injustice.

Mr Mandela was given three names: Genadendal, Roman — the name of the one of the earliest Khoi settlers to resist European settlement — and Goeringhai, the name of one of the groups living in the Peninsula in the 1600s.

Director-General of the president's office Jakes Gerwel said Mr Mandela felt that in the case of Westbrooke there should be a name that would signify something particular to the Western Cape, without appealing in any way to a sense of apartheid-era ethnicity.

The name was also intended to symbolise the ideals of the new South Africa.

Genadendal — which means dale, or valley, of mercy — was deemed the best choice.

'ANC view is chiefs must be retained'

CT 3/2/95 (304A)

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 allay 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 Rharhabe paramount, Chief Sandile Maxhoba, at his Great Place outside King William's 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

Mandela calls on traditional civic leaders to work together

(304A)

ARG 4/2/96

(304A)

ACT 14/5/96

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 troubleshooting tour of the Eastern Cape, he also squeezed in a visit to the strife-torn 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 have 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.

WeekendStar
February 4-5 1995

Some carved out new careers, others went back to their practices

Nats who survived transition

Star 4/2/95 (304A)

THE festering indemnity row has focused attention on National Party cabinet ministers of the past, some of whom are still in government. But where are the rest, asks MICHAEL MORRIS.

CAPE TOWN — Old politicians never die, they simply go home to farm. That's been true of 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 restful retirement.

Here is an update on what the members of the last National Party Cabinet are up to (portfolios in brackets).

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

Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs): He deserves a place in the pantheon of the most redoubtable and adaptable politicians, serving in successive NP

No longer in the limelight

ADRIAAN VLOK: Withdrew from the political landscape.

RINA VENTER: Widely criticised for not having done enough.

DEREK KEYS: Bold, able and very widely respected.

CHRIS HEUNIS: Master of the constitutional conundrum.

Africa, he won on kudos for making 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 Constitutional Assembly Deputy Chairman.

Piet Marais (National Education): He returned to Parliament as a member of the National Assembly. He is the NP's 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 elections. His bombshell resignation last year unnerved many, though he insisted it was for personal reasons.

Spokesman

He is now chief executive of Billiton, Gencor's recently acquired foreign interest.

Jac Rable (Population Development): A tricameral system "new Nat", he rose quickly in the NP when the party opened its doors to all races. He is now a member of the National Assembly, where he is the party's spokesman on housing.

Abe Williams (Sport): This controversial Labourite-turned-Nat was derided by opponents, but evidently liked within the fold. He was among those least expected to be anywhere near Mandela's Cabinet, but is now Minister of Welfare and Population Development.

master of the constitutional conundrum who puzzled — and, by turns, amused — successive Parliament-watchers, he bowed out in 1989 and returned to his private law practice in Somerset West.

Burnout

Gerrit Vijoen (Education and Development Aid): A classicist whose transition from academia to politics seemed imperfect, his handling of departmental management raised concerns about his ability in the public arena although he was acknowledged as an incisive thinker.

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.

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Dawie de Villiers (Administration and Privatisation).

Kobie Coetsee (Justice).

They still have irons in the political fire

DAWIE DE VILLIERS: Reform-minded and energetic.

KOBIE COETSEE: Paved way for negotiations.

PIET WELGEMOED: NP spokesman in the National Assembly.

PIET MARAIS: Unencumbered education spokesman.

HERNUS KRIEL: Turned Cape into a Nat stronghold.

SAM DE BEER: Highly thought of in Nat ranks.

PIK BOTHA: Seat in pantheon for adaptable politicians.

KRAAI VAN NIEKERK: Retains Agriculture portfolio.

Barend du Plessis (Finance): The former maths master and businessman, a mostly slick and likeable Nat credited with having begun implementing measures for economic recovery, bowed out in 1992 after becoming ill.

He is now a financial consultant.

Eli Louw (Transport): This respected Namaqualand MP 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).

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

Stoffel van der Merwe (Information): Among the top party propagandists in the late 1980s, he was also a key strategist, eventually leaving the Cabinet to become secretary-general of the National Party. He has since retired from politics and is now a political consultant.

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

Gynaecology

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

Greyling Wentzel (Agriculture): An MP since 1966, 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.

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 F W 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.

Amie 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 (latterly ambassador to the Court of St James), he was appointed to the Cabinet in part to represent English-speaking interests. He was widely criticised for his handling of sensitive ecological issues and the petrol price row. He is now regional agriculture minister in KwaZulu/Natal.

GERRIT VILJOEN: Retired to his beloved Greek tragedies.

MAGNUS MALAN: Like a fish out of water post-1990.

BAREND DU PLESSIS: Instituted economic reforms.

GREYLING WENTZEL: MP since 1966. Retired to his farm.

Kraai van Niekerk (Agriculture): Able and widely respected in the agricultural sector, he remains 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 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 (Manpower): 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 foundered 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.

Good stead

Bhadra Ranchod (Tourism): A former South African ambassador to the European Community in Brussels, his uncontroversial tenure 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.

Danie 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.

Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs).

F W de Klerk (National Education).

Chris Heunis (Constitutional Development): A

UNION MAN . . . Marcel Golding — 'I represent the interests of everyone and not just Cosatu' (304A) Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

Mellowness takes over

ST 5/2/95

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

PHILIP DEXTER used to eat, sleep and drink trade unions. 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 mellowed 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 don't consider myself to be a Nelson Mandela or a Cyril Ramaphosa," he says.

Once known for his in-your-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 worker 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 Godfrey Oliphant describes Parliament as "another site of struggle". His status as chairman of the select committee on labour has earned him a roomy office and an authoritative hardwood 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 Pik Botha.

"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.

UNION MAN . . . Marcel Golding — 'I represent the interests of everyone and not just Cosatu' 304A Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

Mellowness takes over

ST 5/2/95

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

PHILIP DEXTER used to eat, sleep and drink trade unions. 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 mellowed 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 don't consider myself to be a Nelson Mandela or a Cyril Ramaphosa," he says.

Once known for his in-your-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 worker issues on the agenda?

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Govt has failed, says Winnie

(304A) Sowetan 6/2/95

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 criticised 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'

(304A) BD 6/2/95

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — International mediation on outstanding constitutional issues will begin soon, after the Cabinet was told last week it would definitely go ahead, Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mzimela has disclosed.

However, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the weekend rejected the call by KwaZulu/Natal chiefs for mediation, saying he believed internal differences had to be tackled through "family discussions" before outside help was sought.

Mzimela, an Inkatha Freedom Party MP, said President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President FW de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had reiterated in Wednesday's Cabinet meeting that they would honour their pre-election agreement. "They made a clear statement to honour the undertaking."

He expected mediation to begin within two months. It would "remove a major stumbling block" to the participation of Inkatha and KwaZulu/Natal chiefs in local government elections planned for October.

Inkatha and the Inkatha-supporting traditional leaders have threatened to boycott the elections unless there is international mediation KwaZulu/Natal.

Inkatha has accused the ANC and NP of paying lip service to a pre-election agreement between the three parties to enter mediation immediately after the April elections. Senior NP and ANC negotiators were hopeful that Inkatha would not press for the agreement to be honoured.

Mzimela was confident mediation would not be a protracted process. "It is a relatively small issue when looked at in the totality of the SA situation. Nothing can now stop international mediation from going ahead."

A committee consisting of himself, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and his deputy, Valli Moosa, would meet today to work out the procedural details.

The committee was set up in December, but met for the first time last week. Mzimela said its most difficult task was to assemble a group of international mediators — probably not more than seven — at such short notice. The committee had not yet discussed any names.

The committee would also have to consider how to incorporate the results of mediation into the constitution-making process in the Constitutional Assembly.

Inkatha negotiators have failed on a number of occasions to persuade the assembly to debate mediation and its effect on proceedings.

The assembly's legal advisers have said it was not legally bound by the agreement between De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi for mediation, which paved the way for Inkatha's participation in last year's general election.

New assurances for coloured community

CT 6/2/95 (304A)

Own Correspondent

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 26 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. (304A)

Instead, chiefs who opposed the allocation of 10 seats to Venda and eight to Ganzankulu in the House had formed the Vhavenda-Tsonga Traditional Leaders' Co-ordinating Forum. Lebowa had been allocated 18 seats. BD 8/2/95

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 Ramathlodi.

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 Civics 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

(304A) CT 8/2/95

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, says Terre'Blanche

(304A)

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. BD 9/2/95

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 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.

Pressed 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"

☐ To Page 2

Terre'Blanche

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

outlook, he said there would be "no compromise without rapprochement". BD 9/2/95

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 the 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

CT 9/2/95 (304A)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

GRAHAMSTOWN. — In an unprecedented move, the Speaker of the National Assembly yesterday voiced reservations about the "resignation provision" of the interim constitution, saying it could restrict members' rights to free speech.

Never before has the Speaker voiced reservations about the constitution.

Dr Frene Ginwala also disclosed that an old apartheid ban on "non-whites" using coffee rooms and bars was still contained in parliamentary regulations, and said MPs had been in breach of them.

Dr Ginwala said yesterday in a speech to the Freedom of Information conference here that the "resignation provision" could be viewed as restricting member rights to free speech in that they may feel obliged to "toe the party line". She was commenting on section 43(b) of the constitution which states that if MPs cease to be members of the party on whose list they were elected to Parliament, they will lose their seats.

Other aspects of the constitution which restricted free speech, she said, included the sub judice rule which prevented members from commenting on the merits of a court case where a decision was pending.

"Do we consider the judiciary to be so susceptible as to be influenced by a member's statement in Parliament?

"An Australian Speaker held the view in 1976 'that courts and judges do not regard themselves as delicate flowers that are likely to be prejudiced by debate in Parliament'.

"A more liberal interpretation of this rule is now necessary."

Dr Ginwala said that in some countries there had been disputes between the executive and the legislature where members had furnished information in the House which was regarded as being covered under an Official Secrets Act.

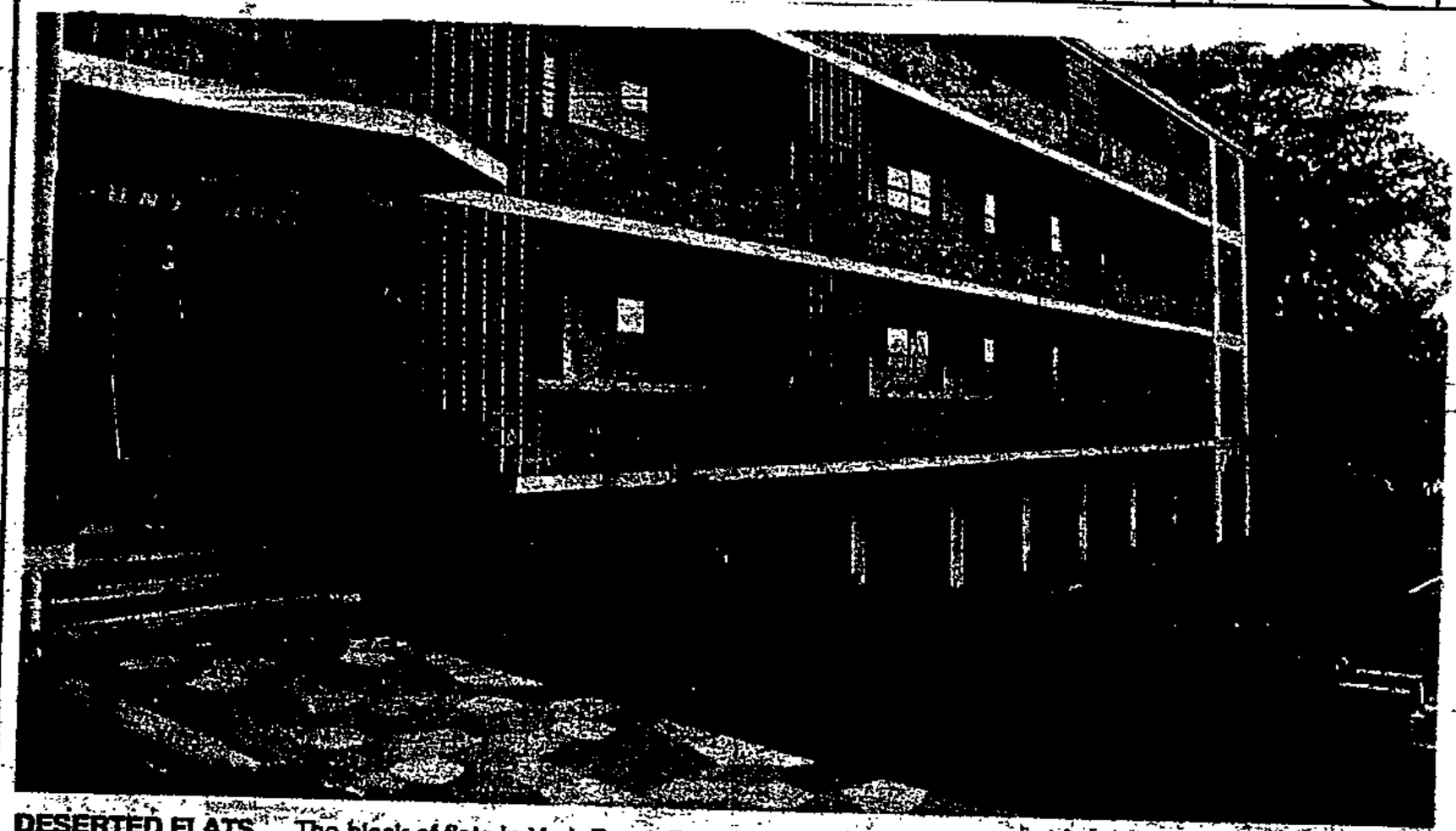
"To my knowledge, none of these cases has been tested in court, but it seems likely that Parliamentary privilege, which in most countries has been encapsulated in legislation, would be regarded as the overriding principle.

"We are still considering this matter within our rules.

"It follows that members have a duty not to do anything to undermine this privilege, for example by entering into a contract with an outside body which would control or limit that member's freedom of speech," Dr Ginwala said.

Dr Ginwala also disclosed sweeping changes to regulations in Parliament to make it more accessible to the public.

She also revealed that an old apartheid ban on "non-whites" using coffee rooms and bars was still contained in parliamentary regulations and MPs had been in breach of them. She had found that the removal of all apartheid prohibitions had omitted this restriction, but said comprehensive steps would be taken to ensure that Parliament would be fully open to all. "I learnt that the restriction on note-taking was imposed so that the Speaker could control any undesirable reporting."



DESERTED FLATS ... The block of flats in York Road, Rosebank, where a 15-year-old schoolgirl was raped in broad daylight this week by a man who followed her. Police said the girl's prolonged screams went unattended. Residents said yesterday they did not hear anything.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

9 1995

THE STAR / THURSDAY FEBRUARY 9 1995

AWB leader stops short of promise to halt armed struggle

We want peace, says TerreBlanche

Star 9/2/95 (30417)

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche said yesterday he wanted peace.

But he stopped short of giving a public undertaking to the parliamentary justice committee that should amnesty be granted, the AWB would suspend its armed actions.

Pressed for such an undertaking by committee chairman Johnny de Lange, TerreBlanche said: "Bring justice so that we can talk about future justice. I have committed myself by saying I want peace."

The arrival of the right-wing leader, accompanied by several bodyguards, at the old House of Assembly chamber caused considerable curiosity among MPs and parliamentary staff, and the committee meeting was very well attended, with few empty seats.

Inkatha MP Koos van der Merwe reminded TerreBlanche that he was sitting in the seat where former prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd had been assassinated.

His appearance before the justice committee, which is conducting public hearings on the truth commission Bill, followed an earlier written submission in which AWB chief negotiator Fred Rundle said: "As far as the AWB itself is concerned, we would very much like to become part of an all-inclusive political settlement in South Africa."

The AWB leader told the committee that his movement's armed struggle was not aimed at the present Government, noting that since the new Government had come to power, the AWB had not been involved in any armed actions.

He urged that the cut-off date for amnesty be changed from December 5 1993 to May 11 1994 and warned that if the date was not changed, further right-wing actions could not be excluded.

WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN
February 10 to 16 1995

Far-right has plans for its own elections

WM 10-16/2/95 (304A)

Far-rightwingers are planning to hold their own poll in tandem with the local government elections. **Jan Taljaard** reports

THE far-rightwing is planning its own separate elections to be held at the time of the local government elections in October this year.

True to character, however, the different factions cannot agree on whether to participate in the official elections as well, or whether to ignore them completely.

The Conservative Party stands by its decision in January to participate in the local government elections, but will also call a *volksverkiesing* in November. Voters' lists being compiled for use in the official elections will be used in what is being envisaged as a national election among rightwingers to elect a "volk's council".

According to well-placed sources, other organisations from the far-right, among them the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging of Eugene Terre'Blanche, are pursuing the idea of a completely separate election to be held concurrently with the local government elections. The issue has been discussed by the top structure of the AWB and during the past few days feelers have been put out to smaller rightwing organisations with a view to possible co-operation. This election may even be held in September in order to pre-empt the official elections.

Unfair advantage: Constand Viljoen

While organisations such as the AWB may not participate in the official elections, they may be willing to fall in with the CP's *volksverkiesing*. It has become apparent in recent weeks, however, that senior members of the AWB will not be drawn into making a clear statement on their position until the amnesty issue is resolved. Spokesman Fred Rundle has stated that the AWB may consider returning to mainstream politics once its members in custody are released.

CP confusion: The decision of CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg (centre) is causing unease among the rank and file

One rightwing organisation that will definitely not take part in any election is Jaap Marais' Herstigte Nasionale Party. While it is keeping track of developments, the HNP is adamant its members will not be found on any voters' list.

There has been growing confusion among CP rank and file about participation in the official elections since CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg first announced the party's decision to do so. This prompted Louis Stofberg, chairman of the party's information committee, to react in this week's *Patriot*. He denied there was a split looming as a result of the party's decision to participate. Members who do not want to be part of the CP's election campaign will continue "with other work in the party", he added.

Stofberg denied rumours that the CP will run a parallel election to the official elections, but said it believes a *volksverkiesing* should be held immediately afterwards to "confirm that the current system is not acceptable".

The reluctance of many traditional CP supporters to participate in the Ocober polls, particularly after they abstained during the April 1994 elections, is nevertheless creating some apprehension inside the ranks. It is argued that the CP's potential strength will be split between voters and non-voters, and that this will give Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front an unfair advantage in the battle for rightwing supremacy. And it seems that these fears are not ill-founded: the first voter registration forms many Pretoria dwellers have seen were delivered to their addresses by the Freedom Front.

THE CONSTITUTION

(304A) FM 10/2/95

Bogged down by petty bureaucracy

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 Kempton 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 Kempton 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 and justiciable provisions in the constitution, which shall be drafted after having given due consideration to *inter alia* 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 *Volkstaat*). 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 mandates 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

FM 10/2/95

Into Africa

Plans for a multi-billion rand rail and harbour network linking southern African states have emerged after a two-year study by a Rand Afrikaans University transport

Leon's 'wake-up call' to DP supporters

WM 10/2/95 (304A)

The Democratic Party performs well in parliament 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 Rosebank, Johannesburg on Monday the DP's future existence was "on the line" in the municipal elections. This week he said his intention was not to spark a debate about the party's long-term viability, but to "arrest a mindset of complacency" 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 number. Their energy and efficiency — most questions asked in parliament last session came from the DP, for example — hew for the party a chiselled profile. The downside is that this also signals to supporters that all is well and that they can sit back.

As Leon spelled 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 as disastrously in the local government poll as it did last April, when it haemorrhaged support to the National Party, it would certainly have to take a serious look at its viability.

First step will be wooing back the estimated 40 percent of DP supporters nationwide who "went Awol" 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 Gordon's Bay last weekend saw party strategists and provincial and national MPs surveying "the political landscape over the next 12 months or so" and the party's future within it.

Local government elections held the key to the party's future, Leon said. "We got squeezed in the national elections because it was essentially between two poles — the liberation forces and the non-liberation movement. Nationally, 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 heads."

The DP wanted to regain its "heartland" support — voters in key urban centres. 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 metropoles — but which has to be activated.

Tony Leon: Wants demonstrable growth

"Expanding our base will be a lot easier than a year ago. Transitional metropolitan structures and sub-structures offer increased opportunity: the DP has 10 councillors sitting on the Soweto sub-structure who all have a community base, a network and a rapidly developing infrastructure."

A "solutions-based" approach is also key to the party's future progress. "People must know every vote for DP stands for something specific," said Leon.

The party is building policy around economic empowerment, for example. One idea involves the bulk 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 gets shares in the newly privatised venture 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 as an investment for the future. More importantly, the country's most marginalised would be getting a stake in the economy.

Leon discounted the possibility of the DP seeking alliances to ensure its future should it not make the gains it wants to in the municipal poll.

But chief constitutional negotiator Colin Eglin has tabled a private member's bill aimed at scrapping a constitutional clause that forces MPs who cross the floor to resign their seat. 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.

DBSA TRANSFORMATION TEAM

Ref: TS95105

To: All interested parties

On 9th December 1994 the Deputy Minister of Finance announced a team to advise him on the transformation of the DBSA. The task of the transformation team should be completed and the report submitted to the Deputy Minister by the end of march 1995.

As an interested party/stakeholder you are requested to participate in the process by making a written submission to the Transformation Team based on the attached Guidelines, and other related issues.

Should you wish to supplement your written input with oral submissions, you will be accorded an opportunity between the 9th and 11th March 1995. We would like you to indicate in writing by the 3rd march 1995 your intentions to make oral submissions.

Your participation will ensure the integrity of the transformation process.

GUIDELINES TO STAKEHOLDERS TO PARTICIPATE IN REDEFINING THE MANDATE OF THE DBSA

INTRODUCTION

The Interim Constitution and the formation 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 and themes to be considered in making your input. These are not determinant 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, is there any need for a restructured wholesale National Development Institution to replace the current 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 duplicating) the functions of National and Provincial Governments, what should be the appropriate role and fuction of this 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? If so how should it be composed and what should be the process for selecting the members?
   - Who should decide on the appointment of board members?
   - How should the board of directors be selected?
   - What interest 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, Beattie Hofmeyer of the Voter Education and Election Training Unit has said. (304A)

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. ARG 11/2/95

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

(304A)
ARG 12/2/95

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

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 still not been filled and the division is being overseen by two chief directors.

Deputy director-general of administration Evert Riekert 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.

Ultimatum to

WINNIE

Mandela's message: Retract or resign

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

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, Parks Mankahlana, 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 on 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 concurred.

But Mr Mandela, according to sources, had replied that he did not want a detailed discussion on the contents of Mrs Mandela's

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UNDER FIRE . . . Winnie Mandela at the launch of her 'Road to Freedom' venture this week

Picture: JOHN HOGG

MAKING HER POINT . . . Adelaide Tambo explains her decision to resign as treasurer-general of the ANC Women's League to her supporters in Johannesburg yesterday Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

304A ARG 12/2/95

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 Stofile, 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 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.

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 mediating 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."

MAKING HER POINT . . . Adelaide Tambo explains her decision to resign as treasurer-general of the ANC Women's League to her supporters in Johannesburg yesterday Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

(304A) ARG 12/2/95

⇨ From Page 1

Ultimatum to Winnie: Retract speech or resign

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Mandela tells to 'retract or

WINNIE

resign

CT 13/2/95 (304A)

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 Soweto last week that the ANC-led government had betrayed black people.

In a speech at the graveside of a black policeman shot on the orders of a white officer during a violent demonstration by black constables in Soweto, Mrs Mandela, 60, 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, failing which Mrs Mandela will be relieved of her duties in the government.

The latest controversy comes after the resignation 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 the organisation 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.

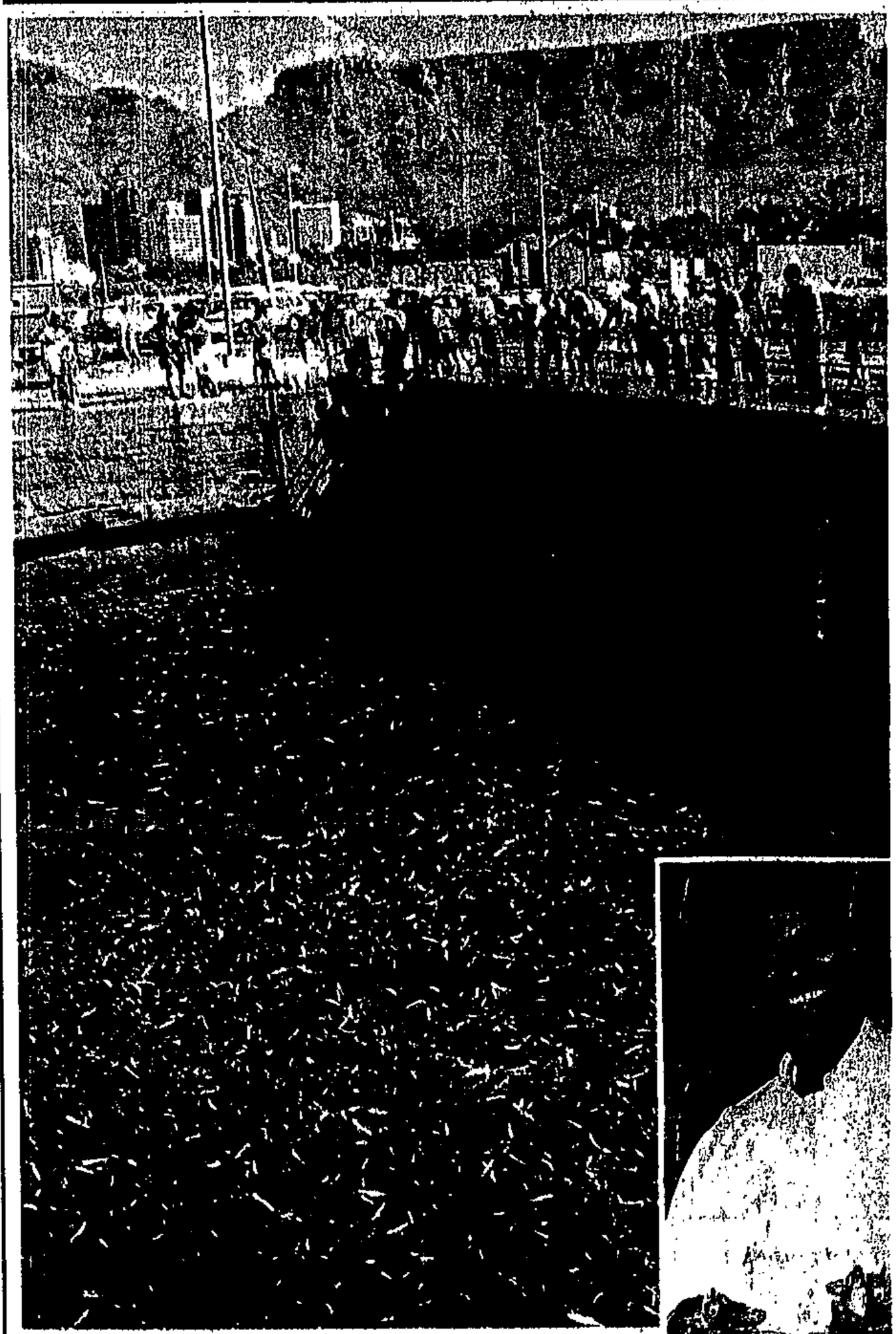
The venture was to encourage Afro-American tourists to visit South African struggle sites, including Mr Mandela's birthplace in the Transkei and his prison cell on Robben Island.

Mr Mandela personally intervened in the controversy yesterday but failed to persuade the 11 to withdraw their resignations.

Secretary-general Ms Nosiviwe 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



SARDINE SUICIDE? ... Thousands of dead sardines were floating in the water at the Waterfront yesterday. It is not yet known what they died of. **HOWZAT ...** Vasuthavan Pillay scoops up a handful. ● **Report Page 7.** Pictures: CLIVE SMITH

'Improved relations open opportunities'

LOUISE COOK

THE strengthening of political, economic and cultural relations between SA and the Netherlands had opened up "vast possiblities", 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. BD 13/2/95

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 agri-legislation.

Agricultural counsellor Martin Olde Monnikhof said their experience could benefit SA because agri-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 (304A)

Mediation showdown looms large

BD 13/2/95

DAVID GREYBE

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 Ulundi, 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 Ambrosini 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.

Correctional 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 dilly-dallying 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

☐ To Page 2

Mediation

(304A) BD 13/2/95

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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.

President Mandela awaits reply to 'withdraw, resign or be fired' ultimatum

Winnie: 2 storms rage

Star 13/2/95 (304A)

GOVERNMENT and 11 Women's League executives withdraw their support for the deputy minister

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH and BOBBY BROWN

Winnie Mandela has emerged as the central figure in two storms that are a political embarrassment to her estranged husband, President Nelson Mandela.

He failed yesterday to persuade 11 members of the ANC Women's League executive to withdraw their resignations tendered over the weekend in protest at Winnie's "undemocratic behaviour" as their organisation's elected president.

And Winnie's tenure as a deputy minister depends on her response to an ultimatum from Mandela that she either withdraw her public criticism of the Government, or resign. Otherwise she will be dismissed from the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and technology.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki is said to have helped her draft a response on Friday, but it has not yet been presented to President Mandela — nor are its contents known.

Winnie has enraged half the Women's League executive for "undemocratic behaviour" that is said to go beyond her unilateral decision to form a joint venture, Roads to Freedom Tours, with Egyptian-born actor Omar Sharif.

This led to the resignation on Friday of the treasurer-general, Adelaide Tambo, widow of the late ANC president, who said the deal was made behind her back.

Crisis talks ... former ANC Women's League secretary-general Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula (centre), President Mandela and ANC deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carolus after yesterday's meeting. PICTURE: JODI BIEBER

On Saturday the Health Minister, Dr Nkosazana Zuma, was among those who resigned from the league at an emergency meeting which Winnie did not attend. She is said to have instructed the executive not to hold the meeting.

The irate women said their resignations were over other league matters as well as the tourist venture. The secretary-general, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, said there had been several disputes over many months. "The resignations are a culmination of problems."

At an emotional funeral in Soweto last week she accused the ANC-led Government of betraying black people by appeasing whites.

Sources confirm weekend reports that President Mandela discussed her remarks with the Cabinet and then asked Mbeki to present the deputy minister with the three-choice alternative. Mbeki did so in Pretoria last Friday and helped her draft a retraction to be issued the same day — but it has not yet been released.

If it is not issued early this week it is expected that the president will have to relieve her of her duties.

She has been dogged by controversy since her appointment as a deputy minister last year, but her strong showing at the ANC's national congress in December suggested her political fortunes were on the rise.

Cantona in 'clash of words'

Paris — Police yesterday questioned charges that controversial Manchester United soccer star Eric Cantona, banned for allegedly assaulting a fan, had attacked a reporter during a holiday on the Caribbean Island of Guadeloupe.

"As far as we know, it was just a clash of words. The reporter did not lodge a complaint," a Guadeloupe policeman said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Prisoners get back into step

Melbourne — Some of Australia's toughest criminals are having dancing lessons in jail.

Eight-week courses in country and western steps are being offered to inmates and already there has been a good response.

Instructor Lee Mackey said "line" dancing did not require a partner and was a good first step to help get prisoners back into society. — Star Foreign Service.

High passion

Cincinnati — An Ohio radio station promises new heights of passion for a lucky couple. Top prize in Cincinnati radio station WEBN's Valentine's Day competition is an hour-long flight in an aircraft specially fitted and provisioned for romance — champagne, snacks, soft lights, music, bed and all. — Sapa.

Death sentence in focus

■ BY PATRICK LAURENCE

South Africa, which stunned the world in 1987 by executing 164 people, has kept the hangman idle since November 1989 with a moratorium on hangings, as capital punishment laws were first revised and then held in abeyance while the question of judicial murder was debated by the founding fathers of the new interim Constitution.

Another step in the debate will be taken tomorrow when President Mandela formally opens the Constitutional Court. The first task facing the 11-member Constitutional Court is to decide whether the death penalty is permissible under the interim Constitution.

The Bill of Rights declares: "Every person shall have the right to life." The issue before the court is to decide whether the right to life can be qualified.

A limitation clause in the Bill of Rights states that fundamental rights may be limited by law, provided that the limitation is reasonable and justifiable and provided it does not negate the "essential content of the right in question."

▶ Watchdog of the Constitution — Page 13

Mandela rejects letter

President accepts Boesak's withdrawal, not minister's case

(Star 14/2/95)

Dear Mr President . . . Winnie explains her criticisms

President N R Mandela
Union Buildings
Pretoria 0001

13 February 1995

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 last Saturday (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 the 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 were 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
N W MANDELA

Nelson Mandela

PRESIDENT 'not happy and wants an unconditional retraction by the middle of the week'

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President Nelson Mandela is said to have rejected his estranged wife Winnie's formal explanation of her recent criticism of the Government and he has asked Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to go back to her for a retraction.

"The president is not happy with her letter and wants an unconditional retraction by the middle of the week," a senior Government source said about yesterday's letter from the deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology.

Failing a retraction, she could be forced out of office.

Winnie Mandela told mourners at the funeral of Warrant Officer Jabulani Xaba in Soweto earlier this month that Government had failed to redress racial imbalances in the workplace.

She indicated that this lay at the root of Xaba's killing by members of the mostly-white internal stability division at the Orlando Police Station last month.

Meanwhile, Winnie Mandela appeared 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 criticisms 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 let-

▶ To Page 3

Mandela rejects letter

◀ From Page 1

ter 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 that 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 from 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.

Winnie 'sorry'

President Mandela demands — and gets — apology from deputy minister

ARGUS 14/2/95 (304A)

PATRICK BULGER
Political Staff

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 Mankahlana confirmed that Mrs Mandela had written a second letter and that the president was now satisfied.

A further statement was being prepared today. Mr Mankahlana 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 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.

● Rebel within a cause: page 18.

Meanwhile, Mrs Mandela appeared to be involved in another controversy — this time over a cheque for R360 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 R360 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.

● Pakistani High Commissioner in South Africa Aneesuddin Ahmed said today Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had pledged about R350 000 to Mrs Mandela for upliftment work by any organisation she served in, at her discretion.

The money was not allocated or paid to her personally. It was also not allocated to the ANC's Women's League.

Talk on constitution stalled by IFP bid

(304A)

ARG 14/2/95.

☐ *Theme committee reports called 'garbage'*

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PROSPECTS in constitution-making remain uncertain after another attempt by the Inkatha Freedom Party to stall formal talks.

The constitutional committee, the multi-party body intended to be the "engine room" of negotiations on the next constitution, yesterday rejected a bid by the IFP to refer back reports to the theme committees that produced them.

IFP negotiatior Peter Smith dismissed the reports as "garbage".

And there is uncertainty about the likelihood of international mediation on the role of the Zulu monarchy, which the IFP claims is essential before constitutional talks and local government elections can proceed.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a written submission to the constitutional committee, called for the return of mediators Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington.

The two international mediators visited the country for 14 hours just before the election in an abortive attempt to resolve a deadlock on the monarchy.

While some Inkatha sources are claiming the cabinet will soon announce a fresh attempt at international mediation, it is understood a three-person committee from the African National Congress, IFP and National Party has been unable to agree on how to proceed.

But while political obstacles remain to constitutional talks, glimmers of hope emerged at yesterday's constitutional committee meeting.

The six theme committee studying various aspects of a future South African state tabled reports.

It was the "superficiality" of these reports that led the IFP's Mr Smith to label them as garbage, provoking angry responses from negotiators like Johnny de Lange of the ANC, who said this denigrated the work done.

Areas of agreement that emerge in the reports are that there should be a separation of powers between legislative, judicial and executive government.

Parties agreed there should be parliamentary government, with an executive accountable to parliament and an independent, impartial judiciary.

There was also agreement on a continuation of the Constitutional Court, with powers to nullify acts of parliament it finds to be in conflict with the constitution.

● The good turnout for Saturday's opening of the constitutional assembly public participation programme "destroyed the myth that ordinary South Africans are not interested in matters constitutional," chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said.

"We are amazed by the enthusiastic response to, and interest in constitution-making."

While some issues raised were "bread-and-butter", in the end they had a bearing on constitutional matters, he said.

But Mr Ramaphosa was not so kind to certain cabinet ministers whose attendance at constitutional committee hearings was not to his satisfaction.

At one stage yesterday, he noted that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Defence Minister Joe Modise and Justice Minister Dullah Omar were absent.

He was concerned about members of the cabinet who were also members of the committee not being present.

Talks on mediation collapse

DAVID GREYBE

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. (304A)

The talks between Provincial Affairs 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.

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 NP and the ANC believed there were insufficient grounds for mediation at this stage. "We cannot plunge blindly into international mediation without clarity on

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Mediation

(304A) BD 14/2/95 □ From Page 1

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 Buthelezi. However, the three parties first had to agree that 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 monarch;
- □ 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/Natal premier Frank Mdlalose 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 ANC 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

(SOWETAN) Sowetan 14/2/95

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 "furious" 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." — *Sapa.*

Aid agencies urged to tap private sector

BD 15/2/95

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE

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, unfavourable 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 "valuarisation" of ancient methods to preserve nature.

SA frustrated by Lomé delay

BD 15/2/95

LINDA ENSOR

LONDON — SA is frustrated by the prolonged delay in finalising its application for inclusion under the Lomé convention and is hoping a decision taken in Brussels this week will expedite proceedings.

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 inter-regional trade and aid agreement for the next five years.

However, SA should not hold out hopes of extensive trade benefits from talks on "associate" membership of Lomé for 70 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 15-nation market 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 reticence 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?' "

'Govt won't probe Ministers'

JOHANNES NGCOBO

THE government of national unity would not probe any Ministers who might have criticised it in public, President Nelson Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said yesterday. (BD 14/2/95)

He was reacting to an appeal by ANC Youth League acting deputy secretary-general Themba Kinana that government make Ministers consult before addressing public gatherings to ensure that if there was any misunderstanding, that Minister would have the backing of government.

Meanwhile the youth league had offered to mediate in the ANC Women's League crisis.

Youth league president Lulu Johnson said the resignation of 11 national executive members from the women's league signalled deviation from an ANC call for unity, which the ANC had insisted on in the past.

Johnson called for all structures not to allow sentiments and emotions to defeat the league's objectives.

On Saturday, the 11 members resigned from their elected positions over "undemocratic practices" within the organisation.

Women's league deputy-president Thandi Modise said yesterday no resignation letters had been received by herself or league president Winnie Mandela. The league's constitutional structures remained in place, she said. BD 15/2/95

Grievances against Mandela reportedly involved the Road to Freedom tourism venture between the league and actor Omar Sharif, her criticism of the Rolling Stones band for employing a white promoter, and her role in daughter Zinzi's promotion company.

I'm sorry says Winnie

(304A) Sowetan 15/2/95

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 also like to reaffirm my commitment to the concept and practise 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.

> **'I apologise most sincerely for the impression the speech caused that I sought to condemn the Government of National Unity'**

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 Mrs 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. (3041A)

"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 into power by the poorest of the poor. We have to address their basic needs and therefore the Budget must be geared to address the constituency that put us into power." BD 16/2/95

Mandela said the Budget introduced by the government of national unity last June had been drawn up under apartheid. Next month'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 blacks. "People want houses today, not tomorrow. They want jobs today, they

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Mandela (3041A) BD 16/2/95

☐ From Page 1

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 got 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 guerillas into the new SANDF was also going well: SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring was co-operating 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. — Sapa.

(304A)

Cabinet seeks action to ensure voter registration

ARG 16/2/95.

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 Jakes 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

CT 16/2/95 (304A)

By BARRY STREEK, Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA should be renamed to reflect its position as a single, democratic union of kingdoms, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA has proposed to the Constitutional Assembly.

Contralesa leader Chief Patekile Holomisa said in the submission SA remained a union of kingdoms, despite the creation of union in 1910 which merged the erstwhile independent kingdoms to form a united country.

He said traditional leaders who chose to go to Parliament on political party tickets should be relieved of their status as chiefs "so that they do not interfere with the right of their people to vote for politicians of their choice".

Traditional leaders should also be represented in Parliament in reserved seats but they should represent political parties. He said they should sit as a body of chiefs who were free to consult with all parties represented in Parliament because "they are after all mediators in conflicts involving their subjects".

Chief Holomisa, an ANC MP, stressed the position of traditional leaders should be entrenched.

He said the existing tribal and traditional authorities would have to be changed to represent democratic rural local councils or authorities, with chiefs as ex-officio members but with a majority of directly elected members.

Contralesa also suggested a commission on customary law and human rights be established to examine the various aspects of indigenous laws and customs.

SA, Palestine form ties

CT 16/2/95 (304A)

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 (PLO) 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 co-operation towards the establishment of peace and stablity".

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

CT 16/2/95

THE cabinet had not yet begun to discuss a possible change in the siting 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. (304A)

(304A)

Mandela contradicts Winnie

CT 16/2/95

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 is 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 1999 I will be 79 or 80. 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-Reuter

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. BD 16/2/95

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 counsellors.

"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. (3044)

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.

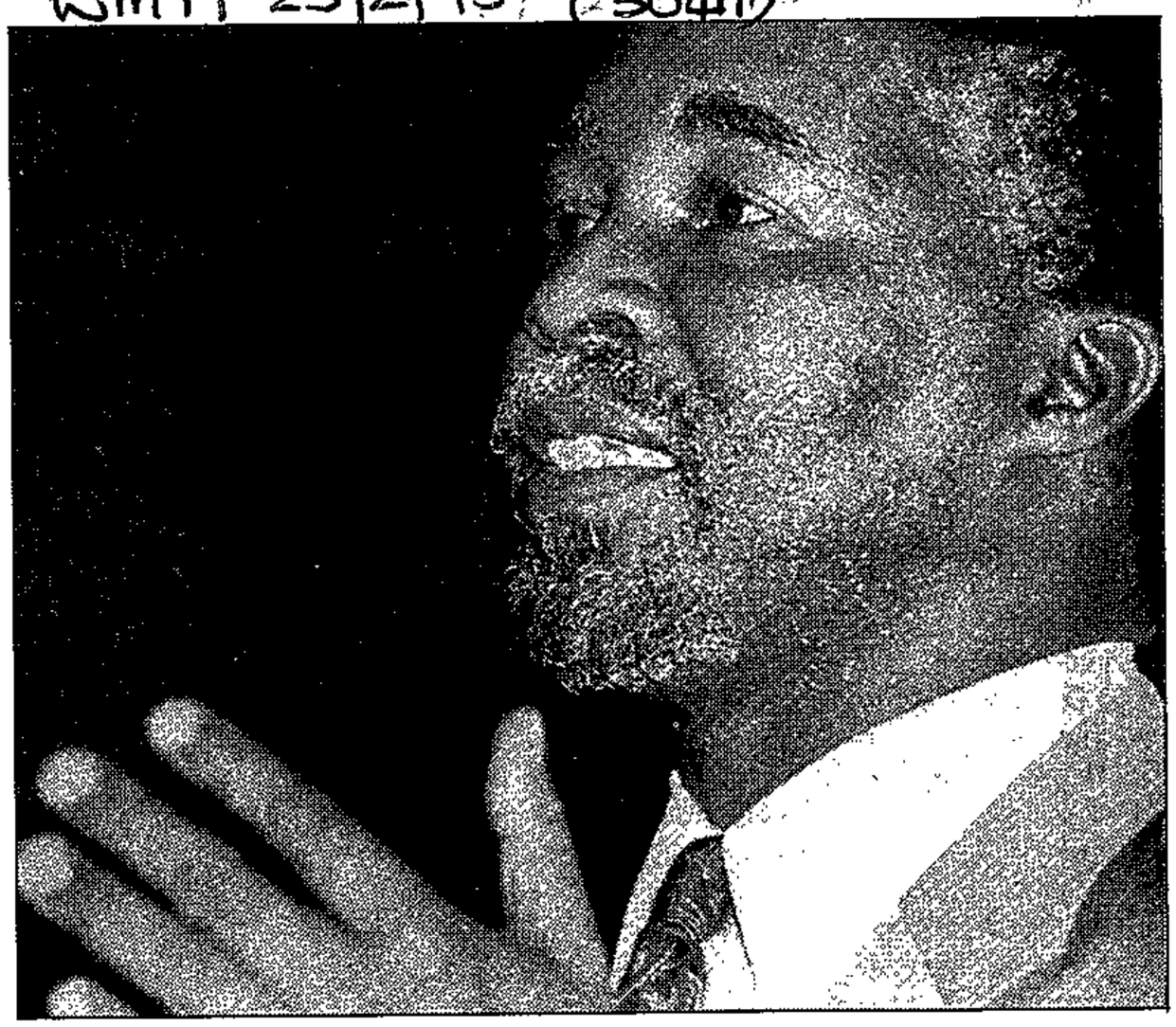
Traditional leaders entering Parliament on party political tickets should be relieved of their status as chiefs to prevent them from interfering with the right of their subjects to vote for politicians.

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

WM 17-23/2/95 - (304A)

Thabo Mbeki walked the tightrope between the country's first couple this week. **Mark Gevisser** reports



The troubleshooter and the trouble: Thabo Mkeki (above) and Winnie Mandela

PHOTOGRAPHS: TARYN CASS (above); ELLEN ELMENDORP

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 remarks 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 Ntintile, 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 irascibility 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, Bantu 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 rapped over the knuckles; 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 cleanness and accountability in leadership."

GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

No place to hide

(304A) FM 17/2/95

A serious flaw in the interim constitution has imprisoned the Nats

Among the diverse citizenry 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.

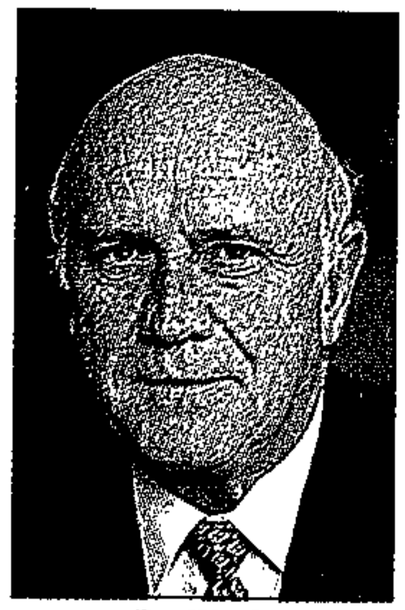
The excesses of this tendency are being checked within the parliamentary committees of the Government of National Unity (GNU); but that is largely because we are locked together in a period of transition and conciliation. Consensus on proposed legislation is taken seriously and the existing interim constitution (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 *sans-culottes* 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."


De Klerk

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 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 uneasily 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 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

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Continued from page 22

be called human rights law, that fact is being used to bring in all kinds of inapposite 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 "theme" committees, that the constitution is a blank sheet. Or screen. It isn't. Its starting point is the — admittedly hugely flawed — interim constitution of 1993.

Meyer

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 entrusted with drafting 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. Their deadlines are accordingly unrealistic. Many issues are fraught with emotion and dread — like amnesty, the *Volkstaat*, the Kingdom of KwaZulu, and the degree of federalism in general. On top of that, eccentrics 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 our 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.

Wessels

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: "There 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 constituency 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 of purgation is repeated, we will discover shocking truths about our past. The NP — certainly in its previous incarnation, prior to De Klerk's inestimably valuable reforms — is hardly likely to emerge from such tribunals (for that is what they could become) with a lily-white visage.

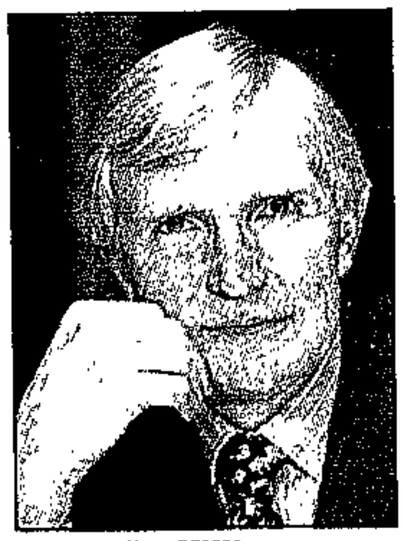
All the more reason then for it to split and for the emergence of a new party adhering to principles that the *FM* regards as essential to stability, growth and foreign investment.

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 stridency without the weight while the NP has the weight without the stridency. 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 immeasurably 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.

Botha


De Villiers

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 *Volkstaat* 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. ■

Deputy minister challenges Mandela

(304A)

Prove it, says Holomisa

Star 17/2/95.

FORMER Transkei leader says the president's statement on missing millions holds no water

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH and PATRICK BULGER

Cape Town — Former Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa yesterday challenged President Mandela to prove his allegations of corruption in the now-defunct homeland.

The Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism said he would welcome and co-operate with an investigation.

Holomisa categorically distanced himself from other high-ranking ANC officials whose names had been linked to corruption allegations.

It was unclear last night what action, if any, the president would take against the deputy minister, whose challenge came days after Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture and Science Winnie Mandela was asked to apologise for criticising the Government of National Unity.

A spokesman for the president's office said Mandela was expected to study Holomisa's statement, which had been delivered to the president.

In a clear challenge to the GNU, Holomisa said allegations by Mandela that millions, if not billions, of rands had been stolen by former Transkei officials "held no water".

Holomisa said Mandela's allegations could never be regarded as "the last word on the matter" until the findings of a judicial commission of inquiry had been tabled.

Deputy President F W de Klerk told a media briefing yesterday that suggestions of corruption commissions were a smokescreen. Allegations of corruption should be investigated and procedures to stop corruption should be constantly reviewed.

Holomisa called for an investigation into the former National Party-led government's finances.

Bantu Holomisa . . . called for an investigation.

He said those guilty of corruption in former Transkei had been charged in court, and the GNU's clean-up crusade should first deal with "straightforward cases like Sol Kerzner".

Holomisa would be tabling facts and figures during this parliamentary session that would show how "money had been used corruptly by the National Party government".

He challenged the Eastern Cape government to launch a commission of inquiry into former Transkei's finances — a measure announced last year by the provincial legislature.

Holomisa said nothing had happened about the proposed commission since it was announced.

He confirmed that the former Transkei's cash-flow projection for 1994/95, which was published last month, showed that last July it had a deficit of R307 million.

However, when he left the former homeland government in May, the deficit was R44 million.

He said Deputy Minister of Finance Alec Erwin had personally investigated the former Transkei's cash flow and had told him that some of the monies had never been transferred from Pretoria, and that the region had been "terribly underfunded".

UN consigns apartheid to history's dustheap

(304A) ARG 18/2/95

GENEVA. — The United Nations Human Rights Commission has formally declared apartheid dead and so ended almost 30 years of annual condemnation of South African racism.

But Israel — subject of similarly ritual resolutions at the UN's principal rights forum — was once again censured for its occupation of Palestinian territories despite progress in the Middle East peace process.

South Africa and the "crime of apartheid" had been a fixture on the commission's agenda since 1967, when it first set up an expert working group to monitor human-rights violations in South Africa.

But as South Africa's first democratic parliament began its second session in Cape Town yesterday, the commission agreed without a vote to end the experts' mandate.

The commission's 53 members also decided that apartheid as defined by the 1976 Convention on Apartheid "no longer exists anywhere" — effectively consigning the convention to the dustheap.

South Africa's deputy ambassador in Geneva, Dieter Petzsch, told the commission that it had closed an important chapter in its history which South Africa itself did not want to see reopened.

"My government attaches great significance to today's decision, for it is only through this slate-cleaning process that the new South Africa can assume its rightful place in this body," he said.

"As a new democracy, we are fully committed to our responsibilities in the field of human rights."

While the commission said goodbye to one of its mainstay topics, delegates voted to keep another issue — Israeli human rights abuses in the occupied territories — at the top of its agenda for next year.

In a series of resolutions opposed only by Russia and the United States, the co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process, the commission censured Israel for detaining thousands of Palestinians without trial, confiscating Palestinian property and land and extending Jewish settlements in the territories.

It called on the Jewish state to end its occupation and settlement of the Golan Heights and said displaced Syrians from Golan must be allowed to return to recover their homes.

The commission has censured Israel every year since 1968, the year after it occupied the Gaza Strip, West Bank and the Golan Heights.

The United States has been pressing for Israel to be dropped from the agenda to reward it for its participation in the Middle East peace process and for continued Arab-Israeli dialogue.

Washington won surprise backing this year from the commission's own special investigator on rights violations in the territories, former Swiss foreign minister René Felber.

Mr Felber said in his report to the commission he considered that supporting the peace process was more important than writing reports about human rights. — Reuter.

CP 19/2/95

Winnie defies Mandela

By SEKOLA SELLO (304A)

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 Ramapahosa 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.

CP 19/2/95

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; the other 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 not subordinating herself to collective leadership, of engaging in (unspecified) undemocratic 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 19/2/95

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has sent a stern message to the country that attempts to undermine democracy through anarchy and lawlessness would not be tolerated by his government.

In his opening address to Parliament, in which he unequivocally laid down the law, Mr Mandela listed his priorities for the year, but made few promises.

"The challenges ahead require that we move away from spectacle and rhetoric and bend our backs to the serious work ahead of us," he said.

In the past few weeks, Mr Mandela's government has been challenged by illegal strikes, intra-police violence, illegal home occupation, public racist attacks and allegations of improper conduct by members of his own party.

The speech delivered on Friday suggests a growing impatience with people who are abusing new freedoms to act illegally and who have unrealistic expectations of government to deliver.

Mr Mandela warned people against disrupting the local government elections. The government would not hesitate to use all the legitimate force at its disposal to ensure that "nobody stands in the way of the people to express their will freely".

He recommitted the government to affirmative action and warned people to ignore the "false prophets" who sought to perpetuate imbalances by presenting affirmative action in the public service as a programme intended only to advantage one race group.

He said the government had limited resources and could not be coerced into meeting unrealistic demands, however justified they might be. "It is important that we rid ourselves of the culture of entitlement which leads to the expectation that the government must promptly deliver whatever it is that we demand and results in some people refusing to meet their obligations, such as rent and service payments or engaging in other unacceptable actions such as the forcible occupation of houses."

He warned that strike action, which has been threatened by a few public sector unions, would not succeed in forcing the government to give large wage and salary increases.

"Mass action of any kind will not create resources that the government does not have and will only serve to subvert the capacity of government to serve the people."

He warned in the strongest terms that anarchy — the murder of police officers, the taking of hostages, riots, looting, the forcible occupation of public buildings, blocking of public highways and vandalisation of public and private property would "meet its match in the government".

"Some of those who have initiated and participated in such activities have misread freedom to mean licence. They have misinterpreted popular participation to mean their ability to impose chaos on society.

"They have wrongly concluded that an elected government of the people is a government that is open to compulsion through acts of anarchy," he said.

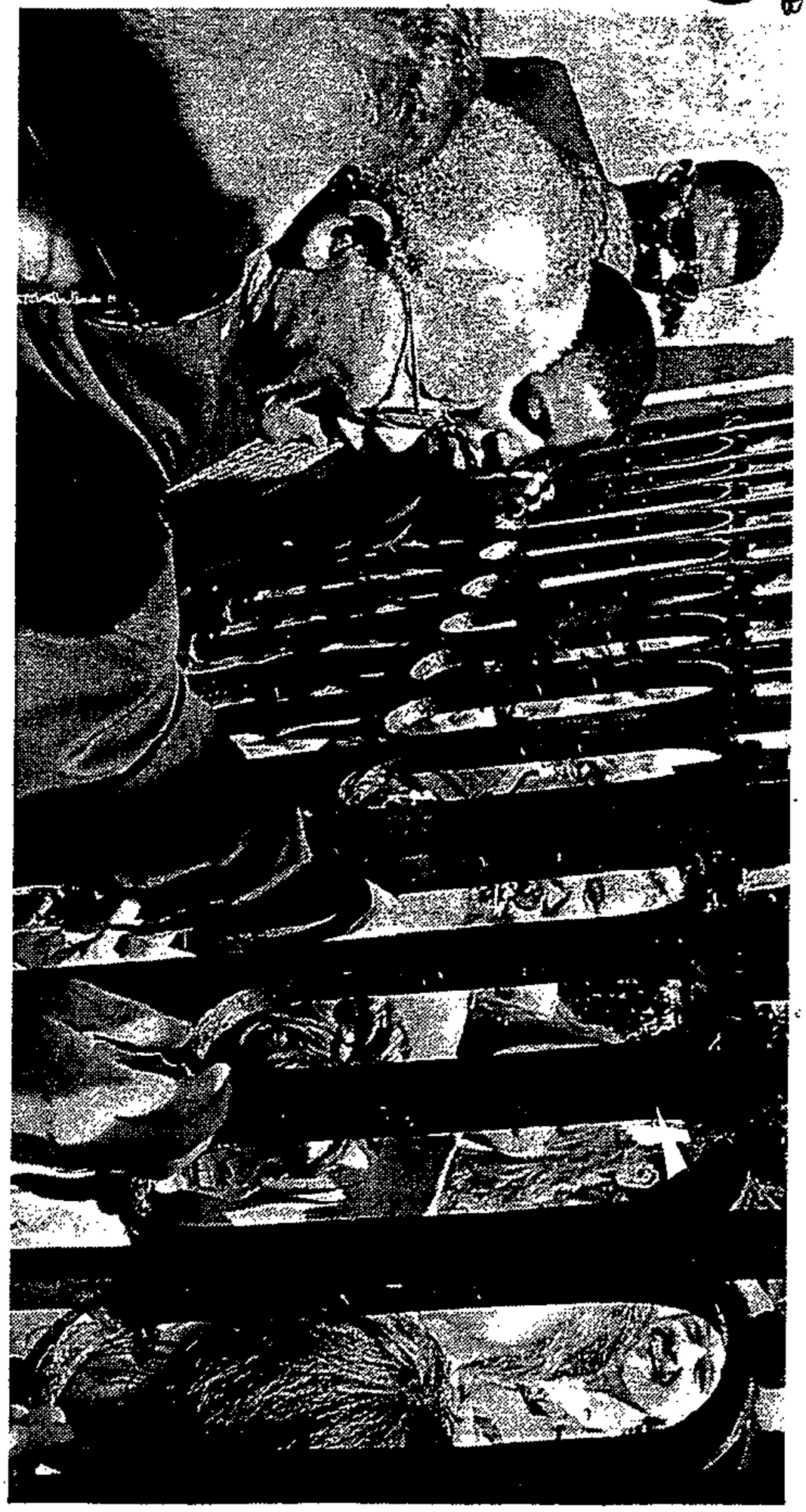
Mr Mandela also warned the media and public commentators that the government would not be bludgeoned into dealing with corruption simply on the basis of allegations.

However, should corruption be proved, the government would not hesitate to act.

He declared war on racism, which had led to a loss of life, and the crime wave, which included murder, crimes against women and children, drug trafficking, armed robbery, fraud and theft.

Mr Mandela listed the government's priorities for the year:

- The election of municipal bodies which will tackle the delivery of services;
- The transformation of the judiciary;
- Reducing the high levels of crime and violence;
- The establishment of a truth commission;
- Ending the political violence in Kwazulu Natal;
- Rural and urban development;
- Job creation;
- Health and human resource development;
- Encouraging economic growth; and
- Strengthening regional co-operation.



MEETING THE PEOPLE ... Mandela greets some of the throng at the gates of Parliament Picture: ERIC MILLER

MPs have to 'sign in' each day

ARG 20/2/95 (304A)

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 Frene 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 Coetsee 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. — Sapa.

Parties support unity govt

(304A)

Political Staff

STRONG support for the concept of a government of national unity was expressed separately over the weekend by Deputy President Thabo Mbkei 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. CT 20/2/95

"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.

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NP against MP expulsion clause

(304A)
CT 20/2/95

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 Kempton Park 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.

De Klerk calls for 'mobility'

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

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The National Party will try to establish itself as an effective competitor to the ANC. (304A)

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. Star 20/2/95

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 baiter 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.

Mandela (30/4/94) rules out KwaZulu mediation

Argus 20/2/95

■ BY PATRICK BULGER, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — President Nelson Mandela last night ruled out the intervention of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in mediation on the status of Zulu King himself, saying now opposed to mediation was one of the signatories to an April 1994 agreement on mediation with the Inkatha Freedom Party de Klerk and NP government.

Mandela said he had not spoken to Buthelezi.

Until last night the IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was stumbling on the issue, which is holding up a major agreement on local government elections.

Mandela rejected any block to the holding of local elections in October.

Mandela and Zulu tribal chiefs have agreed that no one would be allowed to obstruct the election process of voter registration.

Talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha Secretary-General Frank Mdlalose and deputy Services Minister Sipho Mzimela, on the ends of terms of reference, last week.

No agreement

Mandela told Newsline that the Government could not unilaterally support Inkatha's opposition to mediation.

Mandela said intervention could not go ahead until there was agreement on the terms of reference.

In his opening of Parliament speech on Friday, Mandela said the government would go ahead with local elections.

Buthelezi, he would be alarmed if there was no reference to obstruct the process of voter registration.

Talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha Secretary-General Frank Mdlalose concerned the election of Zulu tribal chiefs, Persons concerned.

Talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha Secretary-General Frank Mdlalose concerned the election of Zulu tribal chiefs, Persons concerned.

Tensions between civic body and Govt reduced

STAR 21/2/95 (304A)

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

Simmering tensions between the Government and the South African National Civic Organisation 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 intimidatory.

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 Ngcobo 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

(304A)

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. CT 21/2/95

Speaker Dr Frene 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

(304A) Star 21/2/95

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 signalled 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 seduced into a world of false hopes leading to unrealistic actions based on the wrong assumption that the Government can be coerced to meet demands that it cannot meet, however justified and legitimate these 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 has 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

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♦ All play part

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 continuous 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 firm action, especially in KwaZulu/Natal, against attempts to disrupt local government elections.

Supporting the Government's strong stance against people who abuse 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 Marthinus 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

(304A) Sowetan 22/2/95

By Ismail Lagardien and *Sapa*

THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY yesterday walked out of the National Assembly and suspended their participation in Parliamentary work and in the constitution-making process.

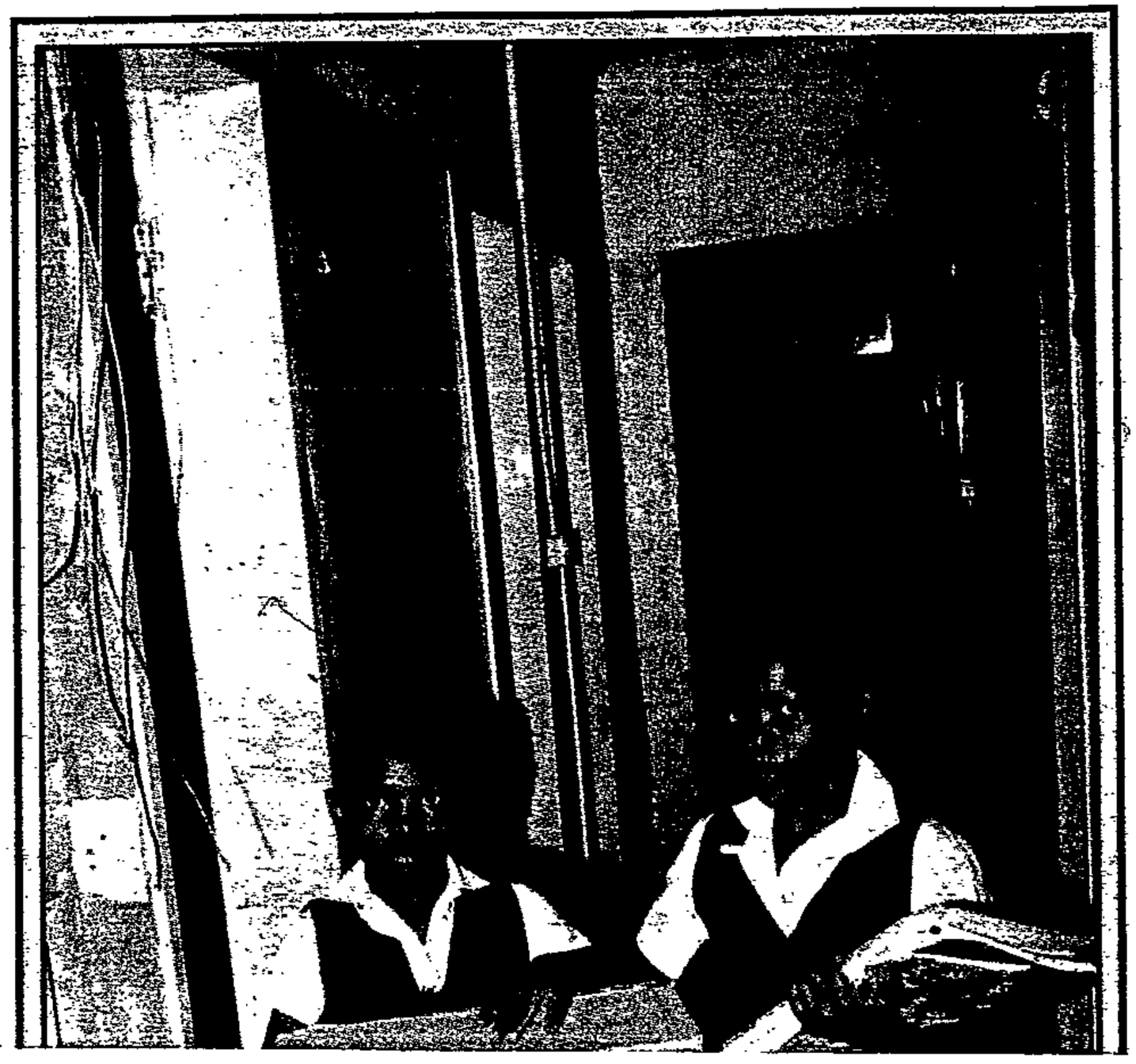
In announcing the decision to withdraw from Parliament yesterday Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the agreement reached between him and President Nelson Mandela, which brought the Inkatha Freedom Party into the election, yesterday had been "dishonoured".

"We of the IFP must now seek a new mandate from our constituency and until such a mandate is received, we are duty bound to suspend our active participation in Parliamentary work and in the constitution-making process and we will get a new mandate as to what to do at that special general conference next week."

Buthelezi accused the African National Congress and National Party of "delays, gimmicks and deceptions" over the issue of international mediation and said they had no intention of honouring the pre-election agreement in this regard.

The IFP has arranged a special general conference for March 5 and 6 where it hopes to be given a mandate to continue to participate in Parliament and the Constituent Assembly.

In order to avoid disrupting the functions of government and in the hope that the conference would mandate continued participation in the Government of National Unity, IFP Ministers would continue to hold their Cabinet positions.



Security alert

ARG 22/2/95 (304A)

Crisis meeting of cabinet after walkout by Buthelezi

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 Jakes Gerwel 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 adadmant 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 Mankahlana, 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 19 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.

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'Cantons instead of volkstaat'

ARG 22/2/95 (304A)

TYRONE SEALE, Political Staff

THE Freedom Front has swopped 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'

(304A) ARG 22/2/95

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 Zwelethini 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

(304A) BD 22/2/95

ADRIAN HADLAND

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 "duty-bound to suspend our active participation in parliamentary work and in the constitution-making process".

The walkout by 48 MPs and senators sparked 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 Mzimela, Arts Minister Ben Ngubane and Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews — would continue in their offices to avoid any disruption, Buthelezi told Parliament.

The party had scheduled a special general conference for March 5 and 6 during which it would decide on its further participation in government, Buthelezi said.

Referring to what he described as an impasse 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 existed on 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 the next 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 central government's display of bad faith on provincial autonomy.

Inkatha had been treated as an inconsequential part of government, it felt deeply aggrieved by Safety and Security Minister

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Inkatha (304A) BD 22/2/95

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Sydney Mufamadi's interventions in the province and had been excluded from participating in the selection of Constitutional Court judges, Jiyane said.

But it was Mzimela who identified the major grievance: ANC and NP "ridicule and disdain" for the international mediation initiative. "It is now 10 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.

Mzimela said the selection of international mediators as well as the date and venue of the mediation would "move the country forward".

The NP said it regretted Inkatha's decision as well as its failure to consult either Deputy President FW de Klerk or Mandela. "The NP 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.

Sapa reports Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen 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.

Winnie's move catches ANC by surprise

DAVID GREYBE

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 Stofile said: "We are not finished with this issue yet."

Officials expected the matter to dominate this weekend's meeting of the newly

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Winnie

(304A) BD 22/2/95

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elected 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 activist Ruth Mompati, league spokesman Lindiwe Zulu and MP Baleka Kgositsile.

IFP withdrawal sparks crisis

Star 22/2/95 (30 49)

◀ From Page 1

sembly and the senate. The IFP would not pull out of provincial government arrangements, he said.

The walkout prompted fears of renewed violence in KwaZulu/Natal and of an IFP boycott of October's local government elections.

A senior IFP source today said the reference to local government elections in President Mandela's opening speech to Parliament on Friday, as well as his "clear" statement on international mediation in a television interview on Sunday night, had aggrieved senior IFP members.

The source said that Mandela had taken "an ANC president position" and not that of the president of South Africa.

Mandela yesterday voiced his "strong disapproval" of the IFP move and called on the party to carry out its constitutional duty to participate.

Buthelezi, who was speaking in the National Assembly on the first day of opposition parties' replies to Mandela's opening of Parliament speech on Friday, made his announcement shortly before 6 pm.

The IFP, he said, had entered last year's election on the basis of the April 19 agreement with Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk.

"With the breach of the agreement ... the mandate that our MPs received has exhausted its political viability."

The Democratic Party said it supported the IFP's insistence on international mediation. However a boycott of Parliament set a dangerous precedent.

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 Mzimela'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 Mzimela of bad faith in claiming he was trying to scupper mediation.

"Mr Meyer said that Dr Mzimela was openly questioning his integrity while the minutes of the previous meeting reflect the opposite," the minutes say.

"Dr Mzimela responded by saying that Mr Meyer has been acting in bad faith by using tactics to delay the process."

Dr Mzimela said that the NP never adhered to the pre-poll agreement on mediation. — Sapa.

Crisis summit to deal with walkout

CT 23/2/95 (304A)

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 Frene Ginwala, 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 Ginwala 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'

(304A)

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

Afrikaners ready to join new SA

(304A) CT 23/2/95

AFRIKANERS had realised they should see how they could be of value to South and Southern Africa rather than withdraw into a Volkstaat laager, Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

The FF was not a party for whites but for Afrikaners, he said. Its main objective was to ensure the survival of the Afrikaner people.

The original idea behind a volkstaat had been emotional, but since last year's election the matter had been approached more scientifically.

Self-determination could be realised in two ways: culturally, as in Belgium, or tied to a specific area like a volkstaat.

The FF's second main objective was to work out a role for the Afrikaner in the new SA.

General Viljoen said the FF got on better with the ANC than the National Party did because it was not under an illusion that it could replace the ANC as South Africa's government.

The FF also had a specific role to play in protecting Afrikaners' interests, while the NP had decided to abandon "everything of the past" in 1990 in an attempt to match the ANC.

As a small opposition party the FF would play a critical role but also act constructively in the interests of South Africa.

Asked about any role he might play in Angolan peace initiatives, General Viljoen said he and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had confidence in each other, and it would depend on what confidence the MPLA government had in him. — Sapa

from a pile of building material dropped off at the site yesterday. The material was confiscated from squatters last year.

Govt 'must intervene to ensure conformity'

BD 23/2/95

(304A)

ADRIAN HADLAND

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

(304A)

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 laager. We accept the challenge of co-existence and the need for democratisation," 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 realised this might take 20 years to materialise. 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.

Star 23/2/95

Cabinet snubs IFP

Sowetan 23/2/95 (304A)

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 Mr 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 Ginwala 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 loose their seats in the legislature.

SOWETAN Thursday February 23 1995

Nelson Mandela, FW De Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi — the three strange bedfellows at the centre of the row.

Walkout likely to benefit IFP again

(3044)

By Mathatha Tsedu Political Editor

Sowetan 23/2/95

THE WALKOUT by the Inkatha Freedom Party from Parliament on Tuesday has achieved a number of things for the organisation. Firstly, it has put the spotlight on the issue of international mediation. Secondly, it has given the coming conference of the IFP next weekend the status of a gathering that will determine the future development of this country's politics.

Thirdly, it has put the IFP back on the front pages of newspapers and news broadcasts, a position from which they had been removed since their entry into the Government of National Unity.

The walkout gave many people a feeling of *déjà vu* since it seemed to have been engineered for maximum effect in the same way as during the multiparty negotiations at Kempton Park two years ago. Then, as now, the IFP, after failing to get its way on a number of constitutional issues, walked out and waged a war of attrition until seven days before the historic elections when it made a turn-about and joined the election campaign.

But it was at a price as many people had died. At the same time, though, the IFP and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had gained a number of concessions for KwaZulu, including recognition of the Zulu King as a special monarch in South Africa and more powers for the provinces.

These concessions could not have been obtained through the sufficient-consensus process of the Kempton park talks. They were only possible after the IFP had moved the negotiations out of the forum to a neutral ground where the parties involved were equally represented.

This scenario seems to be repeating itself now with the walkout. Of the 490 combined members of the Constitutional Assembly the IFP has only 48.

With this number, its input into the CA could easily be swept aside and majority rule would mean that the decision was still democratic.

To get around this problem, the IFP has latched on to international mediation as a means of having its bottom-line issues dealt with, many MPs in Cape Town say.

This will allow them equal representation and the party hopes that in this way it will achieve what it might not manage in the CA. This would explain why international mediation has been the rallying point of the IFP before and after the elections, as Buthelezi addressed victory rally after rally.

What are the issues to be mediated? According to a secret document containing minutes of a meeting on February 13 of the three-man committee set up to look into the issue of international mediation, the following were identified by IFP representative Dr Sipho Mzimela:

- The boundaries of the Kingdom of KwaZulu;
- The role of the monarch;
- The right to self-determination as far as the people of KwaZulu are concerned; and
- The constitutional status of the Kingdom of KwaZulu within a united South Africa.

ANC representative Mr Valli Moosa is recorded to have responded by saying the issues do not need international mediation. Moosa gave a report of the ANC's point of view regarding the four issues identified for mediation by the IFP.

With regard to the boundaries of the Kingdom of KwaZulu, the two provinces (the other is Eastern Cape) have already agreed on a mechanism to deal with this issue, he said. A commission will be established to assist and to deal with the matter. His party is of the opinion that there is no need to refer the subject to international mediation.

With regard to the role of the monarchy, Moosa explained that his party had no authority to express any views as the monarch had indicated that he does not see any reason for international mediation. Unless a different view is expressed, there is no need to refer this issue to international mediation.

Regarding the right of self-determination and the constitutional status of the Kingdom of KwaZulu, Moosa said these issues could be regarded as constitutional matters and could therefore be dealt with in the Constitutional Assembly. The National Party, represented by Mr Roelf Meyer, said its view was that it had "nothing more to add to the agenda". Meyer accused Mzimela of attacking him publicly in a newspaper interview and questioning his integrity, while his party had not yet responded.

The meeting became quite heated and suggestions to call a meeting of all three leaders of the parties was rejected by Mzimela, who said he would only report to his leader. Mzimela said international mediation was cardinal for the IFP as it was a continuation of the process that saw them go into the elections. He said Meyer was negotiating "in bad faith", with his party coming with "consistent lies", an accusation that Meyer rejected.

This was eight days before the walkout. President Nelson Mandela has now revealed that a document on international mediation put to the Cabinet a day after this confrontation indicated that there could be war if international mediation was not resumed. Six days later, Buthelezi led his group out of Parliament, and in so doing put the spectre of renewed large-scale violence in Natal and the Reef back on the national agenda.

■ BAD FAITH Meyer blames Mzimela of attack:

ANC 'won't be intimidated' by IFP

WM 24/2-2/3/95 (304M)

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 adamant 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 had 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 Reggie Hadebe in the post-1990 era.

"It is an attempt to run away from this questioning," said Makhaye.

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 Valli 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 will 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 reservation 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

(304A)

Rising stakes

FM 24/2/95

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 later 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 principle at Kempton Park, that of "sufficient consensus," was being reinstated.

Buthelezi

Inkatha's specific criticism is that it "does not see how the theme committee can decide to take out any single statement made by the IFP in its submission without either becoming a negotiation forum (which it is not meant to be) or failing to provide full details about the relevant contentious issues."

Behind this — and the linked threat to withdraw if international mediation is not secured — lies the whole issue of the degree of federalism in SA.

By adopting a highly critical stance at this stage of constitution-writing — and by indicating preparedness to push matters to the brink — Inkatha seems to some to be overly critical and verbose.

But serious principles are at stake — and solemn undertakings have not been honoured.

UK newspaper slams Buthelezi for IFP walkout

304A

CT 24/2/95

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'

CT 24/2/95

304A

Minister says he has secret files

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 Nico Botha, a former Treasury official, Mr Chris le Roux, and "a certain Mr Greg Rossmarch" — 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 MP 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 Geldenhuys 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'

ARG 24/2/95 (304A)

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

(304A)

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". ARG 24/2/95.

Back code of conduct — Asmal

(304A)

CT 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 Kader 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

BD 24/2/95 (304A)

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The ANC was prepared to proceed with international mediation if the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed to three conditions, an ANC Cabinet Minister said yesterday.

Inkatha had to agree not to disrupt the local government election registration process, that the October local elections would not be postponed, and that the Constitutional Assembly could proceed with its work, the Minister said.

But, the Minister warned, government would be forced to take a tougher line if Inkatha rejected the offer: the elections would go ahead, the assembly would continue its work, and government would consider "security force action" in KwaZulu/Natal to ensure violence did not flare up in the province.

ANC, NP and Inkatha sources last night confirmed there had been no progress in organising a meeting between President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President FW de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the matter.

Government sources said Mandela had assigned Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to deal with the mediation issue on his behalf.

However, Mbeki had left on an official trip overseas yesterday and would deal with the matter only on his return next week Saturday.

An Inkatha special three-day conference to decide on whether the party participates in the local elections, and its future in government, begins the same day.

A spokesman for De Klerk said the NP leader was still awaiting a reply from Mandela to his request that the President convene a meeting of the leaders.

Buthelezi yesterday issued a statement saying he was opposed to another leaders' meeting which merely served "to avoid and procrastinate on the resolution of the issue. What is required is a decision to go ahead with the resumption of international mediation without delay."

Once that was done, a delegation representing the three parties should meet "to choose the mediators, the venue for the mediation and to make all other required logistical arrangements".

Senior Inkatha sources said last night there were increasing demands within the party for the holding of new provincial elections in KwaZulu/Natal because of the ANC and NP's failure to honour the pre-election mediation agreement.

One source said Inkatha recognised it could not force a new general election, but, "with a vote of no confidence in the KwaZulu/Natal legislature", the Inkatha-controlled provincial government was constitutionally entitled to call elections "for a fresh mandate".

Buthelezi also briefed ambassadors and representatives from about 50 countries on

☐ To Page 2

Mediation

(304A) BD 24/2/95

☐ From Page 1

the mediation impasse following Inkatha's walkout from Parliament on Tuesday.

The ANC parliamentary caucus yesterday decided to refer the matter to a meeting this weekend of its national executive committee. An executive member said the committee would probably "authorise" Mandela, ANC ministers and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to deal with the matter on the party's behalf.

☐ Meanwhile TIM COHEN reports that a security crack-down in Natal/KwaZulu is looming following a meeting between Mandela and security and intelligence departments heads scheduled for early next week.

Military sources confirmed yesterday that the president's office had called the meeting to discuss the security situation in Natal.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said he had no knowledge of such a meeting, but it is understood Mandela is extremely concerned about the security situation in Natal/KwaZulu following Inkatha's pullout from Parliament.

MICKEYING AROUND ... Melindi Rossouw, 6, (front) and Rudi Geldenhuys, 7, both of Kuils River, on the Mickey Mouse ride at the Cape Show, which runs until March 5 in Goodwood. **Report Page 3.** Picture: ANNE LAING

Winnie defies President

CT 24/2/95 (304A)

Political Staff

JUST a week after deputy minister Mrs Winnie Mandela came within an ace of being fired by her estranged husband President Nelson Mandela, he has again admonished her — for going on a trip to West Africa against his orders.

ANC MPs privately expressed concern last night that Mrs Mandela might not be as sympathetically treated by the President on her return on March 6 and this time could find herself without a job.

In a week in which President Mandela has faced a crisis over Inkatha's withdrawal from Parliament, Mrs Mandela flew off as scheduled — apparently on a private tour. President Mandela is believed to be furious. — Sapa

Mandela calls security heads

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

(304A)

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has summoned the top brass of the security establishment to a meeting amid signs of a hardening of attitudes towards Inkatha's decision to boycott Parliament.

Well-placed sources confirmed last night that Mr Mandela had called security ministers, the head of the SA National Defence Force, the Commissioner of Police, Deputy President F W de Klerk and key ministers to a meeting on Monday.

The meeting follows the decision by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to turn down an invitation from Mr F W de Klerk — initiated by Mr Mandela — to a three-way summit to defuse the crisis.

Chief Buthelezi's rejection of the overture was described by Mr De Klerk as "a pity". "Let's talk — for the sake of the country," he added.

The ANC caucus voiced concern that the boycott could spark a new wave of violence across the country.

CT 24/2/95

Mr Mandela signalled his disdain for the IFP action by assigning Deputy President Thabo Mbeki — who left the country last night and will only return after the IFP's special conference on March 6 — to mediate in the crisis.

Last night Chief Buthelezi said he was willing to meet "anyone at any time of day or night to resolve the present tragic situation".

Winnie flies off into new rumpus

(304A)

ARG 24/2/95

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 Mankahlana said Deputy President Thabo Mbeki 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 PanAfrican 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 hectoring manner" which Mrs Mandela used in trying to get a legal settlement of more than R80 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

(304A)

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". BD 24/2/95

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

☐ To Page 2

Winnie

(304A) BD 24/2/95

☐ From Page 1

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 Livanos.

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 Livanos.

Government should lay down guidelines to stop Ministers interfering in matters which did not concern their departments.

Winnie in new row

Trip out of country in defiance of president's wishes

Star 24/2/95

(304A)

BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Winnie Mandela yesterday put her post in the Government of National Unity at risk for the second time in two weeks — this time by leaving the country for Ghana in defiance of President Mandela's wishes.

The Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology only last week saved her post by apologising to her estranged husband for criticising the GNU.

Her absence means that she will miss this weekend's important meeting of the ANC's national executive committee in Cape Town, at which the affairs of the ANC Women's League of which she is president were due to be discussed.

She is apparently attending Ghana's independence commemoration celebrations, and her private secretary Alan Reynolds yesterday confirmed that President Mandela had expressly asked her not to go.

This message was conveyed to her by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

However, Reynolds said the deputy minister visit was

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 Parks Mankahlana confirmed that Mrs Mandela was out of the country, but he could not provide any further

▶ To Page 3

Winnie in hot water again

(304A)

◀ From Page 1

information. Star 24/2/95

Later, however, a statement was released by the office of the president confirming the substance of The Star's information.

The statement said: "It often happens that ministers and deputy ministers depart on official visits abroad prior to the correspondence with the president's office having been formally finalised.

"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 re-submitted request could be completed," the statement said.

Mandela's absence from the ANC's NEC 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.

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Govt to launch campaign

BD 24/2/95

WILSON ZWANE

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela will announce the launch of the Masakhane campaign in Parliament today. The campaign aims, among other things, to end rent, services and bond boycotts.

Pascal Moloi, an official in the Ministry overseeing the reconstruction and development programme, said yesterday the campaign would be launched at an informal settlement in Cape Town.

Later in the day, commercials of the campaign would be flighted on TV. These would be followed by advertisements in print media on Sunday and an appearance of Ministers involved in the campaign on SABC's Agenda programme.

Moloi 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 SA 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 township violence'

(304A)

ADRIAN HADLAND

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 rands for "dirty trick projects" such as Project Vallex in 1987/88.

The main objective of Project Vallex, according to the documents, was to force the UDF out of communities by the instigation of "colour-against-colour" violence. BD 24/2/95

The operation had been instigated while Deputy President FW de Klerk was a member of the council.

Holomisa said it appeared from the documents there was a cover-up of an amount of $2,6bn in commissions claimed from the NP government relating to financial deals.

There was also information on gold sales which could involve the fraudulent removal of SA's assets.

The documents also showed De Klerk was fully aware of the transactions.

Holomisa warned two weeks ago he would reveal how the NP was responsible for violence and corruption in the pre-election era.

Addressing Parliament on the presidential opening address yesterday, 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 also 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.

Friday February 24 1995 SOWETAN

Buthelezi refuses to negotiate

(304A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspodent

Sowetan 24/2/95

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's 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 Kingdom, however, there is no need for mediation as there is no dispute.

King rejects mediation

(304A) Star 24/2/95

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

The Zulu King's Council yesterday rejected international mediation on the status and powers of the ki[illegible]

Addre[illegible] Johannesburg news conference, council spokesman Prince Sifiso 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.

Sifiso 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, as the IFP dug in its heels over international mediation, party sources indicated the action would be shortlived.

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.

Daluxolo 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.

Issue must wait for Mbeki's return

'No crisis over IFP withdrawal'

304A

Star 24/2/95

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL EDITOR

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 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.

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 that 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 Wednesay 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

304A

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. ARG 25/2/95

Chief Buthelezi — who bristled at a suggestion that the IFP was "boycotting" parliament, snapping: "I'm not in the game of boycotts" — made it clear he did not expect a resolution of the crisis before the IFP conference in Ulundi on March 5 and 6.

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".

Scoffing 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 priciple 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".

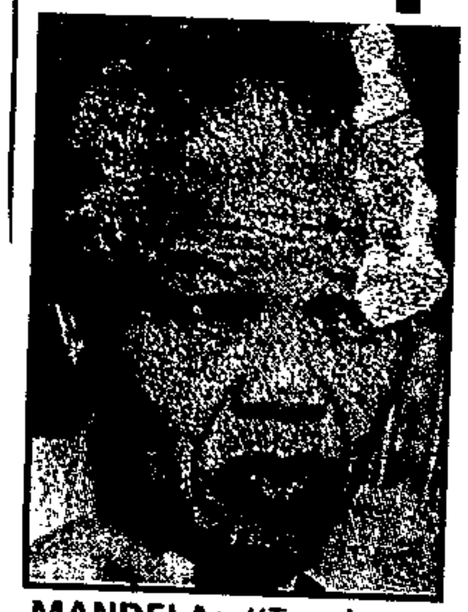
In a plea for calm and co-operation, he said that "people have been dying in the recent past, and tensions created can lead to further loss of life and I hope all of us will co-operate in creating an atmosphere in which the situation can be resolved".

Differences between the parties were to be expected, and discussion was the key to reaching consensus.

■ See page 5

Impasse over mediation persists

Star 25/3/95



MANDELA: "Tensions were high" and could lead to loss of life.

ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — The impasse between the ANC, National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party over international mediation remains unresolved after a meeting between the leaders of the three parties.

President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President F W de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi met yesterday at the president's official residence, Genadendal, to discuss the IFP's suspension on Tuesday of its participation in Parliament and the Constitutional Assembly.

The leaders are to meet again after they have consulted their parties. It is unlikely that such a meeting would take place before the IFP's special conference in Ulundi next weekend to discuss a continued mandate for its 43 MPs and five senators.

Speaking after the talks, Mandela said "tensions were high" and expressed concern that the situation could lead to a further loss of lives in KwaZulu/Natal. He said the meeting had "agreed to bring down the temperature".

Responding to questions, the president said Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini as well as "many others" outside the three parties would be informed about the talks.

De Klerk said the leaders had met because they wanted to find a solution to the impasse.

The IFP walked out of a sitting of the National Assembly and Senate on Tuesday protesting that the ANC and NP had breached an agreement reached last year that international mediation would be used to resolve constitutional disputes.

The agreement led to the IFP's late entry to last year's election.

The ANC and NP have reiterated their commitment to the agreement but have said that the terms of re-

TO PAGE 2.

(304A)

BUTHELEZI: "Provocative" to suggest IFP MPs were cowards.

♦ Mediation

(304A) Star 25/2/95

ference of international mediation should be clarified before such a process could be started.

The IFP insists mediation should be employed on the subject of a constitutional monarchy and the right to self-determination in KwaZulu/Natal.

Mandela told IFP voters in Zulu yesterday: "You elected these IFP representatives into Parliament ... because you were convinced that they are not cowards who would exit from these hallowed chambers at the slightest hint of a problem."

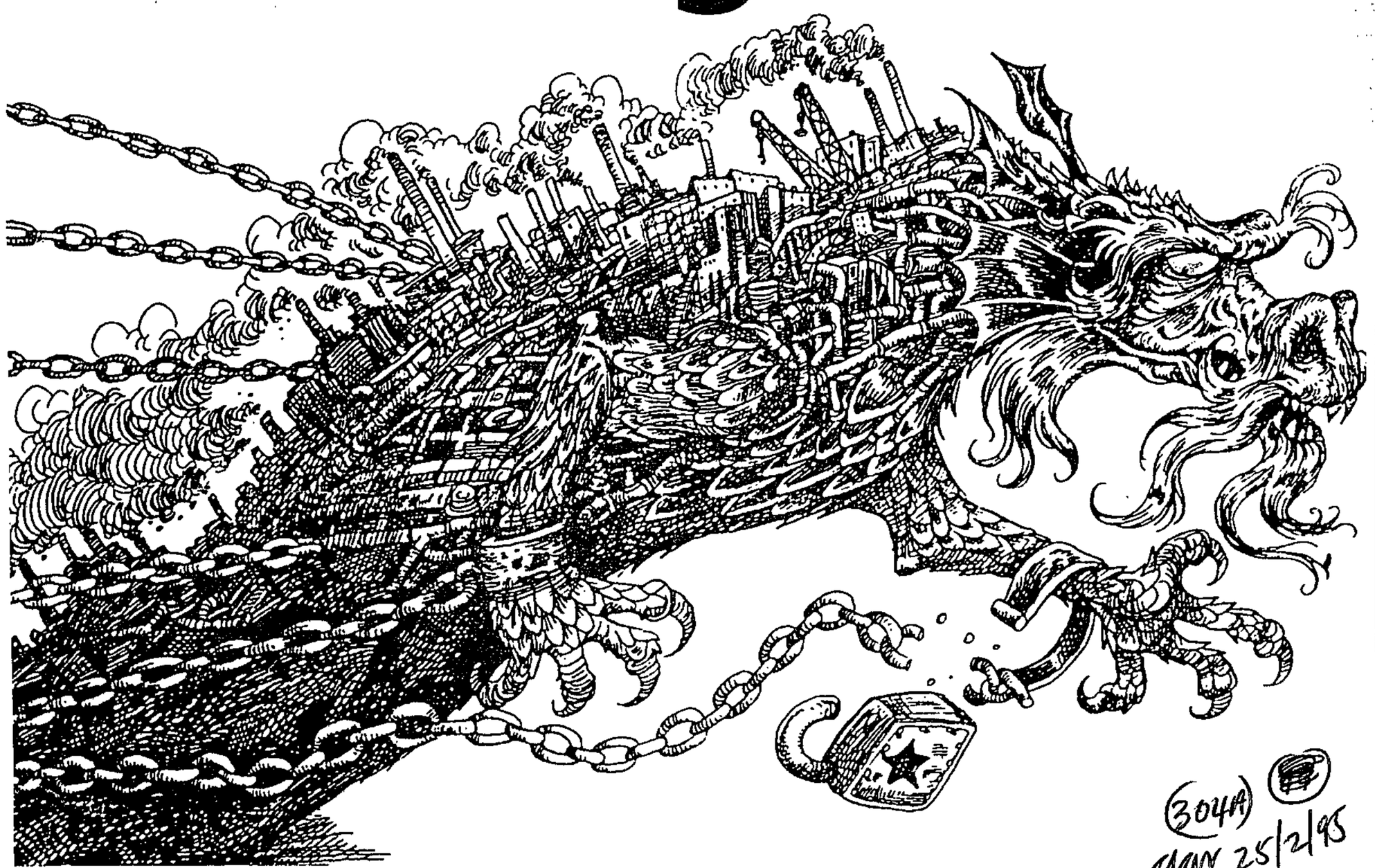
Buthelezi said it was "provocative in the extreme" to suggest IFP MPs were cowards.

"Our ancestors would hardly regard participation in debates in the House of Assembly as acts of valour befitting warriors," he said.

Taiwan is a major trading partner, China an old friend of the struggle. Pretoria must negotiate the tightrope

nter the dragons . . .

THE two Chinas 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.



(304A) STAR 25/2/95

WHEN representatives of a beleaguered white South African government first went to Beijing in the 1980s at the behest of then president P W Botha to open up long-closed trade routes, there was little doubt in Pretoria that links with mainland China's leaders would be welcomed.

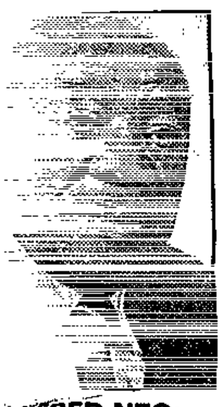
After all, China was, and still is, a valued partner in trade in certain items, such as nuclear materials (confirmed by both countries over the years) and minerals.

Also, as the world's most populous nation, the mainland government was beginning to realise that international economic co-operation was the key which would open up world markets. The result of that realisation has been the establishment of economic trade zones in many cities, particularly in the region around Hong Kong and Shanghai.

In their turn, Beijing reasoned, the arrival of the South African delegation seemed to signal an imminent turnabout in Pretoria's cosy relationship with the Republic of China (Taiwan).

Taiwan had long assisted South Africa to circumvent trade boycotts and other sanctions. Taiwan is now recognised as the one area in south-east Asia which could best be described as the hub of international imports to South Africa.

The diplomatic situation had for long been a thorn in the side of Beijing, which even now continues to regard Taiwan as a province of the People's Republic of China (PRC) — five decades after communism took over on the Asian mainland.



FRED NZO: ...ed by the East.

The Beijing visit gave the Taiwanese a real jolt, for it signalled a relook by Pretoria at relations with the Chinese as such.

There were, of course, no air or any other links with the mainland, and what business was conducted took place through middlemen in Hong Kong. There had for years been reports of clandestine visits by South African cabinet ministers to Beijing.

To divert Pretoria's attentions away from its rival, Taiwan immediately put in place a spectacularly successful and expensive programme to woo South Africa's then political leaders.

This resulted in increased trade and links in many fields, particularly air routes, business, military, scientific and agricultural. Even today, the volume of trade between the two countries makes South Africa the sixth largest partner for Taiwan.

The programme has never come to a halt . . .

By the end of January, 248 South African new parliamentarians — that's more than half of the National Assembly — have been wined and dined in Taipei and subjected to a barrage of information on why Taiwan is so important to South Africa.

The PRC, for its part, was during those early years actively wooed by the ANC and the PAC, then both waging a liberation war against the Pretoria regime — and desperate for international help in their bids to become the government of South Africa.

The PRC, the government of which had for years been sympathetic to other Africa causes, showed it was sympathetic to the South African liberation movements. It actively provided military training, weapons and other assistance for the struggle. It is this activity which has been central to the present diplomatic representation battle.

China's support for liberation meant, Beijing reasoned, that there would be an opportunity, if ever the ANC or PAC came to power, for China to be able to establish diplomatic relations with a friendly South Africa.

The Republic of China established itself on Formosa, now known as Taiwan, in the late 1940s after some titanic battles between opposing communist and nationalist forces.

Taiwan would, Beijing thought, have to accept the so-called American option — no diplomatic recognition but trade, cultural and educational links. Former United States presidents Richard Nixon and George Bush pushed for recognition of Taiwan, and in fact during Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo's visit to Taipei, Bush was another foreign visitor — his third to that country.

But until Nzo told journalists in Tokyo a few days ago that South Africa was poised to extend diplomatic recognition to the PRC, nothing much had happened in terms of relations — much to the thinly disguised astonishment of Beijing and the elation of the Taiwan government.

And there is no mistaking that the prize is huge.

On the one hand, there is a giant market waiting for South African entrepreneurs. On the other, there is the whole of Africa, as well as influence in the Indian Ocean, for a go-ahead Chinese government in the post-Hong Kong years of the early 21st century.

Recognition by a new South Africa will definitely win friends for the PRC in the important Indian Ocean Rim trading bloc. This bloc — the African seaboard, India, Pakistan, western Australia, huge chunks of south-east Asia — is home to a quarter of the world's population. When one considers that the neighbouring Pacific Ocean Rim — comprising an area which includes the western United States and Canada, the west coast of South America, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and parts of south-east Asia — has another quarter, the resultant buying power of what amounts to half of humanity is enough to make a Chinese abacus overheat.

But, meanwhile, Beijing has had to watch cash-rich Taiwan (at $110 billion it has the largest foreign reserves of any country) provide, and promise, billions of rands in aid to the new ANC-dominated Government of National Unity.

Its rival, in its efforts to turn the SA Government away from Taipei, has sent junior government ministers, trade delegation after trade delegation to Johannesburg and Pretoria, mounted substantial commercial fairs in both cities; opened joint ventures with SA companies; and seen to it that cultural exchanges took place. Tourism from South Africa is actively encouraged.

The result up until now has come to naught, and the long-sought diplomatic relations amounted to "cultural centre" level (this was achieved during the De Klerk government period), and a redoubling of efforts to establish relations at ambassadorial level since the Mandela government took power.

It is known that mainland envoys based in Pretoria and Beijing have made strenuous efforts to convince the new cabinet ministers — particularly those who turned to the PRC in their hour of need when liberation looked a vague prospect — that Beijing is, in the long run, a better bet diplomatically than Taipei could ever be.

A few senior ANC officials also visited Beijing in the months leading up to last year's general election.

Taiwan's Department of Foreign Affairs' director of African affairs Du Ling says South Africa is still making up its mind about not only continued recognition of his country, but also regarding links with other countries.

Du admitted during an interview in his Taipei office that Nzo, recently on a low-key official visit to Taiwan, had been noncommittal about relations between the two countries, and Du even quoted him as saying that "at the moment the relationship is firm".

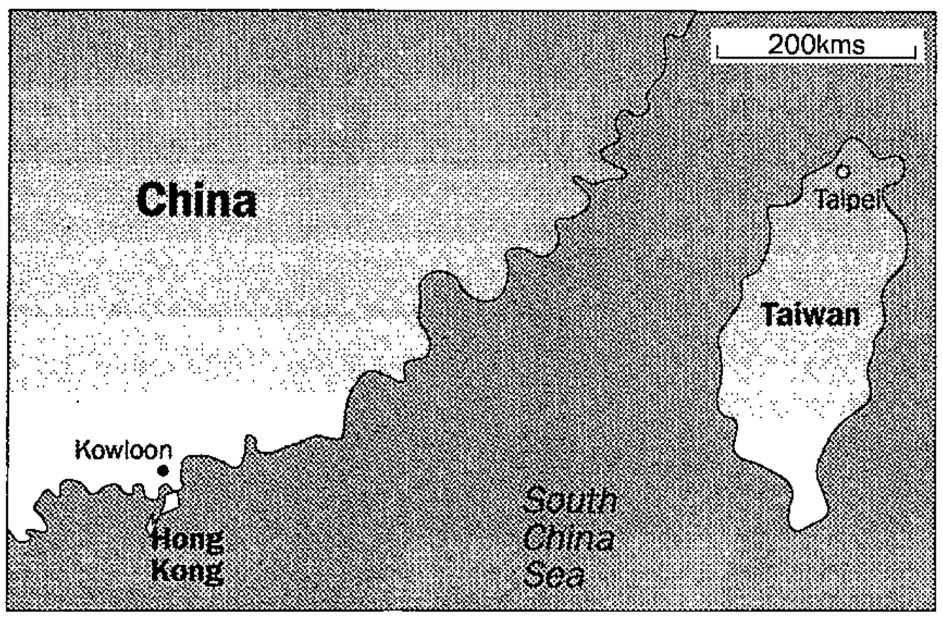
The recent announcement by Nzo is the first in Pretoria's efforts to rationalise relations with the two Chinas, and it is widely held in capitals such as Singapore, Hong Kong and Tokyo that South Africa is in the process of switching its gaze to across the China Sea, and at the same time performing a juggling act to see just how far it can accommodate both Taipei and Beijing.

Taiwan has diplomatic relations with eight African countries — South Africa, Nigeria, Niger, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Malawi, Guinea Bissau and Swaziland — and missions in countries such as Mauritius, Zaire, Libya and Madagascar. Kenya has agreed in principle to a trade mission.

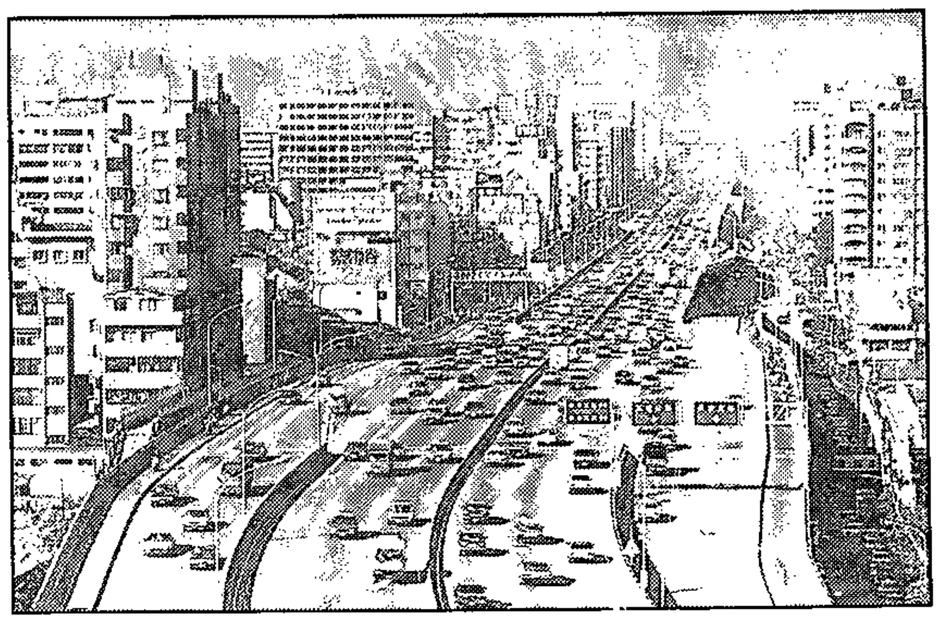
Beijing is looking at various ways to offset the first R1,1 billion aid package to South Africa from Taiwan with the emphasis on development aid in tune with the RDP.

This form of aid is something the PRC has also tried to master over the years, and it believes its expertise will eventually win the day. But it has had some spectacular failures, such as sending useless equipment to parched African lands; building a railway line through Tanzania, for which parts and other equipment are not available; and having a see-saw diplomatic effort which has seen Beijing recognised, then unrecognised in a number of black countries.

Lesotho was a classic example — one day, Beijing diplomats were allowed, the next they had been thrown out, and then were allowed back. Both Chinas have at one time or another occupied the Chinese-style diplomatic residence in Maseru.



HOW TO WIN FRIENDS: The two Chinas are economic giants in their own right.



ECONOMIC MIRACLE: Cash-rich Taiwan, at $110 billion, has the largest foreign reserves of any country.

Winnie faces day of reckoning this week

(30419)

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 rescued 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 actor Omar Sharif in defiance of an executive ruling.

ST 26/2/95

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

(304A)

ST 26/2/95

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.

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

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 8am 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 reneging 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 lawlessness, 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.

● See Page 24

Fortifying the laager?

'Inkatha walkout a ploy to get stronger grip on KwaNatal'

304A

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 question Mandela as the country's accepted leader.

Besides, it was believed Inkatha was not entirely united 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.

CP 26/2/95

Fears

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 he found it 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 fulfil their obligations.

POWER PLOY? . . . Mangosuthu Buthelezi week.

Winnie's head on the block today

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE and TAMMY MBENGO

(304A) CP 26/2/95

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

■ To Page 2

Winnie to go?

CP 26/2/95

(304A)

■ From Page 1

corruption in government ministries, the Winnie Mandela saga and a host of other issues within the organisation.

The meeting, which ends today, was held behind closed doors.

It is believed that those who are likely to get the chop after deliberations include ANC MP Peter Mokaba and Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture Winnie Mandela.

An ANC insider said Winnie – who is on an overseas trip – is likely to be fired on her return. – SaFrika News.

Outside help could clear up constitutional confusion

(304A)

Star 27/2/95

IFP senator Dr Ruth Rabinowitz justifies her party's insistence on international mediation

What is the link between the pre-election negotiations deadlock, 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 NP 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 is demanding that the chiefs (amakhosi) 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 naivete 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 verses federal) is locked in conflict 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 foolhardiness, and rulers prevented from abusing power.

NEWS

Contingency plans in case of violence after walkout

IFP: Mandela stands firm

Star 27/2/95

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL EDITOR

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 eventuality".

Although the president agreed to an unsuccessful two-hour-long meeting with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Deputy President and NP leader F W 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 trilateral 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 Africa'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 trilateral meeting in Pretoria on April 19, leaders F W 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 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 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 1993 (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

(304A)

ARG 27/2/95

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 SA/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 persisten 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'

CT 27/2/95 (304A)

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 Azanian election in which the Azanian 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

(304A) CT 27/2/95

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

CT 27/2/95

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC's national executive committee (NEC) yesterday set up a tough new disciplinary body to probe breaches of the party's constitution and codes of conduct following several controversies involving top party members.

Emerging from a two-day session at the University of the Western Cape, the party's top policy-making body ordered all members of its feuding Women's League "without exception" to hold an urgent meeting to resolve differences.

The NEC also rescinded an earlier decision that Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing be made a special adviser to the premier of the North-West Province, Mr Popo Molefe. Mr Malebane-Metsing's case has been referred to the disciplinary committee for its "immediate attention".

The setting up of the disciplinary body follows controversies involving top ANC members including Mrs Winnie Mandela, Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing.

Although an NEC statement did not name Mrs Mandela — at the centre of rows involving the league and her conduct as a deputy minister — it warned that anyone absent from the league meeting (including the 11 who resigned) or who failed to "co-operate" would be "penalised".

NEC spokesman Senator Jackson Mthembu said his party would not be "frog-marched by the media to do a witch-hunt on our own comrades — we will also protect members against unfair accusations".

He emphasised that the committee was not a response to media pressure but a "very transparent mechanism" to enable members to "make their side known instead of relying of press reports".

The disciplinary committee will be chaired by Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Professor Kader Asmal.

Its other members are Dr Nkosazana Zuma, Mr Alec Erwin, Ms Ruth Mompati, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Dr Zola Skweyiya.

It could also be expanded to include non-NEC members of the ANC.

"The role of the committee includes investigating any activity or conduct by members in breach of the ANC constitution and codes of conduct," a statement said.

WINNIE'S FUTURE IN THE BALANCE

– PAGE 2

No decision had been taken on whether hearings would be open to the media.

The committee could conduct hearings, make findings and apply appropriate penalties where necessary in terms of the ANC constitution.

"The committee has been charged with conducting hearings in regard to a number of current allegations against some ANC members.

"The committee has been instructed to report back to the National Working Committee for decisions on these questions by a date to be set by the NWC."

The NEC said it was also essential that steps be taken to improve ethical conduct in all spheres of society, including the private sector.

Turning to the Inkatha Freedom Party walkout from Parliament last week, the NEC said: "This kind of brinkmanship is not calculated to present a positive picture internally and externally of growing national stability in South Africa."

President Nelson Mandela yesterday flew to Pretoria 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 surprise withdrawal from Parliament last week.

Mr Mandela, who had earlier attended the NEC meeting in Cape Town, flew back to Gauteng yesterday afternoon for top-level talks with his political lieutenants and top security generals to make contingency plans to deal with "any eventuality".

Although the president agreed to an unsuccessful two-hour-long meeting with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Deputy President and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk in Cape Town on Friday afternoon, he is understood to be impatient with what he considers to be the IFP's "dangerous brinkmanship and holding of the country to ransom".

Reliable government sources said yesterday Mr Mandela does not consider the IFP walkout as a crisis. "He does not think that it needs to pre-occupy the minds of South Africans," said one source.

However, Mr Mandela is understood to be concerned about the possibility of a deteriorating security situation in the country, hence his meeting with "securocrats" in Pretoria today. (304A)

Winnie's future in balance

(3044)

CT 27/2/95

Political Staff

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.

"On 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.

SA grabs spotlight at film fest

OUAGADOUGOU. — SA's participation for the first time at the Pan African Film and Television Festival (Fespaco) 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 Mahlathini and the Mahotela Queens, both from SA, were two of the three musical acts.

The opening film, Jemina and John, was by the South African director Lionel N'Gakane.

Eight SA features, including Ian Kerkhof's Confessions of a Yeoville Rapist, will be shown at the festival, which ends on March 4. — Sapa-AFP

Tokyo tackles 3rd wave tactics

(304A) (~~216~~) Star 27/2/95

■ 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

(304A) Star 28/2/95

■ 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 Themba 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.

"The ball is now in President Mandela's court and he has four days left to give our people a good reason for us to stay in the government," said IFP MP Velaphi Ndlovu.

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

ARG 28/2/95 (304A)

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.

WOMEN IN THE NEWS

WINNIE MANDELA: Flying home early.

Winnie cuts short her African safari

(304A)

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 to have stayed for two weeks.

Mrs Mandela will now return on March 6 instead of March 10, her spokesman Alan Reynolds said yesterday.

ARG 28/2/95

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 DE KLERK: Claims bitterness.

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

(304A) Sowetan 28/2/95

CONSTITUTIONAL Assembly events for the public should be better organised to ensure maximum participation, Theme Committee Two 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 Essop Pahad 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 Klerksdorp, but only about 75 people turned up, Mr Andries 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 Bloemfontein, Free State, had only three passengers, Mrs Beatrice Marshoff (ANC) said.

The National Party withdrew a formal objection to a CA media advertisement being in English only when it was pointed out to them 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 implored the CA also to use Setswana — a dominant language in the North West province where he comes from. — *Sapa*.

NEWS

Royals in Gauteng for only two days

■ STAFF REPORTER (304A)

Johannesburg will not see much of Queen Elizabeth II during her South African visit from March 19 to 26.

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. Star 28/2/95

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 Sexwale in Midrand.

The royal party continues to Pretoria en route to the presidential guest house, where they will stay on March 23 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 Msimang — will sail from Simon's Town to Cape Town, where they are to be met by President Mandela.

Bits of bicycles used as shrapnel

Accused tells how he made bombs

Star 28/2/95

■ 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 Anfax 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 jun 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 Waterval shooting range early on the morning of April 27. Soon thereafter 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.

B. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1995

MARCH — APRIL

Binational commission launched

'New era in USA-SA relations'

304A
STAR 1/3/95

BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

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-mont' 'y under Gore and Mbek: . ately 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.

Police raid Winnie's home, offices

Searches linked to corruption, fraud claims

The Argus Correspondent

ARG 1/3/95

(304A)

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 heading the investigation into the activites 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 Johannesburg. 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 Klerkshood near Rosslyn, Lombardy's Restaurant in the Willows, Lynwood 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 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 $100 000 (about R360 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 Womens' 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".

He said the investigating team was assembled last week on orders "from the top" after he had approached the commissioner with information relating to alleged fraudulent deals between CAPP and Professional Builders.

● Mrs Mandela's private secretary, Alan Reynolds, said from Mrs Mandela's Cape Town ministerial office that he was not aware of the police search.

"I don't know anything about it," he said.

Police had not visited the Cape Town office.

Mr Reynolds confirmed that Mrs Mandela was due back in South Africa on Monday after visiting Ghana, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso. She is attending the Pan-African Film and Television Festival in Burkina Faso.

President Mandela expected to sack his estranged wife

Winnie flies l

(304A) 2/3/95

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 auditors 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 senior police sources said detectives would soon be heading for areas outside Gauteng to continue their investigations. One possible destination was Mmabatho.

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 barring police from removing documents from her Orlando house, 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 Fivaz 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-Gener-

▶ To Page 3

No entry . . . police guard the premises of Winnie Mandela's Orlando West home while their colleagues search the house yesterday. PICTURE: ANTON HAMMERL

ANGRY deputy minister cuts sl West African tr after police raid her home

■ BY PATRICK BULGE and MONDLI MAKI

Cape Town — An "c Winnie Mandela is home today to deal surprise raid at her West, Soweto, home y and the premises of s ganisations with whic connections.

Members of her fa confirmed to The Sta is returning early f tour of West Africa.

She was expected at Jan Smuts Airp morning on an Air flight from either Al Nairobi, and sources her said she would straight to her home a her ministerial office toria or Cape Town.

The embattled Arts Science and Technolo ty Minister said in a from Abidjan that sl cut short her official return home to deal issues which ha arisen".

She said the allege police have made ag leave her "astounded speakably angry".

Her lawyer, Templ geza, told The Star: fore in South Africa minister or deputy been treated like this.

The Star was rel formed yesterday th dent Mandela will di estranged wife from

conduct conformed with

Paper chase to continue

(304A) (259)

◀ From Page 1

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 (Hlongwane) 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

Winnie faces axing

CT 2/3/95 (304A)

Trip cut short after police raids

MRS Winnie Mandela is to be axed from her position as deputy minister as soon as she returns from West Africa, ANC sources said last night.

Mrs Mandela is believed to have decided to cut short her trip. Her lawyer Mr Nomhle Malefane said last night that although she had been scheduled to remain in West Africa until March 6, she had decided to return yesterday.

RETURNING ... Winnie Mandela

It is understood that the decision to remove her from her post was taken before she left for her unauthorised visit to West Africa, and before yesterday's raid on her house and nine other offices.

Sources close to the President said yesterday Mr Mandela had been fully briefed shortly before Mrs Mandela's trip about the police investigation that culminated in yesterday's raids. He was not, however, briefed before the raids.

"If she hadn't gone to West Africa, she would have been dismissed last week," the source said.

Mr Mandela apparently told the police at the briefing he would do nothing to stand in the way of the investigation and that the law would have to take its course.

Last night a defiant Mrs Mandela expressed surprise and outrage following the raid on her Soweto home, and said: "I will survive".

"The allegations the police have made against me leave me astounded and unspeakably angry. I find myself back where I was before 1990. I survived those times and I will survive these times as well with the support of my people," she said.

The statement was read at a hastily-called press briefing at the SA embassy in Abidjan after Mrs Mandela had spent most of the day holed up at the posh Hotel Ivoire.

Mrs Mandela claimed the police "used their own keys to unlock the doors" of her house in Soweto.

"They did not contact my daughters and they searched the house in the absence of any family member or legal representative," it said.

Mrs Mandela also repudiated claims that she had made her controversial trip to West Africa without the permission of her estranged husband.

She brought an urgent interdict yesterday to prevent the search of her home, and police were prevented from removing documents from her home pending a Supreme Court decision.

The interdict application will be heard today.

Presidential spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana said last night the President and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki wanted to see Mrs Mandela when she returned from her trip and when Mr Mbeki returned from Brussels.

The developments come after police alleged yesterday that Mrs 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.

The police raided 12 locations around Gauteng, including Mrs Mandela's home in Orlando, Soweto. It is understood the raids were approved by police chief Commissioner George Fivaz.

More raids are expected around the country. No one has yet been arrested in connection with the investigation, but police intend handing their docket over to the Transvaal attorney-general's office for a decision on prosecution.

Police spokesman Captain Dave Harrington claimed the Co-Ordinated Anti-Poverty Project (Capp) — of which Mrs Mandela is chief executive officer — made use of a Pretoria-based company called Professional Builders (Pty) Ltd for low-cost housing construction.

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 approve tenders.

Controlling shares

They also alleged that other building contractors were not given the opportunity to tender. "It is further alleged that Ms Zinzi Mandela (her daughter) was to receive 50% shares in Professional Builders, with Mrs Mandela's personal physician getting a number of shares, giving Mrs Mandela, via these two proxies, control over Professional Builders," the Commercial Crime Unit claimed.

"It is also alleged that Mrs Mandela was to receive R32 000 per month once the project was allocated," police said.

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 scams, but he put it at "millions of rands".

He said police were also investigating the destination of $100 000 (about R350 000) given to Capp through Mrs Mandela from the Pakistani government last year.

About 10 policemen raided the Capp offices, while more than 30 policemen swooped on Mrs Mandela's Soweto home.

According to police, Mrs Mandela had close ties to Professional Builders' director Mr Vic Daniels. Mr Daniels' home, as well as those of fellow director Mr J J Daniels and Capp director Dr Sydney Gata, were also raided yesterday.

Mrs Mandela's links with another Pretoria businessman, Mr Martin Radloff, are also being investigated. Mr Radloff was also a director of Professional Builders and is presently facing charges of fraud.

In reaction to the raids, the ANC 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 National Party called for Mrs Mandela's suspension pending the outcome of the police investigation against her. — Special Correspondent, Sapa

RAIDED ... A police officer walks along an outer wall at the Soweto residence of Mrs Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of President Nelson Mandela, yesterday. The police raided her home and various offices where she works during an investigation into allegations of bribe-taking. Picture: AP

Winnie showdown

MANDELA REACTS

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela today said a statement on the political future of his estranged wife, Winnie, was not imminent.

He told journalists at Tuynhuys he could not act merely on allegations, but could if they were proved.

He said yesterday's raids on Mrs Mandela's house and offices were a matter between the deputy minister and the police. It would be improper for him to interfere.

"I would not even interfere if the police raided my own house in the course of a legitimate inquiry."

Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki, due home on March 6, would deal with the situation, he said.

■ More reports, pictures pages 2 and 3

(304A) ARG 2/3/95

Political Staff

THREE advocates and an auditor will scrutinise documents seized in the Winnie Mandela corruption probe and more police raids are imminent.

As the police investigation proceeded today, a furious Mrs Mandela cut short her West African tour and caught a late night flight from Abidjan to Johannesburg to face the biggest crisis of her public career.

While she was airborne her lawyers were due to proceed with a Supreme Court action to challenge the validity of search warrants used in the raids on her Soweto home and 11 other locations.

Police said today that the attorney-general had seconded three advocates to the investigation task force to scrutinise the seized documents and that tenders would be called for a private sector auditor to join the investigation.

But, they said, Mrs Mandela would not be questioned or arrested when she landed in Johannesburg later today, accompanied by her lawyer, Nomhle Malefane, and officials of the department of arts, culture, science and technology, of which she is deputy minister.

It would be "at least six weeks" before police would be in a position to question

ANC REACTION

"We are terribly disturbed by the allegations levelled against Mrs Mandela but the issue is a police matter at this stage. The ANC will monitor the police investigations and will also discuss the allegations within its constitutional structures."

NAT REACTION

"So far, Mrs Mandela has time and again emerged victorious after challenging President Nelson Mandela. She (has) succeeded in creating the impression that she was untouchable."

DP REACTION

"Mrs Mandela is becoming

But, they said, Mrs Mandela would not be questioned or arrested when she landed in Johannesburg later today, accompanied by her lawyer, Nomhle Malefane, and officials of the department of arts, culture, science and technology, of which she is deputy minister.

It would be "at least six weeks" before police would be in a position to question her, a spokesman said.

Meanwhile, by agreement with her lawyers, the seized documents were placed in the custody of a magistrate pending the outcome of the Supreme Court action.

According to sources close to President Mandela, she is to be suspended or dismissed soon after her return.

Senior government officials said today that Mr Mandela had been fully briefed about the police investigation that culminated in dramatic raids on his estranged wife's home in Orlando West, Soweto and offices in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was given the briefing shortly before she left for West Africa late last week, but he was not told beforehand of yesterday's police raids.

On being briefed on the police investigation, the president had said he would do nothing to stand in the way of the investigation and that the law would have to take its course, the source said.

"If she hadn't gone to West Africa, she would have been dismissed last week already. She will be dismissed when she returns," the source said.

Mrs Mandela has been embroiled in controversy before and since her appointment, which was widely perceived as an attempt to restrain her, given her much-vaunted grassroots support and the potential threat she could pose to a government in the process of social upliftment.

At a briefing after yesterday's fortnightly cabinet meeting, cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel and presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said the raids had not been discussed.

Professor Gerwel said he was told of the raids during the morning and that he had conveyed the news to Mr Mandela.

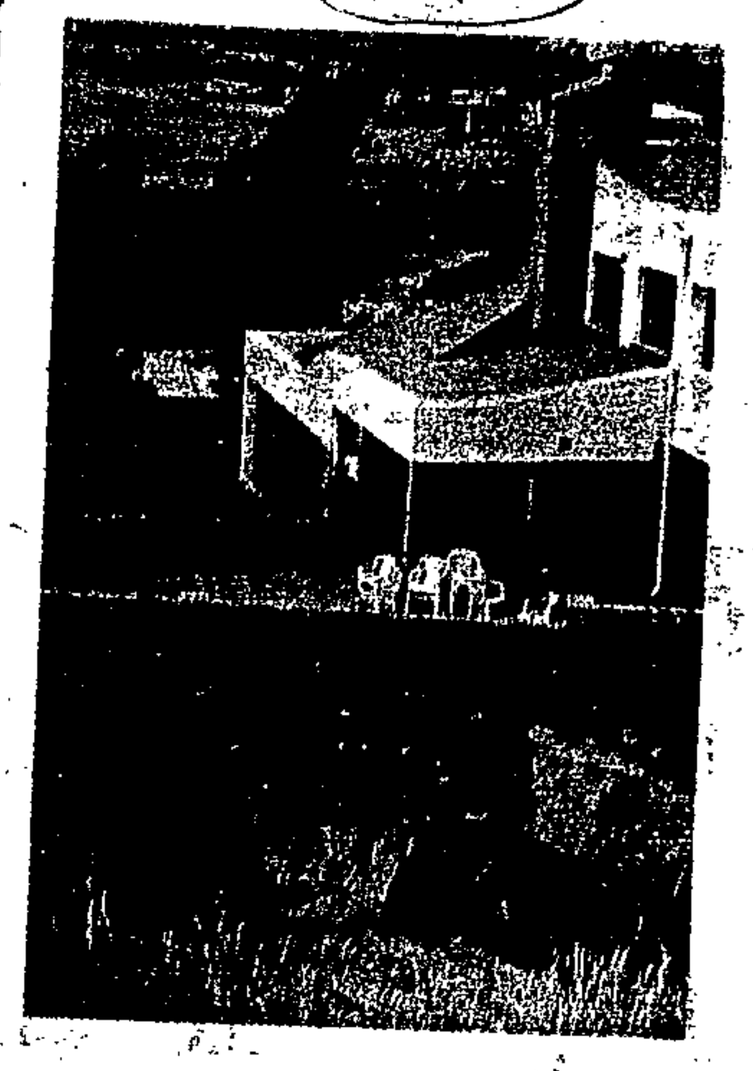
"This was news to the president," he said, adding that the government was waiting for a full report on the matter.

creating the impression that she was untouchable."

DP REACTION

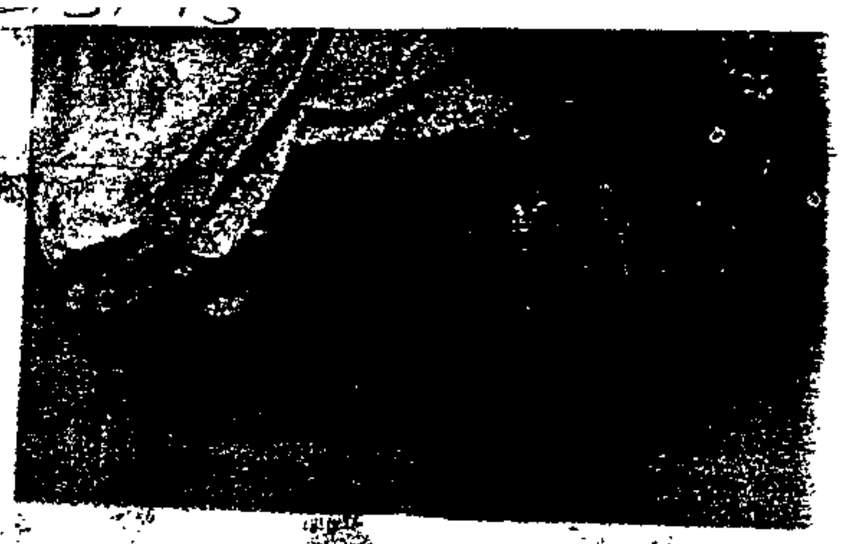
"Mrs Mandela is becoming a liability and political embarrassment. The president must act now and fire or suspend her until the investigation is over."

(304 A)



WINNIE'S HOUSE RAIDED: Police keep guard outside Winnie Mandela's Orlando home while investigators search the premises.

Approached for comment about The Argus's information regarding Mrs Mandela's dismissal, senior presidential spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said the president was studying the matter.



FACING THE PRESS: Winnie Mandela and her lawyer speak to reporters in Abidjan.

Mr Mankahlana 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.

"That they would love to have a chat with her is certainly the case," said Mr Mankahlana.

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 investigations prove to be correct."

An ANC national executive committee member said there was a growing feeling in the organisation that finality should be brought to "the Winnie Mandela soapie".

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 one on one and saying that you cannot have one person dragging the ANC's name through dirt every week like she does.

"She must be dealt with soon and even 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 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 time indicating that no South African was above the law.

"So far, Mrs Mandela has time and again emerged victorious after challenging the president. She (has) succeeded in creating the impression that she was untouchable," 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 was over.

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 travelling in his 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 bankers and life assurers. But Old Mutual confirmed that Barings held a small proportion of its £600 million (about R3 000 million) Guernsey-based unit trust and that the fate of this money was unknown.

Nick Leeson

Old Mutual's South African unit trust and policyholders are unaffected. — Reuter.

● See page 23.

WINNIE MANDELA

(304A)

Final straws

FM 3/3/95

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."

Mandela

Mbeki

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

(304A) (HR)

CT 3/3/95

Political Staff

THE ANC has sent conciliatory signals to the Inkatha Freedom Party urging it not to withdraw from the government of national unity for the sake of reconciliation and the drive for peace.

President Nelson Mandela said yesterday he hoped Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would show his leadership by persuading delegates to this weekend's Inkatha conference in Ulundi to opt for the negotiation option.

Inkatha has to decide this weekend on its future options after Chief Buthelezi withdrew his 43 MPs and five senators from Parliament last week over the government's failure to carry out its commitment to international mediation.

Emphasising that the ANC remained committed to carrying out the mediation agreement signed by the NP, IFP and ANC last April, Mr Mandela said he regarded Chief Buthelezi, his Home Affairs Minister, as an important part of the political process.

Although disagreements over the terms of reference of the mediation remained, it was premature for the IFP to take any drastic steps while other channels of resolution were still open to it. "My door is open," he said.

Mandela appeals to Buthelezi

Mr Mandela said he did not question Chief Buthelezi's integrity when he said 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

(304A) WM 3-9/03/95

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 and office 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 ascendancy 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, it was Mbeki who 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 Welsh, "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 Youth League — whose representative Lulu Johnson this week condemned the police raid and

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■ From PAGE 3

expressed support for Winnie Mandela — is now a "hollow shell", he said. It has been further weakened by the controversy surrounding former ANCYL president Peter Mokaba's National Tourism Forum.

At the time of the elections, and even during the ANC's congress in December last year, the youth league was considered a powerful lobby, but it is now clear that it has no substantial organisational support.

He said much of Winnie Mandela's populist support was underpinned by a patronage network that depended on her ability to disburse discretionary funds of the type provided by Pakistan prime minister Benazhir Bhutto. Without these funds, this network of supporters is likely to wither.

Mbeki's role will be crucial in determining which way the pendulum swings. His line is known to have been that populists should be kept in the fold until their constituencies are won over. This is clearly a line that serves his own interests as well as the party's. It gives his traditional allies some breathing space and allows him to call in favours when needed. But signs are that Mbeki is running out of space to use this tactic.

The ANC source said the balance of forces is unclear. In the absence of charismatic militant leaders like the late Chris Hani and strong structures within the "tripartite alliance" (the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu), there is space for demagogy at a time when the Government of National Unity is promoting restraint and urging people to pay rent and services charges so that it can get on with the business of reconstruction.

"There is space for a populist highlighting of grievances by a hungry black elite that has its own personal agenda." The most vociferous support of this nature is likely to come from disadvantaged communities — such as the Phola Park squatter settlement — where Winnie Mandela's NGO, the Coordinated Anti-Poverty Programme (Capp) disbursed funds.

Speaker must resign — NP

(304A)

By BARRY STREEK, Political Staff

THE apology yesterday by the Speaker, Dr Frene 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 Coetzer, Mr Andries Beyers and Dr Willem Odendaal — also walked out of Parliament during her speech welcoming Mozambican president Mr Joachim 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 apologise for the terrible crimes."

CT 2/3/95

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 accepted 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."

POLITICAL UPROAR . . .
Frene Ginwale

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. (3049)

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 restricted by an earlier government probe into the costs of having Cape Town as the legislative capital and Pretoria as the administrative capital. CT 16/3/95

BUDGET BRIEFS

Constitution a costly exercise

(304A)

CT 16/3/95

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, R13,3m for "stores and livestock", R2,m 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 R307,1m. 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. CT 16/3/95

Altogether R5,3m has also been made available for the Volkstaat Council, an increase of R1,7m 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. (304A)

Visit important to black majority – commissioner

GARNER THOMPSON (304A)
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. ARG 16/3/95

Overtly, 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, cordons 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

ARG 16/3/95 (304A)

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 co-operation 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.

(ii) members of the South African National Defence Force and (iii) councillors or other elected office-bearers?

N24E

The MINISTER FOR SAFETY AND SECURITY:

(a) January 1992 to December 1992—2 115
January 1993 to December 1993—1 595
January 1994 to December 1994—1 297

(Statistics of the former TBVC states and self-governing territories are not available).

(b) (i) No statistics are available.

(ii) No statistics are available.

(iii) January 1992 to December 1992—61
January 1993 to December 1993—77
January 1994 to December 1994—29

(Statistics of the former TBVC states and self-governing territories are not available)

Offences reported in the Kempton Park police district

15. Dr M S APPELGRYN asked the Minister for Safety and Security:

(a) How many cases of (a) murder, (b) culpable homicide, (c) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, (d) common assault, (e) rape, (f) robbery, (g) theft of vehicles and cycles, (h) damage to property, (i) housebreaking with intent to steal and theft and (j) possession of drugs were reported at each specified police station in the Kempton Park police district in 1994?

N25E

The MINISTER FOR SAFETY AND SECURITY:

(Comment: Statistics are only available up until November 1994)

Station: Boksburg		Station: Boksburg North	
(a)	54	(a)	14
(b)	49	(b)	30
(c)	450	(c)	99
(d)	531	(d)	308
(e)	83	(e)	21
(f)	575	(f)	214
(g)	754	(g)	877
(h)	305	(h)	244
(i)	1 373	(i)	904
(j)	51	(j)	15

Station: Kempton Park		Station: Olifantsfontein	
(a)	21	(a)	7
(b)	38	(b)	13
(c)	175	(c)	34
(d)	511	(d)	63
(e)	55	(e)	18
(f)	686	(f)	225
(g)	1 236	(g)	77
(h)	353	(h)	43
(i)	1 307	(i)	217
(j)	34	(j)	11

Station: Tembisa		Station: Jan Smuts Airport	
(a)	188	(a)	0
(b)	50	(b)	1
(c)	571	(c)	12
(d)	359	(d)	65
(e)	203	(e)	5
(f)	1 057	(f)	31
(g)	207	(g)	388
(h)	247	(h)	69
(i)	315	(i)	44
(j)	9	(j)	6

Station: Norkem Park (previously Birchleigh North)		Station: Modderfontein	
(a)	18	(a)	5
(b)	17	(b)	3
(c)	72	(c)	36
(d)	247	(d)	117
(e)	29	(e)	9
(f)	349	(f)	86
(g)	608	(g)	238
(h)	159	(h)	67
(i)	1 143	(i)	468
(j)	18	(j)	4

Station: Reigerpark		Station: Edenvale	
(a)	29	(a)	8
(b)	5	(b)	21
(c)	249	(c)	62
(d)	278	(d)	207
(e)	38	(e)	15
(f)	71	(f)	304
(g)	63	(g)	826
(h)	179	(h)	169
(i)	139	(i)	1 138
(j)	6	(j)	8

Compulsory liquidation of companies

17. Mr T C NTSIZI asked the Minister of Justice:

How many companies were placed under compulsory liquidation in the area of each Master of the Supreme Court in (a) 1993 and (b) 1994?

N34E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a)	Bloemfontein	22
	Grahamstown	49
	Kimberley	9
	Cape Town	219
	Pietermaritzburg	133
	Pretoria	601
	Umtata	13
	Mmabatho	38
	Thohoyandou	0
	Bisho	12
(b)	Bloemfontein	31
	Grahamstown	60
	Kimberley	3
	Cape Town	386
	Pietermaritzburg	125
	Pretoria	768
	Umtata	7
	Mmabatho	27
	Thohoyandou	1
	Bisho	15

Immigrants allowed entry into South Africa

26. Mr F J VAN DEVENTER asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many (a) White and (b) other than White immigrants were allowed entry into South Africa in (i) 1992, (ii) 1993 and (iii) 1994?

N16E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

No statistics based on the race of immigrants are kept by the Department of Home Affairs.

Amount received from sale of petrol/dieseline in the Republic

28. Dr F P JACOBSZ asked the Minister of Finance:

What total amount did the State receive from the sale of (a) petrol and (b) dieseline in the Republic in (i) 1991, (ii) 1992, (iii) 1993 and (iv) 1994?

N18E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

	(a) Petrol Rm	(b) Dieseline (Diesel oil) Rm
(i) 1991	R3 363	R2 178
(ii) 1992	R4 815	R2 269
(iii) 1993	R5 404	R2 381
(iv) 1994	R5 826	R2 704

SA embassies abroad: cost to State (304A)

37. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: HANSARD 15/3/95

(a) What was the cost of the State of each specified South African embassy abroad and (b) what amount was spent by each such embassy on entertainment in respect of the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available?

N57E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Please refer to the attached report which outlines (a) the total cost to the State (budget) of all missions for the financial year 1994/95 and (b) the amounts spent by each mission during the past 12 months on departmental entertainment.

Mission	1994/95 Spending Departemental Entertainment	Total Budget for 1994/95
Abidjan	102,483	8,248,974
Addis Ababa	72	11,665,716
Amman	14,253	6,495,538
Ankara	74,048	5,714,338
Antananarivo	28,187	2,953,332
Asuncion	45,366	3,026,067
Athens	109,136	5,914,464
Bangkok	31,828	3,553,425
Beijing	62,962	7,432,178
Berlin	43,410	6,330,479
Bern	119,413	10,050,402
Beverly Hills	88,908	6,870,997
Bisho	12,040	2,623,679
Bombay	8,138	10,607,345
Bonn	253,316	15,984,372
Brasilia	98,871	7,088,564
Bratislawa	42,784	2,969,722
Brussels EMB	144,056	11,388,756

Brussels EU	147,627	7,264,964
Bucharest	31,264	4,320,252
Budapest	74,788	5,912,888
Buenos Aires	88,966	8,388,120
Cairo	57,959	11,111,643
Canberra	112,539	5,578,539
Chicago	110,962	7,052,836
Copenhagen	84,680	5,498,136
Dakar	12,631	15,168,230
Frankfurt	129,436	6,267,297
Funchal	41,075	1,555,626
Gabarone	27,345	3,392,918
Geneva	171,578	15,260,616
Hamburg	84,197	5,283,098
Harare	10,411	2,813,781
Helsinki	95,962	5,218,891
Hong Kong	56,143	6,306,532
Islamabad	1,316	3,721,053
Istanbul	65,6[illegible]8	7,876,227
Karachi	15,0[illegible]2	2,912,580
Kiev	56,549	6,173,712
Kinshasa	27,9[illegible]9	4,092,121
Kuala Lumpur	32,2[illegible]	7,597,746
Lagos	60	358,842
Libreville	76,915	5,939,065
Lilongwe	32,707	2,692,361
Lisbon	125,809	6,116,611
London	393,636	30,423,128
Luanda	38,740	10,602,041
Lusaka	93,370	4,865,215
Madrid	45,650	6,561,218
Manama	15,141	3,295,252
Maputo	48,044	4,972,542
Marseilles	73,606	4,503,184
Maseru	17,500	3,066,479
Mbabane	22,710	2,971,105
Mexico City	29,704	6,550,597
Milan	54,004	4,968,542
Mmabatho	10,295	3,893,779
Montevideo	88,680	3,901,610
Montreal	45,806	3,593,481
Moroni	2,282	612,056
Moscow	160,552	11,224,163
Munich	93,414	6,927,510
Nairobi	126,974	4,053,854
New York CG	125,208	21,773,952
New York UN	156,572	8,029,454
New-Delhi	11,713	8,902,085
Oslo	80,219	6,204,988
Ottawa	109,817	6,487,981
Paris	480,498	19,931,053
Port Louis	48,508	2,695,453
Prague	61,439	3,958,429
Rabat	51,170	3,492,785
Rome	119,033	10,799,586
Santiago	38,605	7,344,511
Sao Paulo	97,963	3,602,822
Seoul	104,208	6,376,420
Singapore	101,303	7,661,315
Sofia	37,127	5,574,173
St Petersburg	77,371	3,478,009
Stockholm	57,460	3,599,098
Taipei	113,152	10,713,755
Tel Aviv	122,632	10,286,338
The Hague	118,234	9,349,020
Thohoyandou	20,364	3,378,744
Tokyo	204,593	18,547,592
Toronto	54,143	4,471,351
Tunis	41,687	5,078,635
Umtata	5,255	2,995,072
Vienna	98,883	12,523,785
Walvis Bay	16,055	1,865,785
Warsaw	57,759	4,432,346
Washington	207,723	24,301,056
Windhoek	32,140	3,327,022
Grand total	R7,229,899	R647,634,383

Note:

The amount shown as spent must be seen against the background of flunctuating exchange rates which causes the amount in Rand to be much higher than in foreign currency.

Telkom staff: complaints on failure to receive promotion

41. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister for Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 18 on 14 September 1994, any complaints relating to failure to receive promotion have been made by any Telkom staff members; if so, (a) what are the circumstances in each case and (b) what action has been taken as a result;

(2) what were the results of the intiative taken by the unions and management to find agreement in regard to a new promotion policy?

N68E

The MINISTER FOR POSTS, TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND BROADCASTING:

(1) Personnel matters ie appointments, transfers, performance appraisal and promotions are fully decentralised to divisional heads/regional general managers. Complaints in this regard that are received from personnel are thus dealt with at local level either through direct consultation or through the usual grievance or appeal procedure.

(a) The circumstances differ from case to case and it is not possible to furnish detail without knowing the specific information of complainants. We know of two cases which were brought to Head Office's attention that are being dealt with in the Eastern Cape Region in accordance with the prescribed procedures.

(b) Deliberations between the employees, their staff association representatives and local management are currently taking place. Only after completion of the process will it be known what steps were taken.

(2) A concensus agreement between Management and the respective staff association/unions could not be reached regarding the introduction of a revised promotion policy. Following the first round of negotiations, a revised framework document has been compiled which embodies various suggestions aimed at reconciling the affirmative action policy and the promotion system. Further negotiations in this regard with the staff representatives will take place during March 1995 to reach agreement on an acceptable policy.

Post Office: security contracts put to tender

42. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister for Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 1 on 16 November 1994, the Post Office puts any security contracts out to tender; if not; why not; if so, (a) how many such contracts were put to tender during the period 1 January 1995 up to the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) who were the successful tenderers in each case;

(2) whether any private security firms have been contracted in this regard without the requisite tender procedures being followed; if so, (a) in respect of which contracts, (b) which firms were awarded such contracts and (c) why were such contracts not put out to tender in each case;

(3) (a) what is the value of each security contract being carried out by private firms at present and (b) when (i) did each such contract commence and (ii) is each such contract scheduled to end?

N69E

The MINISTER FOR POSTS, TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND BROADCASTING:

The Chief Executive of the South African Post Office has informed me as follows:

General

Where applicable, the Post Office calls for tenders for security contracts on a closed selected basis. The reason for this being that security is a sensitive matter and only firms who are registered with the Security Officers Board are approached. As a result of specific requirements quotes are obtained from firms specialising in certain services. The Post Office has six regions throughout the country and cases of this nature are therefore handled on a decentralised basis. Since the same firms are not necessarily represented all over to the same extent, contractors vary from region to region. Each question is therefore handled per region

Central Provinces

(1) No.
(a) and (b): There is no requirement for these contracts in this region.

(2) No.
(a), (b) and (c): Not applicable.

(3) Not applicable.

Western Cape

(1) As a result of an armed robbery R2,1 million quotes only were obtained due to the urgency of the matter. Four quotes were received and two firms appointed.

(a) Yes—one contractor.

(b) Coin Security.

(2) (a) Transport of pension moneys and daily bank deposit/withdrawal services.

(b) Fidelity Guards and Coin Security.

(c) Urgency to appoint a specialist company, made normal obtaining of ten-

Embassies' R13-m slice

Sowetan 14/3/95

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, Mmabatho and Bisho had been allocated "entertainment" allowances totalling R12,89m (304A)

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

(304A) ARG 14/3/95

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 province's 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 as 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.

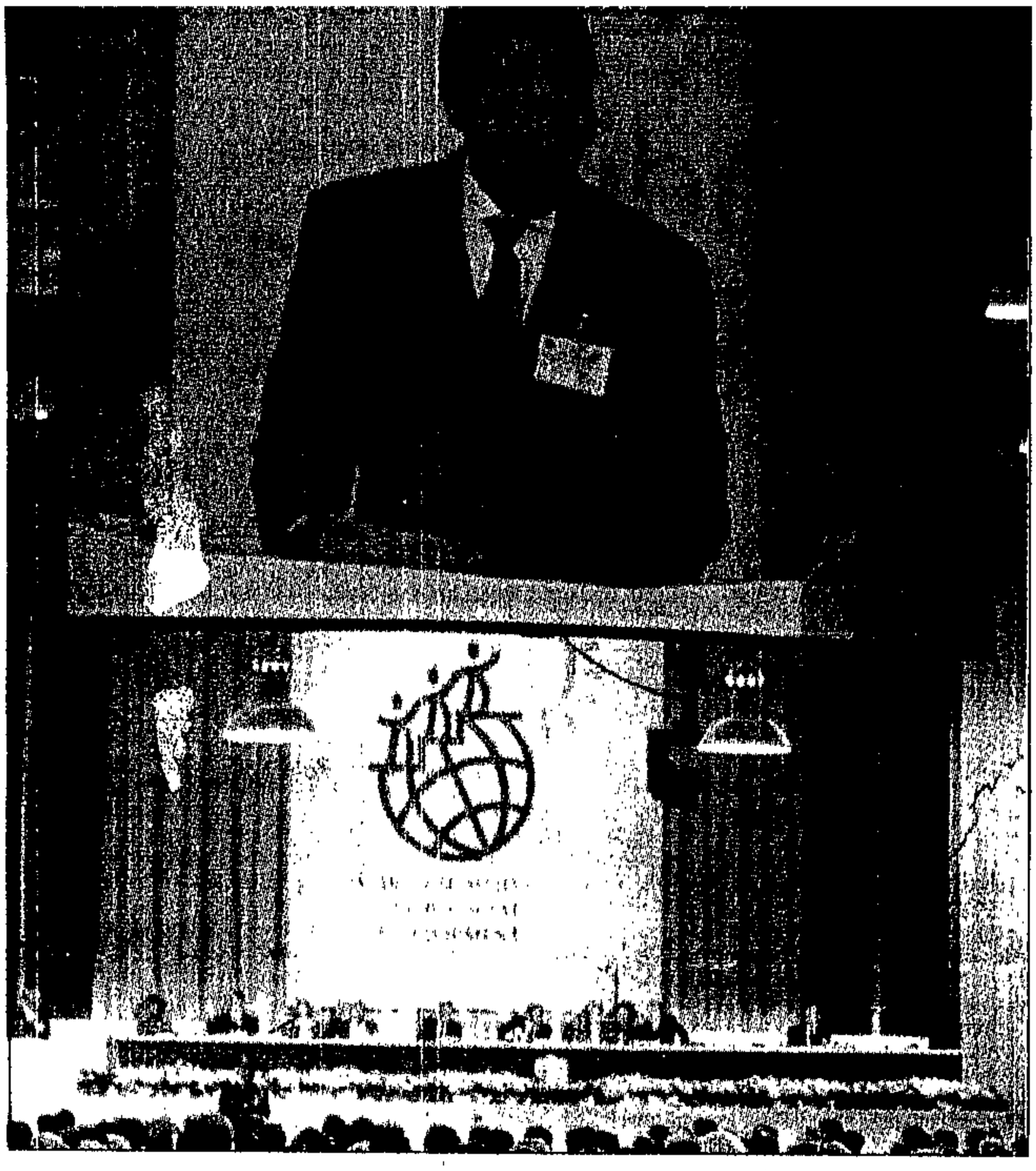
The only debate in the area is whether to change the name of the capital from Mmabatho to Mafikeng.

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.



ADDRESS: President Nelson Mandela addresses the final day of the UN summit. *Picture AP*

Unite in humanity's name — President

COPENHAGEN: President Nelson Mandela told fellow world leaders to rise united across boundaries in humanity's name when he addressed the UN summit on social development here 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 said world leaders had gathered in the Danish capital to ask themselves one vital question: "How does humanity co-operate 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 a 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". Mr Mandela also 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-AFP-Reuter

● **Fidel Castro blames market — Page 2**

CT 13/3/95 (3049)

SA's ugliest outpost gets a woman's touch

(30479)

ST 12/3/95

By CHERILYN IRETON: Paris

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 policies 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.

"To many, South Africa does not have the 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 Lusaka, 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".

'Let South Africa's women bring democracy home'

(304A)

SP 12/3/95

BY NOMVULA KHALO

THE Women's National Coalition (WNC) has appealed to women to be actively involved – both as candidates and organisers – in the forthcoming local government elections.

At countrywide celebrations of International Women's Day on Wednesday the WNC called on women to "bring democracy home" and keep the ideals of democracy alive by promoting power-sharing, responsibility and accountable government on a local level for the benefit of all.

WNC national convenor Jean Ngubane urged women to take the lead in voter registration and voter education.

"It is crucial for women to recognise their responsibility in the transition at a local level, as it will affect people in a very concrete and immediate sense," said Ngubane.

The elections would affect people in terms of basic services that they take for granted or expect to be improved, she said.

Ngubane said the redistribution role that local government would have to play in order to abolish severe inequalities and imbalances would have a particularly dramatic impact.

There must be effective community mobilisation around issues such as housing, payment of services and the illegal actions of certain groups to ensure stability in government on a local level, she said.

The WNC also appealed to women to take a lead in the government's Masakhane (building together now) Campaign.

"Women must be seen to be taking an active role in the community and paying for services and housing, keeping a check on crime and committing themselves to building together a bright future for their children."

CONCERNED . . . Esther Nyembezi helped the disadvantaged.

Day for women's leader

BY NOMVULA KHALO

TODAY the Black Housewives' League celebrates Esther Nyembezi Day.

Esther Kebaoetse Nyembezi, who formed the Black Housewives' League in 1953, initially called the African Housewives League, died in 1980.

Her aim was to try to keep women together, organise social functions for them and help them, particularly when they were depressed.

The celebration will be held at the Methodist Church, Block A, Mabopane, in Pretoria and the activities of the day will start with a commemoration service. Later a speaker from Powa will speak on domestic and child abuse. The day will end with a party.

Stella Mohlamme, general secretary of the league, described Nyembezi as a caring and loving person who, were she alive today, would be helping the disadvantaged.

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... President Nel says his party guilty in traditional courts.

What's to be done about Winnie?

CP 12/3/95 (304A)

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 levelled 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 Nemadzevanane, insists that the law should take its course before any disciplinary measures against the deputy minister are considered.

Azapo's 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 Cosatu, Zweli Nzima, 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 ruined my life for'

I FEEL BETRAYED, SAYS WINNIE

SCATHING BLAST ... Winnie Mandela delivering her attack on ANC government members at the funeral of her slain supporter Paul Manana. Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

(30419) CP 12/3/95

By JEFF LENGANE

AN unrepentant Winnie Mandela yesterday broke her silence and lashed out at senior members of the ANC cabinet for pleading ignorance of the dramatic police raid on her home and offices last week.

In a thinly veiled attack on the ANC officials – including her estranged husband President Nelson Mandela – Winnie said "any attempt to plead total ignorance of the incident on the part of those who were consulted will not be believed by the nation, apart from implying a state of anarchy".

Big cheers

"If our police can do this to an MP and a deputy minister of government even while she is abroad on government business, how safe can we be in the new South Africa?" she asked.

The Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology gave her first public address since the raid at the funeral of Paul Manana in Tembisa yesterday – and was thunderously cheered by thousands.

Manana was gunned down outside his home in Ivory Park near Thembisa a few hours after he had led a delegation of supporters to welcome the embattled Winnie at Jan Smuts Airport on her return from a controversy ridden West African tour.

■ Winnie made bitter references to senior ANC members, including President Mandela, who had said they would allow justice to take its course following allegations of corruption levelled against Winnie for allegedly receiving bribes from a building contractor involved in low cost housing.

She said: "I know only too well His Excellency President Mandela endured an unprecedented 27 years in prison, so that no man shall ever be condemned before a fair trial ... The children and I were made to feel the ultimate outcasts of society merely for wearing the Mandela name. I was banned, imprisoned and degraded all my life for the ideals we stood for.

"Today I just feel rotten. I feel betrayed – the ultimate humiliation. This surely is not the South Africa I ruined my life for. It cannot be."

■ Winnie's scathing words came barely a few hours after she had met with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. The much awaited meeting was to establish why she had undertaken the West African trip in defiance of a presidential order.

The meeting was almost aborted when Winnie at first refused to meet Mbeki – insisting the matter was a national crisis needing the president's intervention.

■ There is widespread speculation that President Mandela, who is to return from a Denmark trip on Friday, will announce Winnie's suspension or dismissal from cabinet.

ROLL CONTROL ... A football wizard mesmerises the crowd during yesterday's colourful Wits Rag festivities. Pic: TLADI KHUELE

No gobbledegook, says Dullah Omar

ARG 11/3/95

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 gobbledegook. Translating what was obscurely written in English or Afrikaans into equally obscure Xhosa or Zulu was not the answer. — Sapa (304A)

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. ARG 11/3/95

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. (304A)

ANC opens its 'surgery'

WM 10-16/3/95

Gaye Davis in Cape Town

DR ROB DAVIES spent a couple of hours in his Sea Point surgery on Monday evening, hearing complaints and dispensing advice. But those who packed the small room weren't there with physical ailments, and Davies is not a medical doctor.

The ANC MP was making one of his regular appearances in one of the constituency offices the ANC is setting up around the country in a bid to close the gap between the public and its representatives in government.

Designed on a similar model to that used by British MPs, who regularly hold "clinics" or surgeries with voters in their constituencies, the system involves groups of MPs and members of provincial legislatures being deployed in urban and rural areas where they can be alerted to and help grapple with local problems.

"Anyone can come to ask questions or raise issues," said ANC MP Naledi Pandor, the whip responsible for co-ordinating constituency offices in the Western Cape. "They are there to serve the public of an area as a whole, and not just ANC members."

One of parliament's major concerns was that the new system of proportional representation effectively removed MPs from defined constituencies.

This deployment by the ANC is an attempt to create a link between MPs and constituencies — and also to respond to the neglect rural areas have experienced.

"We're developing criteria to guide the work of MPs in constituencies, because this is a new experience for us. But the offices are moving ahead smoothly. MPs have started holding regular sessions and are starting to address local problems."

The offices are funded by constituency allowances of R3 000 a month, to which every MP is entitled. (304A)

Question and answer: ANC MP Rob Davis answers questions from Sea Point residents PHOTO: RODGER BOSCH

'No plan for Afrikaners'

(304A) CT 9/3/95

PRETORIA: The CP has "irrevocably" come to the conclusion the government has no intention of accommodating the Afrikaner, party leader Dr Ferdi 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

CT 9/3/95 (304A)

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 defying 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 Templeton 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.

IN HAPPIER TIMES: Mr and Mrs Mandela.

Winnie to get the boot

304A Sowetan 9/3/95

By Mathatha Tsedu 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

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The police warrants used to search Winnie Mandela's Soweto home and Johannesburg office last week were technically defective, a senior police source disclosed yesterday.

He said he would not be surprised if there were defects in the dozen or so warrants used to search other premises linked to the police probe of fraud allegations against Mandela.

The source said: "The error was so pathetic it is almost unbelievable." He declined to elaborate, but added that the faulty warrants would be replaced.

The State's administrative bungle could result in the courts returning seized documents to Mandela on Tuesday when the case comes before the Rand Supreme Court, further delaying the police probe.

Mandela's lawyer, Templeton Mageza, said last night the State had finally produced the vital affidavit which prompted the police search of her premises last week, one day after an agreed deadline. He was confident that the Rand Supreme Court would on Tuesday set aside the search warrants to allow both sides to study the legal documents.

Meanwhile, sources close to the Deputy Arts and Culture Minister confirmed that she had changed her mind and agreed to meet Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Earlier in the day President Nelson Mandela dismissed his estranged wife's demand for a meeting over the controversy surrounding her position in government. He said Mbeki was dealing with the matter "and I am sure he will not find it necessary for anyone else to intervene".

Mbeki's spokesman, Ricky Naidoo, stressed that the Deputy President wanted only to discuss Mandela's defiance of a presidential order not to undertake an official trip to West Africa. He would not discuss the fraud investigation until it had run its course.

BD 9/3/95

Mandela had not yet officially informed Mbeki's office that she would meet him. If she did, he expected the meeting to take place before Mbeki left on Sunday on an official trip to the Netherlands.

The disclosure of the search warrant blunder coincided yesterday with an attempt by National Police Commissioner George Fivaz to blame the Justice Department and the issuing magistrate.

Fivaz said the approval and issuing of the search warrants "lay squarely within the jurisdiction of the Justice Department and the relevant magistrate". It was up to the magistrate, not the police, to decide whether the search warrants should have been issued. Court proceedings over the validity of the search warrants "by no means detract from the gravity of the related allegations being investigated by police", he said.

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Winnie now ready to talk

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search warrant in order to create a case against our client," Mageza 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 Mankahlana, 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.

(3044) Star 9/3/95

Winnie ready to talk

After four days of defiance, deputy minister will meet Mbeki

(304A) Star 9/3/95

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 Sevices Commissioner George Fivaz 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.

Fivaz'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

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SA-French relations shift into top gear

☐ *New ambassador presented to Mitterrand*

ARG 8/3/95 (304A)

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, counsellor 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.

Barbara Masekela

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

Star 8/3/95 (304A)

Round 1 as police fail to produce affidavit

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
PATRICK BULGER
and CHERYL HUNTER

Despite her earlier refusal to meet Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to resolve official differences, Winnie Mandela has been persuaded to hold the talks and they'll meet either today or tomorrow.

The Star has been reliably informed that she has come under increasing pressure from members of her immediate family to make herself available for the talks which will probably centre on her unauthorised visit to West Africa.

That trip was cut short last week after her Soweto home was raided by armed police searching for documents.

Sources close to the deputy arts minister told The Star this morning that Mandela would most likely meet Mbeki before he leaves tomorrow for a United Nations summit on poverty in Copenhagen.

The sources say Mandela felt "terribly betrayed by the Government she serves in" because of the police raid which had severely embarrassed her while she was abroad. Her request to meet the deputy president was because he "now feigned ignorance of some of the things she now stands accused of".

The sources say Mandela had been "deeply hurt" by the fact Mbeki had told the public he wanted to meet her over the allegations of corruption made against her, "when she had reported fully to him on at least one of these things as far as two years ago".

She had sent documentation to Mbeki, Justice Minister Dullah Omar and his predecessor Kobie Coetsee about businessman Costa Livanos's long-standing dispute with the Pretoria Services Council.

"Now that she is accused of having abused her office, Thabo is not standing up to say he had been briefed about the whole thing," said one source.

Mandela yesterday issued a statement saying the controversy surrounding her positi had now "assumed the propo tions of a national crisis whic requires the intervention of th president", with whom she asked for a meeting on February 21 before her Africa trip.

Meanwhile the State was yesterday embarrassed by its failure to produce at a time set by the Rand Supreme Court a crucial affidavit. It is believed this affidavit prompted the armed and "dramatic" police search of her home and other premises last week in connection with allegations of fraud.

FAMILY persuades Mrs Mandela to meet Deputy President Mbeki after all

Collapse

It now appears that the State's case against her could collapse while the national Police Commissioner, George Fivaz, has ordered an investigation into the manner in which what's been called "an

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Winnie eases tension

(304A) Star 8/3/95

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apartheid-style" raid was conducted.

Fivaz's spokesman Colonel Joseph Ngobeni said earlier today that the commissioner's office 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 for this information ourselves, but the matter is with our legal team and I cannot comment on that process," he said.

Commenting on rumours, Ngobeni said: "The commissioner is definitely not going to apologise for the raid. We are just waiting for facts at this point."

As the political drama continued to unfold, State attorneys missed a 4pm deadline to hand over replying 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 Tuesday but ordered the State to reply to Mandela's legal team by 4pm yesterday.

Her legal representative, Templeton Mageza, told The Star that the State had approached him shortly before 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 legal team indicated on Friday that it would ask the judge to set aside magistrate I Olivier'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.

Contralesa 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 the law at all times, or they were just being malicious," added Contralesa.

Mandela cancelled a trip to Johannesburg yesterday, remaining in Cape Town. Mbeki's attempts to meet her met with no success.

Mbeki's spokesman Ricky Naidoo said Mandela was refusing to meet Mbeki. Mbeki would shortly meet with President Mandela to decide how to take the matter further.

Winnie refuses to meet Mbeki until court proceedings are over

(304A) BD 7/3/95

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN. — Winnie Mandela has refused to meet Deputy President Thabo Mbeki until her court application challenging the validity of the police raid on her Soweto home has run its course.

Government sources said Mandela's private secretary, Alan Reynolds, delivered a letter to Mbeki's office in Cape Town yesterday informing him of her decision.

The letter comes in the wake of a statement by sources close to the presidency last week that the Deputy Arts and Culture Minister would be dismissed from her post by tomorrow. However, the same sources yesterday appeared to be backtracking from their blunt prediction.

Said one insider: "Obviously Winnie has to present her side of the story before any decision about her future can be taken. She will not be treated like an animal."

A few hours after the letter was delivered, Mbeki and one of his aides, Ricky Naidoo, flew to Johannesburg. Mandela was expected back in Johannesburg last night after a tour of squatter settlements around Cape Town.

A source close to her said: "Winnie refuses to see someone (Mbeki) who knew some time ago of the police investigation into her and did not tell her." Mandela was "outraged" by the police raid on her home and office while she was in West Africa last week.

Mandela's Rand Supreme Court application challenging the validity of the search warrant used in the police raids will be heard next Tuesday.

Meanwhile, Police Commissioner George Fivaz said he had ordered a top-level investigation of the raid on Mandela's house after widespread criticism of the search — by, among others, the ANC. Investigators would report on the manner of the raids and recommend how police searches should be conducted in future.

A source said Mbeki had tried at the weekend to meet Mandela to discuss the police investigation of her alleged business deals, but she refused to see him because she was "too busy". Mandela also believed the issue was now a legal matter, not a political one.

Mbeki said on Saturday that he would meet Mandela within 48 hours "to find out what she has to say about the matter, then take it from there".

Naidoo was unable last night "to confirm or deny" that Mandela had written to Mbeki. He said if she refused to meet him, "Mbeki will have to decide on his next course of action". However, Mbeki still planned to hold separate meetings with President Nelson Mandela and his estranged wife "some time this week".

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said Mbeki had not discussed the matter with the President since his return

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Winnie

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from the US. A public announcement would follow their meeting later this week.

Mandela also informed Mbeki in her letter that she would be meeting her lawyer, Templeton Mageza, to discuss possible legal action. She claimed her rights were infringed with the knowledge of at least some Cabinet members.

Mageza said last week he believed the raids were unlawful. Police could have planted evidence at her home.

Government sources seemed to try to distance themselves yesterday from their remarks last week that Mandela would be dismissed by tomorrow on grounds of moral and ethical misconduct. They said last week the President and Mbeki had made up their minds to dismiss Mandela even before she departed for West Africa, against the President's instructions.

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE DENIES WRITING APOLOGY

Fivaz orders probe into raid on Winnie's home

CT 7/3/95

304A

OLICE chief Commissioner George Fivaz yesterday rdered an investigation ito last week's police raid n Mrs Winnie Mandela's oweto home.

The top-level probe was announced as efforts to arrange a meeting between e Deputy Minister of Arts and ılture and Deputy President ıabo Mbeki over Mrs Mandela's ıauthorised West African trip ntinued.

ANC spokesperson Senator kson Mthembu said late yesterday that Mr Mbeki was still trying set up a meeting with Mrs Mandela, who in turn was seeking an dience with President Nelson ındela.

Both Mr Mthembu and presiıtial spokesman Mr Parks nkahlana yesterday denied that Mandela had written the letter of apology which Mrs Mandela signed after earlier criticisms of the government.

However, Mrs Mandela's personal secretary Mr Alan Reynolds said yesterday the contents of a newspaper report, which claimed Mrs Mandela had not written the apology herself, were "substantially correct".

It was reported yesterday the apology was written by a four-man committee headed by Mr Mbeki.

Members of that team were Mr Mbeki, presidential spokesman Mr Joel Netshitendzhe, ANC Parliamentary Chief Whip the Rev Arnold Stofile and Deputy Environment Affairs Minister Mr Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Holomisa, who had defended Mrs Mandela and pointed out that her criticism was not new, was not present when the letter was drafted because "he had something else to attend to".

But sources said the committee took some time to find Mrs Mandela, and she sent her February 13 apology — written by herself — to President Mandela before she had seen the "apology" drafted by the Mbeki committee.

Meanwhile, Commissioner Fivaz said he had decided to institute a top-level investigation into the raid on Mrs Mandela's home following widespread criticism of the search.

"The purpose of the investigation will be to examine and report back on the manner and style of the search at Mrs Mandela's home, as well as of searches conducted at other premises, and to make recommendations on how police searches are to be conducted in future.

"To ensure a credible investigative process, I have also directed that this probe be conducted by my national inspectorate."

Mr Fivaz's spokesperson, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Ngobeni, said the commissioner was informed of the raid beforehand.

About 40 policemen, investigating allegations of corruption and fraud, last week searched Mrs Mandela's home and other properties connected to her, and confiscated various documents.

Mrs Mandela has challenged the validity of the search warrant used in the raids. Her Rand Supreme Court application will be heard on March 14.

The spokesman also said Mr Fivaz would study Democratic Party claims that Mrs Mandela was linked to a string of unsolved crimes.

Lt-Col Ngobeni said Mr Fivaz had already seen documents provided by DP leader Mr Tony Leon detailing the alleged crimes, which took place in the late 1980s.

Mr Leon raised the unsolved crimes, to which Mrs Mandela was allegedly linked, in Parliament last year. He said at the weekend he expected to meet Mr Fivaz to discuss the allegations this week.

The unsolved cases include that of Lolo Sono, a potential witness in the Stompie Seipei case who went missing in 1988.

CONTROVERSIAL: Mrs Winnie Mandela, in the centre of controversy over her West African trip and the police investigations against her.

● Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi has said he had no prior knowledge of last week's police raid on Mrs Mandela's house and said "the dramatic conduct" of the police during the raid was "uncalled for".

He said he had directed Mr Fivaz to investigate the modus operandi followed by the police during the raid. However, Mr Mufamadi said the police did not need the permission or approval of the minister to carry out a search. — Political Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter

Parties differ over emergency powers

CT 7/3/95

(304A)

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 7/3/95

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 F W 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. (304A)

New deadlock over powers for provinces

(304A)

ARG 7/3/95

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 Selfe, 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 Roelf 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

(BOLA) Star 7/3/95

■ 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 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 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 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 Constitutional Assembly to a halt," he said.

IFP issues 1-month mediation ultimatum

Star March 1995

(304A)

■ 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 Shenge speaks – Page 6**

De Klerk cautions coloured electorate

Star 6/3/95

(304A)

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 Bellville residents.

Later he told about 150 cheering supporters outside the Westgate shopping 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 Malebane-Metsing 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 whites 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

304A
Sowetan 6/3/95

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

Sowetan 6/3/95

(304A)

■ **ELECTION TOUR** FW speaks against planned new political party:

COLOURED 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.

"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," De Klerk said.

De Klerk, who was accompanied by Western Cape premier Mr Hernus Kriel and welfare minister Mr 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 would face a very dark future," he told about 500 supporters in Bellville.

Later he told about 150 cheering supporters outside the Westgate shopping mall in Mitchells Plain that "millions of voters" who voted for the ANC last year were disillusioned and sought a new political home.

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De Klerk was mobbed by crowds at his third stop, the Mitchells 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

(304)
Sowetan 6/3/95

■ 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 renege 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".

Inkatha gives govt month to decide

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday ordered its members to return to Parliament — but said it would review its participation in the Constitutional Assembly on April 5.

A resolution passed at a crisis conference on the party's future by some 3 000 delegates said Inkatha would boycott the writing of the country's new constitution unless there was agreement on international mediation within a month.

Inkatha officials said the party's three cabinet ministers, including party leader and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, would resume their governmental duties today.

The return to Parliament was not a "back-down", but an act of good faith to explore suggestions that President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki negotiate the mediation impasse. CT 6/3/95

Chief Buthelezi also said he was hopeful mediation would take place because "one must take them as men of integrity".

Chief Buthelezi led his party out of Parliament on February 21 after accusing Mr Mandela and former president Mr F W de Klerk of reneging on a mediation agreement that drew Inkatha into last year's election at the last minute.

Chief Buthelezi wants a strong measure of provincial autonomy and believes he will get a better deal from international mediators. 304A

The Inkatha parliamentary walkout had heightened fears of a surge in violence in kwaZulu/Natal.

Police said three people had been killed and three wounded on Saturday and early on Sunday in violence in the Bhambayi squatter camp.

They feared further violence when Inkatha supporters returned from the Ulundi congress late yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter, Own Correspondent.

Cops suspended

Mandela wrote Winnie's apology

CT 6/3/95 (304A)

LOOKING GOOD ... Africa's youngest liver transplant patient, eight-month-old Thabo Rathabe, has the twinkle back in his eye and beams with health as his mother Mrs Francina Rathabe, a radiographer from Pretoria, cuddles him. Thabo underwent a successful liver transplant two weeks ago at the Red Cross Children's Hospital. Picture: ANNE LAING

'Forced to sign under duress'

By KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Contrary to public belief, Mrs Winnie Mandela did not herself write a retraction of her recent stinging criticism of the government, but merely signed an apology written for her by President Nelson Mandela, according to well-placed sources and documents in possession of the Cape Times' sister paper The Star.

Both President Mandela and his deputy Mr Thabo Mbeki failed to get the Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister to issue an unconditional apology.

Mr Mbeki reportedly telephoned Mrs Mandela at home at 2.30am and told her some ANC members felt she was behaving "as though she was going to be the next president of the country".

Sources say Mrs Mandela doggedly refused to apologise for what she believed to be "perfectly legitimate criticism", until Mr Mbeki drafted for her a four-paragraph letter to the President in an attempt "to clarify my motives and intentions in making the said statements".

Although the general view is that President Mandela took exception to Mrs Mandela's claim that the government had so far failed black South Africans, the sources believe it was her less-reported statement about the President's calling then State President Mr F W de Klerk "a man of integrity" in 1990, that earned her Mr Mandela's ire.

She said at the Soweto funeral of Warrant Officer Jabulani Xabathat funeral: "We called F W de Klerk a man of integrity, and the world honoured him by giving him a Nobel Peace Prize".

Her first attempt at an apology, drafted by Mr Mbeki and released to the media on February 13, was dismissed as insufficient by Mr Mandela, whose "retract, resign or be fired" ultimatum still stood.

According to the sources, Mr Mandela then wrote his own letter of apology for Mrs Mandela, and required her to sign it. Once this had been done, the "apology" was made public on February 14.

In a letter to the President dated 15 February, Mrs Mandela objects to being "made to sign" the document.

"This is the second occasion that I have been made to sign, under duress, a document written by you to yourself.

"I fail to see how I am supposed to tolerate such continuing violation of my constitutional and fundamental rights," Mrs Mandela wrote.

The sources said the first time President Mandela made his estranged wife sign a document drafted by himself and later presented to the public as though it had come from her, was in 1992 "when it came to her so-called resignation as head of the ANC's social welfare department".

Free speech

In her angry, two-page letter to President Mandela — written a day after her "apology" — Mrs Mandela wrote: "As you will know, when you were forcibly prevented from exercising your inalienable right of free speech, I and the children with others spoke up for humanity.

"I continue the long tradition of speaking without fear on matters that are vital to all the people of South Africa."

She also objected to allegations that Mr Mandela had told the 11 ANC Women's League members who had resigned their positions to "keep up their media campaign against me so as to enable you to dismiss me as Deputy Minister".

Mrs Mandela received a reply from the President's Office, in which Mr Mandela denied having made the statements.

Elections registration supported

(304A) BD 6/3/95

Inkatha opts for a return to Parliament

FAROUK CHOTHIA

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party would immediately return to Parliament and would 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 Senzele 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 "dissension" to his "reasonable" proposal continued.

Urging brigade members 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 the party 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 Sibho 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 followed 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 "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 insofar as the whole world 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

☐ To Page 2

Inkatha

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

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."

BD 6/3/95

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".

Jiyane said Inkatha would push for the adoption of the KwaZ[illegible] onstitution by July after whic[illegible] election could be held in a bid to strenghten the party's 51% majority.

While resolutions called for the restoration of the kingdom of KwaZulu/Natal, the conference rejected Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's "so-called royal council", emphasising the soured relationship between Buthelezi and his nephew, the king.

Mandela to fight 'anarchy'

CT 6/3/95 (304A)

Sanco warned

NYANDENI. — 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 300 people at the Great Place of western Pondo Paramount King Vulindlela Ndamase. The meeting followed closed talks with King Ndamase and his councillors.

Earlier in the day, after meeting Rharhabe King Zanesizwe 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

(304A)

Star 6/3/95

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 stinging 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 13 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 a Mandela's remark in 1990 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

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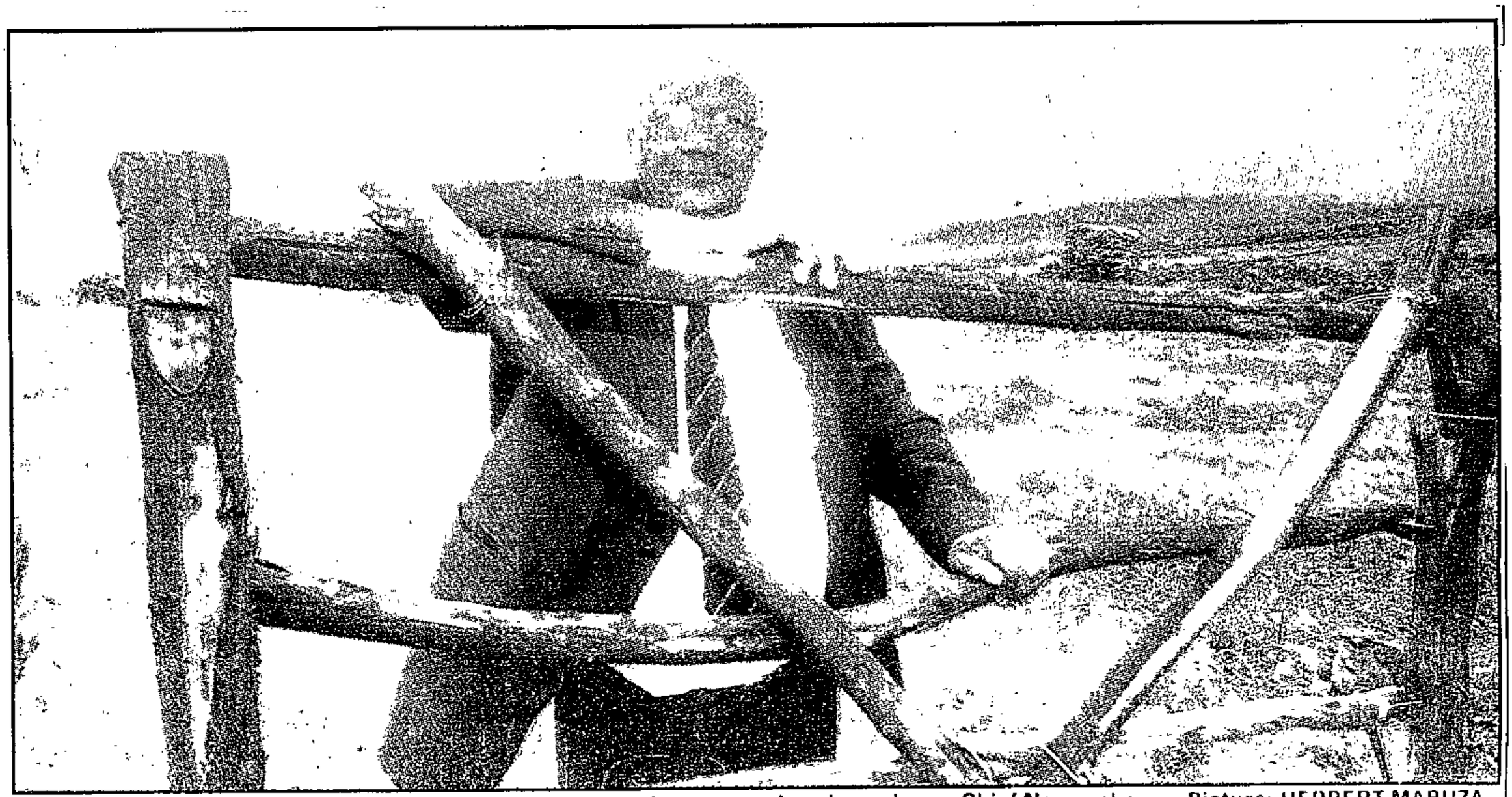


HERE TO STAY . . . 'Nobody is going to confine traditional leaders to mundane issues', says Chief Ncamashe Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

(304A) ST 5/3/95

Power struggle pits chiefs against civics

By JACOB DLAMINI

CHIEF Sipho Burns Ncamashe cut an urbane and contented figure outside a kraal in the heart of the Rarabe Royal territory in the former Ciskei.

Only 20km away in Bisho, the Eastern Cape legislature had just passed a Bill providing for the establishment of a 20-member House of Traditional Leaders.

"We are here to stay. This Bill has seen to that," said Chief Ncamashe, 75, the deputy chairman of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa in the Eastern Cape.

He has been at the forefront of a battle between traditional leaders and the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) in Ciskei and Transkei.

Chief Ncamashe accuses the organisation of imposing itself on rural communities and undermining the authority of chiefs.

"Sanco's biggest problem is that they want to dominate every aspect of daily life in the villages, while projecting chiefs as useless and incompetent. We will not stand for that," he said.

Civic officials argue that chieftaincy has been discredited by its past association with unpopular former homeland leaders such as Oupa Gqozo and Lennox Sebe of Ciskei.

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 Sebe and Gqozo to suppress people and now they want to be a part of the democratic process," said Border secretary Sakumzi Scatsha.

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 Scatsha.

Chiefs also wield enormous power. They levy taxes, dole 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 overrule the house if he believes any issue falls outside its jurisdiction.

"Chiefs will only become exofficio 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 Ncamashe, a former Fort Hare University lecturer, says no traditional leader is prepared to administer only "petty customary laws".

"We are not like the blanketed 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 kaffir weddings is rubbish of the first order," he said.

But the civics' concern is shared by Eastern Cape Local Government Minister Max Mamase.

"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

(304A) ST 5/3/95

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 R10-million.

He handed over documents relating to Professional Builders and was then released on R5 000 bail.

Mr Radloff, 42, Gauteng businessmen Vic Daniels 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 Mpafudi.

Mr Radloff was arrested after Mr Daniels laid fraud and theft charges against him.

In turn, Mr Radloff apparently decided "to spill the beans" about Professional Builders and handed a file of documents to the Pretoria Commercial Crime Unit. The documents detailed certain deals by Professional Builders and named people involved in them.

After his arrest and appearance in court, Mr Radloff skipped bail on October 21 and fled to Namibia.

After three months on the run, he slipped back into South Africa and was re-arrested in January in Acasia. It is understood he ran out of money in Namibia after his bank accounts were frozen.

HANDED OVER EVIDENCE ... fraud suspect Martin Radloff

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 by fleeing.

Responding to criticism, police said they had not opposed Mr Radloff's bail, or asked for it to be increased, because he was co-operating with them.

The documents handed over by Mr Radloff allege 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 Mpafudi was promised R400 000 out of the Ironsyde housing project near Vereeniging for "certain favours" done.

Mr Radloff also claimed 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 CAPP;
- Mrs Mandela organised 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 Ironsyde.
- Mr Radloff claimed Mrs Mandela also arranged an introduction, through Mrs Crane, for representatives of Professional Builders to meet entrepreneurs — including M A Kharafi of Kuwait — to discuss possible joint construction projects;
- Bribes were paid to certain officials working for the then Bophuthatswana Housing Corporation to ensure that Promabuild and its affiliated company, Professional Builders, obtained stands in Garankuwa and Kudube to market and develop;
- Certain commissions were paid by Professional Builders to senior members of the South African National Civics 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 Odinburg and Ironsyde;
- An official of a bank (the bank and branch are named in the papers) was paid by Professional Builders for every deal processed.

THE WINNIE RAID +++ THE WINNIE RAID +++ THE WINNIE RAID +++

ST 5/3/95 (304A)

The Crane connection

By NICOLA KOZ

WINNIE Mandela and Hazel Crane are a curious couple.

One is an anti-apartheid stalwart and queen of the struggle; the other, a wealthy Johannesburg commodities broker.

But despite their diametrically opposed cultural backgrounds and dramatic differences in appearance — Winnie with her exotic African designer outfits; Hazel, a petite powerhouse dripping with diamonds — they are bosom buddies.

When Winnie is in trouble, Hazel is there to support her. When Winnie needs financial backers for her charity endeavours, Hazel finds them.

Both have had their share of personal problems. Both have seen the courtroom from the dock and both have raised children without husbands.

They met when Hazel joined the ANC Women's League four years ago.

Their friendship became public last year when it was disclosed that Hazel and her Israeli lover, Shai Avissar, had bought a luxurious Cape Town house worth R675 000 for Winnie to use during parliamentary sessions.

Hazel said she and Shai had bought the house as a gift after taking pity on Winnie because of her "bare cupboards and fridge".

During the presidential inaugural celebrations in May last year Hazel gave Winnie a black and gold lace outfit designed by Spero Villioti.

In October, she organised a surprise 50-something birthday party for Winnie at the luxurious Pageview, Johannesburg, home of Fatima and Dawwood Mall. There to celebrate the occasion were guests from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon.

Also invited was Dr Sydney Gata, who is married to Robert Mugabe's sister. He is linked to Winnie's Coordinated Anti-Poverty Programmes (CAPP).

But Winnie's relationship with Hazel might be one that she will yet regret. Whenever she hits the headlines over some scandal, Hazel's name is somehow linked.

Hazel is well-connected in diamond and gem circles. She was convicted of illegal diamond buying in August 1993. Shai recently settled a legal battle out of court allegedly involving a fistful of missing gems. Hazel was the one summonsed by a Nelspruit gem-cutting works which made the allegations, but he said he was responsible for the missing stones and she was not involved.

Winnie is also embroiled in a diamond-buying saga. She allegedly hired a Lear jet to fly CAPP representatives to Angola to pick up a package of diamonds from President José Eduardo Dos Santos. Foster Webb Air Charter is suing Winnie for allegedly not paying for the jet's hire.

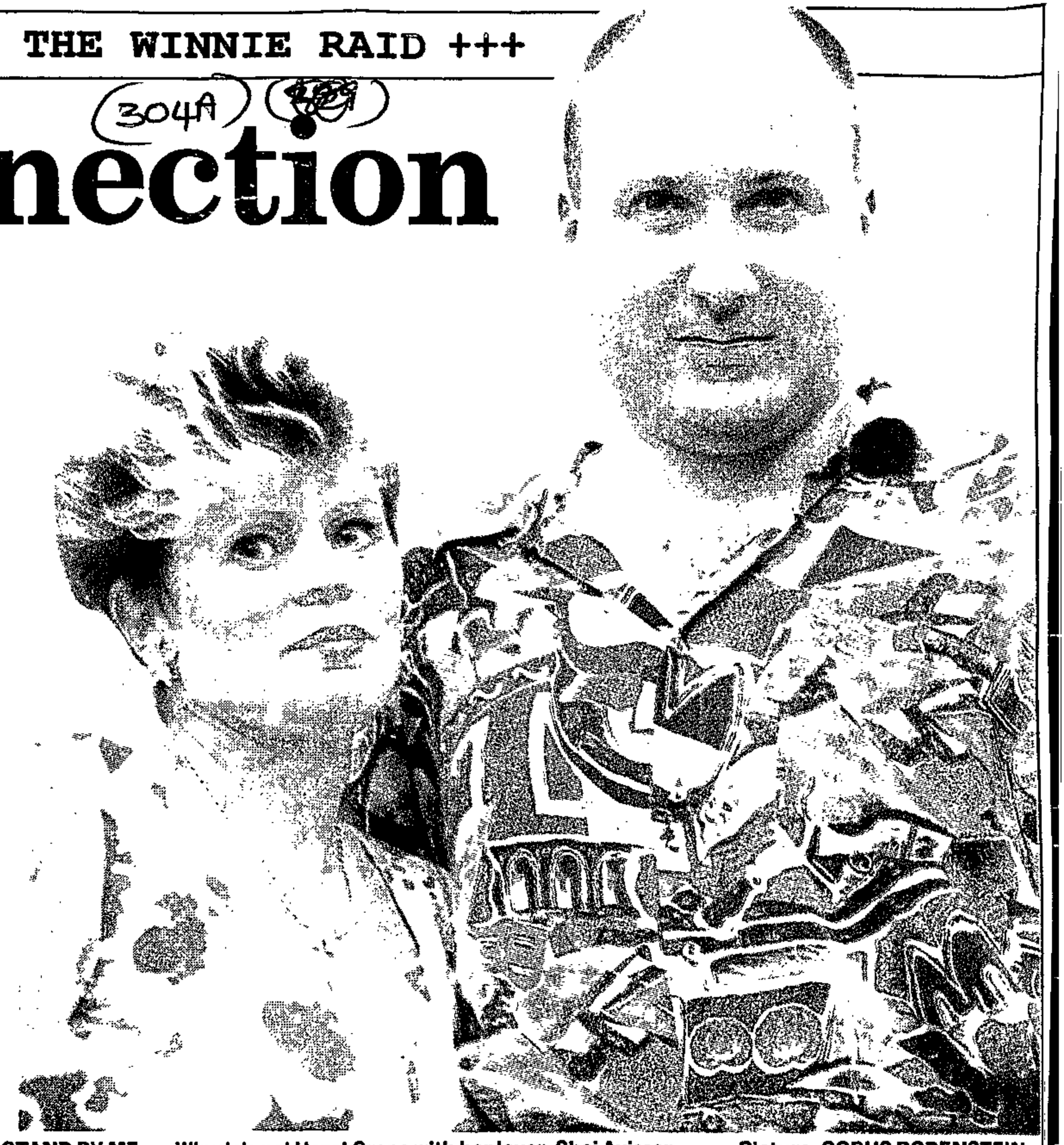
Hazel was present at the closed meeting held at Winnie's Soweto home last May at which a R360 000 cheque was donated by Pakistani President Benazir Bhutto.

The cheque was allegedly meant to be distributed among a number of women's organisations, but Winnie has been accused of putting the money into CAPP's account.

When Winnie was made treasurer of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa in December and moved all the equipment from the congress's offices to CAPP's office in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, Hazel was there to help.

She instructed the Sunday Times, which arrived unexpectedly, to fax her a list of questions which she would pass on to Winnie. The fax was this week seized by police at Winnie's residence.

Hazel recently denied working for CAPP or the traditional leaders' congress. She said she had never been paid a salary by CAPP or the congress.



STAND BY ME . . . Winnie's pal Hazel Crane with her lover, Shai Avissar Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

"Winnie is a very busy lady. When I can help out, I do," she said. "I don't see anything wrong in doing so. I often receive faxes on her behalf and she picks them up from my house in her spare time."

Hazel is indirectly linked to a housing development in Phola Park on the East Rand in which CAPP is involved. She introduced Winnie to Kharafi Investments, a Kuwaiti firm that is offering to finance the project.

Martin Radloff — the man involved in the latest fraud allegations levelled at Winnie — mentions Hazel's name in connection with a company of which he is a director, Professional Builders.

In a written statement to his lawyer in November last year, Mr Radloff claimed that Winnie arranged through Hazel for representatives of Professional Builders to meet entrepreneurs, including an M A Kharafi, to discuss joint construction projects. He claimed that 10 percent of all profits generated by any joint ventures were supposed to be channelled through Hazel and CAPP to charity.

Mrs Crane refused to be interviewed by the Sunday Times this week.

Inkatha IN, says Buthelezi

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has allayed fears of a permanent IFP withdrawal from parliament and a pullout from the Government of National Unity.

Addressing his party's special conference in Ulundi yesterday, he said Inkatha should review this decision at its annual conference planned for July.

This was after an appeal made on Friday to Buthelezi by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who telephoned from the United States.

An Inkatha MP said yesterday that in view of the call the Inkatha caucus had held a seven-hour meeting on Friday night and had decided to remain in the GNU and parliament.

Buthelezi said yesterday that he had suggested that Inkatha should meanwhile secure greater autonomy for Kwazulu/Natal with the help of its representatives in parliament. (304A)

Buthelezi asked the special conference to give a "sufficiently open and flexible mandate which will allow us to adjust our actions to changing political circumstances".

Provincially, Inkatha should do its utmost to strengthen its hand against the "obstructionist African National Congress stance."

The party should also finalise the adoption of a provisional constitution securing regional autonomy.

Buthelezi reiterated that international mediation – the lack of which had prompted Inkatha's parliamentary walkout last week – was not only meant to secure the Zulu monarchy but was also aimed at resolving conflicts over the centralisation of every aspect of life.

He said that international mediation was inextricably tied to KwaZulu/Natal chiefs and their participation, or otherwise, in the forthcoming local government elections. CP 5/3/95

■ Yesterday's "compromise" by Inkatha not to withdraw from the government of national unity was linked to the party's imminent withdrawal from the Constitutional Assembly, according to insiders.

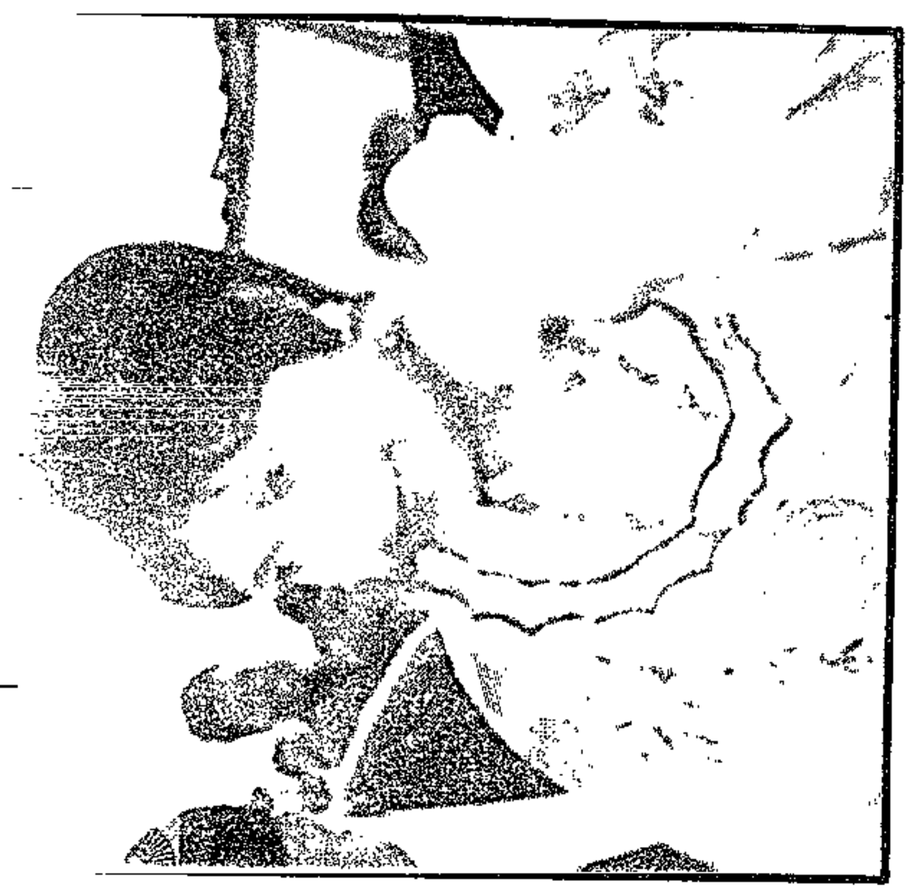
Inkatha national council members said last night the party was set to boycott the constitution-writing process until international mediation was effected.

Inkatha, sources said, would press ahead in writing a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal and dared central government to step on its toes. – Sapa.

RETHINK ... Mangosuthu Buthelezi appealed for a flexible approach to changed political circumstances at Inkatha's special conference yesterday.

WINNIE RAID SLAMMED

Police 'drama' was irresponsible, says Mufamadi



CENTRE STAGE . . . Winnie Mandela is believed to be the first ever South African minister whose house has been raided.

(304A) GD 5/3/95

By SEKOLA SELLO and WALLY MBHELE

SAFETY 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 G7 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 besieging 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 home 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 – criticising their acts as irresponsible.

'A criminal matter'

However, Mufamadi emphasised 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, scaled 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 follows 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 R32 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 favours, her 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 low cost houses for the Coordinated Anti Poverty Programme (CAPP) headed by Winnie.

■ The offices of CAPP and Professional Builders were also raided this week. Police spokesman Captain Dave Harrington said a "large quantity" of documents relating to a number of allegations had been seized during the raids at various places.

See Pages 2, 3 and 17.

Minister in the cold without Mbeki's protection

ST 5/3/95

(304A)

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

DEPUTY Arts and Culture Minister Winnie Mandela's fate was sealed last week when she lost the protection of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

President Mandela's growing impatience 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 resigned when she disregarded an executive decision vetoing a venture with actor Omar Sharif.

But by the time Mrs Mandela departed for West Africa nine days ago in defiance of the President's instruction 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 contained allegations of corruption involving Mrs Mandela.

Insiders say that on the basis of the evidence before them, Mr Mandela 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 instruction 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 suspension 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 deputy minister, relate to her conduct in the government.

These are that she abused her position in government by using her departmental letterheads to exert influence in private business transactions; and that she defied a presidential order to travel abroad.

The second issue is the police investigation into allegations of corruption which could lead to criminal prosecution. On this charge, she would have to be suspended until she was proven innocent.

Mr Mandela is likely to fire her from the government next week on the basis that her indiscipline and impropriety make her unfit for public office. It will be left to the ANC to decide on her continued presence in Parliament.

Mr Mandela's impatience with the conduct of his deputy minister was illustrated by his intervention in the last crisis in the Women's League over her undemocratic behaviour. He told a crisis meeting that the 11 executive members should retract their resignations — it was Mrs Mandela that should resign, he told the women.

Mrs Mandela's position in the ANC itself, however, could take longer to be finalised. The ANC's code of conduct says clearly that proven corruption would result in expulsion from government and recall from Parliament. It adds that the organisation itself could also take disciplinary action against a member convicted of corruption.

If Mrs Mandela is found guilty of corruption in a court of law, the organisation could expel her from 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 demonstrated an incredible capacity to recover 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 authority — has always been prepared to defend her foolish political stunts in the interests 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 Minister 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 Agriculture Minister Rocky Malebane-Metsing who have allegations of improper conduct against them.

Mr Mokaba is himself on shaky ground following allegations of misconduct by members of the National Tourism Forum which he headed.

Publicly out in the cold, Mrs Mandela 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 onslaught of democracy.

And the only weapon Mr Mandela will have to counter her comeback, is his government's success in delivering law and order, homes, jobs and education to an electorate that voted Mrs Mandela into government.

Letter that led to police raids

THIS letter is one of the documents that led to the raid on Winnie Mandela's home and the investigation into her alleged links with a construction company, Professional Builders.

Fraud suspect Martin Radloff, who is also linked to the company, handed the documents to the police.

In the letter, Mrs Mandela allegedly nominates her daughter, Zindzi Mandela-Hlongwane, as a 50 percent shareholder in the firm.

The name of Mrs Mandela's physician, Dr Jackie Mpafudi, appears under Mrs Mandela-Hlongwane's, but the share allocation is not given.

Police have confirmed that they have a copy of the letter.

Mrs Mandela's private secretary, Alan Reynolds, said recently she had "no recollection of any such document". A spokesman for Mrs Mandela-Hlongwane denied she had any interest in the company.

Mbeki flies home for meeting with Winnie

(304A)

ST 5/3/95

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 M-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'

(304A)

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

ST 5/3/95

● 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, carving "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 Seipei, 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 R200 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 R400 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 surety for Zimbabwean Eric Phiri, who ran up a 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 while 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 Xoliswa Falati in the kidnapping trial.

● June. She reportedly paid R875 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 700.

● 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

(304A)

Star 4/3/95

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 forseeable future.

In terms of the Interim Constitution written at the Kempton 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.

It's a vendetta, says Winnie

ARG 4/3/95

(30449)

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 derailing the local government elections by creating friction within the ANC leadership.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer, Templeton Mageza, said he believed the raids were unlawful and that 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-Reuter.

■ See page 3

PENSIVE: Winnie Mandela

Apology: Frene rebukes NP

CLIVE SAWYER (304A)
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

NATIONAL Assembly speaker Frene Ginwala has sent a stiff rebuttal to Nationalist MPs angered by her apology to the people of Mozambique.

The row erupted after Dr Ginwala's welcoming speech to Mozambican president Joaqim Chissano, who addressed a joint sitting of both Houses this week. ARG 4/3/95

Dr Ginwala said: "Today, before the elected representatives of the South African people, and on their behalf, I want to apologise for the terrible crimes my countrymen committed against the people of Mozambique."

Earlier in her speech, Dr Ginwala referred to the previous government's support for Renamo, the anti-Frelimo 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 issued 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-political statements, she said in an interview.

Yesterday, the NP caucus asked for a meeting. In a letter, NP chief whip Hennie Smi told Dr Ginwala: "It is a pity your conduct changed what was meant to have been a dignified 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.

Winnie

(304-A) Star 4/3/95

carried out in her absence and in a manner that indicated they were intended to attract as much publicity as possible. "I am informed that the media arrived 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. Suffice to say that in the end I shall truimph and my people will be the beneficiaries."

Mandela attended a short sitting of the Rand Supreme Court earlier yesterday. She applied for an urgent interdict challenging the validity of a search warrant used by police in raids on her Orlando West, Soweto, home and on the offices of the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programme, which she heads.

The interdict hearing was postponed to March 14. Mandela cut short her trip to West Africa, returning to South Africa on Thursday to face what is potentially her most serious crisis since her appointment as deputy minister.

Mandela has been accused of corruption in connection with the granting 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 discredit her.

In a separate statement yesterday, Mageza condemned 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 nothing to do with the search warrant "and was clearly an intrusion and vitiation of her right to privacy".

Police had seized greeting cards and personal letters, as well as cheques dated 1992 for groceries purchased. — Sapa.

Ginwala unmoved by NP protests

CLIVE SAWYER

CAPE TOWN — Speaker of the National Assembly Frene Ginwala has sent a stiff rebuttal to National Party MPs angered by remarks she made in Parliament this week.

The row erupted after Ginwala's welcoming speech to Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, who addressed a joint sitting of both houses.

Ginwala said: "Today, before the elected representatives of the South African people, and on their behalf, I want to apologise for the terrible crimes my countrymen committed against the people of Mozambique." This drew applause from ANC benches, but at least two NP MPs walked out.

Earlier in her speech, Ginwala referred to the previous regime's support for RENAMO. Her references were too much for a party which had counted RENAMO troops among its allies, and the allies of Ginwala's movement among its enemies.

Outside the chamber, they issued a statement calling on her to resign, saying she had abandoned her impartiality. Officially, there was nothing to which Ginwala had to reply, the statement having been made outside the house. Nor did she feel she had to resign.

A distinction had to be made between political and party-political statements, she said in an interview. Yesterday, the NP caucus asked for a meeting.

In a letter, NP chief whip Hennie Smit told Ginwala: "It is a pity your conduct changed what was meant to have been a dignified visit by a head of state into a party-political event. We believe that the Speaker should be a unifying force and not a divisive factor in parliamentary life."

In her reply, Ginwala said she was pleased that for the first time the NP was raising its concerns directly with her. "I assumed that if a resolution of differences was the intention, a start would not be made in the media."

Referring to the NP's complaint, she said: "The matter of which individual or group did what in the past and who was guilty is an issue which will for many years remain in the domain of party-political differences."

But it was necessary for all South Africans to come to terms with the past and take collective responsibility for it and its consequences.

"The acknowledgement of that responsibility in the context of developing new relations with our neighbours needs to be made within Parliament by those who can speak on a non-party-political platform."

The issue would be discussed at her meeting with the NP delegation and at future meetings with chief whips.

Ginwala reminded the NP that discussion was continuing in the Speaker's Forum on the role of the Speaker.

(304A) Star 4/3/95

INKATHA

Storing up anger

The real issue is the degree of federal power — and it must be faced

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 they jointly 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) agre[illegible] IFP now has no choice but to p[illegible] hardliner 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-now out equivocations.

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 centrist 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, foreseeing "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 barb 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."

MIKE HUTCHINGS — REUTERS

Buthelezi . . . *putting all that behind him?*

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

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Inkatha had participated in the committees of the Constitutional Assembly, it withdrew because the process had been tainted from inception. Inkatha MP Senzo Mfayela puts it crisply: "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 deadlocks are being broken by the majority parties (the NP and ANC) based on "sufficient consensus" — the principle of compromise that helped negotiations at Kempton Park and led to the passage of the interim constitution of 1993.

De Klerk, Mandela, Buthelezi . . . *no time for games*

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 cliché 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 principles of the 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 *amakhosi* 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 Volkstaat 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 Valli 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 Volkstaat 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 structures, 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 bogy. 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 capability 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 based on far-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. ■

ree-day Cape Town programme

The significance of queen's visit to SA

(304A)

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.

■ FORMAL WELCOME Arrival to seal acceptance into Commonwealth:

Sowetan 17/3/95

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 slates ANC attempt to abolish spot questions

(304A) ARG 17/3/95

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela and his deputy Thabo Mbeki will no longer have to face parliamentary questions without notice if the African National Congress caucus has its way.

The move, to be put to parliament's rules committee today, has been slammed by the National Party as making a mockery of the ANC's lip-service to transparency.

A weekly session of MPs asking the president questions without advance notice of their content was established in the last years of NP rule.

The ANC has long chafed against the practice, which is based on a convention in the British parliament.

This week the NP protested when leader of the house Trevor Manuel moved the postponement of the question session Mr Mandela and Mr Mbeki were unavailable.

Mr Mandela has declined to allow deputy president F W de Klerk to substitute for him.

At a post-caucus briefing yesterday, ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile said the session of questions without notice was "unnecessary", and written questions could be asked.

"It is crazy and irresponsible for a leader of a country to be subjected to such a speculative type of questioning."

Senate chief whip Bulelani Ngcuka said the president should be given an opportunity to consider his replies.

Mr Stofile said the rule had been implemented initially to give Mr De Klerk a "DIP (department of information and publicity) forum".

"I do not think the present president needs that kind of forum."

The NP said in a statement questions to the president were important to enable all parties to get information about the government's actions direct from the head of government.

The party said Mr Mbeki's unimpressive performance when substituting for Mr Mandela probably had contributed to the ANC's decision.

Other proposals by the ANC caucus are to be put to the rules committee.

● The ANC wants a management committee set up to decide parliament's programme.

This follows confusion about which office — the whips, committee section or Speaker — was responsible for certain aspects of parliamentary administration.

A proposal was for constitutional assembly theme committees to sit on Mondays and Fridays, and for interpellations and questions to be dealt with in the national assembly and senate on Wednesdays and Thursdays.

WeekendStar
March 18-19 1995

Fulfilment of a promise made nearly half a century ago

(304A) Star 18/3/95

Queen comes 'home'

FOR all the political and commercial importance of next week's tour of South Africa by the Queen and Prince Philip, sources close to the monarch have no doubt that its significance is more of a personal nature than anything, writes GARNER THOMSON.

LONDON — On her 21st birthday, on the last day of her first visit to South Africa, Princess Elizabeth made a historic broadcast to the Commonwealth.

"As I speak to you today," she said, "I am 6 000 miles from the country where I was born. But I am certainly not 6 000 miles from home . . ."

She spoke about the hospitality of the South Africans she and her sister, Princess Margaret, had received, about the "terrible and glorious" years of World War 2 and about her faith in the future of a Commonwealth of Nations.

And she finished: "I declare before you all that my whole life, whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your service, and the service of our great imperial family to which we all belong."

Now, nearly 50 years later, she is Queen, the empire is all but lost, but the Commonwealth is bigger and stronger and more diverse than even she could have imagined at the time, and she will once again be returning "home".

The Queen's six-day tour of South Africa is regarded politically as one of the most important of her reign.

With the new South Africa opening up to foreign investment, it is also hugely important to Britain commercially.

But most of the significance of her return to South Africa is undoubtedly personal: in the years since her first visit, South Africa had turned its back on both Britain and the Commonwealth. "Throughout that time, the Queen never lost hope that South Africa would one day return to the Commonwealth," a Buckingham Palace source said.

When President Mandela invited the Queen to visit South Africa last year, she accepted the invitation immediately.

In order to recapture memories of that earlier visit, her arrival on board a chartered British Airways 767 was planned as a low-key affair, allowing her and the Duke of Edinburgh to rest on board the royal yacht Britannia, round the Cape of Good Hope, and disembark to a 21-gun salute in Cape Town harbour early tomorrow morning.

By royal standards, it is a small party accompanying the Queen — about 12 members of the royal household — but 40 support staff and nearly 300 Britannia crew will ensure the trip is comfortable.

Although the Queen will be accompanied by her personal protection officers, overall security has been handed over to South African authorities in consultation with their British counterparts.

"For obvious reasons, we don't go into detail about security arrangements.

"However, we can say our security authorities are in close touch, and they consider there is no greater risk to the Queen than on any other tour," a palace spokesman said.

"In fact, enthusiasm is the major issue — crowds of well-wishers, rather than protesters."

But, despite that, the Queen made it clear that she wanted every possible opportunity to meet people at as many levels and in as many contexts as possible.

As well as a succession of formal parades, appearances, banquets and speeches, she will visit six townships around the country, going on informal walkabouts there, as well as in all the city centres she visits.

Meetings with central, provincial and local government officials, as well as with individual South Africans, are intended to signal recognition and respect for the country's ambitious multicultural experiment.

Contact with British businessmen and aid organisations is aimed at applauding their active contribution to the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

"The purpose of the visit is to underline the importance Britain attaches to its relationship with South Africa . . . and to welcome the country back into the Commonwealth," a palace official said.

By comparison with the royal family's last visit to this country, it is a short tour.

In political terms, it is ranked by Britain's Foreign Office with her recent visits to Russia and China.

Of all her tours, there is no doubt among her advisers that this is one visit that she has wanted to make throughout her reign, and one promise — the promise of service to a family of nations made nearly half a century ago — that she has most wanted to see symbolically and practically fulfilled.

Stompie Seipei's murderer tells his friend Winnie:

'GET OUT NOW!'

(304A) CP 19/3/95

By PEARL RANTSEKENG

JERRY Richardson, murderer of teenage activist Stompie Seipei, this week appealed to Winnie Mandela from his prison cell to step down as a government minister – warning her "your enemies are out to destroy you".

Richardson claimed Democratic Party members had been sent into Leeuwkop prison on Monday "to suck" information from Agrippa Mbatha – serving a 25-year sentence for the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat – to attempt to connect Mandela to Asvat's murder.

Human rights

The DP, however, has said it was conducting a "human rights" investigation.

Richardson said that his life was in danger in prison because of his loyalty to the deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology – but that he would rather die than betray her.

Richardson, former manager of the notorious Mandela Football Club, was sentenced to death for Seipei's murder in August 1990. His sentence was later commuted to life in prison.

In an exclusive interview with City Press Richardson (47) said despite his loyalty to Winnie, he believed she should leave the government as her enemies in the ANC and others, such as DP leader Tony Leon, were out to "destroy" her.

He said innocent people were dying because of the controversy around Winnie – and that Paul Manana's assassination two weeks ago was a sign of things to come.

Manana was shot dea... outside his Thembisa home shortly after he had welcomed Mandela back from her aborted West African trip.

Richardson said: "If Winnie left politics there would be no reason for arguments between her supporters and her enemies. Her every controversial appearance on television is followed by conflict and tension in prison between her supporters and those who believe she is guilty of some crime."

He said he believed the people who interviewed Mbatha on Monday were DP members trying to reopen the Asvat case. They wanted to get Mbatha to say he had been sent by Winnie Mandela to kill Asvat, he alleged.

Asvat was gunned down inside his Soweto surgery at the time of the Mandela Football Club controversy. He is believed to have examined a severely assaulted Seipei before his disappearance and murder, and to have examined a youth who alleged he had been sexually assaulted by a minister of religion.

■ This week Asvat's brother, Dr Ebrahim Asvat, told City Press the Asvat family had been interviewed by DP members and had given them all the information they had gathered since Asvat's death.

He said he had tried unsuccessfully to interview Xoliswa Falati – convicted of kidnapping in the Seipei case with Winnie Mandela – after Falati alleged she knew who was behind Asvat's murder.

Azapo

Ebrahim Asvat said his brother had been an Azapo member and that Azapo had strong views on who was responsible for his death, even though two men had been convicted of the crime.

He said if the police did not bring further charges concerning his brother's

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BITTER ENDER ... Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zindzi at court this week. ■ Pic THULANI SITHOLE

'Quit now, Winnie'

(304A) CP 19/3/95

■ From Page 1

murder "there is always the Truth Commission".

■ A spokesman for Tony Leon, Robert Desmarais, said the DP inquiry had nothing to do with the Seipei case, but was a human rights issue concerning alleged victims of the Mandela Football Club, Asvat's murder and other unsolved crimes, such as the disappearance of Lolo Sono, last seen badly beaten up in the company of members of the notorious club.

"Lolo's mother and father are still desperate to learn what happened to him. They believe he is dead and want to recover his body for a proper burial," Desmarais said.

The Sonos, the Asvats and others felt the "old" administration and police had not investigated the cases properly, he said.

"We feel that with a new police commissioner and his promise of proper investigations we might get somewhere at last."

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by N Dreyer, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Kids raped as 'cur

By NOMVULA KHALO

MYTH that raping a ld aged between nine nths and 10 years will : Aids is contributing tragic increase in ld rape cases in to.

ccording to latest sta- s, about a hundred children below the age of 10 are raped in Soweto daily.

In one of the most recent of these brutal attacks on defenceless children this week, a five-year-old Diepkloof girl was treated at Baragwanath Hospital after being raped by an unknown man.

City Press spo little girl who her horrific orde

She said she by her mother to buy bread was confronte rapist.

The man pick

■ To Page 2

arty officials? And ho

AN DHLAMINI

EMIER Popo efe's North West incial government of- ls are alleged by Dr e Witt of the United istian Democratic y to have spent at R500 000 on enter- nent and accommo- n at hotels in the re- since late last year.

has also come to light that Premier Ngoako Ramatlhodi's Northern Transvaal government spent about R173 000 in entertaining government officials and visitors between last May and February this year.

North West government officials are alleged to have refused to live in the houses previously occupied by Bophuthatswana ministers – hence the astronomical hotel bill.

Members of t ince's executive are also said to ceived about R each to furnish t cial residences.

Spokesm Molefe's office Modise, could firm the figures t and said the ma under investigati

Modise said th cial government

■ To Page 2

SACP to fight for 'own space'

(304A) STAR 20/3/95

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 structures within communities.

Office-bearers in Gauteng were all re-elected to their positions. They are Trevor Fowler (chairman), Bob Mabaso (deputy chairman), Jabu Moleketi (general secretary), Trish Hanekom (assistant general secretary) and Loretta Jakobus (treasurer). — Staff Reporter.

Queen welcomed in city

CHEERFUL ARRIVAL: Queen Elizabeth II, escorted by South African Air Force Flight Commander Christo Stoebel, greeted SAAF helicopter crew warmly on her arrival at D F Malan Airport yesterday.

PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

Monarch 'glad to be back in SA'

(304A)

CLAIRE BISSEKER

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, Zanele.

There were no crowds to welcome her in the remote cargo section where the British Airways 767 came to a halt, but a few determined royalists 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 Zanele Ngokane, 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 48 years".

"She said she had a good flight and a good view of Cape Town," he said.

A posse 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 Stroebel, 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.

Alighting 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 Eck.

Prince Philip

CT 20/3/95

She accepted a posy before ascending the gangway, paused 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 aeroplanes 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 Reeve, South African chief of protocol Mr Alan Harvey and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Aziz Pahad.

- People wishing to catch a glimpse of the Queen at the Waterfront or Parliament today should arm themselves with rain wear as the weather is expected to be partly cloudy with showers.
- It was reported at the weekend 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.

INSIDE

More pictures and reports on

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Calm last leg for the Britannia

STAFF REPORTER

THE royal yacht Britannia left Simon's Town last night in cloudy conditions with occasional light rain escorted by two strike craft, two mine sweepers and a small harbour patrol vessel.

The predicted gale-force black south-easter did not materialise and the Britannia rounded Cape Point in swells of 1,5 metres.

The Britannia was a blaze of light when she left Simon's Town at 10.10pm.

She turned towards Muizenberg before heading south.

The Queen was presented with a photographic album by Simon's Town mayor Mrs Pauline van Eck 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 operations room reported last night that there was nothing out of the ordinary about the Britannia sailing last night.

'Welcome Ma'am': Cheers for Queen

ARG 20/3/95 (304A)

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 Mtirara, 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 Feinhauer.

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 Bantom.

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 10 am. 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.

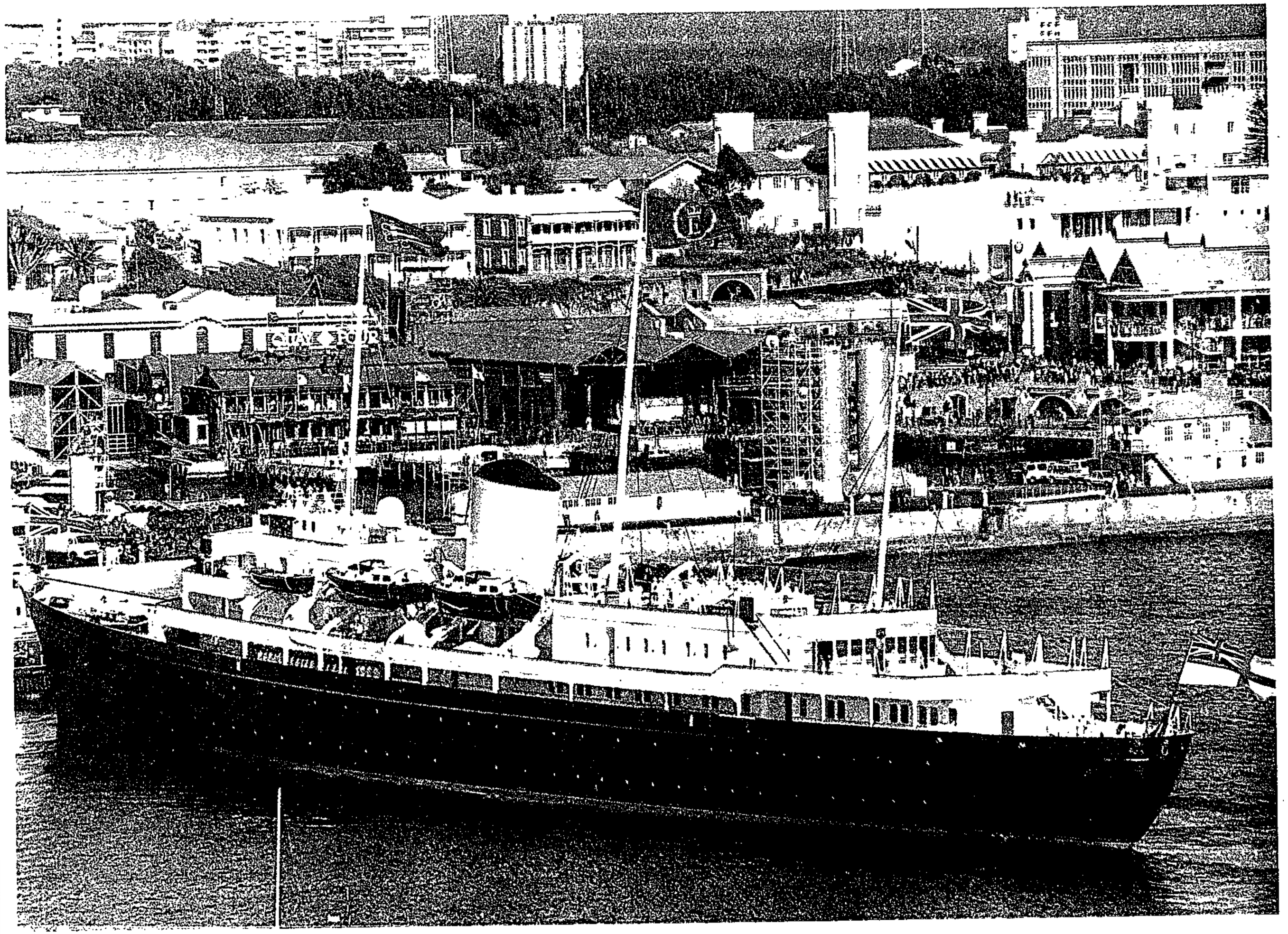
They were followed by other dignitaries, including the deputy presidents and their wives.

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.



Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus.

ROYAL YACHT: Crowds of people watch as HMY Brittania docks at the Victoria and Alfred basin at 9.15am today.

□□□□

Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

INSPECTION: The Queen inspects the naval guard of honour. With her is Lieutenant Commander Chris Feinhauer.

Queen attends special human rights service at cathedral

(304A) ARG 21/3/95

Staff Reporter

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 the Commonwealth War Graves at Maitland Cemetery in Epping.

The Queen was guest of honour at a lunch at Vergelegen in Somerset West, hosted by Western Cape premier Hernus 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.

HUMAN RIGHTS SERVICE: The Dean of St George's Cathdedral, Colin Jones, escorts Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip into the cathedral at the start of today's special Human Rights Day service.

CAPE TOWN ROLLS OUT RED CARPET FOR ROYAL VISITOR

Glittering banquet for Queen Elizabeth II

CT 21/3/95 (304A)

BANQUET: Queen Elizabeth II with President Nelson Mandela during the playing of the national anthems before the start of the state banquet held in the Queen's honour yesterday. The Queen is on a six-day state visit to South Africa, the first by a ruling monarch since 1947. Mr Mandela wears his Order of Merit ribbon presented to him by the Queen earlier in the day. *PICTURE: AP*

THE ROYAL visit was celebrated in splendour 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 showered 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 at the end of Day 1 of the royal visit rich in symbolism and nostalgia, Mr Mandela told the British monarch: "Both from the point of view of our developing links and the esteem in which we hold your country and your people, for the critical role you played to shape our new dawn, this will indeed be a special and fond occasion for me."

At the glittering event, which was also attended by about 420 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 and Soweto.

INSIDE
More pictures and reports – Pages 5 & 7

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 oil 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

STAFF REPORTER

WATERFRONT restaurants were asked by the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront yesterday to "tone down" their music and live bands to allow the Queen a good night's sleep on board her Royal Yacht Britannia — berthed less than 100 metres away at Jetty 1.

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 Mtirara — 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

BD 22/3/95

ADRIAN HADLAND

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. (304A)

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 Nkadimeng 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.

Court: Mr Mandela's rights

ARG 22/3/95 (304A)

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 Zinzi 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

(304A) ARG 22/3/95

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 candidature 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 amalgation 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."

Makwetu backs Winnie's stand

ARG 22/3/95

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu has slammed the government for not meeting its promises, and appeared to praise the stand taken by Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela in challenging the government.

Speaking at a Human Rights Day rally at the Sharpeville's George Thabe Stadium, he said it was with sadness that he saw "what is happening within our democratically elected government".

He said a very senior member of the majority party had realised what the PAC had been saying all along and had started openly questioning "this wisdom".

"And what does she get for that? No, not a thank-you for pointing out these things but a dressing-down, a police raid and a threat of expulsion (from the cabinet)."

Later at the stadium, police used state vehicles to transport disorderly and heavily armed members of the African National Congress to their hostels in Sebokeng after they staged an impromptu rally of their own at the stadium.

Police were seen using police vans to transport the ANC supporters from the stadium.

Earlier the men, who were armed with an assortment of weapons, had fired shots in the air and caused pandemonium among other ANC supporters.

Members of the PAC earlier condemned the invasion of the stadium by ANC supporters.

The stadium had been booked for a commemoration rally by the PAC and when it was invaded, members of the PAC who were busy gathering their goods and folding a tent, had to leave the stadium.

The ANC had been holding an electioneering meeting at the Miami Beach picnic spot, more than 2 km from the stadium, when they suddenly moved to the Sharpeville Hall and to the stadium.

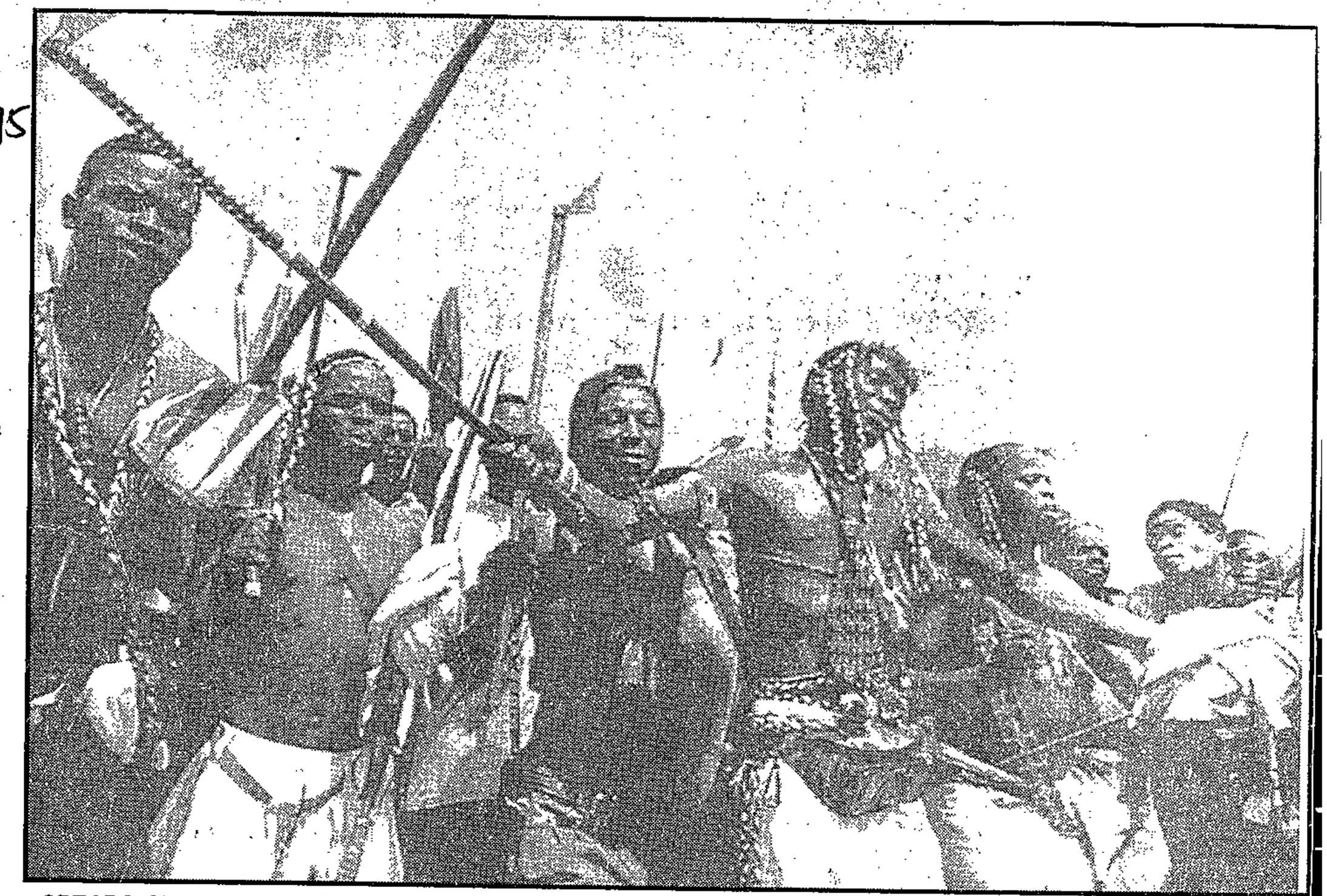
As they moved to the hall and to the stadium, they brandished "traditional" weapons and fired shots in the air.

ANC Vaal Triangle secretary Cobra Mashiloane said the armed men "posed" no threats to life.

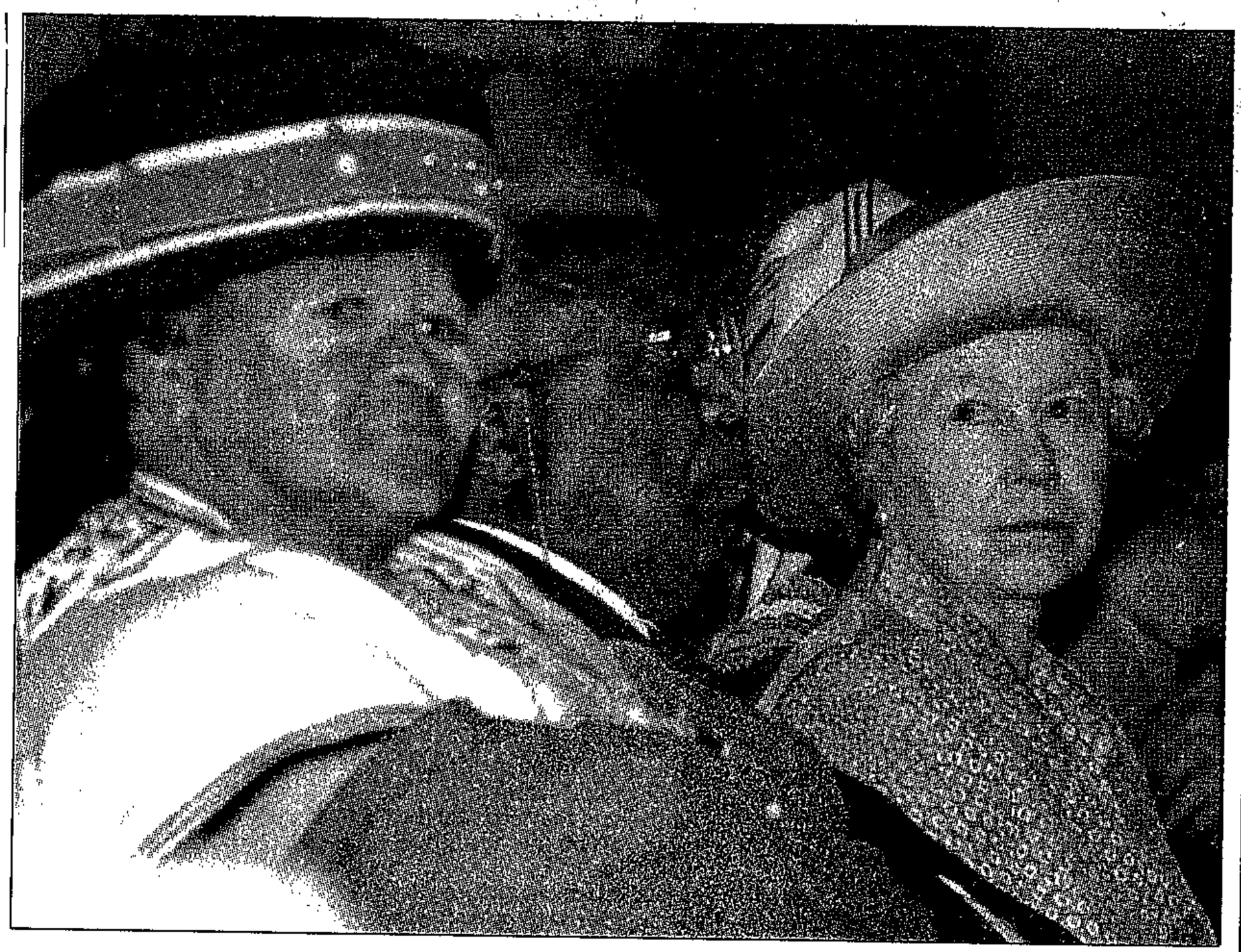
He said the group moved to the stadium after the hall proved too small to accomodate all the people.

The PAC used the occasion to attack the government of national unity and called for the renaming of Human Rights Day to woo voters for the local elections in November.

Compared to the PAC rally, the ANC's was chaotic and speakers appealed regularly for order, as members went about chanting and firing shots in the air. — Sapa.



SPEARS OF THE NATION: Armed residents arrive for a Human Rights Day rally at Tokoza stadium to commemorate the deaths of 69 people killed by police in the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.



TASTE OF AFRICA: Queen Elizabeth II with Eastern Cape Premier Mr Raymond Mhlaba and his wife Thandile, in traditional dress, at the Centenary Hall in New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth, yesterday. The Queen watched choirs, singers and dancers perform a traditional dance on the third day of her official South African visit. *PICTURE: AP*

Queen 'snubbed' Flats

(304A)

CT 23/3/95

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 look 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

(304A) CT 23/3/95

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 Streicher 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. ARG 23/3/95

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. (304A)

Labour MP slams Government critics

(304A)

Sowetan 23/3/95

■ DEMOCRACY RULES Major changes in culture of human rights and social justice:

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*.

Winnie

(304A)

'The people alone, and no individual, will decide my political future'

Challenge from

Star 23/3/95

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 populist 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.

The estranged wife of President Mandela read out the warning yesterday after her court victory over police who raided her home and offices in search of evidence of alleged corruption.

"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 unbowed 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".

Winnie 'not off hook'

By Themba Molefe and *Sapa*

THE DECISION by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday to overturn search warrants which authorised raids on the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela will not affect investigations into her alleged misconduct.

This was the message from Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi after Mrs Mandela's successful court application in which Mr Justice PE Streicher invalidated the warrants which had led to the raids on her home and relief aid offices.

"The present court case was confined to the question of the search warrants only and did not deal with the substance of the allegation of criminal conduct against Mrs Mandela," Mufamadi said.

"The national commissioner of the South African Police Service will meet soon with the investigating officer to be appraised of the state of the investigation," he added.

Mr Justice Streicher said magistrate Mr I Olivier's reasons for issuing the warrants were 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.

The judge said the respondents, Mufamadi and Olivier, should pay the costs of the application and the legal costs.

He said he could only validate the warrants if it could be shown that the magistrate had applied his mind to the matter.

A warrant would be valid if the magistrate believed there were sound reasons for issuing it. This could not be overturned simply because another court did not believe such grounds existed.

(304A) sowetan 23/3/95

'Her name was brought into disrepute and she was internationally scandalised without cause'

— Khoisan X!

Police Commissioner George Fivaz said he had taken note of the judgment in the case and would discuss it with police officials before commenting fully on the matter.

The African National Congress welcomed the court's ruling.

In a statement released by general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC said: "The judgment has most certainly reaffirmed the constitutional rights of all citizens of our country.

"It is the basic democratic and constitutional right of our people to be afforded a fair trial in the event of allegations being levelled against them."

Public apologies

The Pan Africanist Congress in the Gauteng Legislature called on President Nelson Mandela and Mufamadi to offer public apologies to Mrs Mandela.

In a statement, Gauteng PAC MP Khoisan X! said the President would also have to reimburse Mrs Mandela for any expenses she incurred as a result of police action.

"Her name was brought into disrepute and she was internationally scandalised without cause," Khoisan X! said.

"The Minister of Safety and Security must announce what measures he will take against the police officials who ordered the search of her home," he added.

Winnie 'not off hook'

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SPAR

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There's a friendly SPAR wherever you are.

By Themba Molefe and *Sapa*

THE DECISION by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday to overturn search warrants which authorised raids on the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela will not affect investigations into her alleged misconduct.

This was the message from Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi after Mrs Mandela's successful court application in which Mr Justice PE Streicher invalidated the warrants which had led to the raids on her home and relief aid offices.

"The present court case was confined to the question of the search warrants only and did not deal with the substance of the allegation of criminal conduct against Mrs Mandela," Mufamadi said.

"The national commissioner of the South African Police Service will meet soon with the investigating officer to be appraised of the state of the investigation," he added.

Mr Justice Streicher said magistrate Mr I Olivier's reasons for issuing the warrants were 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.

The judge said the respondents, Mufamadi and Olivier, should pay the costs of the application and the legal costs.

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304A

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"The Minister of Safety and Security must announce what measures he will take against the police officials who ordered the search of her home," he added.

Tumultuous welcome

(304A) ARG 24/3/95

☐ *Gauteng crowds ignore rain to glimpse the Queen*

HI THERE! The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh share a joke at Avalon cemetery in Soweto.

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-spattered 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 1.

More than 800 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 Gallagher 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."

Shake-up of regions' powers

ANC plans shun Inkatha's federal option

304A

BD 24/3/95

DREW FORREST

THE ANC has drawn up proposals for SA's final constitution which make no concessions to the Inkatha 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 technikons), 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 supple-

☐ To Page 2

ANC

☐ From Page 1

ment 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 constituency. Parliament would be made up of 200 or 150 constituency MPs and the same number elected by proportional representation;
- ☐ An end to enforced coalition government; and
- ☐ 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

WM 29-30/3/95 (304A)

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 if 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."

FM 24/3/95 (304A)

THE ROYAL VISIT

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.

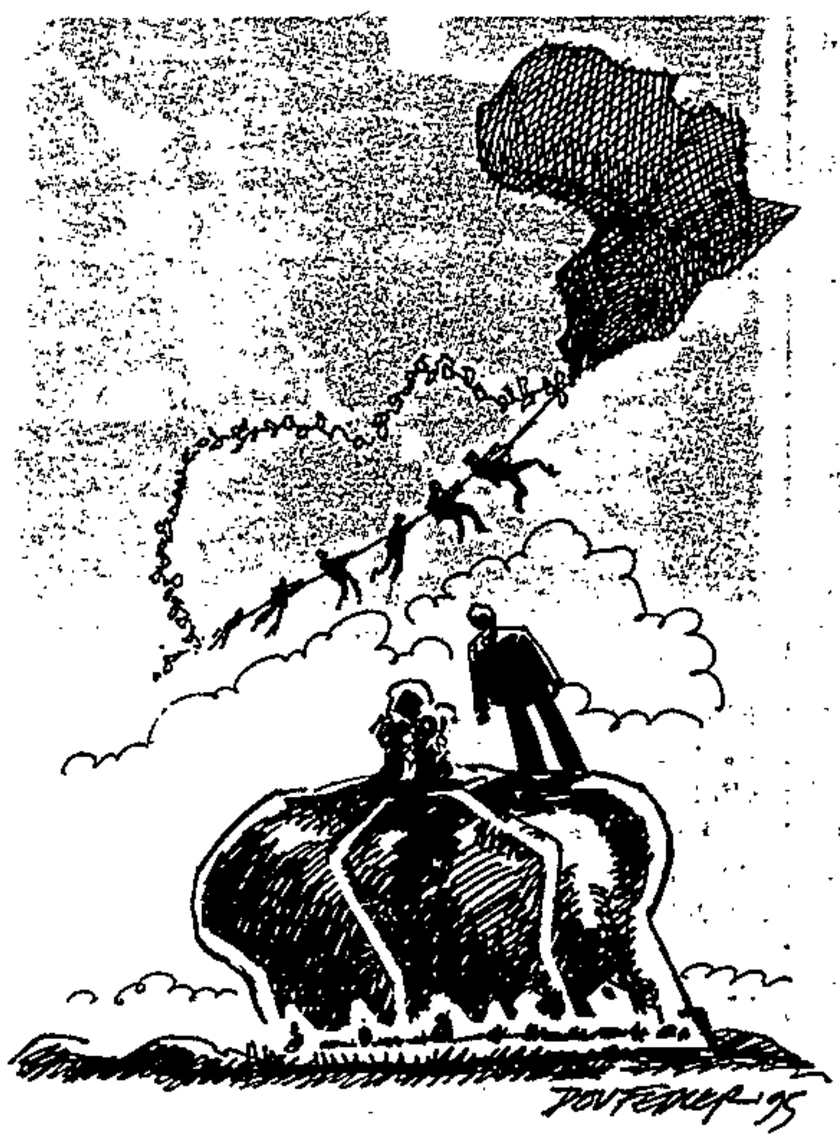
The reason is simple: the Queen represents that most treasured of political assets, continuity. Elizabeth is directly descended from the medieval kings, latest in a line that runs through several centuries (with, of course, a few name changes and an execution along the way, but the myth has sufficient 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. ■

Winnie: enough evidence to press ahead, says Commissioner Fivaz

2

Police ready for round

Star 24/3/95 (304A)

■ BY BRENDAN TEMPLETON

Police Commissioner George Fivaz has said there is enough evidence to press ahead with the investigation of corruption and other offences involving Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela.

But her attorney, Templeton Mageza, says Mandela is considering suing the police for their high-profile raid on her home last month. She won the first round of their confrontation on Wednesday, when the Rand Supreme Court invalidated the raids and police were forced to return all the documents taken from her home and offices during their searches.

But there is another cloud hanging over her head, as The Star's political editor, Kaizer Nyatsumba, reported in Wednesday editions.

This concerns a presidential decision on disciplinary action against her for her unauthorised trip to West Africa last month.

The Star had been informed that President Mandela and his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, have decided to dismiss the deputy minister — but only after Queen Elizabeth has completed her tour this weekend.

DEADLINE is being negotiated for the hand-over of certain documents to police

After Wednesday's court judgment, Winnie offered to hand over certain documents to the police, and a "reasonable deadline" was being negotiated with her lawyers, Fivaz told The Star yesterday.

Fivaz also said new warrants would be applied for against Mandela if she did not freely hand over the documents. He had earlier yesterday met his legal advisers and detectives investigating allegations of corruption, fraud and theft against Mandela.

"I have taken note of Mrs Mandela's reported offer to provide police with any documentation considered necessary by the investigative team to probe the case with which she and others are linked," Fivaz said.

Fivaz continued: "In this regard, police will approach Mrs Mandela's legal representatives in order to facilitate the handing over of the relevant documentation within a reasonable period."

Mediation or we quit — IFP

(304A) Sowetan 24/3/95

■ DO OR DIE Inkatha gives the GNU until April 4 for mediation to be reality:

IF 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

ST 26/3/95 (304A)

⇨ **From Page 1**

now come to a head.

The charges against her would certainly be grave enough in most democracies to warrant some form of severe censure.

The main political charges are of disloyalty, disobedience and wilfulness. She publicly attacked the government of which she is a member and to date has not only failed to apologise properly, but has made sure that everybody knew that the final craven apology that went out under her name was in fact drafted by Mr Mbeki.

Top members of the ANC Women's League, including a cabinet minister, have meanwhile walked out in protest against her "undemocratic" conduct as league president. When Mr Mandela insisted she be present at a crucial ANC meeting to discuss the crisis, she instead left on a foreign trip. It is for this that she is being called to account.

A further charge, which Mr Mandela is happy at present to leave in the hands of the police, is that she used her public office to advance her own interests and that of an "anti-poverty programme" she set up in the East Rand townships.

A combination of events — absence abroad, her court application to overturn a defective police search warrant of her home, royal visits — have delayed a final decision by the president on her future.

Mrs Mandela has spent the time effectively. She has used her court victory against bungling police and justice officials skilfully to divert the debate from the real one, the accountability of high officials in a democracy, into a less real one about whether or not she is the victim of a "Get Winnie" campaign run by her own colleagues.

In this she is consummate. Those who allowed themselves to be used by "sinister" forces would find themselves "hunting with the devil", she said this week. "They should therefore not be surprised when the masses call their bluff."

Today she is stumping the slum areas of the Western Cape with her fellow "populists", Peter Mokaba and Tony Yengeni, where she will no doubt speak of her "supreme mission" to make life better for all South Africans. If there is money left from her poverty relief programme, the poor may yet see some of it.

Is the tardiness of the government to act against her because of fear of the political repercussions?

Those closest to the President vehemently dispute the charge. They point to the fact that her support is primarily in the Gauteng area (it was not by chance that the province's premier Tokyo Sexwale was the only ANC premier to oppose her dismissal when first mooted by Mr Mandela).

But even then, in a straight Winnie versus Madiba battle it would be no contest: the moral authority and popularity of the President is unassailable. Mrs Mandela is good theatre, but without a platform (an imprisoned husband, leadership of the women's league, a cabinet portfolio) the past has shown she becomes a sideshow — pyrotechnic and potentially dangerous, but not life-threatening.

And yet the instinctive ANC response to internal division is compromise. The deputy minister may yet be the beneficiary.

Perhaps her nemesis will not be her long-suffering and deeply aggrieved husband, but a 25-year-old drifter who was once sent to Sterkfontein hospital for observation because he heard "voices speaking to me".

Katiza Cebekhulu was one of Mrs Mandela's bodyguards in the violent era between 1988 and 1991 when her cohorts waged a reign of terror in Soweto. He was accused, with her, of having kidnapped and assaulted Stompie Seipei, the 14-year-old waif who was eventually murdered by one of the deputy minister's former worshippers.

Cebekhulu fled the country in 1991 and is now in hiding in an unnamed African country. He has alleged in court papers that she ordered the "elimination" of political opponents. One of them was subsequently attacked and nearly murdered.

The allegations are now under renewed investigation by the police. Tony Leon, leader of the Democratic Party, was in London this week to talk to a British MP who is in contact with Cebekhulu.

In a statement to the Sunday Times, Mrs Mandela urged Mr Leon to bring her accuser back so he could give evidence in an open court. But, says the statement from her office, "Mrs Mandela undertakes to ask Police Commissioner (George) Fivaz to ensure that Mr Cebekhulu is not abused while he is under the care of Mr Leon". More vintage Winnie.

THIS WEEK'S ROYAL VISIT WAS MOMENTOUS, SOLEMN AND DIGNIFIED, BUT IT ITS LIGHTER MOMENTS

The white queen who came to pay her respects to the black president

REPUBLICAN WELCOME . . . Members of the Imilonji ka Ntu choir wait for the Queen outside Gallagher Estate, near Midrand.
■ Pic:EVANS MBOWENI

SOLEMN OCCASION . . . Queen Elizabeth II and President Nelson Mandela at a special luncheon at the Cape Sun hotel in Cape Town this week.
■ Pic: FANIE JASON

THE QUEEN COMES TO HOSPITAL . . . Queen Elizabeth chats to a social worker at Baragwanath hospital in Soweto this week while a woman waits for her paraplegic child to be attended to.
■ Pic:EVANS MBOWENI

P 26/3/95

(304A)

A defiant Winnie Mandela flouts the president's instruction to resign from the government

'FIRE ME, NELSON!'

(304A)

CP 26/3/95

BY DESMOND BLOW

PRESIDENT Mandela is faced with the dilemma of firing his estranged wife Winnie from his government – after she defiantly refused his order to resign from her post as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

According to informants close to the Cabinet, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki informed Winnie when they met at his home two weeks ago that Mandela wanted her resignation for defying him after he had ordered her not to go on her West African jaunt.

'Dirty work'

Winnie apparently stared Mbeki in the face and told him: "Go tell the president I will not resign. The president will have to fire me himself.

"I will not do your dirty work."

Mandela was out of the country at the time and Mbeki only reported to him on his return.

■ What was said at the meeting – on March 10 – between Mbeki and Winnie Mandela has never been revealed.

Both have remained tight-lipped about their discussion.

There have been strong rumours that President Mandela is to fire Winnie

WINNIE MANDELA

tomorrow – but there has also been speculation that, in order to spare her humiliation, he might reshuffle the Cabinet and so omit his wife.

THABO MBEKI

According to City Press' informants, when Thabo Mbeki – who has always been a supporter of Winnie's – met her at his home, he informed her that the president had asked him to get a full explanation of why she had defied him and gone to West Africa.

She told Mbeki that the trip, although cultural, had not been arranged by her department, but by Foreign Affairs. She said it had been made a long time before and all the arrangements had been completed in the African states for her visit.

Mandela said when she received a letter from the president telling her not to go, she wrote a reply explaining the circumstances and the embarrassment it would cause foreign governments if she called the trip off.

She said the president did not reply and that she had then written a second letter.

Foreign Affairs

She explained in the letter that it was a Foreign Affairs decision and that the department should have been informed of the president's order to cancel the trip – and not her.

Winnie said when she received no reply to her letters, she assumed the president was no longer opposed to her going – so

■ To Page 2

'Fire me!' – Winnie

■ From Page 1

(304A) CP 26/3/95

she went on the trip.

Mbeki then told her Mandela had instructed him to tell her: "This was open defiance" – and that she was instructed to resign from the Cabinet.

The defiant Winnie replied: "You go tell him I will not resign.

"I will not do your dirty work. You must fire me – I will not make it easier for you.

"I am not a person to frighten. The people must know you have fired me."

NSL 'mischief' afoot?

CP REPORTERS

NATIONAL Soccer League chief gate controller David Thidiela, who was suspended by the NSL this week for possible financial irregularities, claims the real motive for his suspension is a clash of business and other interests with a top NSL executive.

In a statement yesterday he said he intended to "ventilate" these problems to keep his good name unimpaired.

Friends of Thidiela claim that deep rifts with-

IRVIN KHOZA

in the NSL were behind his "secret" suspension.

The NSL has made no announcement of Thidiela's suspension but news of it was leaked to a daily newspaper this week before Thidiela was informed.

Friends of Thidiela claim he is caught in a power struggle between what are known as the "A" and "B" teams – Kaiser Chiefs, headed by Kaiser Moutang and Orlando Pirates, headed by Irvin Khoza, who is also vice-chairman of the NSL.

An associate of Thidiela said this week that because he was known to

KAISER MOTAUNG

have been a member of the "A" team efforts

■ To Page 2

Alive to claim torture

By XOLISWA MFAXA

A SUSPECT in a theft case, considered dead and taken to a government mortuary in Umtata, shocked the police and mortuary workers when he started coughing – just seconds before his body was to be refrigerated.

The man lived to tell a tale of torture at the hands of the police.

According to Mcetywa, he was arrested and taken to the Umtata central police station on charges of theft. He claims he was handcuffed, assaulted with sticks and sjambok, throttled and suffocated.

He claims he was driven to a dirt road where he was told he was going to be killed.

According to his attorney, Mpumelelo Nqimnu, he was shot in the abdomen and driven straight to the government mortuary.

Shortly before putting him into the refrigerator the police realised he was alive. He was then taken to hospital.

■ Charges have been laid against three policemen.

Satanic ex urge o kill'

JOHN ROL

ANC goes back to square one

(304A)

ST 26/3/95

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.

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

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 centrism 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 centrism 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 punts 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 implemenation 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.

Chiefs reassured on secure future

LT 27/3/95 (304A)

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.

NOTHING TO FEAR: President Nelson Mandela.

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. — Reuter

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 Aslitha 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 Mandela 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 Faku, 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 selection, and the administrative details related to the

'I WILL NEVER LEAVE THE ANC, IT BELONGS TO ME'

Mandela poised to act on defiant Winnie

CT 27/3/95

(304A)

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 Mufamadi 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."

RADICAL ALLIES: A defiant Mrs Winnie Mandela with MP Mr Tony Yengeni, one of her supporters, at an ANC rally in Philippi yesterday. She told the crowd of around 2 000 mainly squatters that the government was failing to deliver on the promises it had made to the electorate. *PICTURE: BENNY GOOL*

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 Tuynhuys 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 steamrollered by newspapers baying 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

'Angry' Winnie slams her critics

(304A) ARG 27/3/95

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

DEPUTY Minister Winnie Mandela is on the counter-attack against what she has called a police and Press campaign against her.

And, while insisting she will never leave the African National Congress, she says she is "shocked and deeply angered" by what is happening to the organisation to which she has devoted her life.

Mrs Mandela and fellow ANC militants Tony Yengeni and Peter Mokaba were given an enthusiastic welcome yesterday by a crowd of about 3 000 people at a local government election rally in Philippi.

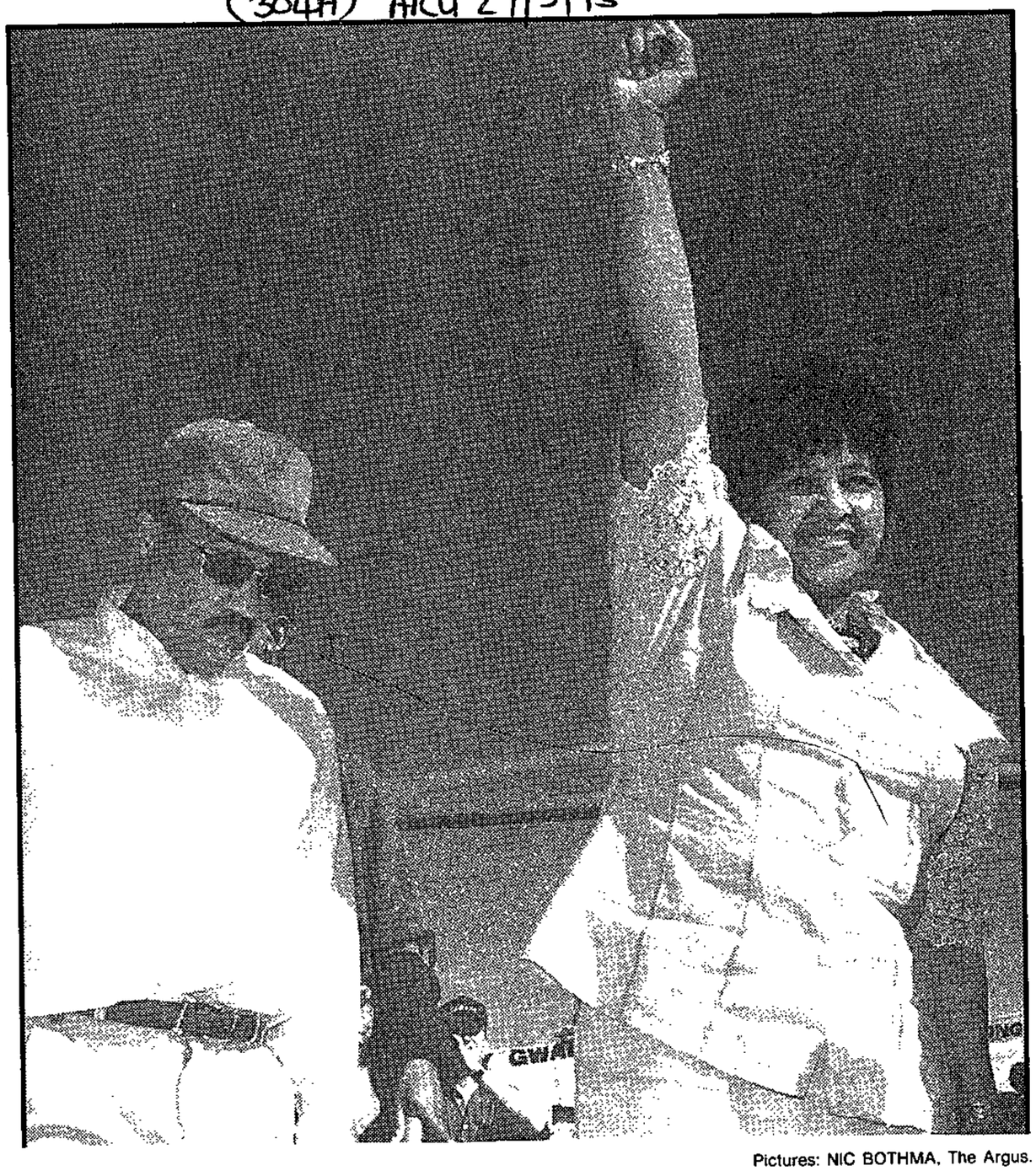
The crowd, mostly from surrounding informal settlements, represented a constituency certain to be alienated by any decision to dismiss Mrs Mandela from the post of deputy minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

It has been reported that an announcement about Mrs Mandela's future, after an investigation into her unauthorised trip to West Africa, could be made this week.

Mr Mokaba and Mr Yengeni, who joined in the broadside against police and Press, emphasised the theme of unity within the ANC and between the movement and its allies in the run-up to local government elections.

In a fiery speech, Mrs Mandela said:

- She had told her lawyers to institute legal action against Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi and Commissioner George Fivaz;
- She was suing a Sunday newspaper because of reports linking her to alleged fraud;
- The Press had chosen to highlight a "communications breakdown" between herself and President Mandela's office about her trip to West Africa;
- Elements of covert and overt operations of yesteryear were in collusion with "those engaged in a subtle power struggle" and were misleading the country through a hostile and racist Press owned by white racists.



Pictures: NIC BOTHMA, The Argus.

GREETING: ANC Western Cape strongman Tony Yengeni, left, an ally of Mrs Mandela, beside her on stage as she exchanges warm greetings with the crowd in Philippi.

Mrs Mandela said she had had messages of support from outside the ANC, including from Inkatha Freedom Party leader and Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu and "ordinary Afrikaners".

"All of those messages said one thing: In spite of our differences, we recognise your constitutional rights have been violated and we stand by you in the fight to have redress for that, because whatever happens to you can happen to every one of us."

It had been thought that April last year had brought an end to the era of police raids and media collusion, but this was untrue.

"If the system we have inherited can so casually unleash such a humiliating campaign against a deputy minister of government, and in the full view of the world's electronic media, how safe can any one of us be?" she asked.

Mrs Mandela was careful, in her plea for support for the ANC in the November local government elections, to address possible disillusionment.

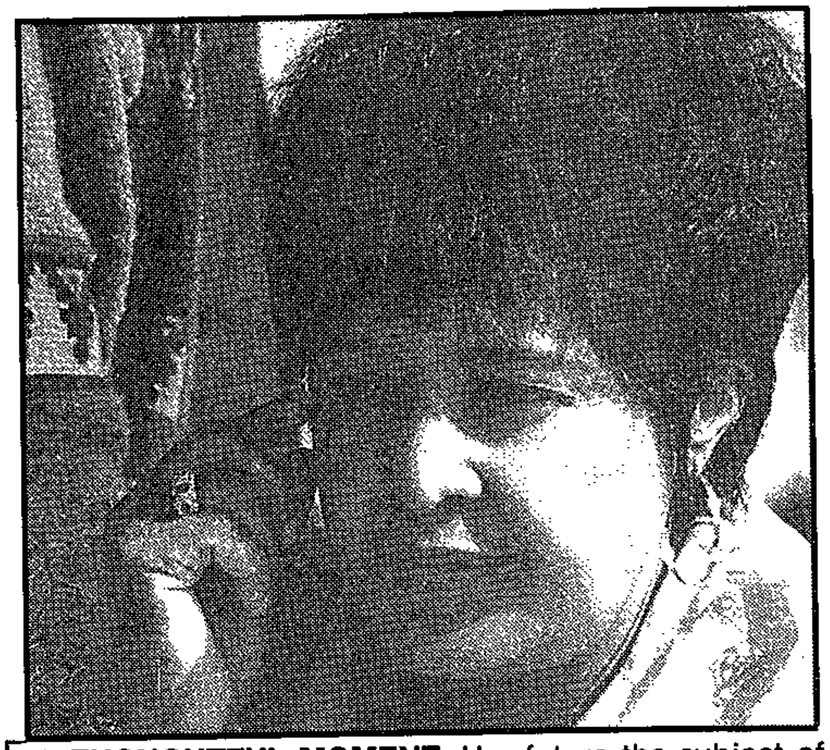
"Some of you may well ask, 'Why should we continue supporting you when so little has changed?' "

She said the ANC had devised the Reconstruction and Development Programme and, more so than any other party, was implementing it.

"The ANC led you in your struggle against apartheid.

"The ANC alone will restitute *(sic)* your rights to you — ensure you will ultimately have your houses, your electricity, your running water, your jobs, your health services, your schools."

If these changes had not yet happened, it was because the ANC had not been in office long enough to carry them out, said Mrs Mandela.



A THOUGHTFUL MOMENT: Her future the subject of intense speculation, Winnie Mandela is caught in pensive mood during the rally.

3

Mokaba, Yengeni on campaign trail

Political Correspondent

"ANYONE who said toyi-toying was a thing of the past was wrong."

With these words, ANC MP Peter Mokaba climaxed his speech to a crowd of about 3 000 at an ANC local government election rally in a Philippi squatter camp yesterday.

Mr Mokaba was one of two speakers who preceded Winnie Mandela, Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. The other was fellow militant, MP Tony Yengeni.

Those whose feet raised dust in the toyi-toying on the Philippi soccer field will be crucial to the outcome of the November elections in the Western Cape.

Mr Mokaba and Mr Yengeni emphasised the unity of the ANC, making strong calls for support for the party in the elections.

Mr Mokaba's speech featured strong criticism of the police and the Press.

Calling for the firing of Police Commissioner George Fivaz, Mr Mokaba lashed out at the police for being part of the old order.

The ANC wanted a good relationship between the police and the masses.

But if police were allowed to act the way they did in their raid on Mrs Mandela's Soweto home, "expect them to bulldoze you down again in the squatter camp".

He said people should support the ANC in the elections because the National Party and its bureaucracy in the Western Cape were directing money away from the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

He warned that "demagogues" would try to get people to demonstrate against President Mandela and the government.

He urged the crowd not to get involved in protests which involved destruction of property or illegal occupation of land.

He said the Press were lying when they said there was a split in the ANC.

Mr Yengeni urged the crowd not to believe everything the media said.

"The media in this country is owned by whites. It is nothing else but a white media representing white interests."

Decision today on rebel Winnie

(304A) ARG 27/3/95

HUGH ROBERTON, Political Editor
and CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki are to make a statement on "a matter of national importance" today, amid growing pressure in and out of the government for Winnie Mandela to be fired.

Senior advisers and ANC officials were summoned to meetings early today, apparently to discuss strident weekend criticism of the government by the deputy minister of arts, culture, technology and science and some of her radical supporters.

The meetings were followed by an announcement from Mr Mandela's office that he and Mr Mbeki would jointly address a press conference at Tuynhuys this afternoon, although the announcement made no mention of the subject.

However, when ANC and government officials were asked this morning to comment, they said the matter would be dealt with later in the day.

Meanwhile, battle lines were forming for a showdown with Mrs Mandela and her militant allies.

In a speech described by senior ANC members as "portentous", Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale last night bluntly told the radicals to get in line or get out.

"Either you belong to the government and adhere to its policies, or you don't," Mr Sexwale said.

"Destructive criticism of the government cannot be tolerated."

He accused "lawless elements" of taking advantage of democracy to create a climate of lawlessness and disorder and warned that attacks on the person of the president by people inside and outside of government undermined the government.

Picture: NIC BOTHMA, The Argus.

MAKING A POINT: Speaking to thousands of people at an African National Congress rally in Philippi, deputy minister Winnie Mandela lashed out at police and Press — and vowed she would never leave the movement.

And in an unprecedented step shortly after midnight today, the ANC publicly repudiated weekend attacks on the police by Mrs Mandela and former Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, and gave their full support to new police commissioner George Fivaz.

In speeches in Philippi yesterday, Mrs Mandela and Mr Mokaba attacked the police and Mr Mokaba demanded the firing of Commissioner Fivaz.

The defiant speeches and attacks on Commissioner Fivaz led to late night meetings and the issuing of an official statement today, contradicting the radicals.

"The ANC gives its support to the newly appointed leadership of the South African Police Services. Whilst the ANC recognises that there are elements within the SAPS who still exhibit attitudes of the past, they remain a tiny minority.

"However, the new leadership of the SAPS has committed itself to upholding the rule of law and the constitution, and as such it deserves the support of all our people if we are to triumph in the fight against crime."

Senior members of the ANC were also appalled by Mrs Mandela's attacks on the royal visit and her public criticism of the welcome given to Queen Elizabeth.

Sapa reports that she alleged that the government spent R2,5-million "to entertain a British Queen — even buying tablecloths costing R5 000".

Speaking at an ANC Women's League meeting in Port Elizabeth on Saturday Mrs Mandela also accused the ANC of failing to live up to its promises.

● **More reports, pictures on page 4**

NEWS Mufamadi and Fivaz misled the public — Winnie ● First land reform project

Winnie to sue Mufamadi over raid

Sowetan 27/3/95 (304A)

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 Phillipi 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 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.

face charges of entering the
country illegally

NP bid to break mediation deadlock

(304A) BD 28/3/95

FAROUK CHOTHIA

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 Jacko Maree said De Klerk was "anxious" to see the mediation dispute resolved "timeously" 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 "constitution-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.

NEWS FEATURE *Rally to muster more support for Mrs Mandela was a resounding success*

Winnie wins hearts and minds

Sowetan 28/3/95 (304A)

Winnie Mandela

Peter Mokaba

Western Cape for allegedly being too radical and divisive in the region. Mokaba was reprimanded for his infamous racist chant of "kill the Boer, kill the farmer". And Gwala was suspended from the South African Communist Party for allegedly plotting to kill his moderate comrades, but these charges were not proved.

On Sunday the masses waited more than an hour and a half in the open sandy field. But at 3.26pm the long-awaited entourage arrived.

Adoring crowd

Winnie, sitting alone on the back seat of a beige Mercedes-Benz, smiled and waved at the adoring crowd as the fast cars, some with bodyguards dangling from half-open doors, went to the front.

The mood became upbeat as the dignitaries ascended the makeshift podium on the back of a stationary truck.

Some members of the crowd were perched on trucks and the roofs of their corrugated-iron shacks in a bid to catch a glimpse of their leaders.

As is traditional, the master of ceremony introduced the speakers with the usual struggle accolades and the crowd responded with the standard "vivas". But the loudest cheers were reserved for Winnie Nomzamo Mandela, who acknowledged the support by standing up and punching the air with a clenched fist.

"Viva, Comrade Winnie, Viva!" shouted the chorus of thousands of people, many of whom were clearly ecstatic to see their heroine in the flesh, not on television like so many leaders of the "people".

In this charged-up atmosphere Mr Gladstone Ntamo, who took over as the master of ceremonies, called for the praise-singer, a young man who seemed awed by the occasion but managed to heap accolades on the important guest — Winnie.

In an apparent attempt to underline the importance of the occasion, a second praise-singer was called — this time a more colourful man carrying a knobkerrie and sporting a fur headband.

Wearing a T-shirt with "Champ" on it, the praise-singer delighted the crowd as he elaborated on the successes of Umkhonto we Sizwe — and the sacrifices of Winnie. Even Winnie could not contain herself and giggled repeatedly.

First to speak was Tony Yengeni, the local hero and ANC MP, who took off his Ray Ban sunglassess before he addressed the masses.

His opening remarks were business-like. He emphasised the need to register in order to vote in the forthcoming local government elections. He also laced these comments with the need to vote for the "only bull in the kraal — the ANC and its leader Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela".

But it was his third point — the portrayal of Winnie as a victim — that set the tone of the meeting.

For the next four minutes or so, Yengeni continued with his argument that the "Press was trying to tell the ANC what to do about Winnie Mandela". The Press wanted the ANC to fire Winnie, he said, yet not a single member of the Government of National Unity had spoken on the matter. A chorus of voices shouted: "Winnie is going nowhere!"

Next item came from a black-and-white-clad choir, curiously named Nomzamo. Its lukewarm religious rendition did not distract Winnie from her conversation with Yengeni and Mokaba on stage. What the choir lacked was provided by a charged-up Mokaba, who kicked off with a string of stirring slogans extolling the ANC leadership.

Like Yengeni, he first had a go at the Press, dubbing it a "prophet of doom". He also slammed the police for raiding Winnie Mandela's home.

Don't remember

Another one-liner that appealed to the crowd was, "I don't remember having a comrade called Fivaz," referring to Police Commissioner George Fivaz.

Towards the end, he beckoned the crowd to join him in the toyi-toyi to prove wrong those who thought the dance had died. The atmosphere became festive as everybody joined the theatrical toyi-toyi.

For a moment, the troubles caused by the "villainous white-owned Press" and police raid on Winnie's house were forgotten. It seemed the comrades could toyi-toyi away their problems.

At 4.40pm, a youth who has become a popular feature in local political rallies, came on stage to imitate the voice of President Nelson Mandela.

Once again, Winnie could not contain herself. There was another brief performance from the amusing praise-singer.

At 4.57pm, it was Winnie's turn to speak. Strangely for a leader with strong grassroots support, Winnie's speech was in English — except when she wanted to take a swipe at journalists.

The chairman instructed a "person who can sing" to welcome Winnie and someone obliged with Winnie's favourite — *Yibambeni Bafana* (Hold on, young men). Pointing skyward with her left hand, Winnie led the song.

She was assisted by local activist Fatty Booi, who held a microphone in the one hand and a cellular phone in the other. Nevertheless, the crowd loved the song, which was followed by another one devoted to women, *Malibongwe Igama Lamakhosikazi*.

Winnie's first four minutes were almost fiery. She severely criticised a *Sunday Times* reporter for "thumb-sucking" stories. Calling the reporter concerned by her full name and accusing her of being decidedly anti-ANC, she said she would "like to see if she was here". She looked around among the Press members who were taking copious notes. Fortunately, the reporter was not there.

Before she spoke about her controversial West Africa trip, she asked the journalists in Xhosa to "clean your ears properly", as she was going to deal with an important issue. The crowd laughed and for a few seconds she laughed too.

At that stage, someone suggested that she should talk about Queen Elizabeth and Winnie replied that her "queen was Mrs Sandile". She added that the British Queen should "return the ears of Chief Hintsa", a Xhosa leader who fought against British colonialism. The crowd replied with loud applause.

After Winnie finished her 16-page speech, most people began to trickle away towards either the maze of shacks or their cars — ignoring pleas from the chairman "not to go home because the programme is not yet over".

Clearly, the people were satisfied. They had seen and heard their heroine. Perhaps the only person in Cabinet who speaks their language.

What they may not have known was that in less than 24 hours, their heroine would have become the former deputy minister, as she was axed late yesterday.

Winnie pays the price

Dismissal clears way for strong action against lawlessness

(304A)

■ BY NIALL AITCH

Gerard Lowe, the missing in Sin March 8, might be serial killer and ealer.

Yesterday t witched to Thaila evealed that two ts linked to m ohn Martin Scri isappeared in s umstances.

Officers from th an Mounted Pol

Star

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-expected 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.

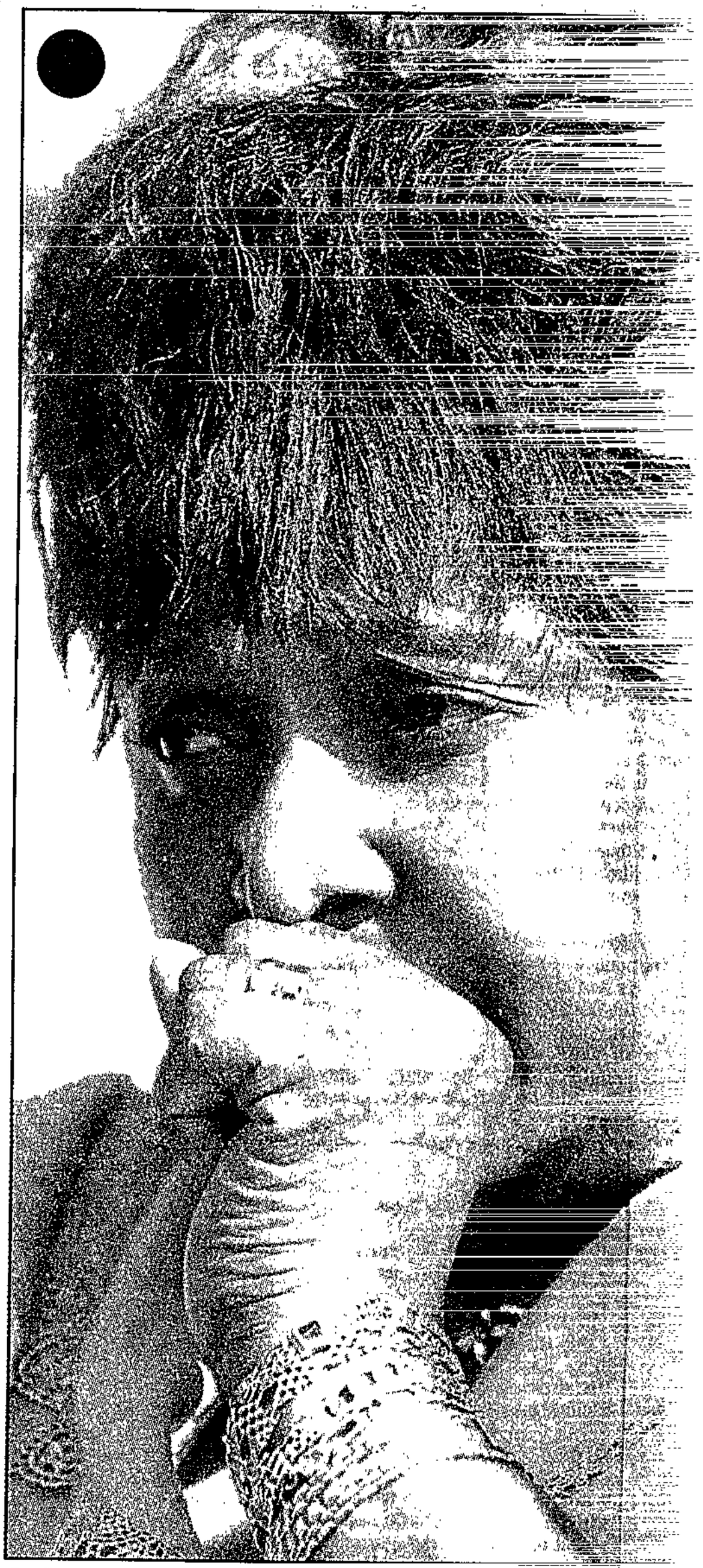
A stern-looking President Mandela made the announcement shortly after 3pm at a packed media conference at his Tuynhuys office.

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 Mabandla in her place.

Mandela would not give reasons for his wife's dismissal. These were believed to be related to her unauthorised visit to west Africa and statements indicating she did not support the GNU's policies.



Reflective . . . Winnie Mandela has been dismissed as de culture, science and technology.

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

P.T.O.

Winnie pays the price

(304A) Star 28/3/96

◀ From Page 1

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.

"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 DP welcomed the president's step.

Freedom Front chairman Pieter Mulder said: "We are convinced that the decision will strengthen President Nelson Mandela's image and not (Mrs) Mandela's as some commentators believed."

-y minister of arts,

PICTURE: AP

THE STAR / TUESDAY MARCH 28 1995

'She promised us houses, clinics, schools'

These squatters pinned their hopes on Winnie

(304A)

Star 28/3/95

Joyce Dlamini had pinned her hopes for a better future in the Phola Park squatter camp on Winnie Mandela.

So when she learnt yesterday that President Mandela had fired his estranged wife from his Government, she feared the worst.

"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 Tokoza, south-east of Johannesburg.

People here remember Mrs Mandela handing 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 Booysens 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," Booysens said. "You must make peace." — Sapa-Reuter.

Sacking shocks Contralesa

(304A)

CT 28/3/95

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 spokesperson Chief Mwelo 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. — Sapa

'I HAVE THOUGHT VERY, VERY, VERY CARFULLY ABOUT THIS'

Winnie: ANC rallies behind President

CT 28/3/95 (304A)

THE ANC and political organisations affiliated to it lent the President their support in his axing of Deputy Minister Mrs Winnie Mandela who declined to comment yesterday, but who many believe will fight her way back into power. ANTHONY JOHNSON reports.

OUT, BUT NOT DOWN?: Mrs Winnie Mandela has not yet responded to being sacked from the cabinet, but supporters predict she will make a comeback.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela and the ANC yesterday moved decisively to contain any political fallout as a result of the summary sacking of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Shortly after the President announced the axing "with immediate effect" of his estranged wife as a deputy minister, the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP, the SA National Civics Organisation and the ANC Youth League signalled their "unequivocal" and "unqualified" backing for the action.

As the mercurial Mrs Mandela went to ground, refused interviews and left Parliament to contemplate her next move, even her most ardent supporters were not prepared to question her firing.

The only obvious signs of dissent came from a group of 20 ANC Women's League supporters who demonstrated outside the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg and promised "mass action".

Mr Mandela, flanked by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at a Tuynhuys press conference, told media from around the globe in sombre tones that "after much reflection" he had decided to relieve Mrs Mandela of her position in the interests of good government and discipline.

"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.

"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, very carefully indeed."

In an apparent reference to possible trouble that Mrs Mandela or her supporters might cause, he immediately added: "I am convinced that the situation is completely under control."

He expressed the hope the action "will help the former deputy minister to review, and seek to improve on her own conduct in positions of responsibility."

However, some of Mrs Mandela's allies said they were not confident she would toe the line.

Her personal secretary, Mr Alan Reynolds, said Mrs Mandela was "not willing to give any comment at this stage" but might hold a press conference today.

Her staff said she had been "shocked" when told the news.

She was not in when a terse eight-line letter was delivered to her 10th floor office overlooking the mountain five minutes after her husband told the world she had been fired. Her staff broke the news to her on her cell phone.

She remains an MP, league president and treasurer of the traditional leaders' organisation Contralesa.

Apart from losing her post, her salary will drop to R193 000 from R345 000, she will lose her official residence, chauffeur, guards, plush office and secretarial staff.

Dismissal welcomed — Page 5

Father's warning — Page 5

FIRED: President Nelson Mandela, flanked by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, announces at a press conference yesterday that he has relieved Mrs Winnie Mandela of her cabinet post. *PICTURE: BENNY GOOL*

Staff praise 'brave stand'

AFTER a day of high political drama, Mrs Winnie Mandela's staff expressed their "admiration" for the courageous stand she had taken against the government and predicted she would be back in government before long.

Mrs Mandela's secretary Mr Alan Reynolds said Mrs Mandela's staff "admired her now more than ever before" and believed that she had been "extremely brave" in standing up for what she believed in even though she knew this might cost her her job.

After the announcement of her sacking, Mrs Mandela and her bodyguards were nowhere to be seen.

Staffers claimed she had "not even been informed" about the Tuynhuys press conference announcing her firing, adding that she had only been informed of her new status by telephone five minutes after the letter from Mr Mandela had reached the office.

There had also been phone calls from Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and cabinet secretary Mr Jakes Gerwel, but Mrs Mandela had already left the office for "a meeting" and could not take them.

Mr Reynolds, a former gardener who has known Mrs Mandela since he was 17, said he felt the President "should at least have had the courtesy to meet with her personally". — Political Correspondent

Letter of dismissal was brief

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: The letter delivered to Mrs Winnie Mandela, until yesterday Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, was brief.

Hand-delivered to her office as President Nelson Mandela told an international press conference that his estranged wife had been dismissed, it addressed her as "Dear Mrs Mandela", and was signed "N R Mandela".

The letter said: "Acting in terms of section 94(3) read in conjunction with section 88(4) (d) 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're referred to those."

(304A) ARG 28/3/95

Winnie: All the reaction

ANC still united, says Yengeni

TYRONE SEALE
Political Staff

WINNIE Mandela's departure from the government of national unity will not split the African National Congress, says her close associate Tony Yengeni.

Mr Yengeni, MP and former ANC head in the Western Cape, yesterday rejected "with contempt" constant charges that he, Youth League president Peter Mokaba and Mrs Mandela represented a militant core with the potential to fragment the organisation.

"There may be differences in emphasis or approach, but these don't translate into meaningful splits within leadership," he said.

Leaders like himself and Mrs Mandela subscribed to ANC policy and principles and submitted themselves wholly to the organisation's disciplinary committee.

For these reasons, the ANC had not experienced a split since 1912.

"Differences are a source of building, rather than destroying, the movement. The ANC has come a long way."

Mr Yengeni said that in the spirit of the new South Africa, the present situation had to be seized to consolidate the ANC and to promote development, reconciliation and transformation in the country.

The ANC should use this process to prepare itself for winning the November local government elections.

Mr Yengeni said he was disappointed the police had failed to apologise to Mrs Mandela, even after the Supreme Court ruled their search warrant was invalid.

Political Correspondent

THE ANC tripartite alliance and SA National Civic Organisation pledged their full support for President Mandela's decision to fire Winnie Mandela from her deputy minister's job.

The alliance, which includes the Congress of SA Trade Unions and SA Communist Party, said it was unacceptable for leadership personalities to behave in a way unsuited to their status as public representatives.

Mr Mandela had acted responsibly and fully within his mandate.

"We say this with a sense of compassion for Mrs Mandela."

While she had been a courageous anti-apartheid fighter, it was a fundamental principle of the liberation movement that no individual was above discipline.

The organisations said that yesterday's announcement had no relationship to allegations of illegal activity against Mrs Mandela.

The law had to be allowed to take its course.

"No one should be the victim of a witch-hunt or subject to trial by media."

The organisations called on all their supporters to stand behind Mr Mandela.

"Let there be no personal vindictiveness from any quarter."

● The Democratic Party welcomed the firing of Mrs Mandela.

DP spokesman on justice Douglas Gibson said: "For far too long she was permitted to defy the president and undermine the government of national unity, in the process distracting attention from the task of unifying our people and reconstructing and developing the country."

Allies not so supportive after axe falls

Political Staff

WINNIE Mandela's militant allies in the African National Congress caucus have reacted coolly to her axing — in sharp contrast to their outspoken support for her earlier.

On Sunday at a pre-firing rally at a squatter settlement in Philippi, the former deputy minister took the unusual step of naming her allies in the ANC caucus. She said MPs Tony Yengeni and Peter Mokaba, who were with her on the platform, and KwaZulu-Natal ANC representative Harry Gwala were the ANC's "militants".

Although she did not mention Deputy Environment Affairs and Tourism Minister Bantu Holomisa, the former Transkei military ruler has often identified himself with her.

Reacting to Mrs Mandela's firing yesterday, Mr Holomisa and "Winnie militants" Mr Mokaba and Mr Yengeni were careful to avoid putting their own futures on the line.

"Now is the time for us to build and consolidate the ANC and the alliance and other people's organisations," Mr Yengeni said.

Mr Holomisa said the ANC had "many faces".

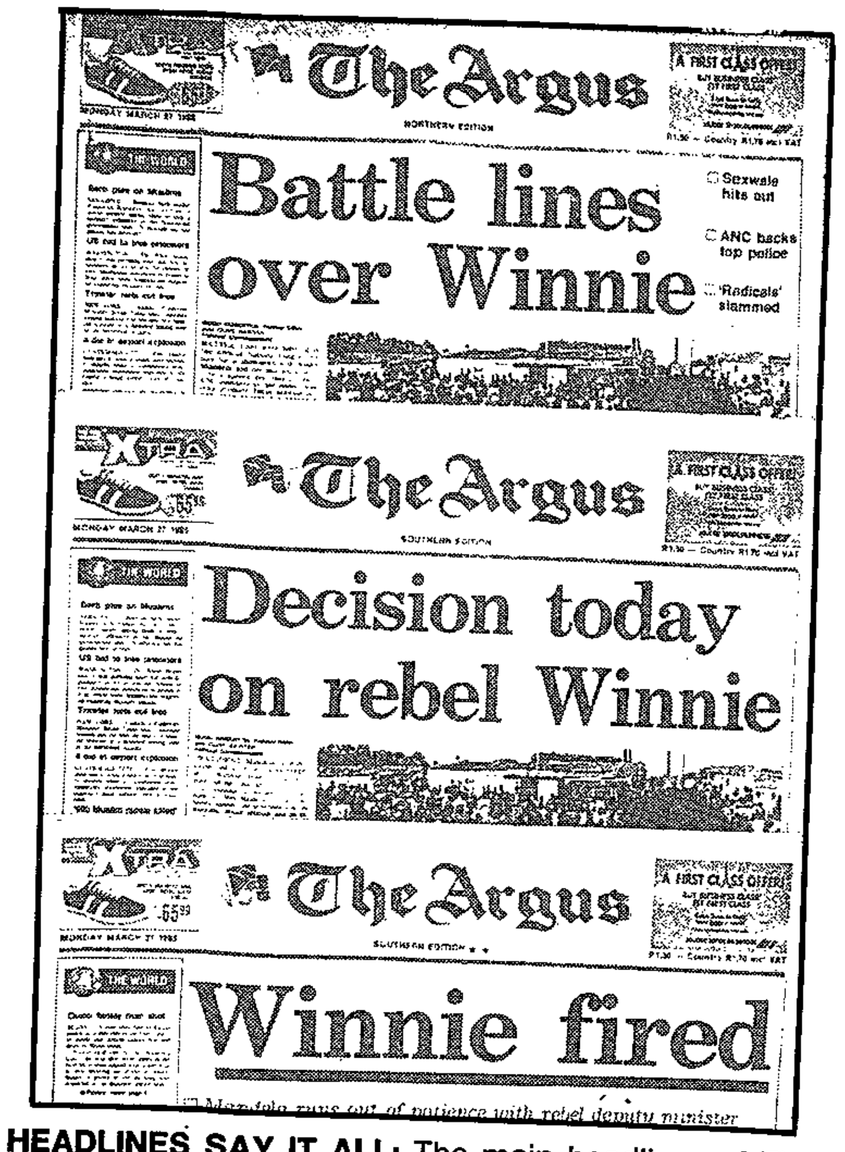
"It has got hawks, it has got moderates, it has got strategists. So if it happens to the so-called hawks, let it be so.

Fellow firebrand Mr Mokaba said the president had not yet explained his decision.

"He has still to explain to us what were the considerations. But I do not think that he can take a reckless decision, it will never be reckless in my opinion".

Pictures: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus

PRESIDENT FIRES WINNIE: President Nelson Mandela, with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki on his left, announces the axing of Winnie Mandela.



The Argus

Battle lines over Winnie

Sexwale hits out

ANC backs top police

'Radicals' slammed

The Argus

Decision today on rebel Winnie

The Argus

Winnie fired

Mandela runs out of patience with rebel deputy minister

HEADLINES SAY IT ALL: The main headlines of The Argus tell the story of Winnie's last hours as an embattled deputy minister.

Firing 'inevitable, but distressing'

The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — The dismissal of Winnie Mandela was "inevitable but distressing" said South Africa watchers in France.

"We cannot forget that she stood by her man during his 27-year-long imprisonment and herself suffered appalling indignities and privation, but still managed to bring up her children alone," a foreign ministry official commented privately.

"We do not by any means regard her as a has-been but as a still powerful force, dangerous now that she is out of the government."

● From Brussels, the European Commission reacted with a diplomatic "no comment" to the firing of Mrs Mandela.

"We do not comment on the internal matters of other countries," said a spokesman..

Privately, sources felt that in the long run, the move would probably be in the interests of South Africa. They said if it created destabilisation in the short term this was regrettable.

Question mark over ANC's next move

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

A question mark hangs over whether the African National Congress will pursue further disciplinary action against axed deputy minister Winnie Mandela.

President Mandela, announcing her firing yesterday, said he had no power to oust her from posts to which she had been elected in ANC structures.

Mrs Mandela remains head of the ANC Women's League and a member of the party's national executive committee.

The ANC's inner circle of power, the national working committee, met yesterday.

On its agenda was the possible convening of a hearing by the movement's disciplinary committee.

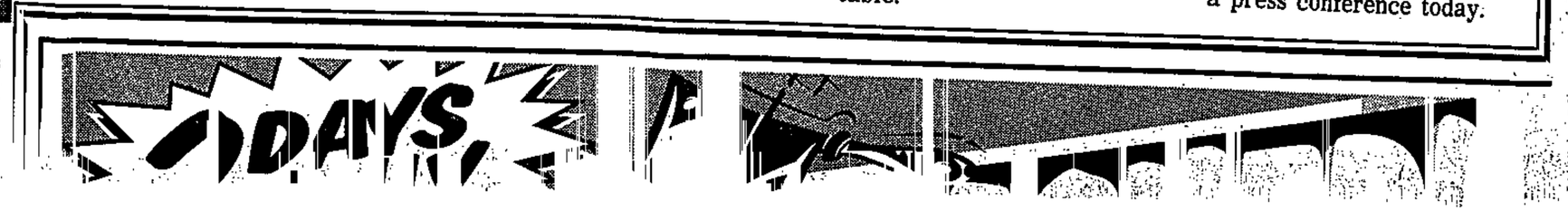
This committee would have the power to recommend she be sacked from her remaining posts.

Those in favour of such a move fear the possibility that Mrs Mandela could use the Women's League to develop an independent power base.

Reducing her to an MP would diminish the dividends for supporters.

Arguments in favour of not disciplining Mrs Mandela include the need to bring the spate of damaging publicity about her to an end as swiftly as possible.

Mrs Mandela was to hold a press conference today.



tude that Mrs Mandela would not be let off the hook after the court finding had serious implications for the future of democracy in South Africa, Mr Yengeni said.

- Giving Winnie Mandela a "second life" by retaining her as an MP means she will remain defiant and a headache for the ANC, says the National Party.

Spokesman David Malatsi welcomed Mrs Mandela's dismissal, saying the government of national unity could not afford to be held hostage by the arrogance, blackmail and indiscipline of some of its members.

It was essential for effective government that such an embarrassment was not allowed to recur.

The NP felt it was inexcusable that Mr Mandela had taken so long to act, as this had damaged the government abroad and domestically.

'exercise of authority'

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — American business has welcomed the firing of Winnie Mandela from the cabinet as evidence that President Mandela is "finally exercising authority and control".

But concern has been expressed about possible instability from her constituency among radical youth.

A private sector source said Mr Mandela had enhanced investor confidence by showing command.

"The downside is that instability might result. But if nothing serious happens, it proves that the government can do difficult things and can govern."

On Wall Street, stockbroker Kevin Jacobs of Rand International Securities, which specialises in South African shares, said the news had been generally welcomed — although it had come as no surprise.

"People here are encouraged by the fact that the system is working — that sanity prevails."

The SA Foundation's Washington representative, Michael Christie, said he believed American investors would mainly welcome the move because it showed that Mr Mandela was prepared to take decisive action to maintain good, orderly government.

That was important because of the great importance which foreign investors attached to Mr Mandela's role in preserving stability.

matter', says Britain

GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The foreign office has declined to comment on the sacking of Winnie Mandela.

A spokesman said: "This is a purely internal matter, and it is not our policy to comment on such matters."

Nevertheless, even before Mrs Mandela's dismissal was announced, speculation that the South African government would take a hard line with her was already strong.

Political commentators in Britain regard the move as a risk, but a calculated one, with one South African observer pointing out that Mrs Mandela's followers, though loyal, are virtually voiceless in South Africa today.

Secretary reads the bad news . . .

TYRONE SEALE
Political Staff

WINNIE Mandela first heard about her dismissal when her private secretary read out President Mandela's letter to her, five minutes after the scheduled start of a press conference where Mr Mandela was to make the announcement.

Mrs Mandela's private secretary, Allan Reynolds, said the letter arrived at his office at 3.05pm yesterday while Mrs Mandela was in a departmental meeting — and while journalists were still queueing outside Tuynhuys for the press conference which had been scheduled to start at 3pm.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana declined to confirm this sequence of events, saying "it's not material to our purposes".

"The fact is we have a new deputy minister."

President Mandela's letter, dated March 27, said: "Dear Mrs Mandela, acting in terms of section 94(3) read in conjunction with section 88(4)(d) 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."

President — Republic of South Africa

27 March 1995

Mrs N W Mandela
Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture,
Science and Technology
Room 1004
120 Plein Street
Cape Town
8000

Dear Mrs Mandela

Acting in terms of section 94(3) read in conjunction with section 88(4) (d) 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.

N W MANDELA

THE END: The president's letter to Winnie.

Mr Reynolds, who said it would have been courteous for the president to have informed Mrs Mandela before addressing the media "on a matter of national importance", said it had been difficult to judge Mrs Mandela's mood during his call to her.

There had been "nothing specific" about her reaction.

He said that while he and colleagues had been under tremendous pressure, particularly from the media, during the past month, Mrs Mandela had not disclosed to her staff the effect intense public attention was having on her, Mr Reynolds said.

He said he would not stay on to serve Mrs Mandela's successor, Brigitte Mabandla, out of loyalty to Mrs Mandela, whom he had met when he was a 17-year-old Natal University student.

On Mrs Mandela's ministerial benefits, he said she would, in terms of the constitutional provisions referred to by the president, retain her privileges until the end of April, following which she would resume her usual benefits as an ordinary MP.

David Biggs' Tavern of the Seas column appears on page 6.

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Winnie: Warning to rebels

ARG 28/3/95
(304A)

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 the link between Mrs Mandela's firing and renewed government action 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 3pm at a packed media conference at his Tuynhuys 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 Nomzano Winnie Mandela of her position as deputy minister of arts, culture, sci-

(Turn to page 4, col 5)

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.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

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**

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Firing of Winnie a warning to dissidents

ARG 28/3/95 (304A)

(From page 1)

ence and technology.

"This decision has been taken both in the interest of good government and to ensure the highest standards of discipline among leading officials in the GNU.

"I have taken the decision after much reflection, given that Comrade Winnie Mandela has, in the past, played an important role in the struggle against apartheid, both in her individual capacity and as a leading member of the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement.

"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.

believed the president would not have taken a reckless decision.

The joint statement was also endorsed by the South African

Gangs party slams ousting

STAFF REPORTER

(304A)

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 furore 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".

DECISIVE: President Mandela at yesterday's press conference.

CT 28/3/95

● 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 28/3/95

MRS BRIGITTE Mabandla has been appointed Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology to replace Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Mrs Mabandla 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

(304A)

'Piet Skiet' se her as 'soulm

AXED Deputy Minister Mrs Winnie M count on a Boer freedom fighter and opponent of the ANC as an anti-colon mate and admirer.

Conveying his respects to Mrs Mand ter yesterday, Orde Boerevolk leader Mr Rudolph said it was apparent she was political activist, but "indeed one who enemy and the consequences of history

Mr Rudolph, who was held in jail w cated in arms thefts in 1990, said he wa response to her weekend TV appearanc

"Whatever the world may say abo thing cannot be denied: Were it n relentless struggle and preparedness t the name Mandela may not have bee remembered." — Sapa

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'Allies' react cautiously to decision

(304A)

CT 28/3/95

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

MRS Winnie Mandela's militant allies in the ANC caucus reacted coolly to her axing yesterday — in sharp contrast to their outspoken support for her the day before.

On Sunday at a rally in Philippi, Mrs Mandela took the unusual step of naming her allies in the ANC caucus. She said that MPs Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Peter Mokaba who were with her on a platform and kwaZulu/Natal ANC representative Mr Harry Gwala were the ANC's "militants".

Although she did not mention Deputy Environment Affairs and Tourism Minister Mr Bantu Holomisa, the former Transkei military ruler has often identified himself with her.

In reacting to Mrs Mandela's firing, the trio were careful to avoid endangering their own futures.

"Now is the time for us to build and consolidate the ANC and the alliance," Mr Yengeni said.

Mr Holomisa was non-committal and Mr Mokaba said he believed the president would not have taken a reckless decision.

COSATU, SACP, CIVICS ENDORSE DECISION

Support for Winnie's dismissal

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's decision to dismiss his controversial wife received widespread approval yesterday, although supporters warned that "she will be back".

THE ANC and its political rivals yesterday supported President Nelson Mandela's decision to fire his estranged wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, from the government.

But Mrs Mandela's personal secretary, Mr Alan Reynolds, paid tribute to his boss and said: "I have no doubt whatsoever that she will be back in government soon."

The ANC and its election allies, Cosatu and South African Communist Party, said Mr Mandela was right to dismiss his wife.

"When the ANC-led movement is calling for discipline in the process of transformation, it is unacceptable for leaders to behave in a manner not befitting their status as elected public representatives," they said in a statement read by ANC national chairman Mr Jacob Zuma.

The joint statement was also endorsed by the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco), a militant township-based movement usually loyal to Mrs Mandela.

But ANC militant Mr Harry Gwala, one of Mrs Mandela's strongest supporters, said from kwaZulu/Natal that her dismissal would anger many in the party.

Mr Reynolds said staff in her government office had received about 1 000 telephone calls since Friday offering support for "Mama" Mandela.

The National Party welcomed Mrs Mandela's dismissal, but said "it is unforgivable that Mr Mandela took so long to take this step".

"The government cannot be held hostage to the arrogance, threats and indiscipline of government members," NP spokesman Mr David Malatsi said.

Freedom Front spokesman Mr Pieter Mulder said the action would strengthen Mr Mandela and not his wife.

A senior ANC MP said it was sad that Mrs Mandela had pushed circumstances so far, but said it was essential she be stopped.

"I don't think this is the end of Winnie Mandela, but it is the beginning of the end," she said.

Another ANC MP, who asked not to be named, said it was crucial to halt Mrs Mandela's government career now. "If we don't get rid of her now, we could see her with a full cabinet seat and that would be a disaster."

Mr Mandela earlier declined to discuss the reasons for Mrs Mandela's dismissal.— Sapa-Reuter

ALLEGIANCE: A May 9, 1994 photo of President Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie during the parliamentary sessions where newly elected members pledged their allegiance to the new government. PICTURE: AP

CT 28/3/95 (304A)

Traditional leaders must be above politics — NW premier

(304A)

Sowetan

TRADITIONAL leaders should be above politics by engaging in a drive for peace and development, North-West premier Mr Popo Molefe yesterday. 28/3/95

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

DREW FORREST (304A)

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." BD 28/3/95

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 Page 2

Proposals

☐ From Page 1

(304A) BD 28/3/95

to national unity.

It endorses the ANC 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 inefficient 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 of onus 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 legislatures); and

☐ That the Senate can veto all legislation affecting provinces, including finance bills and the national Budget, and delay others.

ANC alliance hails Winnie's sacking

(304A) Sowetan 28/3/95

By Themba 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 Africanist 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 Civics 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 Motsoko 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 Pandelani 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."

■ UNITED FRONT ANC pledges its support for Mandela's decision:

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste. Newsbills, sub-editing and headlines by Sy Makaringe and Paul Drosdzol. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg. Printed by The Newspaper Printing Company for the proprietors and publishers, New Africa Publications Ltd of 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to New Africa Publications under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978. *Sowetan* abides by the Code of Conduct of the Press Council of South Africa and accepts its jurisdiction

Winnie fired

(304A) Sowetan 28/3/95

Out in the cold

Mrs Winnie Mandela has been dismissed as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

By Vuyo Bavuma Political Reporter

A SOMBRE-LOOKING PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA yesterday dismissed embattled Winnie Mandela as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology with "immediate effect" and replaced her with a human rights lawyer Bridgette Mabandla.

Addressing a six-minute Press conference in Cape Town, President Mandela refused to divulge the reasons for the move, saying its 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 given that Winnie had played an important role in the struggle against apartheid both in her individual capacity and as a leading member of the ANC and the democratic movement", he said.

Mrs Mandela's spokesman, Mr Alan Reynolds, said she became aware of her dismissal soon after 3pm yesterday while President Mandela was making the announcement to the Press.

He said a letter from President Mandela arrived at her office at 3.05pm and she had not been given prior notice. Reynolds said he telephoned Mrs Mandela, who was at a meeting, and gave her the news.

Mrs Mandela might hold a Press briefing today.

Flanked by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and presidential spokesman Joel Netshitenze, Mandela told a phalanx of journalists that he "hoped that this action would help the former deputy minister to review and seek to improve her own conduct in a position of responsibility to enable her to make a positive contribution to society" through her own talents.

Responding to a question, Mandela said he had taken so long to carry out the action because he wanted to be convinced that this was the right step.

He said he had expected every member of the GNU to make a positive contribution to the smooth running of the country. Mandela said to ensure uninterrupted service to the nation, Winnie's replacement, Ms Mabandla, a member of the ANC legal constitution committee, would assume her duties immediately.

Concerning any possible political backlash from Winnie, Mandela said the former deputy minister could do whatever she liked but he had the situation "completely in control".

As far as Winnie's membership of the ANC was concerned, Mandela said he could not take action against a democratically elected member. That was for the movement's disciplinary structures.

One of Winnie's close associates, Mr Tony Yengeni, was rather subdued and refused to be drawn on whether President Mandela's step was correct or not.

Yengeni said President Mandela had a "constitutional right to hire and fire people and there was nothing he could do about that".

"Whether Mrs Mandela is in the Government of National Unity does not make any material difference. The struggle for the transformation of society into better conditions continues and doesn't depend on Winnie," Yengeni said.

● See pages 2 and 11.

We told you so!

Winnie at the end of Govt tether

Winnie's dismissal as predicted by *Sowetan* on its front page on Friday February 24 this year.

"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"

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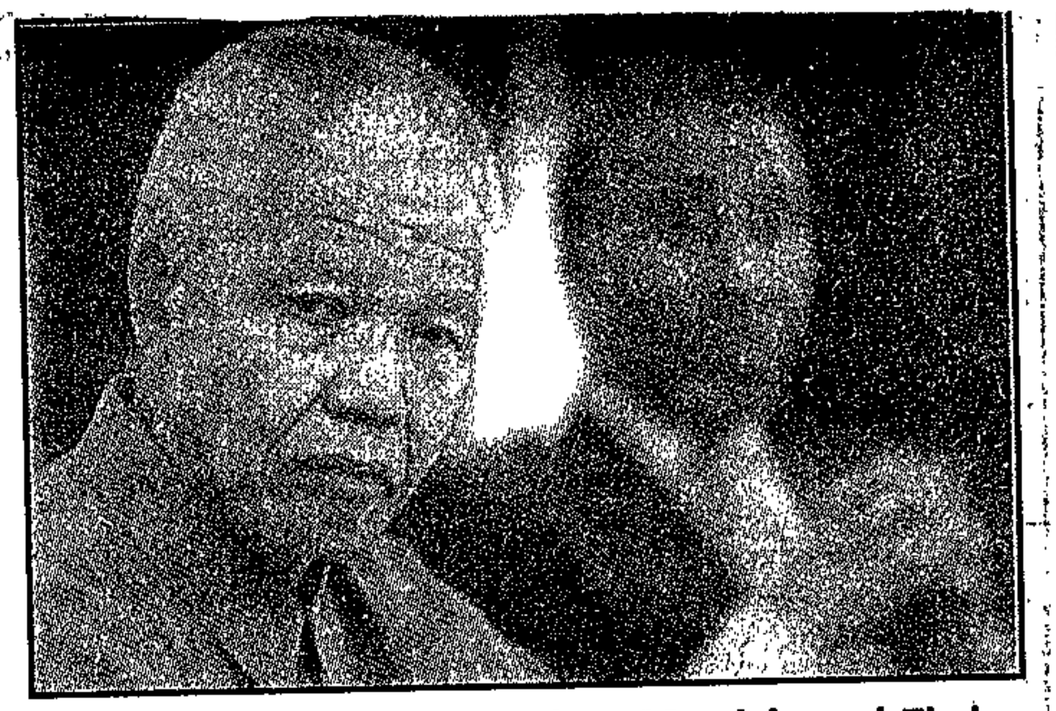
ANALYSIS

Star 28/3/95

Now it's a question of which road to take

304A



Full responsibility . . . President Mandela and Thabo Mbeki at yesterday's press conference. PICTURE: AP

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.

Said the letter from husband to wife: "Acting in terms of section 94(3) read in conjunction with section 88(4) (d) 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".

▶ More reports, graphic – Pages 5 and 15

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-

▶ To Page 3

Which road to take?

◀ From Page 1

liamentary 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 she eventually chooses to do, 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.

More powers sought

(304A) BD 29/3/95

FAROUK CHOTHIA

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party launched an initiative in the KwaZulu/Natal legislature yesterday to wrest away central government control over land, water and forestry, setting the scene for a constitutional confrontation.

In a motion presented for debate at a sitting of the provincial legislature yesterday, Inkatha MP Maurice Mackenzie said land affairs must become a provincial issue "as a matter of urgency in order to deal efficiently with the issue of evictions, land invasions and landlessness of hitherto disadvantaged people".

This appeared to be part of an Inkatha initiative to take control of land falling under the controversial Ingonyama Trust Act from Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom. Hanekom had refused to hand over control of the land, which makes up about a third of KwaZulu/Natal, to the province. Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini is believed to be in agreement with Hanekom.

The Act, passed by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly shortly before its disbandment, made Zwelithini trustee of the land.

An ANC MP said if the motion was passed through the legislature it would be "irrelevant" as powers would not be devolved to the province. KwaZulu/Natal does not have a land affairs minister and Hanekom was in the province at the weekend to unveil a R35m land reform project for the Weenen-Estcourt area.

"Inkatha wants to be in charge of such projects," said the ANC MP.

Mackenzie said the KwaZulu/Natal government needed to formulate land policy as central government operated in a "haphazard" fashion and failed to instil confidence in its policy.

There was an urgent need for water affairs and foresty to fall under the province as it was necessary "to control, manage and plan effectively these vital resources for the maximum benefit" of KwaZulu/Natal residents.

In another motion, DP MP Wessel Nel also called for KwaZulu/Natal to follow federal principles by securing partial fiscal independence. He said KwaZulu/Natal should move towards levying its own taxes where "practicable and appropriate". Provincial finance minister Senzele Mhlungu should draft legislation to allow KwaZulu/Natal to determine and collect all levies raised on fuel sold in the province, Nel said.

Taxes on fuel could raise about R1,3bn a year for the province.

Draft legislation should be submitted to the province's joint committee on finance for approval, before being referred to the national Parliament for consideration, Nel said.

Gun row rocks legislature in KwaZulu/Natal

FAROUK CHOTHIA

MARITZBURG — The ANC called yesterday for the suspension of KwaZulu/Natal legislature secretary Robert Mzimela after it emerged he was carrying a gun in the legislature.

During a rowdy debate, ANC MP Mike Sutcliffe accused Mzimela of being in "contempt" of the legislature, while fellow MP John Jeffery said he did not feel safe.

Mzimela was forced to hand his gun to police after being questioned by the speaker, Gideon Mzimela, and party whips. They decided to form a "super committee" to look into the matter and report back today.

Mzimela was mentioned in the Durban Supreme Court last week by self-proclaimed KwaZulu Police hit squad member Romeo Mbambo, who claimed that Mzimela was present at meetings where hit squad activities were planned.

Inkatha MP Mike Tarr accused the ANC MPs of being "extremely insulting" in an "unbefitting" manner.

Referring to Jeffery, Tarr said: "Does he genuinely think anyone is going to stand up in this House and shoot him?"

Meanwhile, a commission of inquiry into the location of the KwaZulu/Natal capital yesterday recommended that sittings rotate between Maritzburg and Ulundi until a final decision was made.

In a report released yesterday the commission, which was appointed six months ago and chaired by former Natal administrator Radclyffe Cadman, said Ulundi would be ideal for the opening of the legislature because it had superior infrastructure and accomodation facilities.

The commission recommended that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini attend the opening ceremonies in Ulundi, although the monarch had thus far refused to attend sessions in the former homeland capital.

The commission recommended that the longer budget session be held in Maritzburg because it was more accessible and had better resources.

While ANC MP Mike Sutcliffe said his party still needed to discuss the report, the NP Maritzburg branch condemned the recommendation, saying the commission had wasted taxpayers' money as it confirmed the status quo of a dual capital.

Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

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 Tuynhuys today.

New deputy arts minister sworn in

(304A)

ARG 29/3/95

WINNIE Mandela's replacement as deputy arts and culture minister, Brigitte Mabandla, has been sworn in at Tuynhuys.

The brief ceremony was attended by President Mandela, his deputies, Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk, and several cabinet ministers and MPs.

Congratulating Ms Mabandla after she signed the oath of office, Mr Mandela said he knew she would tackle the new job with the same professionalism and efficiency with which she had discharged her duties as legal adviser to the ANC and a drafter of the interim constitution.

As she left the room, Ms Mabandla was hugged by Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma and congratulated by other well-wishers, including Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg and Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk. — Sapa.

Rolls 'not for national polls'

(30449)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

ARG 29/3/95

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 Selfe (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

(304A)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

CT 29/3/95

MUNICH: Germany's leading daily paper, the Suddeutsche 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

(304A)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

CT 29/3/95

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".

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Winnie elusive after dismissal

CT 29/3/95 (304A)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

AXED deputy minister Mrs Winnie Mandela went to ground yesterday as a debate raged within the ANC on whether she should face the party's internal disciplinary committee.

Mrs Mandela and the media were involved in a cat and mouse game as the ANC Women's League president failed to hold an expected press conference and stayed away from the parliamentary complex.

Her bench in the National Assembly was vacant during the first day of the debate on the Budget and she did not visit her former government office to remove her personal effects.

Mrs Mandela's private secretary Mr Alan Reynolds — who confirmed that he would also be leaving his job — declined to confirm rumours that Mrs Mandela would be returning to Soweto to plan her next move.

Journalists and photographers keeping a vigil at D F Malan airport in the hopes of catching a glimpse of the former deputy minister were disappointed.

Meanwhile, senior ANC sources dismissed suggestions that Mrs Mandela could soon be hauled before a party disciplinary committee to answer charges of indiscipline.

ANC spokesperson Senator Jackson Mthembu said Mrs Mandela could be called on to answer to the committee. However, such a move was discounted by a member of the ANC's national working committee who said: "There is no intention on the part of the ANC to hound Mrs Mandela or embark on a vindictive witchhunt." Mrs Mandela's supporters said she intended to return to Parliament as an ordinary MP and there was no suggestion of her joining a rival organisation or setting herself up in opposition to the ANC.

NP urges coalition rule 'for up to 20 years'

BD 30/3/95 (304A)

ADRIAN HADLAND

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 multiparty 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 on 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 coalition politics in a diverse society".

ANC denies regional curbs

BD 31/3/95 TIM COHEN (304A)

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.

IFP sees no joy in mediation promises

WM 31/3-6/4/95 (304A)

Ann Eveleth

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's 30-day deadline for international mediational on constitutional issues runs out next week and so far the party sees no progress on the issue.

Unless some agreement is reached by Wednesday, party leaders say they will be forced to walk out of the Constitutional Assembly. IFP constitutional affairs spokesman Sipho Mzimela told the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* this week his party had "heard nothing" from Deputy President Thabo Mbeki since his telephone call to the IFP conference in Ulundi earlier this month, which paved the way for the 30-day reprieve, but said he remained hopeful that the dabate, and the ANC alliance's constitutional conference this weekend, would yield progress on the issue.

"We have a strict mandate from our constituency. We cannot walk away from our agreements the way the ANC seems to be able to do. If there is no agreement by the deadline, we will be forced to walk out of the Constitutional Assembly," said Mzimela.

The ANC and NP both say they remain committed to the 19 April agreement on mediation, but argue that the terms of reference need to be clarified.

NP KwaZulu/Natal leader Danie Schutte, who last year helped to broker the agreement which brought the IFP into the election, said his party also felt "there must be greater clarity" on the terms of reference, to reflect changes since the original agreement. But Mzimela called the confusion "puzzling" and said the IFP stood firm in its belief that the terms of reference had already been agreed before the election to include outstanding issues on the Zulu monarchy and the form of state.

Schutte said he could not "see how the monarchy can be an issue, because the constitution was ammended to accommodate it, and it was on that basis that the IFP came into the election.

"If it is still an issue, they must tell us what aspects have not yet been catered for." Schutte said he believed "the only issues which can be said to be outstanding" were the questions of provincial powers and funding.

The ANC has maintained these questions can and are being dealt with in the theme committees of the Constitutional Assembly. ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu said the alliance conference this weekend will include a committee on provincial powers and "international mediation could possibly be discussed as part of that".

Mthembu was "non-committal" on the propects for resolving the dispute before Wednesday.

Mzimela said he was holding on to optimism until the deadline "for the sake of the country," adding "I think with the ANC we will get somewhere. Part of the main stumbling block has been Roelf Meyer ... but I think we can push him aside and make some progress".

Mzimela warned, however, that if the deadline was ignored, "the consequences of us walking out of the Constitutional Assembly will be bad for the whole country, especially for the Government of National Unity, which is supposed to operate on the basis of co-operation between the parties.

Observers point out that a walk out could heighten the crisis in KwaZulu/Natal, with the IFP demanding extensive federal powers through its control of the provincial government and through the provincial constitution now being drafted.

Zulu chiefs loyal to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi have also pledged not to allow local government elections in rural areas under their control — affecting about 2,7-million of the province's 5,2-million voters — and this could lead to confrontation between supporters of the ANC and IFP in these areas.

Rightwing gears up for local poll

(304A) WM 31/3-6/4/95

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 yesteryears' 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 Verkiesingskommitee (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 Boerestaat Party.

The only party not wanting any part of any elections — be they official or alternative — is the staunchly belligerent Herstigte Nasionale Party. Holding its annual congress behind closed doors for the first time in 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 (304A)

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 theory, 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 — little chance, though, as the ANC is with all its problems infinitely better organised; lead a faction which challenges the leadership from within; or simply bide 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 Mabandla). 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 hear, 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 Civics Organisation, "unequivocally" 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 enable 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 probably won't be there. Among the issues to be resolved are the position of the unions, the SACP and the socio-economic direction of the country. More significant than Winnie's axing, he maintains, was the recent decision of Cosatu president John Gomomo 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 *bosberaad* 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 implicit in the Agreement on Peace & Reconciliation signed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Nelson

Nelson's blind spot

■ Nelson Mandela stood by his wife, still captivated, when those around him denounced her for violence and treachery. Now, even Mandela has come to see the truth: that he has loved not wisely but too well. **JOHN CARLIN** reports.

IN December 1989 Nelson Mandela sent Winnie his last Christmas card from prison. "Darling, I love you," he wrote in big letters. Some months earlier he had sent her a birthday card with the message: "What a difference it makes in my life to have you."

I interviewed Winnie Mandela at the end of January 1990, two weeks before her husband's release, and saw the cards on display on the mantlepiece of her home in Soweto, the place where Stompie Moeketsi had been murdered a little over a year earlier. I knew full well at the time that this was where Winnie's bodyguards, the so-called "football club", had beaten the 14-year-old boy to death.

Yet, as I recall now with shame, I forgot all about Stompie the moment she entered the room.

Winnie is a mountain of a woman, tall, more solid than fat, with formidable shoulders. She is old enough to be my mother. But during the 40 minutes I spent alone with her I was absolutely, helplessly beguiled.

She had kept me waiting for two hours in the lounge while she performed her morning toilette. When she appeared, she glowed. She was regal and coquettish at the same time. Eyes big and bright and staring straight into mine, she purred suggestively about her impending reunion with her husband. She felt like a young bride all over again, she said.

Nelson, they say, was struck like a thunderbolt the first time he saw her. He was in his late thirties, she was 20. He was married to Eveline, a sweet, soft, gentle woman who has spent the second half of her life running a grocery store in the remote little Transkei village of Comfimvaba, never remarrying.

Nelson and Eveline had three children. They had been married for more than 10 years the day he met Winnie. Eveline had no chance. Within months, Nelson divorced her and married Winnie.

As time has shown, she was his blind spot, his fatal flaw.

My eyes were opened nine months later, at the conclusion of an investigation with the BBC Radio's File on Four into the affairs of Winnie's football club.

During that investigation we learnt some of the truth about Winnie. We learnt that Winnie had founded the club in 1986, ostensibly to provide amusement for unemployed young men, really to create around herself a queenly retinue that evolved over the next three years into a thuggish neighbourhood mafia.

We met Dudu Chili, a neighbour of Winnie's, whose home was set on fire by the football club and whose 11-year-old niece, Finky, they shot through the head.

an affair with Dali Mpofu, a lawyer half her age.

It wasn't as if she had gone out of her way to hide what was going on. She appointed him her deputy in the ANC's social welfare department; she travelled with him to the United States, flying by Concorde from London, staying at the Beverly Hills Hotel.

Early in 1992, she found out Mpofu was having an affair with another woman. It all spilled out into the open. On 17 March she wrote him a letter, later published by the Johannesburg Sunday Times. "You're running around f-----g at the slightest emotional excuse," she wrote. "The fact that I haven't been speaking to Tata Nelson Mandela for five months now over you is no longer your concern. I keep telling you the situation is deteriorating at home. You are not bothered because you are satisfying yourself every night with a woman. I won't be your bloody fool, Dali."

A month later, in April 1992, the ANC fired her from the welfare post and Mr Mandela announced that the marriage was over.

Her world seemed in ruins, as it does now that President Mandela has fired her from her job as deputy minister of culture.

But she bounced back. She burned with political ambition. She would not be denied the glory she believed was her due after waiting 27 years for her husband to leave jail. So she played Evita. She did what few other senior ANC leaders did: she would turn up in her Mercedes Benz to visit the poorest of the poor in the squalid squatter camps of Johannesburg and the Cape; she incited the youth with rabble-rousing speeches.

Even though her fortunes fell once more in July 1993, when the ANC Women's League suspended her for displaying "defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty", she went out of her way to prove her accusers right by writing an article published in the South African press accusing the ANC leadership of rushing "with unseemly haste" to cut a deal with FW de Klerk's National Party, "to wrap themselves in the silken sheets of power".

She was clever. With her populist message she tapped into a radical vein in the ANC - a small constituency but one potent enough to

WINNIE: Contemplating her past and future.

It was again with his head and not his heart that he made the decision this week to dismiss her from his government.

On the one hand, she had hardly behaved

derstood and therefore forgiven. They point to the burden bequeathed by her husband when he went to prison, to pursue "the struggle" while bringing up a young family alone, to her year in solitary confinement. They

(30 49)

Winnie the Watchdog sits quiet but ready to bite

■ The president has ousted Winnie Mandela from her ministerial position. However, has the country seen the last of this fiery politician? **DANIEL SILKE** suggests that, while Winnie may be down, she is definitely not out.

UNDER the old apartheid regime, it was uncommon — well nigh impossible — for a cabinet minister to be disciplined and demoted in public. In one major move President Mandela has made his boldest statement yet.

The ANC has, over the past few months, been suffering. Although public support for the majority party has increased since the election (largely among white voters), it has been racked by an almost daily litany of corruption allegations.

While the country and the international community still basks in the relatively peaceful transferral of power and the symbolic and emotional legitimacy of the victory against apartheid, the new government was very definitely running low on sympathy. The president himself, seemed hamstrung to act against anarchical students at key tertiary centres or striking police officers, among many other serious disruptions.

Mrs Mandela's utterances provided the president with the ammunition he needed. Not only was Winnie's dismissal a clear sign that allegations of corrupt activity could only undermine the fledgling democracy, in addition, the president was reasserting his authority over an increasingly wayward party. This authority had been whittled away over the by virtue of the ANC's adherence to centralised decision-making.

While joint decision-making has been a democratic hallmark of the ANC for many decades, its new found position as head of a democratically elected and functioning

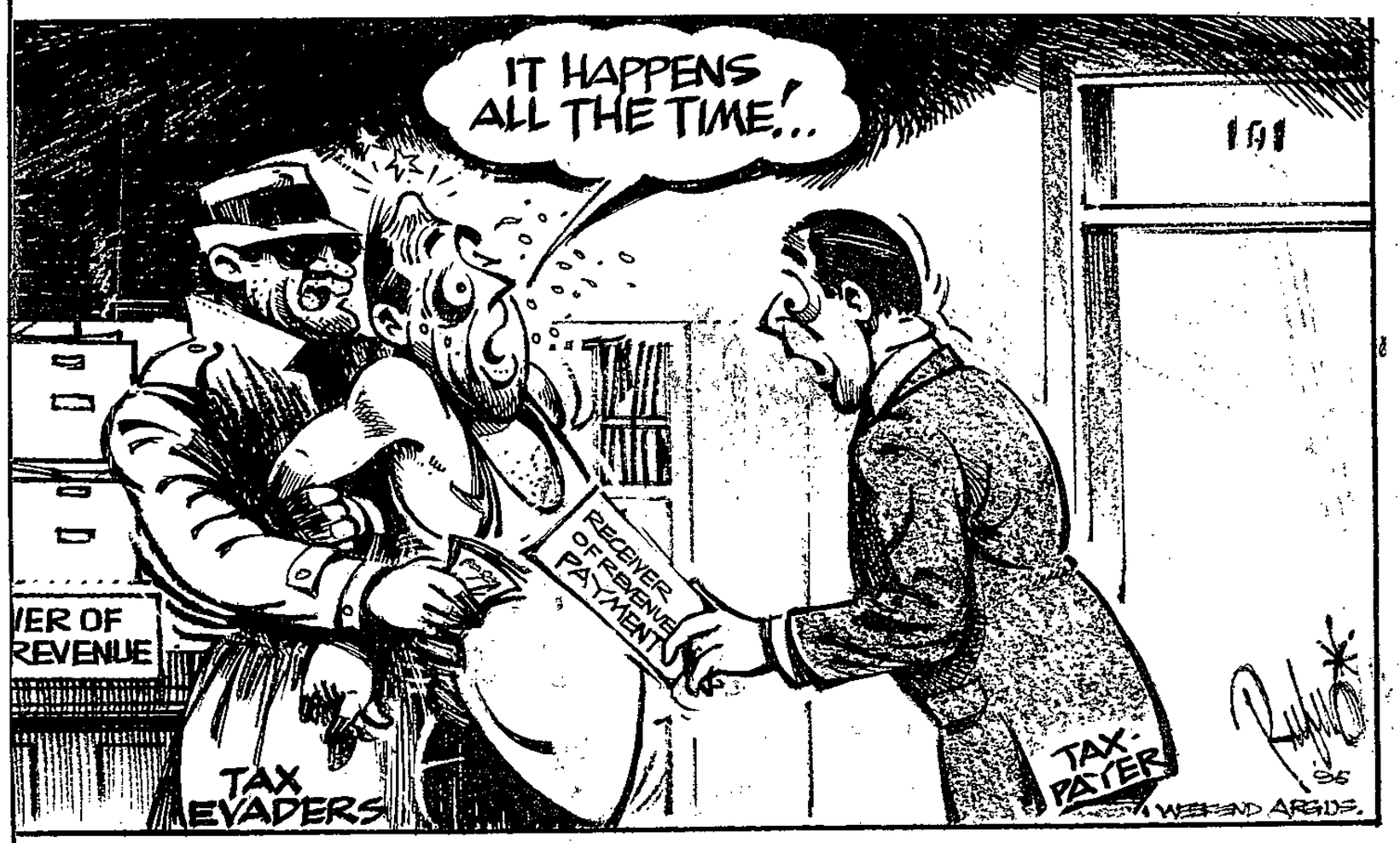
like Mrs Mandela will be waiting in the wings and following her dismissal any minor error from the people responsible for her ministerial demise will be played to the full by her and her supporters.

For her part Mrs Mandela is quick to reaffirm her commitment to the ANC as a party. This is in stark contrast to her criticism of the government of national unity itself. Whether this indicates any desire on her part to challenge for ANC leadership remains to be seen, but the further undermining of the GNU's ability to deliver will need close attention.

Delivery on expectations will be the most sensitive area in the next few years. Mrs Mandela knows that this is the achilles heel of the new government and is likely to play the watchdog role with much aplomb. Ultimately, most voters will be looking for tangible evidence that their vote for the ANC was the right choice. Only visible material benefits can prove them right and undermine more radical influences.

For the populists within the ANC, Mrs Mandela offers a discredited leadership figure. She posed a threat while she operated within the confines of the law. However, she is now sidelined and will need to shore up support among cohorts with a healthier image. She should not be underestimated in her ability to achieve this. Mrs Mandela's support within the ANC caucus might well have slipped considerably, but this is not an elite with which she is really concerned.

Indeed, there is every likelihood that Pro-Winnie candidates might seek nomination in the local gov-



Getting mugged!

LETTERS

A forum for our readers' views. Write to: Weekend Argus, Box 56, Cape Town, 8 000.

Games: Forget it Mr Ackerman - please!

WHO wants the 2004 Olympics anyway? I noticed with interest the article which appeared on the front page of the Saturday Argus (March 25/26) regarding the massive potential cost of hosting the 2004 Olympic Games, between R5,6 billion and R21 billion. As I suspected from the start, it is the Cape Town ratepayer who will be expected to fork out for the "pleasure" of having the Games here.

Let's be honest, the desire to host the Olympics is all based on big business. It seems certain that our rates will increase if we play host. Can the ratepayer expect to benefit from any profits that the event may generate? I think we all know the answer to that.

May I suggest that a vote be taken among the Cape Town ratepayers to see if they in fact WANT the Games.

Sorry, Mr Ackerman, but I was delighted to hear of your difference of opinion with the Cape Town City Council. As a result of this I earnestly hoped that the Olympic Games bid would collapse. Please go back to what you are good at, running your own businesses, and leave the council members to ruin our chances of hosting the Games. I

gola lacking the

last seen his son, Lolo, battered and bleeding in the back of Winnie's van. Winnie was sitting in the passenger seat. Mr Sono pleaded with Winnie to let him go. She said: "No, he's a sell-out."

That was in November 1989, more than a month before Stompie died. Mr Sono has never seen his son since.

From trawling through court records, we established that members of the football club had carried out an additional 12 murders. We also learnt that senior members of the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress by another name before the organisation was unbanned, had a good idea of what exactly had been going on.

In March 1989, they had issued a statement, led by the ANC's present secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, denouncing the football club's "reign of terror" in Soweto and charging that, if it had not been for Mrs Mandela, Stompie would still have been alive.

For a long time, Winnie was Nelson Mandela's blind spot. When he could see the future of the country so clearly, he failed to see her nature. Mr Mandela himself refused to believe a word of it. Through Winnie's trial he stood by her, besotted, undersuaded of her dark nature by the judge's verdict in May 1991 that she was guilty of kidnapping and assaulting Stompie and three others. He also refused for a long time to see that, two years after his release, she was carrying on more her.

When President Mandela appointed his government, he made her deputy minister, guided by the same principle which had secured South Africa's successful transition to democracy: inclusivity. The coalition government, as he explained in an interview a month after his inauguration, was "full of people whose hands were dripping with blood."

Why make an exception of Winnie? The logic was that once inside the government, she would toe the line.

Mr Mandela made his judgement with his head, not with his heart. Despite recurrent reports in the media that the couple would reunite, the evidence suggests that, now, he cannot stand the sight of her.

For his 75th birthday party in June 1993, he invited 650 guests. Winnie was not among them. At their daughter's wedding later that year, he turned his back on her when she approached him for a dance.

Few people know what his real feelings towards her are. As a politician he is warm and generous. In his personal life, he is a sphinx.

But one friend in whom occasionally he confides let slip year that Mr Mandela had told him he could never forgive his wife. "Why not, Nelson, when you've forgiven the people who kept you in jail all those years?" the friend asked. Mr Mandela could not reply.

During her first month in government she spent on bodyguards 40 per cent of the amount spent by the other 39 ministers and deputy ministers combined; she accepted a gift of a luxury home in Cape Town from a beneficiaress who, it turned out, had a diamond-smuggling conviction; she was sued in court for non-payment of a Lear-jet she hired to fly to Angola, allegedly to pick up diamonds.

On the other hand, she openly criticised the government - resorting to her old popist ways - and she consistently disobeyed presidential orders.

Mr Mandela calculated that the benefits of keeping her in government were now outweighed by the negative impact her scandals were having on South Africa and the world at large. He knows that she will not give up without a fight, that she may attempt to stir unrest among sectors of the black community frustrated at the government's failure to do the impossible and provide housing and jobs for all.

For the long years while he was in prison she was his emotional support; he seemed her point in life. Now they are enemies and Mr Mandela's hope is that his authority will nullify her worst efforts to rekindle her ambitions.

There are those who still believe that she is sincerely driven by a desire to do good, not for herself but for her people, who see her as a victim of circumstances, to be unlice, to her seven years of forced internal exile in the dusty little town of Brandfort, to her heroism in carrying the torch of the liberation movement during the Eighties, when all the other ANC leaders were in jail.

I have had many arguments with such people. My answer is always contained in two words: "Albertina Sisulu", the wife of Walter Sisulu, who spent almost as long as Mr Mandela in prison, the mother whose sons and daughters were jailed and exiled, justified as part of the ANC's very welcome commitment to transparency and freedom of expression.

However, while transparency is a non-negotiable when holding the rulers of the land to account, it must also be balanced with strong leadership. President Mandela has provided the country with a remarkable degree of emotional and personal strength, but until the Winnie Mandela episode had yet to show that he could take on elements within his own party and discipline them accordingly.

Eyes set unflinchingly on a higher purpose, he has subdued his pain. One day, if he survives into retirement, he will look back, regret the sacrifice he has endured and ponder the thought that his life's greatest mistake was to have loved not wisely, but too well. — Independent News Service.

■ *John Carlin, now based in Washington, was the South African correspondent of The Independent, London, based for a number of years in Johannesburg.*

Mandela's dilemma

change. The country has been crying out for firm leadership virtually since the election and the perilous state of so many key functions of the state and quasi-state institutions have given the impression that the new government is, in fact, a weak one. An inability to counter demonstrations has, of course, been justified as part of the ANC's very welcome commitment to transparency and freedom of expression.

However, while transparency is a non-negotiable when holding the rulers of the land to account, it must also be balanced with strong leadership. President Mandela has provided the country with a remarkable degree of emotional and personal strength, but until the Winnie Mandela episode had yet to show that he could take on elements within his own party and discipline them accordingly.

While Mrs Mandela still retains her parliamentary seat and the privilege that goes with it, she now loses her status as a deputy cabinet minister. This means that her authority to enter into dubious business negotiations on the part of the government is sorely impaired. She also loses her ability to dispense patronage which will make it increasingly difficult for her to win new friends.

However, for various reasons, the president can still not rest easy. Mrs Mandela's new-found status as an ordinary MP enables her to criticise from afar — she is not responsible for any cabinet decisions and is therefore potentially as dangerous.

Should Mrs Mandela continue to either embarrass the ANC with her activities or lash out at the GNU for not delivering on its promises, President Mandela will need to review her entire status in parliament. For the president, this poses a dilemma.

Mrs Mandela has clearly built up a small but significant power base among the poorer sections of the black community. Her defiant rhetoric appeals to a populist element and black underclass who have little to lose and much to gain by adopting a more radical approach. She has also secured a group of popular followers, including ranking ANC figures like Bantu Holomisa and Peter Mokaba. Her repeated public identification of that group as the guardian of true ANC highlights a growing rift in the organisation.

The Mokaba, Holomisa, Gwala and Vengeni faction was also notable in its silence on Mrs Mandela's dismissal; unlike that of Cosatu and the ANC Youth League who quickly added their support to the president's actions.

As the country progresses in its democracy, the politics of expectation and delivery will almost certainly take centre stage. In any large political movement, members ulist messages are attractive on the dusty streets of Khayelitsha and Alexandra or at the weekend funerals of victims of township violence. This may provide Mrs Mandela with an important power-base at the very grassroots level she so cultivates.

Questionable leaders the world over have often risen to positions of great power and this fall of Mrs Mandela could well be temporary. But what is the president to do if she continues to criticise and castigate? His choices are limited.

In terms of the interim constitution, any member who is suspended from an elected political party forfeits the right to a seat in parliament. Ironically, this fundamentally undemocratic clause protects Mrs Mandela. As a popular MP, she will enjoy the position, privilege, perks and publicity of a parliamentarian. She is protected as an MP until such a time that she is either booted out or resigns of her own accord.

She cannot "cross the floor" at present, although changes coming in the final constitution might well allow her to do so. Only then would she be able to either join a existing party or form her own. Should she jump ship or build a new one, Mrs Mandela could well initiate a realignment in South African politics.

The ANC is still largely comprises all its component elements from the struggle years. Expectation and delivery will soon start haunting the party. Should Mrs Mandela and a new band of radical populists emerge from municipal elections, an eventual split in the ANC cannot be ruled out!

The "New Left" faction which would include the likes of Mrs Mandela, may pose a serious challenge to the moderates who in turn, might seek assistance from the National Party. While this remains speculation, the alliances that Mrs Mandela can build on the ground should be watched with interest and caution.

President Mandela has only partially addressed this thorny problem. When putting Mrs Mandela's propensity for alleged criminal offences aside, her articulation of key grievances are very real and reflects a much broader uncertainly about the ANC as a whole.

Questions will be asked about the ANC's capacity to deliver on its myriad of election promises. If Mrs Mandela doesn't lead the fight for the masses, someone else is sure to take her place. There is every reason to believe that as we mature at a rapid pace, old allegiances and emotional loyalties will crumble. The Winnie Mandela episode is but the first sign of this. The ANC and President Mandela may not stand aloof from these events.

■ *Daniel Silke is a research assistant at Professor Robert Schrire's Institute for the Study of Public Policy at UCT.*

Mrs Mandela's henchmen save their own bacon

ARG 1/4/95 (304A)

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

WINNIE Mandela's supporters in parliament face a life without perks and luxuries if they follow her into the political wilderness.

The day before President Mandela fired his estranged wife from her position as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology, Mrs Mandela made a defiant stand at a meeting in Philippi — backed by two of her most loyal supporters — Tony Yengeni and Peter Mokaba.

But on the day of her dismissal, her allies, including Mr Yengeni, Mr Mokaba and former Transkei military strongman Bantu Holomisa, ran for cover and endorsed Mr Mandela's action.

Parliamentarians say the loss of Mrs Mandela's strongest supporters in her hour of need, was based on two factors:

■ The authority Mr Mandela commands in the ANC, that renders it politically suicidal to defy him.

■ The high salaries and perks earned by Mrs Mandela's best-known allies, which are well above the average earned by rank-and-file parliamentarians, even though top political salaries were recently cut.

Mr Holomisa, the deputy minister of environment affairs and tourism, earns an annual pay package, including a car allowance, of about R345 000 a year.

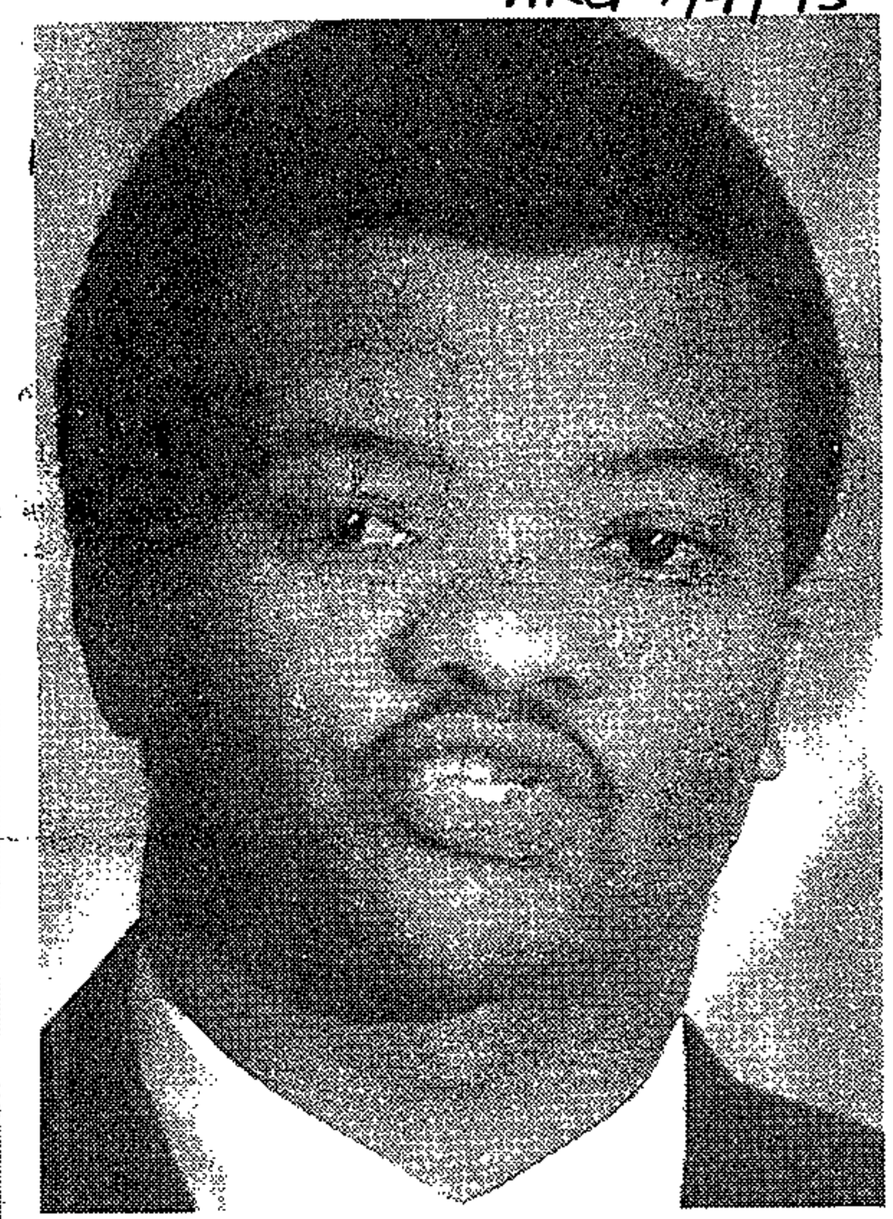
Mr Yengeni, as chairman of the parliamentary joint committee on defence, and Mr Mokaba as chairman of the national assembly's portfolio committee on tourism, each have a yearly pay package of about R240 000.

This is well above the package paid to ordinary MPs and senators who receive R193 000 a year.

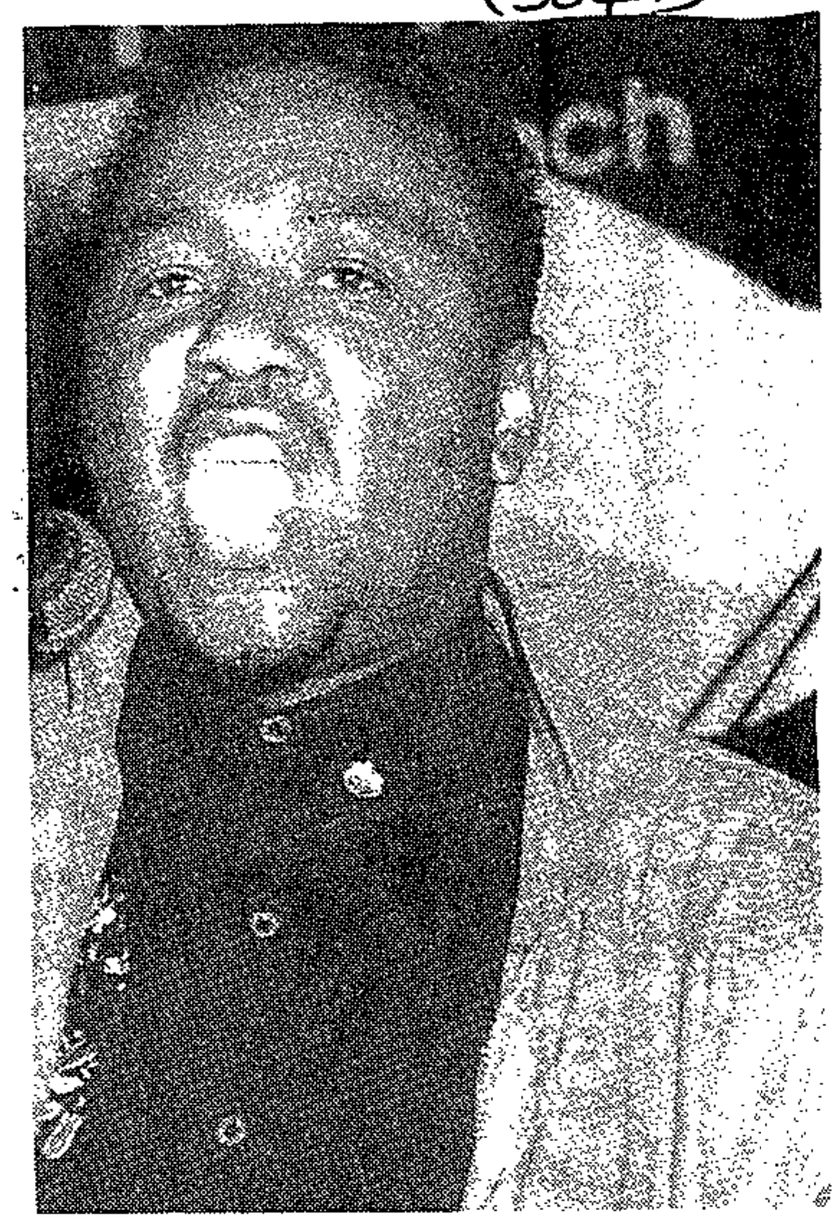
If Mr Holomisa, Mr Yengeni and Mr Mokaba had challenged Mr Mandela's decision, they would have faced dismissal from their posts which would cut their pay to that of ordinary parliamentarians.

And if they had really stuck their necks out on Mrs Mandela's behalf and faced expulsion from the ANC, they would have been thrown right off the gravy train. This is because the present constitution states that an MP has to vacate his seat if he is no longer a member of the party for which he was elected.

□ **YENGENI:** Refuses to comment on his remarkable about-face.



□ **HOLOMISA:** Thinks the so-called 'hawks' should be rooted-out.



□ **MOKABA:** Recognises the president's constitutional right to fire Winnie Mandela.

But Democratic Party national director James Selfe who is a member of the senate, said that even more important than the salary and perks Mrs Mandela's allies stood to lose if they backed her, was their unwillingness to challenge Mr Mandela's powerful moral authority.

The remarkable about-turn this week, especially by Mr Yengeni and Mr Mokaba, had political commentators gasping for breath.

Last Sunday, amid widespread speculation that she was about to be fired, Mrs Mandela spoke defiantly when addressing squatters in Philippi, and was loudly and emotionally backed by both Mr Mokaba and Mr Yengeni. Mrs Mandela also named the ANC's KwaZulu-Natal firebrand Harry Gwala, as her ally.

But within 24 hours, Mr Yengeni, Mr Mokaba and Mr Holomisa backtracked, recognising Mr Mandela's constitutional authority to fire Mrs Mandela.

Mr Yengeni steadfastly refused to say what his own view was, merely repeating the president's right to dismiss her. Mr Mokaba said Mr Mandela never acted recklessly.

And Mr Holomisa said the ANC had many faces including hawks and moderates — "so if it happens to the so-called hawks, let it be so," he added.

Political suitors go for Winnie

(304A) ARG 1/4/95

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

IT could be one of the strangest political partnerships in history — the Inkatha Freedom Party's leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the stormy petrel of the African National Congress, Winnie Mandela.

Amid widespread support for President Nelson Mandela's dismissal of his estranged wife from government this week, one of the few to express sympathy for Mrs Mandela was the IFP leader, who is also Minister of Home Affairs.

Other support for her came from Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Mervyn Frost, professor of politics at the University of Natal in Durban, said Chief Buthelezi had expressed sympathy with Mrs Mandela "because he doesn't want to antagonise a potential ally".

"Mrs Mandela is not simply speaking on behalf of herself. She actually has a constituency that supports her. Attached to her are some voters — and Chief Buthelezi would be interested in those voters," he said.

■ Strangely, fiery Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was one of the few to lend a hand in support of Mrs Mandela this week.

Professor Frost said Chief Buthelezi's sympathetic response appeared to be a careful attempt to avoid putting any distance between him and his support base, and Mrs Mandela's and her's.

But he said it was still premature to speculate on a political alliance developing. It depended on Mrs Mandela's future in the ANC.

The IFP and ANC have been engaged in a power struggle for more than a decade, causing horrific bloodshed mainly in KwaZulu/Natal and sporadically in Gauteng.

Analysts believe the IFP would be in a position to gain from disunity in the ANC by making common cause with its dissidents.

Chief Buthelezi's sympathy for Mrs Mandela came in a week in which her closest political allies in the ANC appeared to abandon her by endorsing Mr Mandela's action.

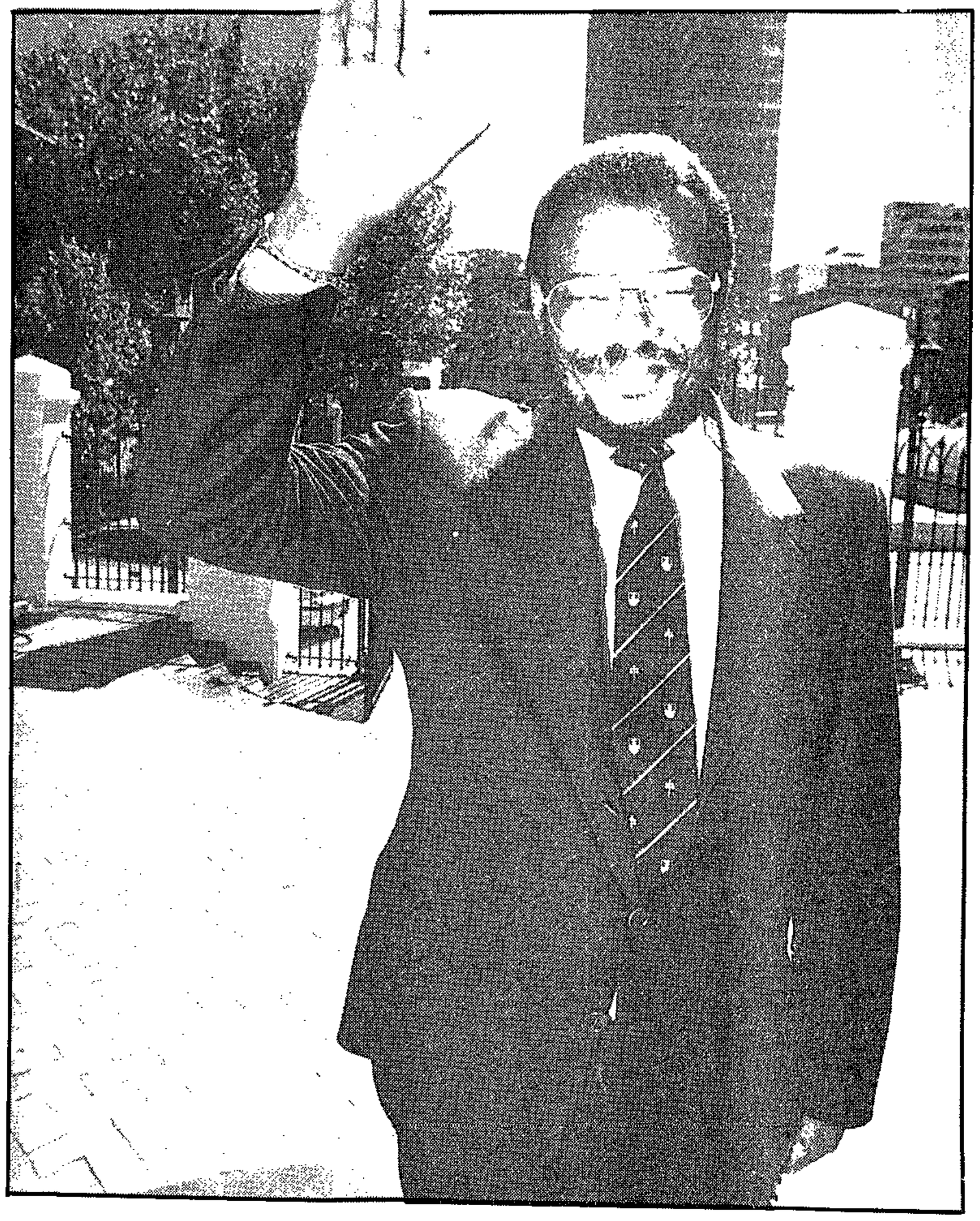
But Chief Buthelezi said he was saddened by Mrs Mandela's dismissal, saying he had known her and the president for many years.

He said what had happened to her was a tragedy as she had stood by her husband in all the years he was in jail.

The PAC's sympathy for Mrs Mandela follows recent overtures to her. Both aim to gain support among the most downtrodden black communities which have not benefited from the ANC-majority government.

Political observers have suggested the PAC, which lacks charismatic leadership, might seek to form an alliance to make use of Mrs Mandela's popular image, especially in squatter communities.

ANC-aligned Contralesa's support for Mrs Mandela was also predictable as she is the organisation's treasurer and has been closely associated with its president, Patikile Holomisa, a nephew of former Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus.

☐ **WOOING WINNIE:** IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is looking for an ally in Winnie Mandela.

INKATHA AND GOVERNMENT

(304A)

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 *bosberaad* 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 implicit in the Agreement on Peace & Reconciliation signed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk on April 19 which brought Inkatha into the general election.

Buthelezi . . . *agreement on international mediation is crucial*

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 centrist, 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.

Building a United Nation is, in effect, a shadow constitution. The section dealing with a 90-member Senate — 10 representatives from each province — is useful in explaining Inkatha's vociferous reaction. The ANC wants this body, whose functions are nebulous at present, to be the primary vehicle of provincial authority. It says: "The Senate rather than the provincial legislatures should be the manifestation of the vertical distribution of power." It should "bear co-responsibility for (SA) as a whole regarding provincial interests."

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 area of reduced competence all the legislative powers have been obliterated . . ."

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 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

(304A)

ARG 31/3/95

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, delegated by President Nelson Mandela 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 newly concocted 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. — Reuter.

'Major role to play in Africa's political, social and economic revival'

SA a cause for optimism, says OAU chief

(304A) Star 7/4/95

TUNISIAN president, in an address to Parliament, pays tribute to democratic reform in this country

POLITICAL STAFF

Cape Town — South Africa's climate of freedom is cause for optimism in the face of war and economic disaster in Africa, Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali told Parliament yesterday.

And South Africa's membership of the Organisation of African Unity had had tremendous impact in strengthening African ranks and consolidating the continent's capacity to meet challenges, he added.

Ben Ali, current chairman of the OAU, said leaders of OAU states had reaffirmed at a recent summit that Africa had to assume responsibility for its own problems.

The continent had to undergo political, economic and social reform to establish a platform for economic growth and security.

"Achieving such a goal will make it possible to free the African peoples from all forms of hegemony and domination.

"It will enable them to choose the model of society that best suits the specific nature of their individual civilisations and cultures."

Ben Ali welcomed SA's determination to contribute to OAU collective action to develop the economies of African countries.

"We are also confident that your country's human resources and potential will reinforce our continent's ability to promote our common interests; the success of our efforts for Africa's development; the strengthening of its position in the world economy; and the avoidance of its marginalisation of the international scene."

Addressing a joint sitting of the National Assembly and Senate, he outlined democratic reforms in recent years strikingly similar to SA's own.

Ben Ali paid tribute to President Mandela and ANC leaders past and present, including Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu.

He said Deputy President F W de Klerk had contributed with courage and clear-sightedness to the dismantling of apartheid.

He expressed "profound satisfaction" at the establishment this year of diplomatic relations between SA and Palestine.

"This should further strengthen the bonds of co-operation and solidarity between two peoples who have long struggled for liberty, dignity and justice."

Ben Ali said efforts being made by Africa in preventing conflict merited the support of the international community.

The OAU has recommended the establishment of a global international plan for the development of Africa.

This involved mobilising funds to restore the balance of commercial exchanges between rich and developing countries.

African unity . . . visiting Tunisian President Abidine Ben Ali seated with President Mandela in Parliament in Cape Town yesterday. PICTURE: ARGUS

ANC will drop power-sharing from constitution

(304A) Star 1/4/95

PATRICK BULGER

DEPUTY President Thabo Mbeki last night gave notice that the ANC intended dropping power-sharing from South Africa's final constitution. However, he did not shut the door on a form of voluntary "inter-party co-operation".

Mbeki told the opening session of the a three-day ANC constitutional conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park that the ANC did not oppose inter-party co-operation.

The Government of National Unity had been necessary to ensure a smooth transition. It had served its purpose well but could in the future act as a "fetter on the essence of multi-party democracy.

"What we don't want to perpetuate is an enforced coalition which denies the majority political constituency the right to freely decide how to pursue the interest of the democratic majority.

"Surely the democratic majority does not deserve to govern under a tutelage of a perpetual enforced constitutional arrangement. We are ready for and capable of governing," Mbeki said.

About 850 delegates are meeting to finalise the ANC's stance on a new constitution.

The party wants to introduce a more co-operative central Government-province relationship to replace what it perceives as a dangerous drift towards federalism.

However, strong opposition to this centralising tendency could emerge from some provinces. The ANC's Gauteng structures have produced their own document which suggests some of the curtailments of provincial powers may even be unconstitutional and which likens them to former National Party government attempts to devolve power from the centre.

In an apparent reference to this looming battle, Mbeki said it was important that the ANC arrive at a position that did not undermine the "unity and integrity of the state".

The interim constitution had been drawn up by a multi-party forum that had not been elected like the Constitutional Assembly had. He stressed that even though the ANC was drawing up its constitutional proposals, the new constitution would have to be negotiated with the other parties.

WeekendStar
April 1-2 1995

HER SINS MUST BE TOLD . . . Former Arts, Culture, Science and Technology deputy minister Winnie Mandela.

President must tell world why Winnie has been fired

(3044) CP 2/4/95

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.

NOW THAT President Nelson Mandela has done what some leaders of political parties and a number of political experts have been urging him to do in recent weeks – that is to fire Winnie Mandela as a deputy cabinet minister – there is one important factor missing in this seemingly never ending saga.

Why was the controversial deputy minister fired? It is incumbent upon the president to tell the whole nation and, given Winnie's stature, why he took this action.

While under normal circumstances it is the prerogative of a head of state to change his cabinet without having to explain his actions, the circumstances surrounding the dismissal of the deputy minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology are different.

Her dismissal came against the backdrop of numerous allegations of impropriety on her part (as yet unproven), ill discipline and insubordination.

If Winnie, as has been suggested in some quarters, was dismissed because she was ungovernable (as one senior ANC member put it in private), Mandela owes it to the public to explain in what way she was ungovernable.

Again, if Winnie was ill-disciplined as some allege, or flouted the rules expected of her position in government, let the president tell the whole country exactly what her misdemeanours were.

While Mandela has been reticent about Winnie's dismissal – something unusual for him, given his openness and commitment to transparent administration – it is strange that some political experts who claim to uphold democratic practices supported demands that Mandela must fire his estranged wife.

Now that he has done so, these same champions of democracy are hailing this decision. This is patently undemocratic – or is it that Winnie must be treated differently?

Even people accused of murder are given the chance to defend themselves instead of being arbitrarily convicted – and the public is made aware of the charges against them.

Until Mandela comes out publicly, his action will lend itself to various interpretations and even misinterpretations. While those happy about her dismissal claim she was undisciplined, others claim Mandela's hand was forced by some powerful forces which are worried about her recent radical statements.

Winnie has in recent months charged that the main partner in the government of national unity – the ANC – has failed to deliver on its election promises. She was also critical of the government during the funeral service of warrant officer Jabulani Xaba, who was shot dead by white members of the Internal Stability Unit.

Among those sharing the view that Winnie was ousted because of her criticism of the GNU are the Azanian People's Organisation. Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe contends that the ANC is no longer "prepared to support militant action" because it fears a white backlash, flight of investment and National Party withdrawal from the GNU.

The perception that the ANC is bending over backwards to appease whites exists in the black community. Whether this is articulated by Winnie or Azapo does not take away the fact that some people are unhappy about the direction the ANC is taking.

If Winnie was indeed removed from office because of her criticism of the GNU, then the ANC's commitment to alleviating the lot of the poor must ring hollow in many ears in the squatter settlements.

The ANC is also becoming increasingly paranoid about criticism of its failure to deliver. Three weeks ago the usually level headed Labour Minister, Tito Mboweni, singled out black journalists and editors for censure when he claimed that they were always criticising the government for not delivering on election promises.

Mboweni chose to ignore some irresponsible – shall we say populist – statements by the Gauteng premier, Tokyo Sexwale, about a year ago when he promised to build more than 100 000 houses in 12 months.

'The ANC is becoming increasingly paranoid about criticism of its failure to deliver'

The journalists and editors whom Mboweni so maligned had pointed out that what Sexwale was saying was unrealistic and impractical. Sexwale chose to play to the gallery.

People living in shacks and the unemployed are complaining daily that the government they put into power is failing them. If Winnie is being punished for articulating this (her critics dub it populist positions), it means the ANC leadership is becoming removed from its constituency.

And the rich irony is that the ANC has been accommodating "white populist" positions. White populists in various guises have urged the government to adopt free market policies and not to embark on radical land reform policies.

They claim that any radical agrarian reform policies would scare away potential investors. On the other hand, land hungry blacks demand radical measures to redress this imbalance and accuse the ANC of prevaricating on the issue.

Their spokesman, like Winnie, are given the chop and others like Tony Yengeni, Harry Gwala, Peter Mokaba and Bantu Holomisa are now effectively frightened into silence.

Mandela claims – and to a large extent this is true – that his government is committed to transparency. But right now, on the Winnie issue, his actions are as clear as mud.

During her discussions with Thabo Mbeki, the deputy president must have left her with little doubt about the consequences of her behaviour.

Why did Winnie – who may be headstrong but is no fool – choose to ignore this? Is it because she believes she can outsmart the entire ANC leadership? Since her dismissal, the ANC and its various alliance partners, including the ANCWL which she heads, endorsed her dismissal.

Super radicals like Peter Mokaba, Harry Gwala, Bantu Holomisa and Tony Yengeni are remarkably quiet.

Did Nomzamo overplay her hand? Did the fatal flaw in her make-up – that hubris of believing in her invincibility – finally catch up with her?

She survived the MDM/UDF which tried to isolate her from the mainstream of ANC politics and even from her husband who was then in jail.

Her high profile also revealed another persona. This became more visible in the mid-1980s as the political struggle in the country got into high gear.

There is almost something of a split personality about Winnie. She is at home with the poor in the squatter communities – and commiserates with them in a spontaneous manner.

At the same time the champion of the poor can display an embarrassing taste for luxury.

And it was her Mandela United Football Club which unleashed so much terror in Soweto. Winnie, contrary to her constant refrain that she did not know, should have known what was happening in the club.

Yet it is Winnie who gets to the nub of the matter. Her speech at Xaba's funeral was not poignant – it is something that must be heard.

Meanwhile, our radicals are scuttling for cover like rabbits.

With Hani dead and the SACP emasculated, the ANC is now in a position to do as it pleases without anyone of stature challenging it. The so called radicals within the ANC, Mokaba, Yengeni, Holomisa and Gwala – are they for real?

It seems that they are blowing a lot of hot air.

It is not so much what Winnie says that is important. What she says is what the masses want to hear.

Mandela, many believe, is still very much attached to his wife in spite of her indiscretions. It is this attachment which put him at pains to dismiss her. Winnie on the other hand does not seem to have returned this compliment.

Why Winnie was fired

By ERIC NAKI (304A)

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.

CP 2/4/95

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

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Winnie slammed (304A)

■ From Page 1

Cape Premier Raymond Mhlaba.

Mbeki said: "The president took the decision (to fire Winnie) to save the country from the gallows."

CP 2/4/95

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". – Ecna.

■ See story on page 17

ANC no to IFP's call for foreign mediation

(30HA) Star 2/4/95

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

DEPUTY President Thabo Mbeki has rejected calls for international mediation on a future constitution — just days before the Wednesday deadline set by Inkatha for a response to its demand.

And, addressing the ANC's constitutional conference at Kempton Park, Mr Mbeki outlined plans for a majority-rule government free of the power-sharing arrangements in the interim constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said Mr Mbeki had written to Inkatha president Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi on the international mediation question, but the contents of the letter have not been made public.

Mr Mbeki told the conference: "South Africans must take their destiny into their own hands. They did not vote for international mediators".

Describing the interim constitution and the government of national unity as "necessary to end the system of white minority domination", Mr Mbeki said: "I believe that as the majority party of this country, we are ready and capable of governing."

Mr Ramaphosa said: "The government must be formed by the majority party and the NP can eat its heart out."

Mr Mbeki's statement came after the NP's Roelf Meyer this week proposed the continuation of aspects of the government of national unity for a further 10 years or more.

Meanwhile, a compromise advancing co-operation between provincial and national government emerged as the ANC's most likely constitutional option following a tense exchange of documents between the organisation and its Gauteng region.

Original proposals from the ANC in a document entitled Building a United Nation, stressed the centralisation of law-making, with provinces taking charge of "implementation and administration".

This was roundly rejected by the organisation's largest region, Gauteng, which said the proposals were resurrecting "the ghost of Chris Heunis" — the NP leader responsible for disbanding the old provincial administrations.

But at a meeting at the conference yesterday, attended by Mr Ramaphosa and ANC provincial premiers, agreement appeared to have been reached on a model of "co-operative governance".

"The premiers are feeling rather pleased with the proposal," Mr Ramaphosa said.

He said the ANC's national proposal would not reduce provincial

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The Sunday Times . . . you miss it, you miss out

THE ANC will investigate a breach of party discipline after details of a parliamentary caucus were allegedly leaked to the press, caucus chairman Julebhi Ngcuka said on Thursday.

The alleged leak resulted in a Sunday Times report last weekend which claimed the ANC was split over the Truth Commission.

Athletics coup

JOHANNEBURG sports chief Danie Malan, beaten in the race for the presidency of Athletics South

(304A) ST 2/4/95

Mediation rejected

⇨ From Page 1

powers but would "in fact increase the capacity of provinces to exercise their powers".

He said some delegates had expressed the view that the proposal would conflict with constitutional principles entrenching provincial powers, but this had been cleared up. Said ANC chairman Jacob Zuma: "There are no powers that are being taken away from the provinces."

The proposals call for a revamped senate, which would directly represent provinces, increasing their influence over national law-making and forcing greater co-ordination between provincial and national government.

While ANC provinces could benefit from this arrangement, Inkatha-controlled Kwazulu Natal and National Party-controlled Western Cape could find themselves in a perpetual minority in senate decision making.

ANC TAKES STAND AGAINST FEDERALISM

End to coalition in 1999

CT 3/4/95

(3044)

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.

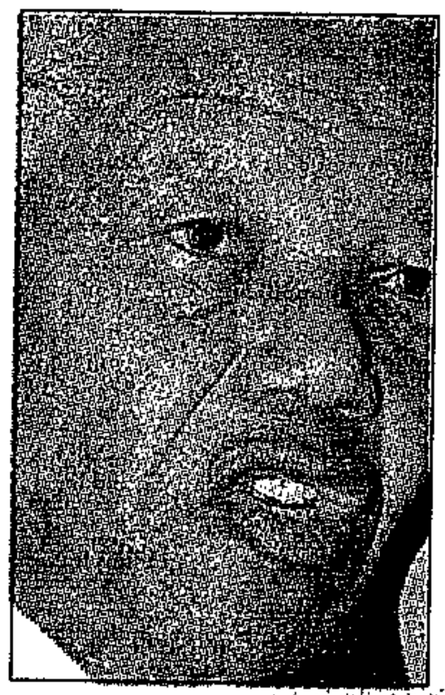
Analysts said this had ruled out enforced coalition rule of up to 20 years as envisaged by the former ruling National Party headed by Deputy President F W de Klerk and a straight-forward United States or Canadian type of federalism as demanded by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party.

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.



NO SHARED GOVT: President Nelson Mandela's ANC rules out power-sharing.

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 IFP 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."

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MONDAY
APRIL 3, 1995 ★

Clash over mediation looming

(30 APR)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

KEMPTON PARK: The ANC and the IFP are set to clash head-on this week on the issue of international mediation. CT 3/3/95

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

CT 3/4/95 (304A)

POLITICAL REPORTER

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 Selfe 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 appropiate for the population and adequately service all the magisterial districts.

The National Party and the Freedom Front also favour a smaller Parliament. But nothing will change until Parliament's present lease of life expires in 1999.

Meanwhile, the present constitution allows for a 20-member volkstaatraad, and the provinces are setting up houses of traditional leaders.

Traditional leaders' chambers hit snag

Ethnic rows slow council formation

(304A) Star 3/4/95

BY MONDLI 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 it swore in members of its 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 Mandela 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 Volkstaatraad but they seem unconcerned about the slowness of setting up the Council," said Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) official Chief Mwelo Nonkonyane.

Squabbles

Deputy Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa is expected to get a grilling when he attends a Contralesa conference in Umtata at the weekend.

The Northern Transvaal Traditional Leaders' House is being delayed by squabbles between chiefs of different ethnic groups over represantation.

The province has Swazi, Pedi, Tswana 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 76 members but had to scale this down to 36 after the provincial government said it would be costly. Sanco, however, wants the House to consist of only 20 members.

ANC regions accept slightly modified constitutional proposals

(304A) BD 3/4/95

ADRIAN HADLAND

DELEGATES to the ANC's constitutional policy conference, including provincial representatives, yesterday accepted only slightly amended proposals for the restructuring of relations between central and provincial governments.

In their initial form — as in a discussion document called Building a United Nation, prepared by the ANC's constitutional commission — the proposals raised misgivings among the ANC's Gauteng region members, who argued that they did not go far enough in promoting co-operation between levels of government and gave the centre excessive powers.

The 800 delegates at the conference accepted some of Gauteng's recommendations, notably those strengthening the powers of the Senate to represent provincial interests — facilitating consensus.

The document was condemned as "centrist and undemocratic" by the pro-federal Inkatha Freedom Party, and the platform adopted by the ANC conference was unlikely to placate Inkatha.

The final proposals seek to enshrine central government as the prime law-making body, with regional governments relegated to administration.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa denied at the weekend that the proposals, which would be used by ANC MPs as guidelines to negotiate a new constitution, would result in provinces losing executive power. He said they would empower provinces "within a framework of co-operative governance, not as a constellation of competing fiefdoms."

This would be achieved mainly through a radical restructuring of the role of the Senate and improved links between the provinces and central government.

While the original proposal provided for the Senate only to approve laws dealing with provincial competencies and to review other legislation, the revised version says the upper house should have the right to initiate laws on provincial matters. Provinces would also be entitled to a role in drafting the national Budget.

The Senate, in its current form, "offers little that is distinctive or deepens our system of democratic governance," Ramaphosa said. The Senate had "an inadequate linkage to its provincial constituency and insufficient powers to give real effect to the views of the provinces."

As the upper house would be given an increased role at central government level, legislation emanating from the centre would be given new legal primacy.

However, where the interim constitution says "a law passed by a provincial legislature . . . shall prevail over an Act of Parliament" subject to certain constraints, the new ANC proposal provides that "an Act passed by Parliament shall prevail over a

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Constitution

(304A) BD 3/4/95

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law passed by a provincial legislature." Central government would also be given broader powers with which to assert its law-making supremacy over the regions.

The proposals suggested that where a provincial government failed or refused to implement a national law, "national government shall have the right to intervene".

Gauteng MP and constitutional specialist Firoz Cachalia said the proposals were a synthesis of contributions. "Our initial concerns were allayed. We are very happy." Among other principles accepted by delegates was the right under the final constitution of the majority party to form government. Voluntary coalitions would be acceptable, but enforced coalitions would not be constitutionally entrenched.

Matters left open included the length of the president's term of office and the size and composition of the Senate.

Mediation issue 'has reached critical step'

(304A)

Sowetan 3/4/95

By Themba 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 official 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.

Star 3/4/95

ANC endorses shift in provincial power

(304A)

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC yesterday endorsed a proposal to limit the powers of individual provinces while compensating them with greater collective influence over national legislation.

However, the party accepted that the new model of "co-operative governance" might still have to overcome at least one of the binding constitutional principles adopted at the multiparty talks that gave SA its current interim constitution.

The proposal was also adopted in the face of strong initial opposition from a Gauteng delegation.

Addressing delegates at the end of a three-day constitutional conference at the World Trade Centre, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said the ANC's "conception of co-operative and co-ordinated government represents an innovative and creative way that overcomes the unproductive debate between federalism and unitarism".

It would create a "healthy balance between national unity and the expression of cultural diversity", he said.

A conference resolution said the ANC had had to choose between "the option of separate and conflicting fiefdoms dominated by conflict, ethnic mobilisation and growing tension ... and co-operative governance which recognises legitimate regional aspirations and needs within a context of overall national imperatives".

More scope

It was at the same venue a year ago that ANC constitutional negotiators accepted an IFP-led bid to give provinces a large degree of independence over certain matters.

The essence of the proposal accepted at the weekend undoes that compromise and provides more scope for the central Government to intervene in matters that would previously have been considered provincial.

To compensate for this reduction in their powers, the Senate would be reconstituted to make it more directly representative of provincial interests and to give it a veto over national legislation.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the proposal had found favour with the ANC's seven provincial premiers.

But in provinces not controlled by the ANC, the national Government would still be able to override provincial legislation.

And those provinces' representatives — the NP in the Western Cape and the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal — would easily be outvoted by ANC senators if they tried to block legislation.

What was presented as a compromise to recognise regional diversity was rejected

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ANC endorses shifting of the provinces' power

◀ From Page 1

by delegates.

The compromise stated that "where a provincial law deals with a matter which is specific to the economic, social or cultural needs of the inhabitants of that province, it shall prevail over national legislation".

The compromise was intended to satisfy the constitutional principle that says a province will exercise exclusive or concurrent powers to plan, deliver and render services and in matters dealing with the specific socio-economic and cultural needs of its inhabitants.

With the compromise proposal rejected, the matter was referred back to the ANC's constitutional commission.

Delegates said from the floor they remained unsure of the proposed division between provincial and national powers.

Earlier, Gauteng's constitutional commission warned against provincial governments being turned into "toy telephones" and said they "resurrected the ghost of Chris Heunis", the former NP constitutional guru who presided over the dismantling of the former provincial system.

Ramaphosa said, however, that Gauteng had softened its opposition and that the premiers felt the new system would in fact give them more powers.

"T[illegible] ANC is irrevocably committed against the type of autonomy [illegible] provinces that parties like the [illegible]P are talking about."

The ANC was not a federalist party and had an obligation to prevent "provincial suicide" which would occur if provinces that could not fully support themselves decided to try and go it alone.

Star 3/4/95

Opening the conference on Friday night, Mbeki warned that without an "appropriate constitutional framework, with time, conflicts arising from our socio-economic reality might lead to provincial and ethnic conflict which, in turn, could lead to the Balkanisation of our country".

Another major issue facing the conference was how the ANC would deal with power-sharing in a future constitution.

The ANC said it would drop the model of enforced power-sharing contained in the interim constitution.

However, "the ANC is not opposed to the idea of interparty co-operation.

"Inde[illegible] we might deem it worthwh[illegible] at different levels of governa[illegible], especially in a country with [illegible]ep-seated divisions".

Inkatha tip-toes on pullout

FAROUK CHOTHIA

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party appeared to be soft-pedalling yesterday on its threat to pull out of the Constitutional Assembly on Wednesday.

Inkatha senator Philip Powell, speaking from an Inkatha bosberaad 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 and 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. BD 3/4/95

"If the caucus feels there is really nothing to report, there is a 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 bosberaad in Franschoek was held to "streamline" constitutional positions. It was not held to debate withdrawing, he said.

(304A)

To Page 2

Inkatha

(304A)

BD 3/4/95

From Page 1

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.

74% of robberies in SA unsolved

POLITICAL STAFF

CT 4/4/95

POLICE solved only 26% of the 62 354 armed robberies in South Africa between January and November last year, the Minister of Safety and Security, Mr Sydney Mufamadi, said yesterday.

He also said 789 284 violent crimes were committed in the country in the first 11 months of 1994, an average of 2 363 a day or almost 99 every hour — or one violent crime every 36,4 seconds.

Mr Mufamadi, who was replying to a question tabled in the National Assembly by Mr Douglas Gibson (DP), said 418 644 of the violent crimes — 52% — were solved by the police.

Violent crimes included murder, public violence, rape and serious assault.

Rugby sec

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 some 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

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Teams to test for fraud in social pension system

(304A)

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. CT 4/4/95

"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.

Public say in new capital

MAJORITY WANT PARLIAMENT TO STAY IN CAPE TOWN

CT 4/4/95

30/4

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 seat 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 the 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 be situated in Maritzburg during multi-party negotiations.

- South Africa's terrorial 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 nation-wide 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 23% 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 wanted 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

(304A)

TOS WENTZEL
Diplomatic Correspondent

SOUTH African diplomats are having their overseas entertainment and living style drastically restricted. ARG 4/4/95

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 93 embassies and missions overseas cost about R647 million.

A spokesman for Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said the phasing-in of the new system had started "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.

De Klerk seeks compromise to defuse ANC-IFP clash over mediation

Star 4/4/95 (304A)

Battle lines are drawn

BY PATRICK BULGER and MONDLI MAKHANYA

ONLY a last-minute concession by the ANC can rescue our post-apartheid unity, warns the IFP

Cape Town — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi returns from Zimbabwe today in the wake of the latest clash between his IFP and the ANC over whether South Africa will have a unitary or federal constitution.

Buthelezi is expected to call an emergency meeting of his national council to consider the party's threat to withdraw from consitutional talks if its ultimatum demanding international mediation expires tomorrow without any backing down by the ANC.

Correctional Minister Sipo Mzimela, a member of Inkatha's central committee, said yesterday only a last-minute concession by the ANC could rescue the country's post-apartheid unity.

Tension between the parties flared up yesterday during a meeting of the second-tier Constitutional Committee when the IFP's call for separate provincial judiciaries was defeated.

The ANC wants a single national juidicial system after the 1999 elections, while the IFP wants separate systems, including independent courts to interpret provincial constitutions.

Provincial autonomy is at the centre of the IFP's demands for the international mediation agreed with the ANC and National Party shortly before last April's first non-racial elections.

An indication that ANC negotiators are losing patience with IFP stalling tactics was clear yesterday when the Constitutional Assembly (CA) chairman Cyril Ramaphosa ruled in effect that the majority view would prevail in the drafting of the new constitution.

IFP Senator Ruth Rabinowitz complained that Ramaphosa was applying the principle of "sufficient consensus" first used during the Codesa negotiations to overcome IFP and National Party objections to some proposals for the Interim Constitution.

At the heart of the issue is whether the CA will follow the majority view of the ANC that South Africa be a unitary state or whether the IFP's insistence on a federal state will be accepted.

Yesterday's row was the latest chapter in a feud that has simmered since SA first began negotiating a new constitutional dispensation at the Codesa talks more than three years ago. It was brought into the open at a meeting of the constitutional committee (CC), which is where party bargaining takes place before decisions are ratified in the CA.

The dispute took place just a day after an ANC constitutional conference adopted wide-ranging proposals aimed at curtailing the powers of individual provinces. Its effect would be to put the brakes on the IFP's secessionist sentiments in KwaZulu-Natal where it won a majority in last year's election.

An IFP source said the row was likely to harden the party's stance ahead of tomorrow's deadline.

With no indication that the ANC will agree to international mediation, the IFP has said it will quit the constitution-making process tomorrow.

However the decision to walk out of the CA if its demands are not met might be delayed until the IFP's national council ratifies the decision.

The IFP's resolve to press for immediate international mediation appears to have been strengthened by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's "out-of-hand dismissal" of the IFP's demands and the essentially centralist ANC constitutional proposals adopted at the weekend.

The NP, which last week attempted last-ditch efforts to rescue the situation, is now accusing the IFP of not being committed to finding a solution to the impasse.

"It seems they have made up their minds and they don't want to be confused by the facts. They want to pull out of the CA and then they will later claim they were not part of the process," said NP executive director Fanie Schoeman.

Schoeman said F W de Klerk would try to persuade

▶ To Page 3

ANC-IFP battle lines are drawn over mediation

(304A) Star 4/4/95

◀ From Page 1

Buthelezi to delay the IFP's pull-out when he addresses the Senate this afternoon.

National Party insiders said the deputy president would offer a major compromise which would be a "take it or leave it" to the IFP and the ANC, and would test these parties' commitment to finding a solution.

Yesterday's dispute prompted a charge by IFP MP Peter Smith that the ANC was disregarding an earlier management committee ruling that contentious issues raised in CA theme committees would form the basis of separate drafts to be considered by the CA.

Considering a report from theme committee 5 on a future judicial system, the CC, chaired by Ramaphosa, ruled against the drafting of a separate report based on the IFP submission.

Ramaphosa ruled that given the consensus on the issue, a single draft would be written for the CA to consider. The issue would no longer be considered contentious.

Smith reacted sharply: "We can't countenance the view that one single national legal system is an issue of non-contention."

EX-DEPUTY MINISTER FIGHTS BACK

Winnie to sue President

CT 5/4/95

(304A)

IN A SENSATIONAL turn of events Mrs Winnie Mandela broke silence yesterday and said she is taking legal action against President Nelson Mandela and other top ANC officials. **BENNY GOOL** and **RONNIE MORRIS** report.

A DEFIANT Mrs Winnie Mandela is to take President Nelson Mandela to court to reveal his reasons for firing her from the cabinet.

She has also threatened legal action against Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC stalwarts Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Walter Sisulu for telling an ANC meeting in the Eastern Cape last week of the alleged reasons why she was fired.

In a letter from her attorneys dated April 3, Mrs mandela claimed that on April 1, at the Bisho Industrial Hall near King William's Town at a meeting of leaders and members of the ANC, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Walter Sisulu had claimed that they had been authorised by Mr Mandela to make certain statements about her to the gathering.

These statements included:

l That the ANC would fight her "as if she were the enemy should she persist with her comments and mobilise people against the government".

l That she had disobeyed an order from the president to travel to West Africa and that this was the main fact which led to her being sacked from her ministerial post.

l That she had refused to talk to Mr Mbeki

l That the president took the decision to fire her to "save the country from the gallows".

Mrs Mandela said that these statements were devoid of all truth and that she reserved her right to institute appropriate action against the three men.

She said an ANC rally was to be held in Umtata this Friday and she had reason to believe that these statements would be repeated.

The letter stated that unless a written undertaking was given by the ANC by midday yesterday that no such statements would be made at any rally or meeting until the matter had been settled, Mrs Mandela would file an urgent court application.

Referring to the intended action against President Mandela, Mrs Mandela's lawyers wrote: "Let it be known that our client is in the process of preparing appropriate papers to be filed in the Transvaal Supreme Court where she will be seeking appropriate relief in regard to the communication to her on March 27, 1995 by President Mandela that her appointment as Deputy Minister of Art, Culture, Science and Technology has been terminated with immediate effect.

FIGHTING BACK: Winnie taking on the President and the ANC

"In particular, our client will seek an order directing the president to disclose formally the reasons for her dismissal as deputy minister.

"The papers will be issued and served upon the appropriate respondent within 24 hours from date hereof."

Information

Last night Dr Willie Seriti, senior partner of Pretoria law firm Seriti, Mavundla and Partners, confirmed that the letter had been issued from his office.

He said: "The letter emanates from our office and copies were faxed on Monday and yesterday.

"As attorneys we act on instructions. I don't think I can take the matter further, For further information you can contact Mrs Mandela."

Buthelezi hints at IFP retreat on mediation

(304A)

CT 5/4/95

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 yesterday, said he had called an emergency IFP meeting to discuss the compromise proposal.

Hinting at a retreat from an earlier ultimatum on foreign mediation of his constitutional 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 mediation 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 mediated.

"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 prepared 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 included 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-making processes, which were running "relatively smoothly", could be averted.

"The last thing we now need is a constitutional crisis," Mr De Klerk said. — Special Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter

De Klerk offers proposals to end international mediation impasse

FAROUK CHOTHIA

DURBAN — Deputy President FW de Klerk had proposed a summit meeting involving himself, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a bid to break the deadlock on international mediation, Inkatha constitutional affairs spokesman Sipho Mzimela said yesterday.

He did not know how Buthelezi would respond to the call, but Inkatha did not want to be confrontational or obstructionist. "We want a solution. It is badly needed otherwise there could be serious repercussions for SA."

Inkatha also planned to hold an emergency national council meeting at the weekend to discuss mediation.

Sapa reports that De Klerk told the Senate he had written to Mbeki and Buthelezi, making specific proposals to break the impasse. He declined to give details. "I would like to emphasise that I am open to constructive counter-proposals," he said.

Mbeki's spokesman, Ricky Naidoo, said Mbeki would discuss De Klerk's letter with President Nelson Mandela before responding "in due course".

Mzimela said the "logical conclusion" was that the summit would seek agreement on the terms of reference for mediation, as this seemed to be the "main bone of contention". While Inkatha believed the terms of reference agreed to before last year's mediation fiasco — involving Lord Carrington and Henry Kissinger — should still be used, the three leaders could "re-examine" it if they wished.

Inkatha's threat to walk out of the Constitutional Assembly today was "not an issue", as it was not sitting, he said. Although Inkatha would decide at its national council meeting how to respond to the impasse, there would be a 12-day "breathing space" as Parliament would go into recess tomorrow. (30WA) (HB) BD 5/4/95

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said Inkatha would have "nothing" to do with the assembly until mediation was in place. "It would appear to me that the hardliners within the ANC, mostly members of the SACP, have staged a coup and are now calling the shots." It was "common knowledge" that the ANC had instructed provincial premiers not to draft provincial constitutions, he said.

In a letter to Buthelezi last week, Mbeki tilted at Inkatha for its failure to enshrine the Zulu king's status in the provincial constitution, immediately after the general election. This, he said, was in breach of last year's mediation agreement.

Inkatha MP Arthur Konigkramer said the KwaZulu/Natal government had given the legislature's constitutional affairs standing committee a preliminary budget of about R500 000 to draft a provincial constitution, which would be completed "long" before the year's end.

NEWS FW de Klerk acts to prevent constitutional crisis over IFP dem

Mandela at SACP's congress

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela is to address the ninth national congress of the South African Communist Party which opens in Johannesburg tomorrow.

SACP general secretary Mr Charles Nqakula will give the central committee's political report in which it assesses the past three years. "The report will also look critically, and at some great length, at populist demagogic tendencies in the broad liberation movement," SACP central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin said. The congress, which ends on Saturday, will also elect a new central committee, including five senior officials, chairman, deputy chairman, the general-secretary, assistant general-secretary and treasurer.

"Following the death of Joe Slovo and the assassination of Chris Hani there are vacancies in the top five (structure) and there are considerable internal party discussions around these elections," said the statement.

IFP saga continues as Buthelezi returns

Sowetan 5/4/95

By Vuyo Bavuma
Political Reporte

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is expected to call an emergency meeting of the Inkatha Freedom Party leadership today as the party readies itself for a showdown with its partners in Government over its demand for international mediation.

Buthelezi returned yesterday from an official visit to Zimbabwe to attend Parliament today. Meanwhile, IFP central committee member Dr Sipho Mzimela was yesterday quoted as saying only a last-minute concession by the African National Congress could rescue "our post-apartheid unity".

The IFP had threatened to walk out of the Constitutional Assembly today in protest against the ANC's failure to agree to international meditation on outstanding constitutional issues.

The IFP feels aggrieved because it claims the ANC and the National Party failed to honour the pre-election agreement to convene mediators to tackle issues surrounding the Zulu monarchy and regional autonomy.

Deputy President and leader of the NP Mr FW de Klerk said yesterday he had made specific proposals to first Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and IFP leader Buthelezi on how the "matter can be taken forward".

De Klerk said this was in line with his request that the dispute be resolved by "honest, open and frank discussions and negotiations".

"I sincerely hope that we can avert the disruption of the present governing and constitution-making process which are running relatively smoothly.

"The last thing we need is a constitutional crisis," De Klerk said.

In another development, the IFP's national council is planning to meet at the weekend to decide on the party's next step. Last month this body mandated the IFP to pull out of the constitution-writing process if the mediation deadlock was not resolved within 30 days, ending today. On the other hand the ANC argues that there is no need to call in international mediators because there is no deadlock. The movement also believes the so-called outstanding issues can be resolved through the existing constitutional machinery such as the Constitutional Court.

However, although the IFP demands regional autonomy, insiders say at the core of the contention is autonomy for KwaZulu-Natal and more political powers for the Zulu king.

Winnie 'doesn't have legal leg to stand on'

CT 6/4/95 (304A)

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 firing, 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 emphasised that "the ANC will not be drawn into mud-slinging exercises with its leaders either by the media or any individual".

A spokesperson for the President's office said Mr Mandela had the constitutional authority to hire or fire whomsoever he wished and that "there is no legal basis for this type of action whatsoever".

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 key-note address to the congress on Friday. — Political Staff

Canvassers battle in 'white' areas

(304A)

EUNICE RIDER
STAFF REPORTER

CT 6/4/95

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 bused to 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

(304A) BD 6/4/95

ADRIAN HADLAND and BONILE NGQIYAZA

THE ANC called on former Deputy Arts and Culture Minister Winnie Mandela yesterday to abandon a court attempt to challenge her sacking, and President Nelson Mandela criticised her behaviour.

It was "highly undesirable to engage in public debate with a former Deputy Minister on matters of good government", the President said. He was entitled to take actions complying with SA's constitution.

An ANC spokesman said: "We regard the action of Mrs Mandela, though within her rights, as very unfortunate indeed."

As a leading member of the party's national executive and working committees, it was inappropriate for her to take her grievances outside party structures. It called on her to use the ANC's constitutional structures to put her case.

However, the former Deputy Minister's attorney, Willie Seriti, would not confirm last night whether Mandela would challenge her dismissal in court. He said only that he was busy compiling a challenge.

"It takes time, and if we do it, it will be in Pretoria," he said. He could not comment further as "one is involved with a certain class of client. It is better you talk to Mrs Mandela."

Sapa-AFP reports Seriti's partner, Moses Mavundla, confirmed that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, and veteran politicians Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu, were among those named as respondents.

Mandela was replaced by Brigitte Mabandla as Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister last month.

The President, who refused to cite the reasons for the dismissal other than that it was in the interests of "good government", said the former Deputy Minister's challenge would lack legal basis.

The court threat followed a weekend campaign by ANC leaders to explain her dismissal to supporters. At a meeting in the Eastern Cape on Saturday, Mbeki and Sisulu said Winnie Mandela's firing was sparked by her defiance of the President's order not to travel to West Africa.

According to a letter signed by Seriti, the former Deputy Minister said she wanted discussion of her firing stopped because the matter would soon go to court.

"She will be seeking appropriate relief in regard to the communication to her ... by President Nelson Mandela that her appointment as Deputy Minister" was terminated. "In particular, our client will seek an order directing the President to disclose formally the reasons for dismissal."

Our East London correspondent reports that Mbeki and Sisulu will share the podium with the former Deputy Minister at a Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA congress in Umtata at the weekend. It will be Mandela's first public appearance since she was sacked.

Mandela versus Mandela

6/4/95 Sowetan (304A)

Winnie Mandela — She has instructed her lawyers to go ahead with a lawsuit against the President.

By Themba Molefe and Vuyo Bavuma

FORMER DEPUTY MINISTER of arts, culture, science and technology Mrs Winnie Mandela is tackling her estranged husband, President Nelson Mandela, head-on about her dismissal.

She has instructed her lawyers to go ahead with a lawsuit against the President even though the African National Congress yesterday called on her to refrain from taking such action.

But a presidential statement issued yesterday said Mrs Mandela had no basis in law to sue President Mandela.

"President Mandela had merely exercised his constitutional prerogative to appoint and dismiss Government ministers. President Mandela was not obliged to give reasons for dismissing a minister — a practice recognised in all modern democracies.

"A minister may even be dismissed under circumstances that have nothing to do with his or her conduct.

"The President wished to state categorically that he believed that it was highly undesirable to engage in any public debate with the former deputy minister on matters of good government, including the actions that he may take from time to time," the statement said.

The fiery activist, who is president of the ANC Women's League, also said she was considering taking action against Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC stalwarts Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki for publicly divulging the reason for her dismissal. The ANC urged Mrs Mandela to use the movement's parliamentary caucus, of which she is a member, to air her grievances. The ANC said it would not be drawn into a mud-slinging exercise with its leaders either by the media or any individual.

"We regard the action of Mrs Mandela, though within her rights, as very unfortunate indeed. We call upon her even at this late stage to utilise the ANC's constitutional structures to put her case."

This step comes after Mrs Mandela broke her week-long silence by threatening to take legal steps to force President Mandela to disclose reasons for sacking her from her post last Monday.

Nelson Mandela — exercised his prerogative to appoint and dismiss Government ministers.

Mandela slaps down Holomisa

WINNIE GAGS ANC CAUCUS OVER HER DISMISSAL

CT 7/4/95

304A

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.

IN 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 Tuynhuys 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.

WARNED: Bantu Holomisa was reprimanded by the President.

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 the 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

(304A)

CT 7/4/95

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 Sipo 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

Political Correspondent

THE senate should be retained in the new constitution, but with far-reaching changes to enable senators to represent their provinces more effectively.

This is the recommendation of the Commission on Provincial Government in a report tabled at a constitutional assembly management committee meeting.

The report said the interim constitution made no provision for the senate to continue after 1999.

However, there was a reference in the constitutional principles to the possibility of a second chamber of parliament made up of provincial representatives.

The commission said there should be an equal number of senators for each province, in line with international practice.

It said it was not within its brief to recommend whether other interest groups should be represented in the second chamber.

The constitutional assembly could consider discussing this issue, the commission said.

Provinces would be represented by elected members of provincial legislatures, nominated by legislatures on a proportional basis.

This would create a much closer relationship between members of the second chamber and their province's legislature.

It would allow for interchangeability of members of the second chamber in parliament and members of the provincial legislature.

The commission said members of the second chamber should have to report to provincial legislatures "from time to time" on their efforts to promote the interests of their provinces at national level.

Accountability could be strengthened further by providing for the recall of members by their provinces if they were performing unsatisfactorily.

Members of the second chamber should be "ordinarily resident" in the provinces they represented.

The commission said the provision in the interim constitution allowing for introduction of ordinary Bills in either the national assembly or senate, and for their adoption in each house in order to be passed, should be kept. ARG 7/4/95

Mechanisms to break deadlocks between the houses should allow for a cooling-off period of six months.

The senate was at a disadvantage in joint sittings requiring a simple majority to pass legislation, because of its relative smallness. (304A)

The commission rejected the argument that provinces were represented in the national assembly because half its members were elected from provincial lists.

The commission said powers of the second chamber to block money Bills should not be increased.

It had not come up with any new deadlock-breaking mechanisms on financial legislation.

"Administrative processes preceding the introduction of money bills should be developed ... so that disputes are resolved before parliamentary processes begin."

On legislation affecting provincial matters, the commission said Bills dealing with provincial functions should first be introduced in the second chamber.

Unskilled diplomats 'undermine service'

(304A) ARG 7/4/95

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 settling for less than the best."

Professor Daniels said while the process of securing a more representative diplomatic corp 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.

Holomisa slapped down

(4M) Star 2/4/95

Warning from Mandela not to air internal ANC matters in public

(304A)

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 first been discussed by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC).

Holomisa also suggested that a faction in the ANC was trying to "vilify 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 give 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 Mandla, 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

(3044) Star 7/4/95

BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — IFP leader Chief Buthelezi says he will put a proposal from Deputy President F W de Klerk to his national council at the weekend in an attempt to resolve the stalemate over international mediation.

But 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 last 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

Should or should there not be international mediation? KwaZulu-Natal-based freelance writer **Estelle Randall** looks at the issue that has been debated extensively over the last few weeks:

(304A) Sowetan 7/4/95

THE question needs to be asked: Can international mediation or a compromise around it satisfy the Inkatha Freedom 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 recruits 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 *de 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 retains 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

King Goodwill Zwelithini

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 Mdlalose 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 Mdlalose's view.

Even if international mediation was implemented as per the April 19 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 *imbizos* 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 Mdlalose, 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

Sowetan 7/4/95 (304A)

By Vuyo Bavuma Political Reporter

PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA cracked the whip over another of his deputy ministers yesterday when he warned the rebellious Bantu Holomisa of the impropriety of publicly airing the ANC's internal affairs.

Holomisa, who has publicly aligned himself with the disgraced Winnie Mandela, has been told it is contrary to ANC ethos to go public on internal party matters.

Facing a legal battle

President Mandela, facing a legal battle set in motion by his estranged and defiant wife, summoned the Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs to explain criticism levelled at the ANC and the Government for its handling of the Winnie affair.

Mrs Mandela, until last week the Government's deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology, has defied an ANC plea to drop her lawsuit against the President.

Mrs Mandela claimed she had brought the suit to force the President to explain the reasons for her dismissal.

Stern warning

Mrs Mandela had also threatened to take legal action against ANC stalwarts Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Walter Sisulu for giving the reasons for her sacking at rallies in the Eastern Cape.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday President Mandela had given Holomisa a "stern warning regarding (his) behaviour".

"He underlined it was improper and against the organisation's ethos for any official or member of the ANC to air internal matters in public," the ANC statement said.

President Mandela had also emphasised that the ANC would in future not tolerate such conduct.

"Holomisa accepted the ANC position on the matter and indicated that it was not intentional on his part to raise the matter in public," the ANC said.

Meanwhile, the ANC parliamentary caucus was warned by Mrs Mandela's lawyers yesterday not to discuss her legal battle as the matter was *sub-judice*.

However, the ANC's national working committee was due to discuss the Winnie affair at a meeting which started at 6pm yesterday.

ANC chief whip, the Rev Arnold Stofile, said it was regrettable Mrs Mandela had by-passed ANC structures and chosen to go to court.

Holomisa was not available for comment yesterday.

Winnie resigns, will fight out

LINES DRAWN FOR SECOND ROUND OF LEGAL BATTLE

304A

8/4/95

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 daughters, 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

(304A) ARG 8/4/95

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE government of national unity has begun playing the same "game of the name" that made the previous National Party government a laughing stock, political analysts say.

The game of political semantics involves taking an unpalatable policy and dishing it up under a new label in the hope that nobody notices it is unchanged.

In the latest example, a committee of the constitutional assembly — which includes both houses of parliament — decided the term "affirmative action" was too politically loaded and should be replaced.

The official, newly sanitised name for the policy aiming for preferential treatment for people regarded as underprivileged is now "furthering access to equal opportunities" ("fateo" for short).

In a similar vein the previous National Party government put its policy of "apartheid" through several name changes to try to sanitise the hated concept. These included "separate development", "separate freedoms" and "parallel development", culminating in "vertical differentiation" — all denoting the same policy.

The Nationalist Party put the department that controlled blacks through bewildering name changes, including "native affairs", "bantu administration" and even "plural relations".

The department that broke down communities became known as the "Department of Community Development". And the law that closed university doors to many people was known as the "Extension of University Education Act".

Democratic Party national director James Selfe said the new South African government had begun to use other euphemisms — such as its reconstruction and development programme referring to "empowering communities".

This really meant giving ANC-controlled bodies a bigger slice of the cake, he said.

Hennie Kotzé, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch, said the concept of "affirmative action" was losing ground throughout the world, especially in the United States, where it originated.

As a result, South African legislators were trying to use a euphemism in order to hide negative connotations, he said.

"But the practice will remain the same. In some people's minds it will still be associated with a negative practice whatever it is called, and to others it will continue to be a positive policy."

Professor Kotzé said the university's surveys showed most whites saw affirmative action as a negative policy that imposed racially-based employment quotas. Most blacks saw it as a positive policy which promoted them on merit.

Americans have also began using a new new name for it — "diversity" — Professor Kotzé pointed out. American executives applying affirmative action policies are now called "diversity managers".

A weapon to beat Winnie . . .

ARG 8/4/95 (304A)

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

■ 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.

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.

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 violates 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 cause 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, Volkstaat Council chairman Johann Wingard has told foreign diplomats. ARG 8/4/95

"You are not dealing with the lunatic fringe. The perception that volkstaat people are right-wingers or supporters of apartheid is not correct," Mr Wingard said yesterday.

He added those in favour of a volkstaat had not expected apartheid to succeed and had all along been saying that a volkstaat offered the only solution. (304A)

The real issue facing the council was that few Afrikaners voted for the new government in April last year.

Winnie slates 'elitist' rule

ARG 8/4/95 (304A)

UMTATA. — Winnie Mandela, in her first public speech since being sacked as a deputy minister, attacked the government yesterday for showing "elitist" tendencies.

Winnie, estranged wife of President Nelson Mandela, made the criticism in an address to the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) in the Eastern Cape, urging South Africans to turn out for local elections in November.

"If you do not do so ... the government can become so elitist and concentrate on elitist interests. To hold the government, you must constantly hold its attention," she said.

President Mandela fired her from her post as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology last week. He gave no specific reason but said he had to ensure the efficient functioning of the government of national unity.

■ Warning supporters yesterday, Mrs Winnie Mandela said the government would "run away from you, taking its resources with it" if they did not vote.

Mrs Mandela had been under fire from government and party colleagues on many issues but an unauthorised trip to West Africa in February seems to have been the final straw.

She claims the trip was in South Africa's best interests.

Meanwhile, in Pretoria, the South African Police Service made an urgent call yesterday on Mrs Winnie Mandela to make available documents considered necessary for investigations into the fraud and corruption case with which she and others have been linked.

An SAPS spokesman said "nothing has yet come of Mrs Mandela's commitment ... to make available" the necessary documentation.

In Sebokeng about 150 supporters of Winnie Mandela demonstrated yesterday against her sacking as a deputy minister by President Nelson Mandela.

The protesters, who said they were members of the ANC Women's League, stood near the President's helicopter while he launched an immunisation drive to eradicate polio.

He glanced at the protesters as he left the function but did make any comment.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party's spokesman on justice Douglas Gibson, yesterday described the ANC caucus decision not to dicuss the Winnie Affair because it was sub judice as "an absurd reaction". The ANC was relieved to have an excuse not to debate the issue: "This is not before the courts ... it's absolute nonsense," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Hard choice on gravy train

(304A) ARG 8/4/95

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

■ Politicians now admit parliament is too big and expensive — but are they prepared to vote themselves out of jobs?

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 400-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 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 400 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 Hennie Kotzé 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 Kotzé 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 Kotzé 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

ARG 8/4/95 (304A)

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 26, 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 Neil 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

ARG 8/4/95 (304A)

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 powers.

Radio host Nigel Myrphy'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 of 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 forthcomming 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 programme 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 goverment 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 aicraft 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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ANDY MELDRUM
Weekend Argus

Mandela appoints 14 new envoys

304

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo announced yesterday the appointment by President Mandela of 14 ambassadors and high commissioners.

They are:

■ J Matsila (42), high commissioner in India. He was the ANC's chief representative in north-east Asia.

■ S Gawe (56), ambassador to Norway. He holds a BA (Hons) 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 Bruyn (64), ambassador to Jordan. He was once the ANC's chief representative in Italy.

■ PR Dietrichsen (46), ambassador to Switzerland. He holds an M Com and has served SA missions overseas.

■ T Lujabe-Rankoe (58), high commissioner in Tanzania. She holds a diploma in public administration and diplomacy, and has worked in ANC offices in Africa.

■ K N Ginwala (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 (52), ambassador to Turkey. He has served as ambassador to the UN and Windhoek.

■ M Mohale (31), high commissioner in Malaysia.

■ M Moolla (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.

Star 8/4/95

'I will take the liars to court!' – Winnie fumes

BOWA

CP 9/4/95

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 minister 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 witholding 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 sowing division in the ruling ANC. The media, she said, concentrated only on "uchuku" (Xhosa for conflict) between herself and the ANC.

■ Contralesa national president chief Patekile Holomisa criticised President Mandela for not giving Mrs Mandela "at least a hearing" before dismissing her.

LASHING BACK ... Winnie Mandela wants to sue minister and police commissioner for 'lies'.

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.

Defend

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. – Ecna

Inkatha dares ANC to leave it in the cold

(HB/3049)

By CYRIL MADLALA

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 F W 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. ST 9/4/95

It suggested that Professor W A J Okumu 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

(304/1)

CT 10/4/95

THE IFP's pull-out from the Constitutional Assembly was a serious threat to prospects of an all-inclusive democracy, an observer warned yesterday. **CHRIS BATEMAN** 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 bi-lateral 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 entrenchment 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

(304A)

ARG 10/4/95

CLIVE SAWYER
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 consitution.

The ANC was not opposed to international mediation but the IFP shold 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.

NEWS

Suspension unjustified, Mandela argues

Pullout from GNU likely, says IFP

(304A)

Star 10/4/95

NP says IFP withdrawal from Constitutional Assembly is 'inexplicable'

■ 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 Ulundi 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 Reconstruction and Development Programme, Mandela said the IFP's suspension of its involvement in the CA on Saturday was unjustified.

"As far as we are concerned there is no justification for the action taken by the IFP. We have made it clear we are not against international mediation and we have called upon the IFP to indicate to us specifically what issues require mediation.

"In our view, all the issues we have referred to in our agreement have been addressed by the Interim Constitution," Mandela said.

The NP said yesterday it was "inexplicable" that the IFP had decided to pull out of the constitution-making process despite welcoming Deputy President F W de Klerk's proposal for the formation of a task team to resolve the matter.

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 Ndlovu 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," Ndlovu 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.

Winnie's lawyers demand she be reinstated at once

CT 11/4/95 (304A)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

OUSTED former Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Mrs Winnie Mandela should be reinstated with immediatee 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 Madandla, who took over as deputy minister in Mrs Mandela's place.

Both President Mandela and Mrs Madandla 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".

Winnie Mandela loses job

Brigitte Mabandla

Winnie Mandela

ARG 11/4/95

(30/4)

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 spokesman 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 and 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'

(30 44)

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.

ARG 11/4/95

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.

Winnie demands her job back

(304A) Sowetan 11/4/93

That Rand Show smile

These youngsters are among the 283 420 people who have visited the Rand Easter Show since it opened. They were noticed on Sunday after being painted to depict the mood and fun of the show. This year's attendance figures have by far exceeded those of the same period last year. PIC: ELIZABETH SEJAKE

By Monk Nkomo

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 yesterday saying President Nelson Mandela had not consulted leaders of the participating parties in government before dismissing his estranged wife.

Issued summons

The lawyers yesterday issued summons on President Mandela and Mrs Brigitte Mabandla, who took over as deputy minister in Mrs Mandela's place.

Both President Mandela and Mabandla have been given until Thursday to oppose the application.

Dr Willie Seriti, of Pretoria attorneys Seriti, Mavundla and Partners, would only confirm he had served the summons and that an application seeking reinstatement had been filed in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Right to information

According to the notice of motion, Mrs Mandela seeks an order directing President Mandela to furnish reasons why he had dismissed her on March 27.

She also seeks an order allowing her access to all information which formed the basis for her dismissal.

She also wants the court to declare her dismissal "unlawful and unconstitutional".

Mrs Mandela says in terms of the constitution she has the right to information in order 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 prior to 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; does not bear the seal of the republic; has no address; and, does not reflect any means of communication such as telephone number or telefax number of the sender or its author".

Executive act

Mrs Mandela alleges her dismissal is unconstitutional because the President had acted contrary to the constitution by not consulting with all leaders of the participating parties in government before dismissing her.

"Unless I am provided with all such information which justifies the administrative and executive act taken against me, I will not be in a position to evaluate any of the allegations upon which such dismissal is premised and I will thus not be able to protect any of my rights or interests in that regard."

MANDELA CHALLENGED ON SACKING

Constitution 'backs' Winnie

(304A)

CT 12/4/95

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 Mankahlana, 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 Brigitte Mabandla, ousted from office.

Mr Mankahlana 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

BUTHELEZI'S 'CONCERN' OVER ANC COMMENTS

ANC and IFP still disagree on international mediation

CT 12/4/95 (304A)

DURBAN: The ANC and IFP continue to argue over reference terms for international mediation, but the three parties may meet. Our **SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT** reports.

A MEETING of the leaders of the three ruling parties is expected within the next week over international mediation, although the ANC and IFP continue to squabble over the reference terms.

This follows an open letter from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to President Nelson Mandela's office on Monday, but issued to the media yesterday, expressing concern at his recent comments on international mediation.

The Inkatha leader said he was "surprised" by his statements indicating that the IFP had failed to convey to the ANC's leadership outstanding issues which were to form the object of mediation.

In the letter Chief Buthelezi listed provincial powers, autonomy and the restoration of the Zulu kingdom. He said he hoped it would help in finding a solution to the crisis which led to Inkatha's withdrawal from the constitutional assembly last weekend. However, regional ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday the ANC was surprised that mediation was "mixed up with" the question of the form of state.

He said this was a constitutional issue that must be handled by South Africans themselves through their democratically elected constitutional assembly.

This apparently indicates that the ANC is less than keen that an independent mediator — such as Kenyan professor Washington Okumu, should be brought in to liaise between the leaders of the IFP, NP and ANC.

Mr Makhaye said the members of the constitutional assembly were elected on a ticket of a united, federal or fragmented SA, but everybody knew the results.

Chief Buthelezi said, however, the ANC had agreed last April that the issues listed in the so-called "consolidated" terms of reference would be put to international mediation soon after the April election.

Inkatha yesterday emphasised they had been agreed upon by Mr Mbeki who now contests these terms. Chief Buthelezi said they could also be confirmed by the Consultative Business Movement which had acted as the mediation secretariat at the time.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Contradicts President on mediation.

Winnie gets job back

□ President to review situation tomorrow

(304A) ARG 12/4/95

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

WINNIE Mandela was today given back her job as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

But President Mandela will tomorrow review the move on his return from a visit to the Gulf states — a clear indication that Mrs Mandela's restoration to office could be brief.

Mr Mandela said the move was aimed at avoiding court action, and to end uncertainty.

He emphasised this did not mean he was persuaded by arguments by Mrs Mandela's lawyers that her dismissal was unconstitutional and unlawful.

It was not clear in the meantime what would become of Mrs Mandela's successor, Brigitte Mabandla.

Mrs Mandela's comeback follows her salvo of lawsuits at her estranged husband and Mrs Mabandla, aimed at reversing her March 27 dismissal.

Lawyers for Mrs Mandela cited Mr Mandela's failure to give reasons for his action violated constitutional guarantees of entitlement to know the reasons, in writing, for any administrative action.

Political observers noted that the issue was not whether Mr Mandela, as president, was entitled to fire Mrs Mandela but whether the way he had gone about it was in accordance with the law.

Mrs Mandela on Monday gave notice she would challenge her dismissal in court, claiming it was unconstitutional and unlawful.

Among reasons given for this claim was the omission of the presidential letterhead, address and authority of the sender, and the Seal of the Republic from the letter informing her of her dismissal.

Failure to consult Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his capacity as leader of one of the parties to the government of national unity has also been cited as a possible breach of the constitution.

Today's action by Mr Mandela is seen as a drastic step to avoid a court battle which could have catastrophic consequences for party unity in the African National Congress, and for the government of national unity's carefully-nurtured image of stability.

Mr Mandela returns tomorrow from a tour of the Gulf.

He has been in frequent contact with legal advisers and aides during the past two days.

Reuter reports that presidential legal adviser Nicholas Haysom explained to Mrs Mabandla today that her appointment as Mrs Mandela's successor could be unconstitutional and asked her to be ready to step aside until Mrs Mandela had been properly dismissed.

Reuter reports that a government source said Mr Mandela would restart the procedure of firing his wife immediately and said Mrs Mabandla would be back in office soon.

"It could be a matter of hours," he said.

University of Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire said the incident would seriously dent Mr Mandela's credibility.

"It makes him look very amateurish and stupid and it's a great moral victory for Mrs Mandela," he said.

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.

Pieter Venter

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".

Winnie's 'winning hand'

Constitution in her favour over way she was fired — experts

Star 12/4/95 (3044)

SIGNATURE of Nelson Mandela on letter of dismissal was not confirmed by seal of the Republic

BY JOVIAL RANTAO

Some legal experts belive Winnie Mandela, can win her court battle to reverse her sacking as a deputy minister because the Interim Constitution supports her case.

The legal experts contacted by The Star yesterday say at the heart of her demand for reinstatement as arts, culture, science and technology deputy minister is section 23 of the constitution.

This entitles her to access "to all information held by the State or any of its organs at any level of government, insofar as such information is required for the exercise or protection of any of his or her rights".

And section 24(c) 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".

More crucially, section 83 dictates that the president's signature "on any instrument shall be confirmed by the seal of the Republic".

And it does not appear on the short and curt letter signed by her estranged husband dismissing her from office.

At issue is not whether the president has a right to appoint and dismiss ministers and their deputies, but rather the manner in which Mandela's sacking was executed.

At the press conference to announce his decision last month, President Mandela himself stated emphatically — and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has since reiterated the view — that it was his prerogative to name and sack ministers and deputy ministers.

University of South Africa rector Professor Marius Wiechers, who served on the team of constitutional law experts who drafted the Interim Constitution, confirmed last night that the president's right to hire and fire ministers was beyond question.

In papers before the Pretoria Supreme Court, Mrs Mandela argued that her dismissal was "unlawful and unconstitutional" because, among other reasons, the letter informing her of her firing did not have the required seal of the Republic.

in summonses served on President Mandela — a copy of which was served on Mrs Mandela's successor, Brigitte

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Winnie 'holds winning hand'

(3044) Star 12/4/95

◀ From Page 1

Mabandla — the former deputy minister's lawyers said the letter terminating 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; does not bear the seal of the Republic; has no address; and does not reflect any means of communication such as the telephone number or the telefax number of the sender or its author".

The letter, delivered to Mrs Mandela's 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 the president 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 in the case of 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".

The president returns to the country tomorrow from a week-long visit to the Gulf, and has until tomorrow to indicate whether he will oppose Mrs Mandela's application before the matter is heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court on April 25.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said President Mandela was yesterday consulting his legal adviser, and he would indicate today or tomorrow whether he would oppose the application.

PRESIDENT AVOIDS LEGAL WRANGLE

Winnie's brief triumph

CT 13/4/95

(304A)

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has decided not to enter into a protracted legal battle with Mrs Winnie Mandela. He has reinstated her as a deputy minister but is almost certain to fire her again. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports.

MRS Winnie Mandela's stunning comeback as a deputy minister could end tonight.

The embarrassing climbdown by President Nelson Mandela — who was yesterday forced to reinstate his estranged wife on a legal technicality just two weeks after axing her — is likely to be a Pyrrhic victory for Mrs Mandela's PAC lawyers, ably assisted by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mrs Mandela, who sources said was suffering from depression, could be axed for the second time — on this occasion with all the constitutional niceties properly taken care of — soon after her husband returns from his Gulf trip.

Well-placed sources said last night that Mrs Mandela's audacious court challenge to win back her job would come to nought.

If technical hitches delay her second dismissal beyond this evening, her tenure as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture Science and Technology will not last beyond Tuesday or Wednesday at the latest, sources said.

The President's Tuynhuys office was yesterday inundated by calls from irate ministers demanding that heads should roll as a result of the bungle and concerned members of the public wanting to offer the President advice on how to deal with Mrs Mandela.

But sources close to the President noted that both he and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had taken a strategic decision not to inform other leaders in the government about the planned firing until the eleventh hour.

This error of judgement laid the basis for Mrs Mandela's legal challenge which was to follow.

The President's legal adviser, Professor Fink Haysom, who was in contact with Mr Mandela in the Gulf yesterday, said it was the President's idea to reinstate Mrs Mandela and treat her dismissal as "technically and procedurally invalid".

Mr Mandela would consider Mrs Mandela's firing "afresh" and consider the views of government leaders like Chief Buthelezi in his ultimate decision.

He acknowledged that "the President's original reasons for firing Mrs Mandela could feature prominently in this new decision".

Other well-placed sources were more forthright: "He has made up his mind and there is no way he is going to change it.

"After undermining the ANC and the authority of the President, she is finished."

Government sources said the willingness of Chief Buthelezi to side with Mrs Mandela in her high-stakes challenge could backfire badly for Inkatha and its role in the government.

'Mischievous'

Sources said Chief Buthelezi's "mischievous" role could have major implications for the dispute on international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues which is threatening a break-up of the government.

Legal and political experts said Mr Mbeki's failed attempts to consult Chief Buthelezi before the sacking of Mrs Mandela on March 27 were at the heart of the Deputy President's announcement that disciplinary action "should be treated as technically and procedurally invalid".

Mr Mbeki, who was instructed by President Mandela to handle the matter, said that the President, at the time of Mrs Mandela's March 27 dismissal acted in good faith, believing that all the requisite persons had been informed as required by the constitution.

It is understood that Mr Mbeki failed to contact Chief Buthelezi who was in transit, but spoke to his IFP cabinet colleague, Arts Minister Dr Ben Ngubane.

Mr Mbeki submitted that although state legal opinion was that the consultation that took place was sufficient, "the President is committed to act within the spirit of the constitution".

"He wishes to spare the government and the nation the uncertainties which might follow protracted litigation on this issue."

The National Party said Mrs Mandela's challenge was a cynical manipulation of democracy and gave the impression that South Africa was a banana republic.

REINSTATED: Mrs Winnie Mandela has won a mini-victory by forcing her estranged husband to reinstate her, but it is unlikely to be for long.

Winnie's brief victory?

Axe is poised again

Star 13/4/95

(3049)

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA, JOVIAL RANTAO and MONDLI MAKHANYA

SPECULATION that Winnie, by resigning, might deny the president a chance to fire her twice

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 — a formality demanded by the Interim Constitution — will take place at the Union Buildings in Pretoria shortly after his arrival this afternoon.

Mrs Mandela's second dismissal — and her successor Brigitte 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, hinted 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 of his estranged wife "should be treated as technically and procedurally invalid", and that on

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P.T.O.

Mabandla asked to step down 'for a few hours' as Winnie is reinstated

(304A) BD 13/4/95

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Winnie Mandela was reinstated as Deputy Arts and Culture Minister yesterday — although the reversal of her fortunes is likely to be temporary.

Thabo Mbeki, acting President while Nelson Mandela is in the Middle East, said the move was designed to prevent a lengthy and costly court action over the Deputy Minister's dismissal last month.

Mandela had been given until today to file notice of his intention to oppose Winnie Mandela's court challenge to her sacking. At the heart of her application was the claim that her dismissal was unconstitutional because the President had not consulted all party leaders in the Cabinet.

Although legal opinion suggested sufficient consultation had taken place to ensure the legality of the dismissal, Mbeki said Mandela felt the reappointment would "spare the government and nation the uncertainties which might follow protracted litigation on this issue. He has accordingly decided that the dismissal of Mrs Mandela should be treated as technically and procedurally invalid."

Mbeki suggested Mandela would consider the Deputy Minister's position on his return from Bahrain this afternoon. In the meantime, her successor Brigitte Mabandla would stand down.

Winnie Mandela's lawyer, Willie Seriti, said the reinstatement meant that his client's case was at an end. Presidential legal adviser Fink Haysom said the President would listen with an open mind to the views he was constitutionally bound to consider, including those of Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. However, senior sources said Mandela was moving with caution to make sure all loopholes were closed ahead of a second sacking of the Deputy Minister, possibly next week.

Sapa reports a spokesman for Mabandla's office said Mabandla had been asked to step down "for a few hours".

Mbeki said Mandela, at the time of the dismissal on March 27, had believed everyone necessary had been informed. This included both Deputy Presidents and the leaders of all political parties in Cabinet. While attempts had been made to contact Buthelezi, this had not been possible as he was en route to KwaZulu/Natal. Mandela's intentions and decision had been conveyed to Buthelezi, "when he became available".

Constitutional law experts said the courts might have considered the oversight a "procedural irregularity". Although the President would not necessarily have lost the case, it could have developed into a lengthy affair. They said once Mandela had consulted party leaders in the Cabinet the dismissal was likely to be watertight.

Buthelezi's role in the proposed case — he filed a supporting affidavit on Winnie Mandela's behalf — could have further

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Winnie

(304A) BD 13/4/95

☐ From Page 1

complicated relations between Inkatha and the ANC.

The ANC yesterday welcomed the President's "commitment to acting within the constitution and to spare government and the nation the uncertainties that would have followed protracted litigation".

The NP attacked the move, saying it would make SA "look like a banana republic in the eyes of the world".

Traditional leaders and the PAC in the Eastern Cape are "delighted" by the reinstatement. Contralesa said it proved the dismissal had been a blunder.

Deputy Environment Affairs Minister Bantu Holomisa, a vocal ally of Winnie Mandela, said there would be further confusion if she was fired again.

Winnie Mandela — reinstated.

Winnie gets her job back

Sowetan 13/4/95

(304A)

By Monk Nkomo

MRS WINNIE MANDELA was yesterday reinstated as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology amid speculation that she could face the axe again.

A spokesman for Mrs Mandela's lawyers, Dr Willie Seriti of Seriti, Mavundla and Partners, confirmed that Mrs Mandela would be reinstated with immediate effect after an agreement between the two sides yesterday.

Unlawful and unconstitutional

Seriti said the agreement was reached between his firm and the state attorney who represented both President Nelson Mandela and Mrs Mandela's successor, Mrs Brigitte Mabandla.

The two also agreed to pay Mrs Mandela's "wasted costs".

Both President Mandela and Mabandla were cited as respondents by Mrs Mandela in this week's Pretoria Supreme Court application in which she sought reinstatement after her dismissal on March 27.

Mrs Mandela submitted that her dismissal was unlawful and unconstitutional.

She wanted President Mandela to disclose reasons for her sacking. She had also submitted that the letter which purported to dismiss her was not written on a presidential letterhead, had no seal of office and did not have an address or telephone numbers.

She contended that in terms of the constitution "the signature of the President on any instrument shall be confirmed by the seal of the Republic".

In terms of the agreement, Mrs Mandela is expected to file a notice withdrawing her application in the Pretoria Supreme Court as soon as possible.

The notice had not been filed by late yesterday.

Mrs Mandela was reinstated amid reports that President Mandela's attorney had contacted Mabandla asking if she would be willing to step down "for a few hours", apparently while efforts were being made to formulate legal procedures to fire Mrs Mandela again.

This was confirmed by Mabandla's office.

Court battle

Political Reporter **Vuyo Bavuma** reports from Cape Town that Government sources said the move would be temporary and was to be reversed today when President Mandela returns from his Gulf trip.

They said President Mandela took the step to avoid a potentially damaging court battle with his estranged wife.

FROM PAGE 1

◆ Winnie fired

(30LHA)

Reynolds in Parliament. Her successor, ANC human rights lawyer Brigitte Mbandla, 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 sacking 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, spokesman for Mandela, confirmed yesterday that the president, his 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 to the first in every way.

Star 13/5/4/95

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 instruments' 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 organisation, 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.

"There is no requirement for reasons behind such decisions to be made public.

"Such a precedent would impact negatively on the ability of the executive to govern well and wisely."

Although he has not made his reasons public, it is widely believed that the president was rankled by his estranged wife's public criticism of the Government of National Unity and her trip to west Africa in defiance of his instructions to stay at home.

Mandela said yesterday he had dealt with the matter as soon as possible after his return from the Gulf on Thursday to "minimise any uncertainties and confusion which her dismissal and reinstatement might cause her, the departments concerned, the Government and the country".

Mbeki lashes out at Inkatha leader

ST 16/4/95

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

DEPUTY President Thabo Mbeki came within a hair's breadth this week of openly calling Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi a liar as the row between the ANC and Inkatha over international mediation deepened. (TB) (304A)

Describing statements by Chief Buthelezi as "misrepresentations", "contrary to the truth", "strange" and having "no basis in fact", Mr Mbeki shattered hopes that the issue would be resolved amicably.

At the heart of the dispute is the question of whether or not terms of reference agreed to between Mr Mbeki and Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose before last year's election should be used as the agenda for mediation.

Inkatha will decide on Friday whether or not to pull out of the Constitutional Assembly altogether in the absence of mediation.

In a letter to President Nelson Mandela this week, Chief Buthelezi quoted the pre-election terms of reference, saying they were "almost entirely based on the terms of reference originally proposed by the ANC".

Mr Mbeki said in a reply letter that this was "a strange statement" which sought "to overturn the truth" contained in another Inkatha document.

Buthelezi claimed in his letter that the Consultative Business Movement had certified the agenda for mediation.

Mr Mbeki denied this, saying: "The reality is that there is neither such a fact nor such certification from the movement."

In his letter, Mr Mbeki accused Chief Buthelezi of a "futile attempt to alter the meaning and intention" of the agreement on international mediation.

Mr Mbeki said: "The Constitutional Assembly is the only legitimate and democratically mandated forum within which this exchange of ideas on constitutional matters should and can take place.

"The question therefore remains to be answered — what are these outstanding

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Mbeki lashes out at Inkatha leader

ST 16/4/95

⇦ From Page 1

of the agreement on international mediation.

Slapping down the role of international mediation, Mr Mbeki said: "The Constitutional Assembly is the only legitimate and democratically mandated forum within which this exchange of ideas on constitutional matters should and can take place.

"The question therefore remains to be answered — what are these outstanding issues, which, as you know, were not identified in the April 19 agreement," he said, referring to the agreement signed by Chief Buthlezi, Mr Mandela and former President F W de Klerk which brought the IFP into last year's elections.

"We would like to say categorically that the ANC cannot accept any of these propositions which are contained in the documents you sent to President Mandela," Mr Mbeki said.

Inkatha said last week it would pull out of the Constitutional Assembly unless the ANC agreed to international mediation — prompting a crisis meeting of Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk on Thursday evening.

But, an hour before the crucial summit, Mr Mbeki's harshly worded letter was delivered to the Inkatha leader, deep-freezing the relationship between the two parties just as it was about to thaw.

After the meeting, Mr Mandela told an impromptu news briefing that the contents of the discussion could not be disclosed. "It is very important for leaders in the government of national unity to exchange views and keep an element of confidentiality," he said.

Chief Buthelezi told the media he would forward Mr Mbeki's letter to the Inkatha national council meeting, where a final decision on participation in the Constitutional Assembly would be taken on Friday.

● See Page 17

Winnie holds on to perks

(304A)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

T 17/4/95

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

Star 17/4/95 (304A)

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 parliamenterians in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature. Speculation within the IFP self 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 spokesman Danie du Plessis.

PAC political affairs secretary Johnson Mlambo told The Star that the PAC executive was also consulting with the regional leadership about rearranging its team of public represantatives. 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 asessing its contributions in Parliament. This process will, however, take some months to complete.

Mediation: IFP warns of 'consequences'

(304A)

CT 18/4/95

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 consults lawyers today

(304A)

ARG 18/4/95

□ *Second sacking 'unconstitutional'*

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

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 reasons being given, Ms De Lille 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

Family ties — a portrait of President Nelson Mandela looms over estranged wife Winnie, daughter Zinzi and one of his grandsons. PIC: LEN KUMALO

Sowetan (304A)

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter 18/4/95

MRS WINNIE MANDELA yesterday pre-empted her sacking as Deputy Minister 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 on 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 frankly and honestly about matters concerning "our people's lives".

She told a news conference at her house 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 "unprofessional and inept".

She said the President had failed to supply her with reasons for her dismissal. "Instead the President seeks to make facile 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 backdown 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 closing of ranks 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'

Star 20/4/95 (304M)

THE IFP'S walkout should be seen as a principled stand rather than petulance, writes Kieran O'Malley

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 — patent nonsense.

The IFP's claim that the issues are clearly defined is not contestable. Cyril Ramaphosa, while propounding rather distorted views of the ANC's latest centralist constitutional proposals, at least has the commonsense 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 Kempton 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 forum.

Many commentators then thought the IFP's concern exaggerated. Subsequent developments were to prove the commentators wrong.

Codesa never really faced the federal question square 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 walkout 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 Unisa's Department of Political Sciences.*

'IFP is shifting the goalposts'

(304A) Star 20/4/95

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT FOR RECONCILIATION AND PEACE BETWEEN THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY/KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT/NATIONAL PARTY.

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to Peace and Reconciliation in South Africa and agree to commit ourselves to the following:

1. The Inkatha Freedom Party agrees to participate in the April 26-28, 1994 elections for both the National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures.

2. All the undersigned parties reject violence and will therefore do everything in their power to ensure free and fair elections throughout the Republic of South Africa.

3. The undersigned parties agree to recognise and protect 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 said elections. The 1993 Constitution shall for this purpose be amended before 27 April in accordance with Addendum A.

4. 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.

5. The South African Government undertakes to place the necessary facilities at the disposal of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) as it may require in order to facilitate the full participation of the IFP in the April 26-28, 1994 election.

6. The undersigned parties will facilitate proper provision for:

i) Registration of the IFP ii) The IFP Candidates list iii) Marking by voters of ballot papers.

The undersigned parties hereby undertake to abide by the technical arrangements to be made by the Independent Electoral Commission to implement the matters referred [illegible] (ii) and (iii) above in [illegible]

The IFP relies on our society's commitment to upholding agreements and negotiations as a method of resolving disputes and democracy as method of government in support of its case for international mediation.

The case for mediation based on the agreement of April 1994, as an examination of the text will show, is at best tenuous, but, more important, mediation on the terms demanded by the IFP undermines the Interim Constitution, the country's fundamental law, and the prerogatives of the Constituent Assembly (CA), an elected body.

The April "agreement" was induced under threat of violent disruption of South Africa's inaugural election. It can hardly be characterised by a voluntary exchange of solemn promises made by men, bound only by their "honour".

I do not, however, dispute the existence of a binding pre-election mediation agreement, the terms of which must be given effect. The consolidated terms of reference, however, are unclear and open to different reasonable interpetations.

Current dispute

The "agreement" is short and vague. It contains six clauses, only three of which are relevant to this current dispute.

What are the IFP's obligations under Clause One? Has the IFP fulfilled its undertakings simply by taking part in the election or is it bound further to take part in the CA created by the elections?

And if it undertook to take part in the institution it was the purpose of the election to create, would its withdrawal be consistent with this obligation?

The IFP will contend, no doubt, that its obligation to take part was conditional upon mediation of the issues it has placed in dispute. It relies on this contention on Clause Four. But, as will become clear, the express language of Clause Four does not support the IFP's case.

Clause Three deals with Inkatha's demand — as a condition for taking part in the elections — that provincial governments be given the authority to adopt provincial constitutions containing provisions different from the national constitution and providing for the constitutional status of the Zulu monarch. The Interim Constitution was subsequently amended to comply with Inkatha's demands.

Plain language

Clause Four is at the centre of the dispute. The plain language of this clause suggests that those matters "in respect of the King of the Zulus" which remain outstanding because they were not resolved by the amendments to the Interim Constitution, as well as "outstanding" matters in relation to the Interim Constitution should be referred to mediation.

The IFP interprets the phrase "outstanding issues" to include all the issues which were in dispute before the election, and in particular the "form of state", which includes the entire constitution, except the chapter on individual rights. The scope of the issues which the IFP seeks to refer to mediation is virtually limitless.

Mediation on the terms demanded by Inkatha will create unnecessary uncertainty because it calls into question the constitututional foundations on which the GNU is based.

Furthermore, this document was compiled before the election and before the Interim Constitution was finalised in bilateral discussion between the ANC and IFP (not intended to bind third parties) with a view to identifying those changes which needed to be made to the Interim Constitution to ensure IFP participation in future elections.

The document was never intended as a pre-election agreement linking the authorities and the CA with respect to the drafting of the final constitution.

After the elections, the IFP provoked the current crisis by insisting that mediation be extended to the draft of the final constitution, despite the fact that the April 19 agreement referred only to the Interim Constitution.

I quote from an IFP memorandum on mediation: "The IFP entered electoral process which was shaped by the Interim Constitution only when there was an agreement that international mediation, and not the CA, would offer the path to settle the issue of the form of state.

"As it is put in the agreements, these issues will be addressed by way of international mediation. This language means that the same issues are to be addressed by the CA until mediation has taken place."

The agreement itself makes no reference to the "form of state."

The mediation dispute is not merely a technical one about the terms of an agreement. It raises questions of a fundamental kind which cannot be resolved simply by acceding to Inkatha's demands.

Firstly, the IFP's proposals challenge the legality on which the present constitution is founded, because it insists that its constitutional proposals should be dealt with outside the framework provided by the Interim Constitution.

Provincial interests

Secondly, it diminishes the role of parties which are represented in the CA but are excluded from the mediation process.

Thirdly, the IFP proposals threaten to emasculate the role of the CA in the constitution-making process.

This process is not, as the IFP suggests, a majoritarian process in which provincial interests are at risk. Provincial interests are protected through special representation in the National Assembly and the Senate, the requirement of increased majorities, and, in some cases, the consent of a province for constitutional decisions, as well as constitutional principles, which protect the powers, boundaries and institutional integrity of the provinces.

The CA process obliges all interests to negotiate within a democratic framework within which the fundamental interests of the parties are not at risk.

The process is designed to promote give-and-take inter-party and even cross party alliances. In short, to avoid what James Madison called the "tyranny of faction".

By faction he meant a majority or a minority determined to impose its perspectives of the country.

Historic settlement

The CA process, furthermore, is itself a product of compromise between parties which during negotiations advocated constitution making through an elected and sovereign constitutional assembly and those parties (primarily the tricameral and homeland parties) which advocated contitution making through a non-elected multiparty body.

The IFP is the only party which continues to reject all the agreements which produced the historic settlement in the form of the Interim Constitution.

We have, for the first time in our history, a representative body which expresses the equal worth of each citizen as valued members of a national political community. We ought to think carefully before undermining its authority. So desperate, it seems, are some commentators for stability, that they are ready to sacrifice all democratic values.

But this is short sighted. In the long run stability is dependent on a commitment to resolving our differences, including our differences on constitutional questions through deomocratic processes. This surely is the most basic lesson of our tragic history.

◀ **Subject of dispute . . . the six contentious clauses of the April agreement.**

en only in subservient roles in Parliament

More black faces are seen in Parliament

(3044) Sowetan 20/4/95

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 Dhlamini and Gregory Rockman — all Members of Parliament — being called over the public announcement system in the corridors of the complex.

disappointed fans.
They have other problems. They have
seven figure trail of debt in South
made before a magistrate
long trials.
The justice

ge ● Refugees trampled to death

SA anthem may be cut

Sowetan 20/4/95

304A

■ TWO'S TO ONE Plans to combine and shorten SA's anthems

By Vuyo Bavuma
Political Reporter

CULTURAL PURISTS BE warned! 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 3,3 percent.

Concern over constitution deadline

CT 21/4/95 (204A)

WITH the Constitutional Assembly's committees starting 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 Roelf 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 Ebrahim said "hundreds" of people were tapping in to the computerised information system. — Sapa, Political Correspondent

SA's Zurich office to close

(30449)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CT 21/4/95

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 liaises with the IMF is also under review.

Apparently 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

ARG 21/4/95

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. (304A)

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. (304A)

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. WM 21-27/4/95

"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."

Voter apathy – many causes

CP 23/4/95 (304A)

By JEFFERSON LENGANE

INEFFICIENT voter education and failure to deliver on promises made before the April election have been identified as some of the key factors which have contributed to the low voter registration for local elections.

This emerged from City Press interviews with a variety of people this week.

"The apathy in registration for local government is attached to people not seeing delivery on the ground. People believe they have elected people into structures that must deliver, and are not attaching political significance to having their party in local structures.

"They think this is not a significant tool – I find that a pity because delivery occurs at local level," said Willie Ramoshaba from the Northern Transvaal.

Portia Songelwa (37) from Grasmere's Fine Town informal settlement concurs that a perceived lack of delivery is discouraging potential voters from registering.

However, she is optimistic about the elections.

"We must understand that in the last elections government made promises to win our votes – but past promises must end and they must get delivery on track."

She said she was optimistic and confident that in the local election the government wanted to make "us" people of the future. "We do not have sewerage, we get water from street taps and I live in a mkhukhu. I am sure our black municipality will do better than the previous unrepresentative municipality. That is why we must register."

Jack Toto (55) from Cathcart and Vizard Ngqokweni (49) from East London have registered in Johannesburg – their work area – but do not know where to vote and for whom they will be voting.

Khehla Shubane

Toto stays in Halfway House and was prompted by the DP to register. "What confuses me is that the DP said we must vote where we stay and the PAC said we must vote in our home areas – I want to vote in my home area but it would be expensive to go there as I only go there during December and the election is on November 1."

His ignorance of what he will be voting for was betrayed by his explanation that "I will vote so that the person I vote for can take my needs to parliament".

Ngqokweni said: "I registered here in Johannesburg and will vote because last year I voted. Otherwise I do not know where I must vote and for what, but I know I must vote ANC".

Xoliswa Mfaxa from Idutywa was forthright in her explanation for not registering. "We in the rural areas were promised electricity after the last elections. One year on we are still waiting for delivery, and to add to that we do not have running water. We depend on dirty and unhealthy water from a nearby stream," she said.

Co-chairman of the Election Task Group, Khehla Shubane, also threw some light on factors which may be contributing to the low registration rate, basing his argument on a study by Project Vote.

"There is a whole range of reasons ranging from ignorance, fear of prosecution on the part of rent defaulters (voters must furnish their addresses to register) and chiefs in rural areas who say if you do not do this or that I will instruct my people not to vote," he said.

Other factors were: Names of individuals or parties contesting the elections have not been drawn up or finalised, wards have not been demarcated, and general apathy and ignorance on the part of large chunks of the electorate.

Ramoshaba has proposed that the registration cut-off date be postponed without post poning the election day. In the meantime, "the message – if you do not vote no delivery, or no delivery because no local authority – must be emphasised and communicated," he said.

IFP chief

INKATHA MAY STAGE MARCHES AND RALLIES

Buthelezi calls on supporters to 'mobilise' over mediation

CT 24/4/95 (304A)

DURBAN: The IFP may call for marches and rallies to keep the issue of international mediation "on the public agenda".

INKATHA Freedom Party leader and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged his supporters to "mobilise" against the central government to drive home the issue of international mediation.

Chief Buthelezi was addressing about 4 000 supporters at the King Goodwill Zwelethini stadium in Umlazi, south of Durban.

Speaking briefly to journalists during Chief Buthelezi's address, IFP national spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said the mobilisation could take the form of mass action such as marches and rallies to keep the issue of international mediation on the "public agenda".

On April 19 last year an agreement on international mediation was signed between the IFP, the ANC and the National Party.

On April 8 this year the IFP suspended its participation in the Constitutional Assembly until international mediation takes place.

In a lengthy address yesterday Chief Buthelezi reviewed the impasse and warned that South Africa was facing a crisis deeper than the one facing the country before the IFP's decision to participate in last year's April 27 election. The agreement paved the way for the IFP's participation. — Sapa

Constitution writing 'continues'

JOHANNESBURG: The African National Congress repeated its call to the Inkatha Freedom Party to rejoin the Constitutional Assembly (CA) at the weekend, but warned that their exclusion would not affect the constitution-making programme.

The ANC was reacting to the IFP's re-affirmation on Friday of its earlier decision to suspend its participation in the CA.

The IFP's decision was "unfortunate", the ANC said, but stressed that most parties were committed to adhering to the time-frames for writing the constitution.

kwaZulu/Natal premier Dr Frank Mdlalose said on Friday the IFP was still willing to "explore" Deputy President F W de Klerk's proposal that a new task team be established to deal with international mediation. — Sapa

(304A) 24/4/95

Denounced by some on the extreme Rig
by moderate — and black — South Africa: tha
Viljoen. Political Correspondent ***Pat***

Giving Afrikaners

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 objective. 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. We had the Volkstaat Council instituted within days after the opening of Parliament.

On the FF's role in Parliament:
The FF was the one party to introduce something new in Parliament, a new attitude which I 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 in Parliament is in line with the blacks' 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 curse in Africa to now has been over-indulgence in political ideologies.

On developments in left-wing politics:
Already we are seeing the position developing with the so-called radical wing of the ANC, and we also see the PAC 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 finding 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 volkstaat becoming a reality:
We don't see the volkstaat as an area in which we will all retire to protect ourselves against the new South Africa. The idea is not to have a volkstaat as an exclusive Afrikaner area; that is unrealistic. The idea is to have self-determination in at least one area where we will be able to resettle enough Afrikaners to have a safe majority in that area.

On the volkstaat'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 Afrikaans 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-

Man of peace . . . "we prevente

*xtreme Right, but increasingly being embraced h Africa: that is the story of General Constand vondent **Patrick Bulger** spoke to him*

ers respect, dignity

Star 24/4/95 (304A)

e . . . "we prevented a war" says Constand Viljoen of the Freedom Front.

centrate on the different forms of self-determination in a pluralistic society.

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 theme, not a positive 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 GNU.

His views of the GNU:
I don't believe in the GNU. I think it is a creation by Mr de Klerk himself and it's also catching up with the NP. The solution is not in a GNU, 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 they so often recorded as breakthroughs, they never materialised. 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 catching up with them. I don't think the NP 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 beat him with the king and that didn't work because he came back with the amakhosi, 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've 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 a clear 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 large proportion of the CP's voters. But the worrying factor is the lack of enthusiasm. People are not interested in this election. It will only consolidate victory for the ANC.

He travelled the world with the late ANC leader Oliver Tambo and wrote the ANC's important January 8 speeches, and now he is President Mandela's right-hand man. South Africa's putative president-in-waiting, the diminutive Thabo Mbeki, in discussion with Political Editor ***Kaizer Nyatsumba*** *and Political Correspondent* ***Patrick Bulger***

Man who may succeed Madiba

(304A) Star 26/4/95

On his approach to problem-solving:

Normally, I would have a view about where we ought to be six months down the road, and what it is we have to achieve as a country. It is not a wise thing when confronted with a problem to try and solve that problem within itself without contextualising it.

There is, for instance, comment in the press that unity was important for the ANC when the ANC was banned and in exile, but it is wrong now to try and keep the ANC together at all costs, and the question is asked: Why don't you get rid of your populists? By all means, it is necessary for the ANC to get rid of people who might be corrupt, but in addressing the matter of unity, what would worry me is not so much the issue of the unity of the ANC itself as the problem that would arise if you had very serious divisions within the ANC. Because then you turn inwards and engage in battle against one another and you cannot carry out the function of transforming the country.

This is read by people as me trying to keep unity at all costs and that maybe I owe an obligation to certain constituencies. But it's nothing of the kind.

On whether he is politically indebted to any faction in the ANC:

In my case I don't have constituencies. It's a fortunate thing which has to do with the work that I've had to do in the ANC over the years, which covered all elements of the struggle, whether it was the armed struggle or diplomatic work or building up the structures of the ANC. Since we came back into the country, I've been avoiding the Eastern Cape and the Transkei quite deliberately because of this problem of the possibility of (this) being read as constituency-building.

I was born in that area but I took a decision that I'm not going there and people complain that I never come there but it was quite a deliberate decision because I don't need to build a constituency. In the end one should be able to talk to the ANC, whoever the ANC is,

On his meeting with Cyril Ramaphosa, his main rival for the deputy presidency, before Mandela chose him for the post:

What I discussed with Cyril was the need to act in such a way which did not result in conflict and tensions within the movement, and that it was wrong to act in a manner that feeds the notion of competition.

When Cyril was elected secretary-general of the ANC in 1991, he wasn't going to attend that conference so I said he needs to make himself available for the national executive committee of the ANC. I was neutral with regard to all of this. When he was elected I took him to my hotel room to discuss this post of S-G and how to handle it.

From that beginning there had always been this understanding that we must make sure that we don't act in a way that suggests to the rest of the movement that there is tension and conflict between ourselves because it creates problems. But it wasn't about distribution of posts.

On the origins of the historical differences between the ANC and the IFP:

What really started it was the meeting we held in London in 1979 where confidential secrets were announced (by the IFP) and all our people reacted very strongly against that — it was an act of bad faith.

And then to make matters worse we had agreed about everything — about the armed struggle, about sanctions, about the need to unite the broad liberation movement in the country.

The one outstanding question that remained at the end of that meeting was how Dr Buthelezi would handle the issue of sanctions because he was Chief Minister and so on and his argument, which we understood, was that people would come to him and say you are sitting in this Government position and please do something so that we can get jobs... We had agreed to have a second meeting to discuss that.

So there were two problems: One was the breaking of the confidence and the become independent. It's not so much movement towards the ANC, it's movement away from something else.

On the Government's performance in its first year:

Given everything, I think the Government has performed very well. There were a number of problems. One of them is a problem of policy (implementation). That's been a big challenge, to move beyond a vision to something that is practical and implementable. Given those obstacles, I think Government has done very well in the sense of, on the policy side, we are well on the way to doing this transformation thing.

The land claims legislation last year was the only legislation that you could describe as being of a transformative nature. This year, and we are running out of time, there is a significant amount of legislation which is new policy on police, housing, defence and so on. There has also been a beginning in reorienting the Budget.

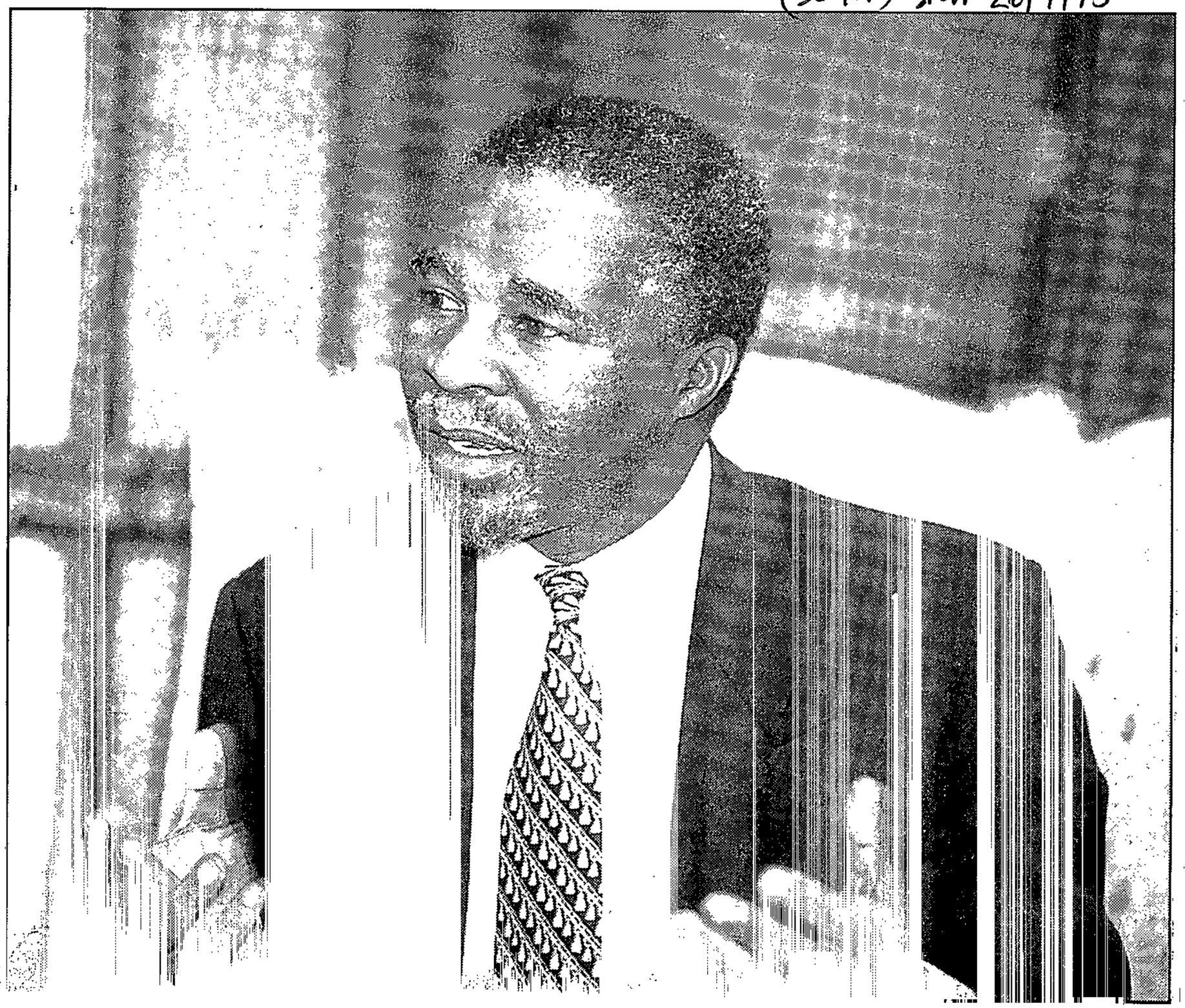
On whether the GNU is working as well as it was meant to do:

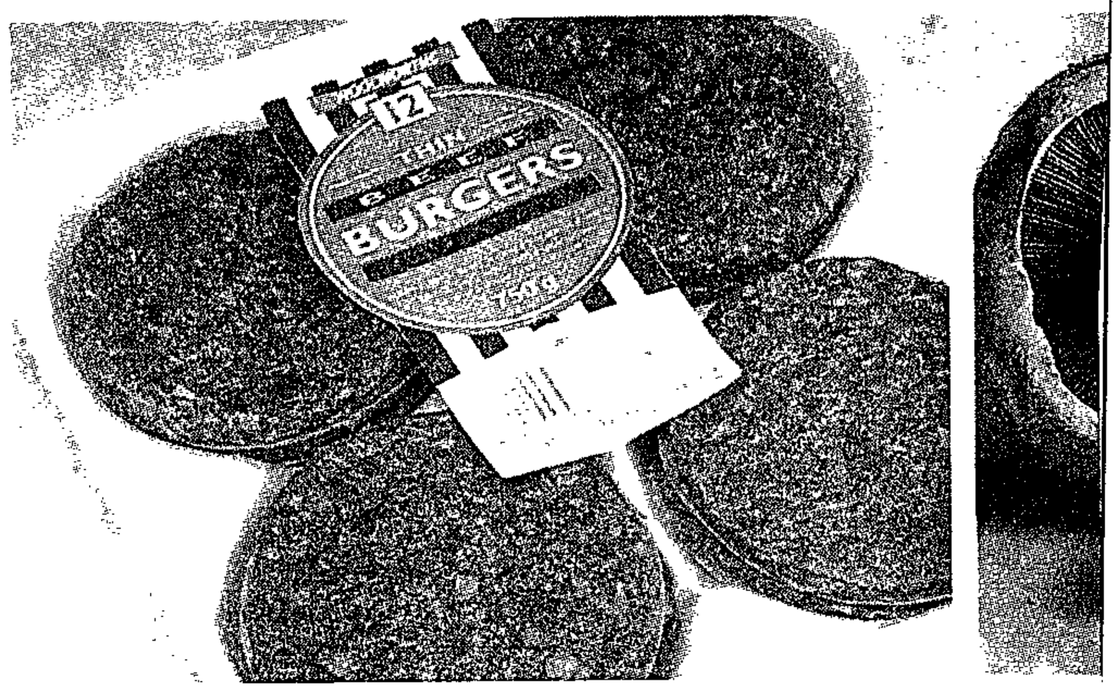
Yes. It's working as well as was envisaged — I'm talking about the Cabinet now. There really aren't any problems. Fortunately everybody agreed right at the beginning that we would have the reconstruction and development programme and that gave us the broad policy framework. There hasn't been any problems with the ministers, regardless from which party they come, in terms of presenting policy positions and arriving at common positions.

On whether the GNU will last until the next elections in 1999:

I'm sure it will last until 1999. The selfish imperatives of all the political parties will oblige them to stay. There are certain things that are about to happen, like new factories and new jobs created, villages getting clean water and there are going to be new clinics. I don't think it would make sense for any of the parties in the GNU to walk away from these achievements and surrender the capacity to claim those successes.

His assessment of his own perfor-





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—can. . a/e o/ one bloc then it means you are not a candidate of another bloc.

On his vision of the ANC in future:

I think there is a certain period still ahead of us where the ANC would want to discharge certain responsibilities that are historic to the ANC. The ANC would remain as it is because the objective of achieving a non-racial society has not been accomplished, so the objective needs of South African society would keep the ANC as it is for some time.

On the possibility of the ANC ceasing to be a broad liberation movement:

What will happen is that as you get a more normal society this racial divide recedes because of changes you are able to make. Then the ANC as this broad movement will begin to identify itself in terms of different schools of political thought. Out of the same ANC you will get a social democratic party, you will get a liberal democratic party and so on. As South African society becomes more normal and the further away it moves from the apartheid past, the closer you get to the transformation of the ANC.

How long this takes depends on the speed with which you transform South Africa. The faster you move to become a normal society, the sooner you will arrive at a situation where people in the ANC will say we have always recognised that this is a broad family that has done what it set out to do, and we can now go our separate ways. I don't think you can put a time to it.

On why he allowed his membership of the SACP to lapse:

There has been a lot of sensitivity particularly in the 1960s onwards about the matter of identification of people who are communist and non-communist and the reason for this, apart from the fact that you got arrested under the Communism Act, was that this was one of the fissures in the structure which people who wanted to weaken the broad movement would target.

On his relationship with the late Chris Hani:

Chris and I knew each other for very many years. We first met in 1956 and were at the same school in Lovedale (and in) the same branch of the ANC Youth League. Apart from being in the ANC together we were also friends. I remember Chris saying (when we were still in exile) that judges who sentenced ANC cadres were legitimate targets, and me saying that we should not be making statements like this. He said: "That's your responsibility, what I've got to do is say something that shakes them and then you've got to speak against me in order to make sure that the movement does not get damaged by what I said".

That was the nature of the relationship.

On whether he would be where he is today were the popular Hani still alive:

If you talk about what would have happened had Chris lived, what would have happened is that Chris and I would have sat down and said this is where we are today, what next do we do, and we would have come to a decision about who gets deployed where.

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In the efforts of the Zulu royal house to come to a position where it can say we are not attached to any particular political party, it has appealed to the central Government to help it create that space to effect that movement to the ANC.

Throughout the years we have always tried to make a distinction between the leadership of the IFP and the ordinary membership. The ordinary people knew that this (Inkatha) was the ANC under these conditions of illegality and ordinary people were joining an ANC thing, they weren't joining a separate thing called Inkatha; it was just the form under which the ANC had to exist.

If we talk about today the thing that should be of the most serious concern to the ANC is the sense that the drive to weaken the cohesion and the solidarity among the African people is something that would disturb the ANC quite seriously.

The ANC would have very serious problems with the attempt to define the Zulu people as a political entity. The IFP's way of treating the Zulu king as a possession, that would also be a point of tension. All of these things get to the root of what the ANC believes it stands for.

On allegations that the ANC was trying to woo King Goodwill Zwelithini to its camp:

No. Before the election, some contact started with some of the princes and what we were saying to them is (that) if they are interested in the continued survival of the Zulu monarchy, one of the most important things they have to do is make sure that it does not get identified with a particular political party because if it does then there are very serious problems. We haven't tried to get the Zulu monarchy to become attached to the ANC

Union Buildings wind of change

Star 27/4/95 (304A)

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

1 YEAR LATER

The government may have changed, but the people who populate the Union Buildings in Pretoria have in many respects remained the same as those who served under the former regime.

This was not without reason, for it would have made President Nelson Mandela's task this past year far more difficult had the Government of National Unity decided to sweep from the corridors of power the men and women who have played such an integral part in the government of South Africa over the past five decades.

Instead, the Government opted to keep at their desks many members of the former Department of Foreign Affairs, the ministry which occupies the East wing of the gracious Herbert Baker-designed building.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo has taken over the office once occupied by Pik Botha, the world's longest-serving foreign minister.

Close by is the office of Aziz Pahad, the deputy foreign minister who took over from Renier Schoeman, now deputy education minister.

Interestingly, one of the few senior officials to survive is Rusty Evans, who retained his position as director-general of foreign affairs.

It has gone into the legends of this building that Botha wasn't that happy at having to move from his old office but eventually did so in the name of progress.

Also in the East wing are the offices of General Services Minister Chris Fismer, another of the De Klerk government to retain a posting.

In the rabbit warren which makes up the East wing, the rows of offices are still occupied by Botha's old staff, although a lot more new faces are becoming apparent.

On West side, however, the story is a little different.

There, Mandela has installed his office of the President and the all-important reconstruction and development department under Jay Naidoo.

The same suites of offices once occupied by the staffs of Verwoerd, Vorster, P W Botha and De Klerk now ring to the voices of the new South Africa, while the reception rooms along the corridor from Mandela's office have seen more ambassadors and high commissioners being received than ever was the case in the days of the old regime.

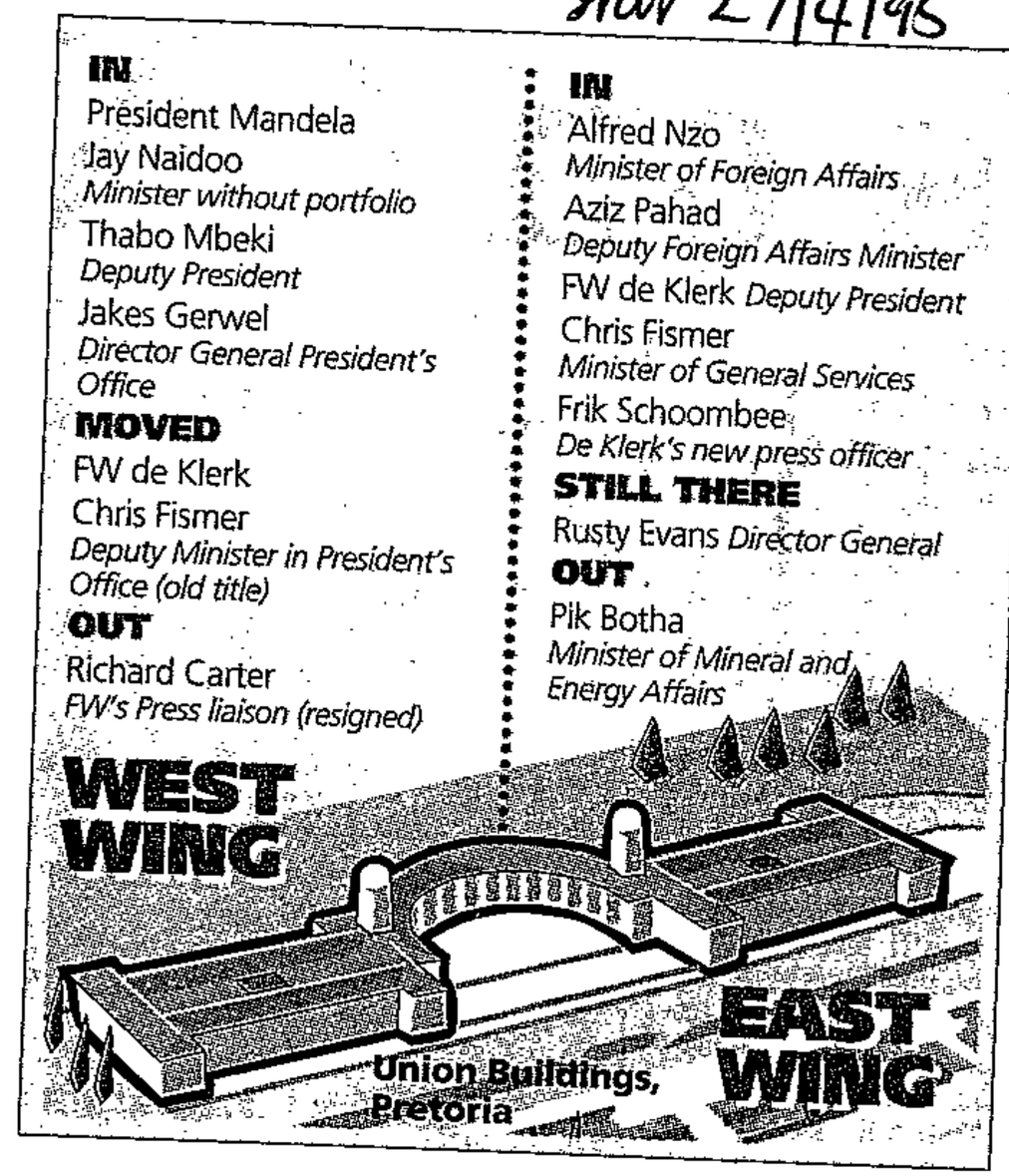
It is perhaps significant that De Klerk's office as an executive deputy president is in the East wing, while that of Thabo Mbeki, the other executive deputy president, is on Mandela's side of the building.

Outwardly, security is still as tough as it was under the National Party government.

Internally there appears to be a more relaxed atmosphere, not that this means the country's most important civil servants are not as diligent as any other.

The building is still under strict police control, and access can still be a tough assignment for anyone who may not have an appointment with a Minister or civil servant.

The one big difference is that entry and exit to the office complex is usually handled by detachments of black policemen, a far cry from previous years.



Take a bow

Star 27/4/95 (304A)

MANDELA and multiparty Government of National Unity confound critics who predicted catastrophe after end of white rule

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 the 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 cataclysm 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 Afrikaans 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 gone 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 in need.

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 General Constand 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 Page 2

Institute for 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 and by whom".

However, the GNU was criticised for doing too little to tackle South Africa's socio-economic woes.

Take a bow, South Africa

(304A)

◀ From Page 1

Star 27/4/95

to make meaningful changes in people's lives, Buthelezi said.

Mbeki, who is in line to succeed Mandela in 1999, said the GNU was working as well as had been envisaged.

"There really are not any problems. Fortunately, everybody agreed right 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 responses 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".

April 27 1994 – April 27 1995: *The rainbow natic*

miracles lives on

Take a bow, So

Star 27/4/95 (304A) South Africa

MANDELA and multiparty Government of National Unity confound critics who predicted catastrophe after end of white rule

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
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▶ To Page 2

End of the dark . . . democracy brought electricity to Mosibo Makitla (85) of Hammansk

Crime mars the dream

■ BY NIALL AITCHESON

Twelve months after South Africa's first democratic election, it is safer for the average citizen to walk the streets, but you are more likely to be attacked in your home or robbed of your vehicle.

While community policing programmes and the fall-off 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, luxury cars have become the number one target for housebreakers.

Star 27/4/95

"In the past, intruders would be aiming to make off with electrical goods, cash and firearms. Now, in around 80% of incidents in which people are attacked in their homes, the motive is to 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 'tailed' 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 alone recording an increase of 21,7%.

A total of 62 356 armed robberies was reported countrywide between January and November 1994, 31 044 of which were committed on the Reef at a rate of approximately one every 15 minutes.

Unaudited 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 61 366 and 7 058 respectively for the 12-month period immediately preceding the election.

FINANCE

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

Inkululeko!

Sowetan 28/4/95 (304A)

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA yesterday announced a special amnesty for prisoners as a mark of goodwill 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 resettle in 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 realised."

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.

NEWS FEATURE *New study shows how ordinary folk feel about changes since elections*

Widely held view of SA shattered

Sowetan 28/4/95 (304A)

By Tyrone August

■ GENERAL DESIRE *Study reveals unexpected optimism among Africans:*

A YEAR AFTER THE ELECTIONS, South Africa is often described as a cauldron of anger and discontent. This is usually blamed on the failure of the Government to meet people's expectations.

But "Voices of a new democracy", a study conducted for the Centre for Policy Studies last November, turns this widely held perception on its head.

It was carried out specifically to explore what African people feel about the changes since the elections, and what they want and expect over the next five years.

"The findings shatter perhaps the most important claim of the currently fashionable pessimism," writes researcher Mr Craig Charney in the CPS study, that the masses are unhappy with the Government because of its failure to meet their expectations of change. The results underline the substantial approval the Government receives."

The research shows people are generally happy about the progress being made in the provision of education, housing and water.

The only real pessimism is in the area of job creation. Out of the 12 groups of people interviewed, only three expected any substantial progress.

But, even in this area, there is still a surprising degree of acceptance. "There is a clear appreciation of the magnitude of the problem and the need for investment," Charney points out.

President Nelson Mandela: The public is generally happy about his Government's progress.

The maturity and sophistication of such views certainly do not fit in with the usual warnings about a disillusioned populace straining at the leash.

However, there certainly is impatience with the pace of change. "There is significant disappointment with the rate and extent of social change," says Charney. "There is widespread demand for faster, tangible social and economic change."

Yet, over and over, the research findings make the same point: "The disappointment is counter-balanced by patience, hope and the new regime's legitimacy. The discussions show a clear consciousness of the constraints on change facing the Government. The same obstacles kept coming up: demands, funds, time and economics.

"In line with an awareness of constraints and a willingness to accept step-by-step change, the results show the African public has strikingly realistic expectations." The research also makes another important finding: "Recognition of the constraints upon Government underlies the readiness to be self-reliant in development activities.

"Since they know official funds and capacity are limited, group members are willing to assist with housing and job creation through their own efforts.

"Thus, rather than revealing the 'culture of entitlement' supposed by the conventional wisdom of pessimists, the discussions display Africans attracted to the ideal of self-reliance. They do not want something for nothing. Instead they seek a reciprocal relation between citizens and the Government."

Another eye-opening finding of the research is that people are prepared to accept less, if it means that more people will benefit at the end of the day.

"Africans in the groups generally prefer policies that reach all, even if offering lower rewards, to those which provide high quality benefits to only part of the community." For example, most participants are prepared to sacrifice higher wages for more jobs. This willingness to accept a trade-off also applied to housing and education.

"The results run strongly against populist claims that 'the masses' will only accept policies immediately offering high wage levels, brick houses or free schooling." Rather, the general desire appears to be for the equitable sharing of resources in a broadly based process of incremental change."

Unfortunately this maturity does not extend to everything. This is reflected, for instance, in the attitudes to immigrants.

"Immigrants from other African countries have become a major worry for urban Africans, according to the participants."

"Black South Africans now seem to be targeting their frustrations not on whites, the local 'other', but on immigrants, the foreign 'other' directly competing with them."

Charney advises the Government to take note of this: "Concern about immigration is not limited to a few malcontents, but a genuine popular sentiment that needs to be managed."

This hostility is partly because of concern about crime. "Immigrants are generally seen as agents of crime and social decay," says Charney.

"And crime heads the list of changes for the worst. It came up as a concern in 12 of the 13 groups, more often than any other change, positive or negative.

"There is concern about every type of criminal activity: murder, robbery, carjacking, burglary, white-collar crime and witchcraft are all seen as worsening." But, on the whole, the new South Africa still holds out more promise than despair.

The most visible change is obviously in the political arena. "A sense of political power is one of the clearest perceived gains for Africans in the new South Africa," Charney says.

And, now that apartheid is gone, there seems to be a shift away from the overtly political to bread-and-butter issues.

The results reveal a sense of priorities that places the concrete and immediate — jobs, houses and water — ahead of the ideological." The sorts of changes sought are far more attainable than the conventional wisdom of the pessimists would lead one to believe."

But the Government should act while it still has public goodwill on its side: "To maintain public support, more people need to feel the results of change in their own living conditions. The most important implication for Government is that it needs to try to ensure that modest, achievable and incremental change is felt as widely as possible."

That was the verdict six months after the election. It reflects a great deal of maturity, generosity and patience. But the Government cannot take advantage of this indefinitely. It will have to start delivering — and sooner rather than later, otherwise the predictions of the pessimists may yet become true.

FREE

SA takes the day off to smile

Star 28/4/95 (304A)

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 short cut 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, sppeaking 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 shortlived if rising crime and corruption were not dealt with.

Winnie haunts Mbeki down under

WM 28/4 - 4/5/95 (304A)

Vuyo Myoko in Sydney

AS 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 tommorrow, 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".

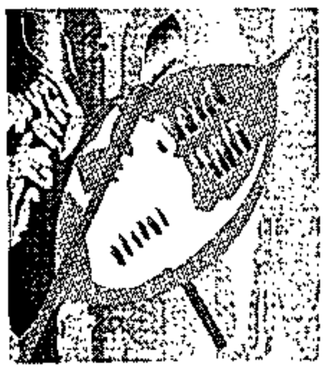
Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans visits South Africa next month to discuss, as Mbeki put it, how the two countries will "define our system of co-operation".

INKATHA AND GOVERNMENT

Hovering at the brink

(304A) FM 28/4/95

Mbeki's sophistry is causing more tension and delaying an agreement



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 in 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 fulfil 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.

Buthelezi

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 *bosberaad* 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.

Mbeki

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, emerge with 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 Codesa 2 and its successor, the multiparty 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 as 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 *amakhosi*.

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 influence. 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 1995, 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 agreed-on aim of the multiparty negotiations, as reflected in the Declaration of Intent adopted at the first session of Codesa in December 1991."

Mandela

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.' "

De Klerk

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 19 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, based on 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 propositions, 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

ARG 29/4/95

(304A)

■ The IFP is deadly serious about its demand for international mediation on the key issue of 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 IFP entered the elections at the last minute a year ago, preventing major civil conflict, according to senior IFP MP Peter Smith.

Writing in the University of Natal publication *Indicator SA*, Mr Smith pointed out the 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 interntional mediation. The nub of their argument is that there are no terms of reference yet 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 international mediation, were:

■ The extent of provincial powers, with specific reference to issues like central government over-rides, provincial civil service and police.

■ Fiscal and financial autonomy for provinces.

■ Preservation of provincial autonomy during future constitutional development.

■ Autonomy of constitution-making at provincial level.

■ The role of the Constitutional Court on national and provincial constitutions.

■ Procedures for future constitutional amendments that could affect provincial autonomy.

■ The process of empowering the new provincial governments and transferring functions and assets to them.

■ Citizenship and residential requirements for voting rights.

■ The restoration of the Kingdom of KwaZulu.

Mr Smith states that constant reminders to the ANC and NP "at every conceivable venue" had failed to result in their implementing the agreement.

"The Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace was a solemn agreement, not an ephemeral issue of no consequence. It did not signify a vague statement of intent, a maybe or a perhaps.

"It was on the strength of the agreement alone that the IFP entered the April 1994 elections and it is the reason that the IFP walked out of parliament when it did," he added.

He said it had become "quite clear that the ANC and NP were in effect playing games, on the one hand pronouncing their willingness to see international mediation take place, but on the other using every trick in the book to ensure that it would not be implemented".

Mr Smith writes that "their key ploy was to claim that mediation should only proceed once the terms of reference had been agreed to by the three parties".

A further "ploy" was to claim that because Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had since rejected mediation (the king cut links with the IFP after the elections), international mediation was unnecessary.

The IFP's answer to this is that the king was not party to the agreement, and one of the issues to be mediated was the institution of the Zulu monarchy and not the status of the present incumbent.

The essence of the terms of reference for mediation all centred around provincial autonomy "for which one can read federalism" says Mr Smith.

"What was in fact accepted by all parties when signing the agreement — assuming they did so in good faith rather than as a ruse to dupe the IFP into entering the election — was that the form of state would be addressed not by way of the constitutional assembly ... but by way of international mediation," he added.

Mr Smith writes that it is difficult to understand why the NP had failed to perceive the benefits of mediation "in regard to its Western Cape bastion".

He also pointed out that the IFP's withdrawal from the constitutional assembly would 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 "for there is no doubting 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 steamrollered by the majority in the constitutional assembly. "Democracy is not simply about the will of the majority — it must also recognise 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.

erty owner, acts on behalf of himself which states unequivocally that all citi

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. (304A)

One of the most unfortunate manifestations of this was the recent establishment of a separate party for Coloureds. ARG 29/4/95

"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

(304A)

By JACOB DLAMINI

THE Department of Foreign Affairs is closing down embassies and consulates from the defunct Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei homelands.

The closures are expected to save millions of rands of taxpayers' money spent on ambassadors, consul-generals and diplomatic officials who represent countries that never really existed and perform jobs that have no purpose.

So far more than 19 properties have been shut down around the country including the former Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei embassies in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Klerksdorp, Cape Town, Natal and the Free State.

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.

ST 30/4/95