

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS — 1994

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JUNE — ~~SEPT.~~ DEC

Fresh look at parliament move

(304A)
AKG 8/12/94

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

FRESH initiatives are being launched to reinvigorate Cape Town's campaign to keep parliament in the Mother City and to re-focus the debate on the national interest rather than the concerns of the Western Cape.

Campaigners have been urged to stress the importance to South Africa as a whole of keeping parliament in Cape Town and of preventing a concentration of power in one centre.

Reacting to reports this week that moving parliament to Pretoria was "inevitable", acting mayor Llewellyn van Wyk warned against apathy — and called for a "reinvigoration" of the campaign.

"But I think we must shift the debate to a national perspective, and Cape Town must put aside its narrower, local concerns. We are not going to succeed in convincing people elsewhere to support our campaign by saying that the Western Cape economy will suffer if parliament moves.

"We have to convey the idea that it is bad for South Africa to have the powers of government all focused in one place. We have to get away from the notion — laboured under for many years — that Pretoria will provide.

"The lesson from the past is that the concentration of power creates a mindset and value system which totally ignores the interests of other regions in South Africa.

"Moving parliament to Pretoria will risk a repetition of that. It will cause a division the country can ill-afford."

It would be good for the country as a whole for the government "to be seen" in more than one place to allow for a maximum exposure of people and legislators to each other.

Moving parliament to Pretoria could also spur a shift of other key administrative activities — such as the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein — to the PWV region.

Mr Van Wyk added: "One also needs to ask who is taking the decision and in whose interests?

"According to reports there is unhappiness with moving back and forth between Pretoria and Cape Town because the politicians are not accustomed to it and it is disruptive.

"I want to counter that: when you make yourself available for public office you know what you are taking on and you cannot decline to absorb and live with the pressures.

"It would be grossly unfair if legislators were allowed to take the decision to suit their own comforts by minimising personal inconvenience. That is entirely the wrong reason."

Plan TO KEEP PARLIAMENT IN CITY

W Cape puts up a united front

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape government is to contribute R1 million to the expenses of the Keep Parliament in Cape Town campaign, Premier Mr Hermus Kriel announced yesterday.

"It is our duty to look after the people of this region, and prevent any action that may lead to the loss of jobs. We have enough unemployment," Mr Kriel said. He shared a platform with his political opponent Dr Allan Boesak and a host of others in the St George's Cathedral Hall.

On stage was an array of leaders from across the political spectrum, PAC to ACDP. Also present were representatives from the Tygerberg Mayors' Forum and black business organisations.

The meeting was packed by about 400 people and outside people also protested against the proposed move.

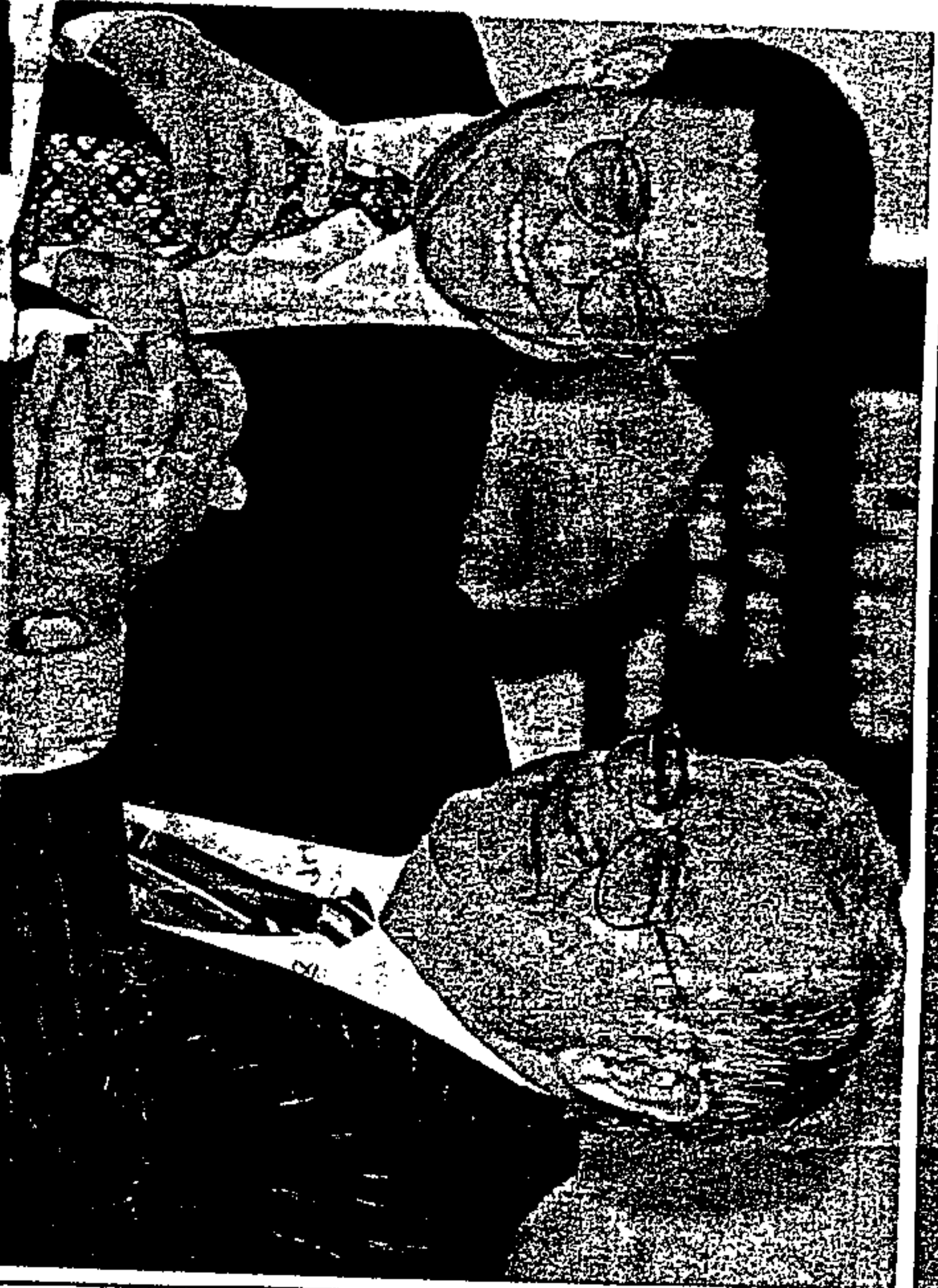
The meeting unanimously passed a resolution that a delegation should be sent to President Nelson Mandela "to request that the debate about the relocation should be removed from the agenda".

Regional Tourism Minister Mr Lennuo Kalako's resolution noted that the initiative to remove Parliament would be extremely divisive. All available energy and resources should be focused on the reconstruction and development of the nation.

City Council executive committee chairman Mr Clive Keegan said if Parliament were moved, a dangerous sense of grievance would be bred by the perception that the Western Cape was being punished for the way it voted in the election.

Dr Boesak said it would be irresponsible to spend between R3 billion and R5bn on relocation when the RDP should be the priority. (South)


CT 18/8/94



STOP
PARLIAMENT
MOVING

UNITED FRONT ... Dr Allan Boesak (left) shares a platform with Premier Mr Hermus Kriel at St George's Cathedral Hall yesterday where Mr Kriel announced his government would contribute R1 million to the Keep Parliament in Cape Town campaign.

Picture: BENNY GOOL



BLUE ROUTE

TYRE

SAVING

Mother City to fight to keep Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Save-the-Mother-City campaign gathered momentum yesterday as parties across the political spectrum formally resolved to fight to keep Parliament in Cape Town. The unanimous decision by the Western Cape cabinet that the national Parliament should stay put followed a Captour challenge

to all Capetonians and the hospitality industry to make up-country parliamentarians feel at home in Cape Town.

And the Deputy Minister of Education, Mr Renier Schoeman, told an international seminar in Cape Town last night that the city had been the seat of Parliament for almost 90 years "and I hope still for as many years to come".

Western Cape premier Mr Herinus Kriel said the provincial cabinet had resolved to "immediately inform the central cabinet committee investigating the siting of Parliament about the importance of keeping the legislature in Cape Town."

He said reasons included the prohibitive cost of erecting a new parliamentary complex, and that

the Western Cape economy would be "seriously damaged" if Parliament was moved.

Captour chief executive Mr Gordon Oliver said all Capetonians needed to take urgent steps to dispel the perception among some parliamentarians that Cape Town was an unfriendly city.

"Come on Kapenaars — let's show our guests what a great place

this is!" he said in a special appeal issued yesterday.

Mayor of Cape Town Mrs Patricia Kreiner said yesterday she could not believe the new government was spending so much time behaving in a divisive manner.

● Businessmen urged to fight for Parliament — Page 11

Pretoria favourite as capital

(304A)
ARLT 11/6/94

Movers decide — city sleeps

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

CAPE Town has awakened too late to prevent the likely move of parliament to Pretoria over the next few years, top government sources have revealed.

The main reason is that parliament will sit most of the year instead of half the year as in the past.

And influential politicians regard the executive and the legislature sitting 1 500km from the public service in Pretoria as untenable.

They rate the chances of parliament moving to Pretoria as being 2-1 in favour. The most likely scenario is that parliament will move two to five years after a new parliament is built in Pretoria.

It is less likely that parliament will move sooner to temporary premises in an existing facility such as the Gallagher Centre convention complex in Midrand.

Government sources revealed that the four-member cabinet committee appointed to examine the future location of parliament is headed by Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer — a strong supporter of moving parliament to the PWV.

A Cape Town task force is being set up to fight to retain parliament and oppose the concentration of both political and financial activity in the PWV province.

■ The odds are against Cape Town retaining its parliamentary status as the new government appears to be marching to Pretoria.

There is a strong sentimental attachment to Cape Town especially among Cape-based politicians in both the African National Congress and National Party. But it is understood the major movers and shakers have virtually decided to move parliament — and Cape Town has awakened too late.

Government sources and diplomats said Cape Town had to some extent been its own worst enemy. They blame the city's complacency and the endless internecine squabbling in Cape Town City Council which occupied its energies over the past year or two while the real decisions were being made at the World Trade Centre talks.

Top government sources say the main reason for the move was the need to overcome the inefficiency of having the executive and legislature separated from the administration for most of the year.

Even if building a new parliament would be more expensive than the cost of shuttling politicians and top officials between the two cities, they say, the advantage of greater government efficiency would be worth the cost.

The cost of a new parliament has been put at R1,5 billion to R2 billion. This enormous cost is Cape Town's main hope in

dissuading the government from making the move, which would come as a blow to the city's economy.

The government sources point out that the historic reason for separate capitals to achieve political unity at the National Convention in 1909 after the South African War had long since fallen away.

Keeping parliament in Cape Town would in no way support the move to decentralise powers to the provinces as the provincial assemblies operated separately from parliament.

Subsidiary reasons for moving parliament include the personal inconvenience suffered by politicians and officials who are separated from their families for much of the year.

Instead of pouring scorn over MPs' complaints about housing, the city should have gone out of its way to offer improvements.

Another reason given for the likely move is that top ANC members in particular want to be near their largely black constituency and need to be close to ANC headquarters, Shell House, Johannesburg.

The president is said to be now favourably disposed to Pretoria as his full-time capital.

Bid for Parly

Battle plan to keep govt in city

CT 9/6/94

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

(304A)

CAPE TOWN is poised to launch a sweeping multi-party drive to foil a concerted bid by the powerful PWV province to wrest Parliament from the Mother City.

A high-powered task group, appointed at the end of last year, is meeting again today to thrash out a strategic battle plan to counter the threat from the north.

Today's meeting takes place against the background of a recently established secret cabinet study group to investigate the costs of moving Parliament or keeping it in the city.

Despite the cabinet investigation, a government probe last year found that the annual cost of moving politicians and officials to and from the city was about R16 million.

The government study, corroborated by a Wesgro-led investigation, found that the cost of building a new parliamentary complex in Pretoria or Midrand would be a minimum R1 500 million — landing taxpayers with an interest bill of R250m a year.

Pretoria's multi-million rand campaign — which enjoys the backing of organised commerce, its city council and its universities — was launched on the back of the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela at Union Buildings last month.

Wesgro's executive director, Dr David Bridgman, said the cost to the public of moving capitals would therefore be almost 16 times greater than the annual moving costs of the current system.

Cape Town's exco chief, Mr Clive Keegan, who is heading the Save-the-Mother-City task group, said the loss of Parliament "would be a devastating blow to Cape Town's status as an international city, and to its diplomatic and political prestige".

He said the moving of Parliament would directly contradict the entire spirit of regionalism in the new constitution.

Mr Keegan said the local task group was preparing a comprehensive public relations and lobbying campaign to prevent the move.

The City Council had been carrying the campaign cost so far, and Mr Keegan said: "There will be a budget and a fairly large amount will be spent on the campaign".

Dr Bridgman said: "From everything the government has said, it would not make sense to spend large sums of money to increase the comfort and convenience of politicians and bureaucrats."

Dr Bridgman noted that the government could build 750 000 houses for the R1,5 billion it would cost to build a new Parliament.

He said among the negative side-effects of the city surrendering its capital status could be the loss of what could soon grow to over 100 embassies or foreign missions, as well as a decline in interest by overseas trade and political missions.

"Cape Town could gradually fade in significance and could end up no longer being a national or international city," Dr Bridgman said.



AUTOGRAPH PLEASE ... English rugby captain Will Carling (second left) and his teammates yesterday obliged fans with autographs at D F. Malan Airport shortly after the team arrived in preparation for Saturday's second Test at Newlands. ● Report Page 3 Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Boks to get Hawke's eye view of lost Test

By IAN GAULT

THE Springboks for Saturday's Test will receive expert tuition on rule interpretations by retired South African referee Freek Burger, after consultation with New Zealand Test referee Colin Hawke.

SA team manager Mr Jannie Engelbrecht explained yesterday that his players had to be satisfied with the way Mr Hawke was going to "blow" the game. Mr Burger will watch the video tape of last Saturday's Test with Mr Hawke, who will explain stoppages and

penalties.

Mr Burger will then take the tape to the Springboks and define Mr Hawke's interpretations for them.

Mr Engelbrecht said "one or two heads have shrunk," since Saturday's heavy defeat and that although yesterday had been a satisfying first day together, there was still a terrific amount of work to be done.

The SA team will have two light practice sessions today.

● England team confident — Page 3



BATTERED ... A bruised Jonathan Callard arrived in the city yesterday. Picture: Alan Taylor

Put
MAC
O

The
effect
will
be

□ The battle of two cities . . .

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA has mounted a fresh campaign to replace Cape Town as the parliamentary capital of South Africa — and has offered the Organisation of African Unity a site for an "African parliament".

But Cape Town is set to fight tooth and nail to keep its status as legislative capital.

A city task force will meet tomorrow to devise a strategy to market the Mother City.

City Council executive committee chairman Clive Keegan said the expense of moving the legislative capital to Pretoria would be "unforgivable in a society with so many other pressing socio-economic needs".

He said concentrating government and diplomatic activity in a single capital would run counter to the growing spirit of federalism.

Pretoria's multi-million rand campaign is backed by that city's academics, organised commerce and its city council. The campaign includes advertising, distribution of literature, and lobbying.

Pretoria City Council favours Klapperkop Hill — the site of a recent right-wing occupation of Fort Klapperkop — as the most suitable for a new South African parliament.

Protagonists say Klapperkop is relatively near to Waterkloof Air Force Base and its 107 ha can easily accommodate the national as well as African parliament buildings.

Pretoria deputy mayor Louis Cloete, a member of the city's marketing and capital initiative committees, said the council was prepared to make any or all of the sites available to house the parliament buildings.

The other six sites include land near the Voortrekker Monument and the Union Buildings.

The campaign proposes housing agencies of international organisations such as the World Bank and the United Nations Educational, Social

Pretoria challenges Cape as legislative capital

ARG 8/6/94 (304A)

and Cultural Organisation (Unesco), and housing for members of parliament and the thousands of officials attached to parliament and the various organisations.

The city council said it would also assist in providing the necessary infrastructure.

Mr Cloete said the financial savings from not having parliament in Cape Town would in three years time pay for the costs of a parliament building in Pretoria.

Savings were self-evident considering that Pretoria, as the administrative seat of government, was accommodating the head offices of 32 government departments.

The fact that 79 foreign embassies, high commissions and diplomatic missions have already been established in Pretoria was a strengthening factor in favour of the city's status as national capital.

An additional 65 countries have established diplomatic ties with South Africa and are waiting to open missions here. This figure is growing by the week and could reach as many as 100 by the end of the year.

● It is also held that Greater Pretoria could function separately as a 10th province, such as Washington DC.

Parliament: Cape Town retaliates

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

A CAPE Town task force is set to launch a vigorous propaganda counter-attack against a bid by Pretoria to become the legislative capital.

The task force has called for a commission of inquiry, open to the public, to hear evidence about the issue.

Rivalry between the two cities has increased after the announcement that a four-member cabinet committee will investigate whether parliament should be moved from Cape Town to Johannesburg or Pretoria.

The Cape Town task force, which includes organised business, Wesgro, political and property groups and the city council, met today to plan strategy for the months ahead.

City council executive committee chairman Clive Keegan urged that the contest be in the open, before a com-

mission of inquiry open to the public and Press.

"Analysis of the arguments must take place in an open and transparent way rather than in the smoke-filled rooms of a cabinet cabal," Mr Keegan said.

"One of our strongest points is that intensifying all the country's political and financial activity in the PWV area is out of keeping with the growing emphasis on federalism and regionalism.

"Cape Town has a symbolism, a rich historic tradition as the seat of a succession of parliaments and a rich association with the liberation struggle."

Meanwhile, a leading African National Congress senator, Bulelani Ngcuka, says Pretoria is wasting money with its bid.

Money was needed for the crisis facing poor people, who needed

houses, services, health care and education, he said.

Unofficial estimates were that moving the capital to the Reef would cost taxpayers up to R2 billion.

Democratic Party provincial MP Hennie Bester said any desire to make parliament more African would be flouted if it were moved to Pretoria. The city was "Eurocentric" and long a symbol of apartheid government.

Provincial Finance Minister Kobus Meiring said the most compelling reason not to move parliament was the spirit of compromise of the National Convention of 1909.

"If it was necessary then to make the compromise about the two capitals, when transport and communication were so difficult, it is as necessary today to have a balance in the new South Africa."

I'm furious about this proposal, says Kriel

CLIVE SAWYER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

MOVING parliament to the Transvaal will worsen imbalances between provinces, says Western Cape premier Hennis Kriel.

Mr Kriel said he was furious at the proposal to shift parliament from Cape Town.

The cost of building a new parliament up north would be unacceptable in a time when the money was needed for urgent upliftment projects.

He rejected claims it was impractical for Cabinet ministers to bring up to 12 staff from their Pretoria base to Cape Town for each parliamentary session.

The claims were based on the old system which had been superseded by technology.

Faxes and cellular phones made it unnecessary for phalanxes of bureaucrats to travel to and fro between the legislative and executive capitals.

Mr Kriel said the Western Cape economy would be hard-hit by the loss of parliament.

Spending by MPs on domestic items and accommodation, and the economic benefits of foreign delegations visiting parliament should not be relinquished.

"Already we have an imbalance of the income of provinces, and to move parliament will worsen this imbalance," he said.

There was another factor, hard to define.

The Cape was, well, *different*.

The Cape was the home of moderate sentiment, and had historically had a calming influence on politics.

Meanwhile, the National Party has accused African National Congress Western Cape provincial ministers of trying to prevent the devolution of power to the region and to discredit Mr Kriel.

The statement read in part: "It's noteworthy that this action has been launched while Dr Boesak is in America, blissfully unaware of his three ministers who, according to their interpretation, have not been consulted."

"It would be profitable for Dr Boesak to establish discipline among his members."

Parliament's new movers and shakers

The new parliament's stars are the MPs who have broken with tradition, setting their own agendas rather than act as meek pawns of the cabinet

As the new parliament finds its feet, movers and shakers are coming to the fore — MPs who are already making their visible mark on the new dispensation.

The big star, without doubt, is the ANC's Gill Marcus. Having essentially received her training in ANC policy meetings, she has surprised friend and foe with the ease with which she has adjusted to the demands of parliamentary life and the skill with which she chairs the powerful joint finance committee. Her performance so far is described as "remarkable".

Thrown in at the deep end, she was forced to get her large committee going early, as it was the first to discuss a Budget vote. Right from the start, she handled committee meetings with flair and succeeded in getting all the parties to interact. Her biggest success, however, was in redefining the role of the finance committee.

For years, the Budget debate was opened by official opposition spokesmen on finance, previously Harry Schwarz and later Ken Andrew. This year Marcus broke with tradition when she opened the debate. She did not follow the ANC line and looked at the issues critically, clearly establishing her role as a member of an independent committee and not as a spokesman for the government or its opposition.

Another rising star is Western Cape MP Johnny de Lange, who has made an unexpected entry into the national political scene and is firmly establishing himself as one of the prime movers in the

standing committees.

De Lange, who chairs the justice committee, has taken the lead in changing the rules to make parliament more accessible to the public as well as to parliamentarians. He serves on the rules subcommittee and was primarily responsible for drafting new rules on law-making that will probably be accepted within the next fortnight.

The new rules will see the committees accorded real power for the first time in parliamentary history — and will see prominent people in the committee backrooms elevated to powerful public figures.

At a recent subcommittee meeting De Lange was quite frank about the reasons for the changes, admitting that he "knew very little of what happens in other parts of this building".

Ordinary members, who are "at a complete loss" when legislation is discussed, had to be more directly involved in the legislative process, he argued. This requires a transformation of the way parliament functions.

MPs who can be expected to become more prominent in the next few months include Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, chairman of the rules committee. A South African Communist Party member, Fraser-Moleketi has already made a name for herself as a capable debater who is on top of the issues.

However, she recently proposed in a subcommittee meeting that the media should be com-



Gill Marcus... thrown in at the deep end



Strong voices on the committees... Constand Viljoen and Max Sisulu

pelled to quote sources by name when reporting comments on committee issues. This has not endeared her to the press, but she did not pursue the issue.

One well-known figure making a clear impression on parliament is Pravin Gordhan, another communist. He chaired the negotiation forum and became known for his decisive interventions and no-nonsense style. He now chairs the constitutional and provincial affairs standing committee with equal aplomb.

The most powerful standing committee after finance is the one on defence. It is the only committee which, in terms of the constitution, is allowed to interfere directly on the terrain of the executive, in that it can make recommendations on the defence budget and is allowed to supervise the department.

This is a committee in which some strong voices can be heard, notably that of the Freedom Front's General Constand Viljoen. Viljoen, although ideologically poles apart from most of the other committee members, is respected as a professional soldier.

On the ANC side, Thenjiwe Mtintso is quickly establishing



ment to women's affairs: Janet Love (Agriculture, Water Affairs and Forestry), who is described as "sharp"; Max Sisulu (Finance); Blade Nzimande (chairman, Education); Yvette Myakayaka-Manzini; Phillip Dexter (Public Services and Administration); and white "lefties" Ian Phillips, Rob Davies and Raymond Suttner (Foreign Affairs). Nzimande, Dexter, Davies and Suttner are all SACP members.

The IFP's most impressive movers so far are Ziba Jiyane (Communications) and Gavin Woods (Finance).

Democratic Party members making their mark include its acting leader, Tony Leon ("You may not like him, but you can't ignore him," as one source put it), Douglas Gibson and the elder statesman of parliamentary politics, Colin Eglin.

Patricia de Lille and Khilophilwe Sizane are Pan Africanist Congress MPs making a strong input. Sizane is well-informed on constitutional issues and asks pertinent questions in committee meetings.

NP members see their role more as warning against pitfalls, based on their previous parliamentary experience. Few are making much impact on proceedings. Some, like Andre Fomrie and Danie Schutte, look downright out of place in the new, non-racial environment — like the paintings from the apartheid era staring down from the parliamentary walls.

senior civil servants' jobs. No thought was given to the role played by the legislature, made up of the national assembly and the senate.

ANC caucus members say it was soon realised that fundamental policy changes were almost impossible as long as present structures stayed in place.

ANC cabinet ministers soon realised that they had little room to manoeuvre as most of the groundwork for legislation was done by experts in their departments.

"It is not that we are accusing civil servants of bad faith," said a senior

ANC member. "Rather, it is a problem of mindset. These people come from the old dispensation and they have not been exposed to the kind of debates which have been going on in the ANC for many years."

Interaction between portfolio committees and government departments was therefore essential: "It is the only way we will be able to start delivering on our election promises."

The first signs of the ANC caucus flexing its muscle became apparent this week when two amendments

were brought about to the Human Rights Bill after it was accepted by the senate justice standing committee. The amendments were introduced by an ANC member and referred back to the standing committee by the senate. The amendments were accepted by the standing committee, effectively changing the cabinet proposal.

It was pointed out that all legislation prepared by the cabinet and accepted on a consensus basis by the executive could be amended in this way, effectively neutralising the NP.

De Lange did not think this would give individuals on the committees too much power: "Party representatives in the committees can only raise matters accepted or approved by their caucuses. They will not be able to act without a mandate."

Debating procedures are also changing. Because initially there was hardly any legislation on the table to discuss, members tended to fall back on party rhetoric. This led to a barrage of party platitudes and inconsequential speeches.

Both the ANC and the NP agree that the way parliament operates at present should be thoroughly reviewed.

Parliamentary sessions are structured so that one political debate follows the other. NP cabinet member Dawie de Villiers this

week complained that this "leads to a great measure of repetition", with political positions being restated "in different words without any constructive results".

The 27 budget votes discussed in the national assembly would be repeated in the senate in an exercise that could take up to eight weeks.

It is agreed that extended public committees will in future play a bigger role in scrutinising and discussing these votes to cut down on repetition.

But ultimately, the rule changes will serve only to accommodate a completely new approach to government. What would previously have constituted a major governmental crisis — such as the caucus overturning cabinet decisions — is now par for the course.

It was once unthinkable for the

NP caucus to interfere with legislation prepared by the executive. But the ANC caucus showed its strength during the last session when legislation allowing for so-called parliamentary councillors — accepted by the cabinet and the standing committee — was rejected by the national assembly and eventually scrapped.

Smaller parties are cautioning against the threat of "anarchy", but the feeling within the ANC is that the way things are done is an extension of a tradition established within the ANC before it came to parliament. "This is democracy in action," said one ANC member.

Constitutional Affairs select committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said recently the caucus was "not the rubberstamp of the executive". This is likely to continue to be the case.

University of the Witwatersrand



POST GRADUATE STUDY IN LABOUR LAW

1995 MASTERS/HIGHER DIPLOMA COURSE

In 1995 the School of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand will again be offering its post-graduate course in labour law.

Led by Professors Martin Brassey and Dennis Davis, the course is designed to explore issues in labour law at the highest possible level. To promote discussion and encourage debate, the course is restricted to sixteen students, all of whom are expected to contribute actively throughout the period of study.

To be eligible for enrolment for the masters Degree, students must have an LLB or equivalent law degree. To enrol for the Higher Diploma a first degree may suffice.

CLOSING DATE FOR APPLICATIONS: 31 OCTOBER 1994

For details

- telephone Helen Fruhauf at (011) 716-5534
- fax her at (011) 339-4733
- or write to her at c/o Faculty of Law, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, WITS 2050

IF SOUTH AFRICA'S first batch of democratically elected politicians wants to retain any claim to being the voice of the people, they should now lay to rest all suggestions that Parliament should be moved from Cape Town.

There can simply be no excuse at this stage for proceeding with initiatives to move the legislative capital to Pretoria — or elsewhere — following the findings of major nation-wide survey that virtually every conceivable category of South African favoured Parliament staying put. The independent, scientific poll commissioned by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) found that citizens of all races, regions, languages and political parties (with the exception of the PAC) overwhelmingly backed Cape Town's retaining its status as legislative capital.

The poll found that the majority of respondents (51%) did not want a change to the status quo, while less than a quarter (23%) gave the nod to Parliament moving to Pretoria. A total of 26% of those questioned in the face-to-face study did not have a view on the issue.

Citizens

Perhaps most significantly, support for keeping Parliament in Cape Town was greater than for moving it to Pretoria in every one of South Africa's nine provinces — including the PWV which already hosts the administrative capital and serves as the seat of the powerful Constitutional Court.

The finding is all the more remarkable because the PWV clearly has the most to gain from a further concentration of power in that province.

Pretoria's multi-million rand campaign to wrest Parliament from Cape Town has not made much of an impression on the citizens of the PWV, with Cape Town enjoying a 38% to 30% advantage.

Support for keeping Parliament in its traditional home was significantly stronger in a number of other regions: Northern Cape (82%, with 9% backing Pretoria), Western Cape (81%, 2%), Free State (63%, 12%), Eastern

Cape Town has proved its point on Parliament

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Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Cape (61%, 23%), Eastern Transvaal (47%, 27%), kwaZulu-Natal (46%, 20%), Northwest (46%, 43%) and Northern Transvaal (39%, 23%). Among party supporters, only those of the PAC marginally favoured Pretoria over Cape Town (37% to 26%, with 37% unsure).

The preference for Cape Town over Pretoria was marked among supporters of most other parties: ANC (50%, 27%), National Party (68%, 12%), Inkatha Freedom Party (27%, 24%, with 49% unsure), Freedom Front (62%, 18%), Democratic Party (66%, 13%), and African Christian Democratic Party (50%, 10%).

All race groups overwhelmingly preferred Cape Town over Pretoria: blacks (46%, 28%), whites (66%, 12%), coloureds (73%, 9%) and Indians (31%, 5%, with 66% unsure).

The survey found the same trend among South Africa's various language groups, with Afrikaans, Xhosa and English-speakers in particular favour-

ing Cape Town over Pretoria (70%, 63% and 57% respectively).

In the face of such overwhelming evidence, no politician claiming to be a democrat could continue to push for a further concentration of political power in the PWV province.

Decentralised

President Mandela should take the lead and announce an immediate change in the terms of reference of the ongoing Cabinet probe into governmental and parliamentary arrangements.

The six ministers on the committee should rather busy themselves with a study of how power in South Africa can be further decentralised to the nine provinces.

In line with the spirit of the Constitution, there should be a concerted programme of regional empowerment whereby each province serves as the host of at least one major national institution or umbrella body.

Cape Town 'to lose parliament'

ARL 6/12/94 (304A)

Move north now seems inevitable, top Nats concede

TOS WENTZEL
Staff Reporter

PARLIAMENT will be moved from Cape Town to Pretoria within the next two to three years.

There is strong support for such a move among ANC leaders and top Nationalist politicians today conceded that the move was now inevitable.

Top ANC figures are in favour of Pretoria because many ministers feel that one capital would be more effective.

But the final decision on where parliament will sit will not be taken this year and will not be discussed at tomorrow's cabinet meeting, says Cape Nationalist leader Dawie de Villiers.

Dr De Villiers is acting co-chairman of the cabinet committee which has been appointed to investigate the costs and effectiveness of the present system. He is acting for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who is overseas.

There are deep divisions in the National Party on the issue with some strongly opposing the move and others, especially Roelf Meyer, strongly in favour of parliament going to Pretoria.

In an interview from Pretoria today, Dr de Villiers said the committee's final report would deal with the question of cost-effectiveness and the cabinet would have to take a final decision.

A top Cape Nationalist said today that the south's arguments in favour of keeping parliament here were not "easily quantifiable".

These main arguments were that it was not necessary to duplicate facilities that already existed in Cape Town, and that everything should not be concentrated in the PWV.

He conceded that costs and effectiveness of the system weighed heavily in Pretoria's favour and would be the decisive factor.

While Cape Nationalists are becoming resigned to parliament moving to Pretoria, they say this would not be "the end of the world".

Although the money spent by the large number of out-of-town MPs and officials would be lost, they maintain there are ways of making up for this.

Cape Town, by using the impressive parliamentary facilities, could be developed into an international conference centre.

These Cape Town politicians would now prefer a swift and clear decision to end the present uncertainty — even if it was to be in Pretoria's favour.

They said this would be better than "death by a thousand cuts", which would be the case if parliament was moved north "by instalments" by at first having it meet occasionally in the north.

Burt Reynolds and Loni Anderson in court tussle

American actor Burt Reynolds, below, takes the stand during a child support and visitation rights hearing with his former wife, Loni Anderson, right, in a court in Van

Nuys, Los Angeles.

The couple were divorced in Florida a few months ago.

Superior court judge Robert Letteau is hearing the case.



'Rude, racist' whites slated by minister

ARL 6/12/94

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

LOCAL Government Minister Pieter Marais has accused Somerset West residents of not caring for poor, black communities, and lambasted them for their "rudeness" and undemocratic conduct at a rowdy ratepayers' meeting.



Pieter Marais

He was "disappointed, and unconvinced that their heart is in the right place", he said.

Mr Marais's withering criticism of the residents of the affluent Helderberg town came in an interview last night immediately after the noisy protest meeting in the local town hall at which he, mayor Leon Deacon, and Demarcation Board chairman Fanie Cloete were frequently

"Well, I want to tell them that Khayelitsha is the Biblical Lazarus lying at the rich man's door waiting for crumbs, and they have turned their back on him."

"No black area is poor by choice, and for them (Somerset West whites) to say they support the reconstruction and development programme does not convince me their heart is in the right place."

He noted that black and coloured residents of the town were "conspicuous by their absence".

Mr Marais said he had never seen a government minister treated with "such rudeness".

He was shouted down within a few minutes of beginning his speech, and was forced to abandon the podium. He was given a chance to answer questions later, but was not able to deliver his speech.

Mr Marais was "disappointed", but glad he had agreed to attend the meeting.

"I saw the other side of Somerset West."

and
in over 16



Pretoria argument 'flawed thinking'

CT 12/12/94 (304A)
By CHRIS BATEMAN

PRETORIA'S argument that moving Parliament there would save the country R70 million a year was based on three "dangerous and flawed assumptions" and aimed to strengthen that city's property market.

This was claimed last night by Dr David Bridgman, co-convenor of the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament.

His comments follow findings of a survey released on Friday by Stellenbosch University's Centre for International and Comparative Politics that two-thirds of the country's top decision-makers want Cape Town to remain the site of Parliament.

Dr Bridgman said assumptions of Pretoria's argument were that a new parliament could be built for R385m or less, that much of the cost could be offset by selling Cape Town's parliament-related buildings (R167m) and that it cost over R70m annually to operate parliament in Cape Town.

Pretoria's planners cut so many corners that only a quarter the necessary office space was provided for.

They also omitted to cost MP's housing needs which he estimated would come to R100m in Pretoria.

Seeking the seat of power

Wm 3-9/6/94

(304A)

Chris Louw

CAPE TOWN, Pretoria or Midrand? With South Africa's first democratic elections out of the way, debate is hotting up on the location of the country's new capital.

None of the parties in government has yet taken an official stance. But they all agree that the present system, with Cape Town as the legislative and Pretoria the administrative centre — is untenable.

Under President Nelson Mandela the style of government is expected to change. Parliament and the constitutional assembly will be meeting for between eight and nine months a year, as opposed to six months in the past.

Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer favours Pretoria as the capital. Most top ANC members, however, are based in Johannesburg and prefer Midrand as a compromise.

The present system is an expensive duplication, argue those in favour of a single capital. Adding that Cape Town is far removed from most South Africans and from the country's economic hub, most officials from the De Klerk era seem to feel that Pretoria will be the obvious choice if the capitals are consolidated.

Senior ANC members, including Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo, recently argued in favour of Johannesburg as the new capital. But mandarins from the old establishment counter

that the modern tendency is to separate the capitals from the country's economic heartland.

Midrand has been touted as a compromise, but everything will have to be erected from scratch, they point out.

Pretoria, on the other hand, has the necessary infrastructure, the diplomatic establishment and the civil service. Moving this establishment to a new venue would be prohibitive.

Moving the legislature to Pretoria will only entail the building of a new parliament. In some quarters, the NG Kerk Synod Hall is mentioned as a possible temporary seat for parliament.

Building a new parliament will be unjustifiably expensive, argue those who are against Pretoria. Not so, counter the mandarins from Meintjeskop. Cape Town is not dependent on the civil service; it has the potential to develop tourism as an alternative source of income. Pretoria has no such alternative.

Moreover, state property in Cape Town can be sold to help pay for the erection of a new parliament building in Pretoria. The savings in transport costs will also save the fiscus money.

Close to 80 percent of all parliamentarians are based closer to Pretoria than Cape Town.

In Cape Town the Senate and the National Assembly could house the Western Cape provincial government. The "Grootzaal", Tuynhuts, the President's Council and the offices could be converted into conference facilities.

Zero Hour plus 235 days

WM-312-15195

3044

The government is still asking in the afterglow of the elections. It has delivered many bold ideas — but nothing concrete yet.



HERE was before the airplanes. And there was after. Just before 1pm on Tuesday, 10 May, six South African Air Force jets swept over the Union Buildings in Pretoria, each trailing one of the six colours of the new South African flag.

They were OUR planes, from OUR air force, trailing OUR national colours, over OUR seat of government, in OUR capital city. The crowd gathered in the amphitheatre below — most of whom would never have been allowed near the building in the past — gasped with the realisation that the air force was saluting its new commander-in-chief, President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

It was Zero Hour in the new South Africa.

The end of the year marks Zero Hour plus 235 days — a fitting time to make a sober assessment of the new order. It is more than twice the 100 days Mandela gave himself in his inauguration speech to show progress, and considerably longer than any reasonable honeymoon period.

Yet, the afterglow lingers.

Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo summoned journalists to his plush office in the Union Buildings last week to pre-empt suggestions that there had been little progress in the government of national unity's reconstruction and development programme.

He showed impressively thick business plans for major RDP projects; he outlined the elaborate processes that he had gone through to reach this stage; he spoke of the progress of proper policy formulation, full consultation and the creation of structures to ensure effective delivery; and he blamed poor government communication for the impression that things were moving slowly.

All of which is true and important. What he couldn't show was a house, a sewerage pipe, a borehole, a transformed township, or a new school.

But that hardly seems to matter at the moment. Despite all the pundits warning about heightened expectations at the grassroots and growing impatience among the mass of deprived people, there is little tangible evidence of it.

Mandela himself has been going out of his way to explain why reconciliation was the initial priority of his government, and how it was



essential — and not inimical — to reconstruction. If he did not get the recalcitrant old guard behind the RDP, and undermine resistance to it, there would be precious little progress, he has quite rightly pointed out at any available occasion in the past few weeks.

He and other ANC leaders were clearly worried about the flak they might catch at last weekend's triennial national conference of the ANC, with branch representatives demanding progress on social transformation. It didn't materialise.

Why not? Partly, it is a tribute to the success of the policy of reconciliation, and the extent to which the restoration of relative peace in most of the country is — for the time being — enough to keep people happy. But it is also because the issue of raised expectations and grassroots impatience has been exaggerated.

Opinion polls show high approval ratings for the government. Mandela is universally loved and trusted. There is an instinctive understanding that change is difficult and will take

time. How much time is altogether another question.

Clearly, the new government faces grave difficulties in delivering on its promises to build one million houses, electricity 2.5-million homes, provide 10 years of free and compulsory education for all, create masses of jobs ...

The major obstacle is the civil service — too big, too old guard, too costly, too much apartheid duplication. And the negotiated agreement to protect all civil service jobs — the price of reconciliation — now looks as if it may have been a huge mistake.

Yet, the agreement is to protect jobs, not positions, and to abide by labour legislation in the event of any job terminations. They would have had to do that anyway, so it was not that much of a concession.

In fact, the problem has been the inability of the Commission for Public Administration, headed by Minister Zola Skweyiya, to rise to the challenge of transforming the civil service. He started off the crudest of ways: creating 11 000

affirmative action jobs. It was difficult to see that would transform the service into an effective and efficient one, but anyway the process ground to a halt when he was flooded with two million applications.

The second obstacle was the lack of effective local authorities. These should provide much of the engine of reconstruction at a local level, but elections are only scheduled for late next year — leaving a huge gap in the RDP delivery machinery.

A third factor has been the chaos in some of the provincial governments. Some, notably the Orange Free State, inherited a coherent administration and relative order and were able to get down to business quickly. Others, notably the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal, face the nightmare of unifying three apartheid administrations. Leadership has not always been effective, and progress has been uneven.

Probably the greatest factor of all is the extent to which almost every government department has to be redirected, its resources rechannelled, its structures changed to meet the completely different tasks the new government is setting it. The bulk of Naidoo's work, in fact, is not the showcase 22 presidential projects, but the daily grind of ensuring that departments shift their

●The ANC's greatest achievement has been to unite all sectors of South Africa's highly stratified society behind its reconstruction and development programme●

For the want of a kingdom the cause was lost

W/M 23/12/94 - 3/1/95

(3041)

The softest whispers are often the loudest. The meagre turn-out at the last official Day of the Vow commemorations was a thunderous condemnation of the state of the rightwing, reports **Jan Taljaard**

AT the end of a year of turmoil, trauma and intimations of *volkstaat* born from apocalyptic destruction, all that remained on December 16 were a handful of rather despondent gatherings scattered around the country.

The Freedom Front's senator, Tienie Groenewald, speaking at Newcastle, perhaps summarised it best when he stated: "Our people, especially those in the Transvaal, are no longer cheerful and filled with courage."

The AWB's celebrations at Middelburg in the Transvaal marked the organisation's return to casual comedy when a few horsemen waited in vain for a leader deposited at the wrong airfield.

At Rooihuiskraal outside Pretoria the HNP's die-hard, Jaap Marais, managed to gather 300 people, but that was hardly more than those who attended the HNP's annual congress in May.

Showing a bit of the fiery belligerence that characterised the far right before the elections, Conservative Party leader Ferdie Hartzenberg turned up in Vanderbijlpark the next day to unveil a memorial and to tell supporters that they ought not to pay tax until a *volkstaat* is established. Less than a hundred people were there to listen to the message.

The above was a far cry from December 16 1993 when tens of thousands of rightwingers gathered around the Voortrekker monument in Pretoria to reaffirm the vow in expectation of the establishment of the *volkstaat*.

But all that changed during the next few months with perhaps no other single incident bringing the realities home as much as the sheer horror of three wounded rightwingers being gunned down next to their car on Friday, March 11.

The ill-fated attempt by the rightwing to prop up the teetering Bophuthatswana in March was the true turning point and the beginning of the decline, that would later become a free fall, of the rightwing. Those who still had hope that a *volkstaat* could be resurrected from the ashes of Bophuthatswana, lost that hope when Constand Viljoen turned around a few days later to establish the Freedom Front.

The preceding year had seen a build up of rightwing forces and an unprecedented cohesion among these forces under the guidance of Viljoen and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

Although many observers now like to say that the rightwing had never been a real threat to start with and the threat itself nothing more than hype and rhetoric, bits and pieces of information that had filtered down since suggest otherwise.

With a large part of rural Afrikaners militarised and radicalised at the beginning of the year, any conflict would have been bloody if it had ever come to it.

But too much had come to hinge around the person of Viljoen and the spontaneous following he initially generated. To many he had become the great white hope, the Moses come to lead them to the promised



Rightwing leader Eugene Terre'Blanche waves goodbye to his troops

PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

land. He was the only person who could conceivably cause a split in the ranks of the security forces and arguably the only rightwinger who could lead more than a 100 people into open rebellion.

When rightwing bombs eventually exploded during election week, it hardly caused a panic as Viljoen was no longer part of it.

Even now, Viljoen is adamant that a *volkstaat* could have been taken by force. In a written explanation to supporters shortly after the Bop debacle he was nevertheless just as certain that the rightwing would not have been able to hold on to such a territory:

"... It would be easy to annex or conquer a *volkstaat*, but holding on to what you had conquered — not only on a military level, but also on

financial and other levels — is something that has to be considered carefully. Many members of the controlling structures had come to differ with me regarding our advice and were feeling that the time had come for us to use our military power to gain that which we could not attain on the political front. Even though we are strong on the military level, it is necessary that this strength be exercised as a last resort and that cognisance be taken of the misery that could be the result of military violence, as was the case in Bophuthatswana."

When Viljoen stated in the same explanation that "it is quite possible that people on grassroots level will not always understand why I hold certain points of view, and hold them strongly, even when knowing that these views will not be very popular among our people ...", he himself could not have foreseen the very level of dislike, even hatred, that the hard right would come to harbour against him.

This feeling for Viljoen is now the one unifying factor among the acerbic squabbles of the rightwing. This does not bode well for Viljoen and the FF who need to gather more Afrikaners behind them in their statutory quest for a *volkstaat*.

The way in which the ANC, and especially President Nelson Mandela, have managed to allay white fears since coming to power — even to the extent of risking alienation to form its own powerbase — has also played an integral role in the dissipation of rightwing radicalism.

Perhaps the last words should belong to two lesser known rightwingers who have both, knowingly or unknowingly, been seduced by the fact that the sky did not actually fall on their heads after April 1994.

The first one, from Pretoria, was active as an organiser in the AVF and later in the FF. A few months after virtually being on his way to war he said: "At last we now have a president that we can have some respect for."

The other guy, a real hardline from Warmbaths who had been involved in some of the AWB's earlier attempts to uproot squatters, was even more succinct in his comment: "Fuck politics, I'm going to make some money now."

Volkstaat! But only if rightwingers get down to work

AT the tail end of a surreptitious visit to South Africa, a prominent Dutch rightwinger last week declared South African rightwingers as being "too lazy to work" and "not prepared to do kaffir work".

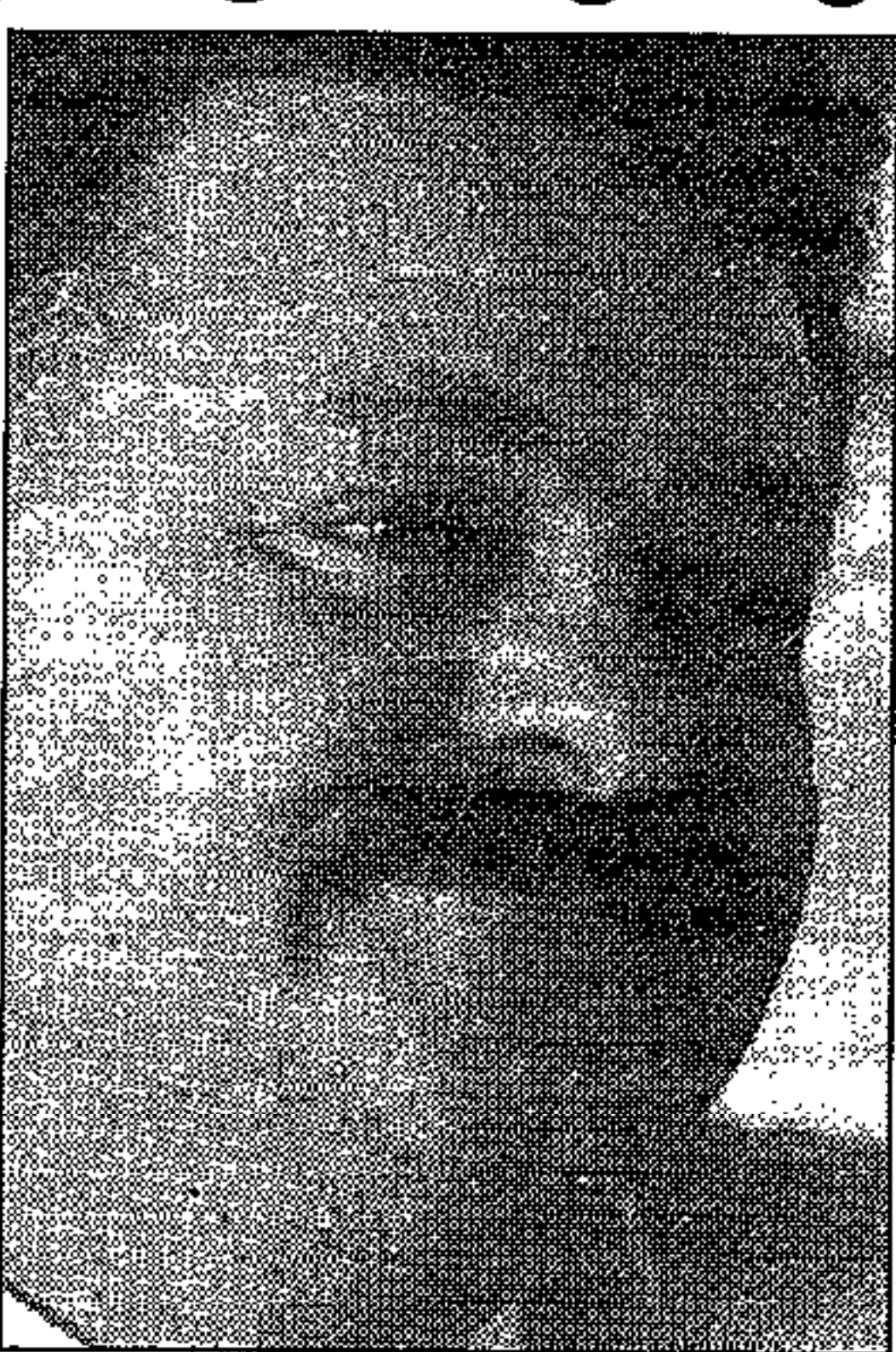
In an exclusive interview with the *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, Henk Ruitenberg (47), chairman of the rightwing CD-86 Party in the Netherlands, spoke frankly about his reasons for visiting South Africa and his impressions of his hosts.

If local rightwingers cannot be taught to do menial tasks themselves, they will always be subservient to the rest of South Africa and will never realise their ideal of a *volkstaat*, Ruitenberg said.

From what he had experienced during his short visit, internal squabbles among rightwingers seems to be another problem in the way of a *volkstaat*.

During a visit to Orania in the North-West province he was surprised to find three different church groupings were actively campaigning against one another. This lack of co-operation does not bode well for the community and he cannot see Orania still existing in three years' time.

According to him, the battle for white supremacy can still be fought in the Netherlands as foreigners are still a minority. Developments in



Henk Ruitenberg: 'Too lazy' W/M 23/12/94 - 3/1/95 South Africa have, however, made a white supremacist solution well nigh impossible.

He also said that he and his party are continuously prosecuted in the Netherlands by the internal security service and that leftwing agitators are funded by the security service to campaign against him.

The slogan of the party, "*Eie volk eerste*" (Own nation first), is frowned upon in the Netherlands and, according to Ruitenberg, can result in a prison sentence when used.

Party propaganda has to be printed in neighbouring Germany and then smuggled back across the borders for dissemination in Holland (3041)

He said that the nature of the prosecution is such that he had to go "underground" three days prior to leaving for South Africa from fear of being detained by the internal security service.

A rightwing colleague from Belgium, Karel Elzen from the Flemish Block, was stopped from coming to South Africa after alleged pressure from his employer.

South Africa was the seventh country visited by Ruitenberg in six months. He said his aim is to make contact with rightwingers across the globe and to investigate avenues of possible co-operation.

During his visit to South Africa he was in contact with officials from the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party. He also addressed a gathering of Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party to commemorate the Day of the Vow.

At least one man among those gathered there must have hankered back to a Europe of old. He was Heinrich Beissner, a 80-year-old regular at BSP meetings, an avowed Nazi, one of the few people still wearing his AWB uniform daily and a man alleged to have flown Stukas on the Eastern Front.

ARG 16/12/94

'IFP is likely to pull out of coalition'

ANN EVELETH

DURBAN. — Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party is likely to pull out of South Africa's coalition government early next year, party officials have told Associated Press.

Speaking on condition of anonymity, three national figures and a provincial official agreed that a withdrawal was being planned. Inkatha's participation in the cabinet has handcuffed it to decisions pushed through by its rival, the dominant African National Congress, one of the sources said.

Under the interim constitution, parties achieving at least five percent of the vote were entitled to join the cabinet, where decisions are made by consensus. The agreement of the major parties to jointly take responsibility in a government of national unity was a key factor in increasing business confidence in South Africa.

Any withdrawal from the government by Inkatha also would raise fears of renewed political violence in the country, and especially in KwaZulu-Natal, where hatreds run deep between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Parks Mankahlana, spokesman for President Nelson Mandela, played down the possibility of any withdrawal, either by Inkatha or the National Party.

"There has been so much talk about the National Party and IFP pulling out of the government, I don't think that the rumours even warrant an investigation," Mr Mankahlana said.

The issue of Inkatha's withdrawal will certainly top the agenda of the party conference in January or February, said Thembinkosi Memela, spokesman for the Inkatha-led provincial government in KwaZulu-Natal.

He said the decision to stay or pull out would depend on "the level of conflict between the ANC and IFP, both nationally and provincially, at that time." — Sapa-AP.

ARG 17-12-1994

Buthelezi: No decision to pull out of government

DURBAN. — Inkatha had not taken any decision to pull out of the government of national unity but had the right to discuss the issue, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said.

"The IFP like any other political party has a right to discuss and debate and consider its participation in the government of national unity," Chief Buthelezi said in a statement yesterday.

He said that given the stresses and strains of working in a GNU, the IFP's national council had "every right to discuss the problems it encounters, how long such a government of national unity will last and

how it as a political party steers a difficult course between constructive participation and constructive opposition.

"The national council of the IFP has not taken any decision to withdraw from the government of national unity," Chief Buthelezi said, adding that options have been discussed "in an academic way which led the IFP's national council to acknowledge that a decision of such importance might warrant the IFP calling a special general conference".

No date had been confirmed for such a conference, he said.

■ To page 2

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Buthelezi: No decision on future of IFP

■ From page 1

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said earlier that "a serious situation has developed in relations between Inkatha and the ANC, both nationally and provincially".

He said from his Empangeni home that Inkatha leaders were particularly unhappy with the delay on international mediation on the constitutional status of the Zulu kingdom.

Mr Jiyane said Inkatha had expected the issue of the Zulu kingdom to have been resolved before next year's local government polls, scheduled for October.

There was also discontent among party members about what they perceived as ANC efforts to undermine the Inkathaleled Kwazulu-Natal government "especially with what they're doing with the king".

"They see the king privately through the national government without the cooperation of provincial leaders, without informing the premier and the provincial government.

"They give the king police and soldiers without the knowledge of the premier. They do what they want, as if we're non-existent."

Other complaints were of ANC "bad faith" in the central govern-

ment, Mr Jiyane said, adding: "They have treated us with disdain."

He said Inkatha had been given the chairmanship of only one parliamentary committee and had been neglected in recent ambassadorial appointments.

Asked to comment on reports that Inkatha could push for the dissolution of the Kwazulu-Natal government and a snap provincial poll because its attempts to govern were being frustrated by the ANC, Mr Jiyane said: "There is a strong opinion in the party that that will be the case, but it's subject to debate and next year's conference." — Reuter.

ARG 17-18/12/94
304(A)

In truth, it could be a sideshow

ONE field in which the new democratic government has surpassed the old apartheid regime is in passing Bills through parliament.

The Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand reports the new parliament is more guilty of rubber-stamping new laws than the old.

But critics argue that all these legislative exertions have done little to improve the lot of ordinary voters.

Instead, like Roman circuses, the proposed Truth and Reconciliation Commission on past political crimes, due to sit next year, could act as a gory sideshow to divert public attention from the government's failure to deliver on its promises.

Analysts say newly elected politicians have processed tons of paper, but have achieved little more.

In the last week before parliament went into recess last month it passed 55 Bills in record time. At the height of the rush nine laws were passed in 30 minutes.

They included three Bills setting up a new spy system, a Bill to restore ground to people forced off their land, a law to legalise foreign banks and the Bill setting up the Volkstaat Council.

But more than seven months since the African National Congress-dominated government of national unity won power little progress has been made on the main pillars of the reconstruction and development programme — building houses and providing jobs. Six billion rands has now been set aside for the RDP for the next financial year.

One Bill that did not go through parliament was the National Unity and Recon-

■ As many South Africans remain jobless, homeless and victims of crime, the proposed Truth Commission could act as a sideshow to help the government divert attention from their real problems.



DAVID BREIER

ciliation Bill which is to set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

It was delayed as the ANC strove to achieve consensus with the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party. The Bill has been softened somewhat — enabling some hearings to be held *in camera*.

Revelations at the commission are likely to become the centre of national attention for some time — diverting public attention from the government's failure to deliver the goods.

Robert Schrire, University of Cape Town political scientist, said he did not believe there was a deliberate move by government to use the Truth Commission to divert public attention from its failings — but he said it could have precisely that effect.

"When a government can't cope with real problems because they are beyond their capacity, they tend to look for areas where they can do something," he said. This applied especially to Minister of Justice Dullah Omar, who has pushed vigor-

ously for the Truth Commission.

"Number one, two and three tasks of a minister of justice are to ensure that the justice system is working at all levels in the police, the prisons and the courts.

"There is a clear commitment to ending the crimewave. But since the minister of justice is incapable of doing it, he has picked an easy target of very little concern to 99 percent of the people.

"In modern terminology: trivia drives out substance," Professor Schrire said.

He compared the South African government tactic to that of President Clinton in the United States. When faced with critical inner-city problems, Mr Clinton focused instead on gay rights in the army.

"The bottom line is, the government has two priorities. One is to get the economy moving; the other is to restore the first task of government — law and order. Everything else is a sideshow," Professor Schrire said.

"I have no problem with closing the book on the past, but the huge emphasis on making this a priority will not solve the other problems. Instead, it will deflect attention from burning issues," he said.

Public opposition to the Truth Commission was illustrated recently when a Stellenbosch University survey of top opinion makers showed that outside the ANC most elite South Africans felt the commission would aggravate conflict.

But Mr Omar dismissed the finding, saying: "I don't regard these people as opinion-makers. Who are they? Have they gone to a single township?"

■ David Breier is a senior member of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

Nissen complains of obstacles

304-A

ARG. 1912194

WESTERN Cape leader of the African National Congress, Chris Nissen, has lashed out at bureaucratic obstacles in the way of provincial ministers.

Guidelines for the operation of the provincial executive committee were compiled by public servants from the previous regime.

"As a result, ministers are not given enough autonomy."

The cry of frustration is among several in Mr Nissen's report to the ANC national conference.

He said the existing public service was "oblivious" to changes in South Africa.

The allocation and status of senior posts was done without consultation.

The absence of powers for provinces was "severely debilitating".

"We are unable to fulfil our responsibilities to our constituents."

Mr Nissen said it seemed there was no coherent strategy for establishing provincial governments and restructuring the public service.

"The national government and especially the Minister of Public Service (Zola Skweyiya) should have played a more meaningful role.

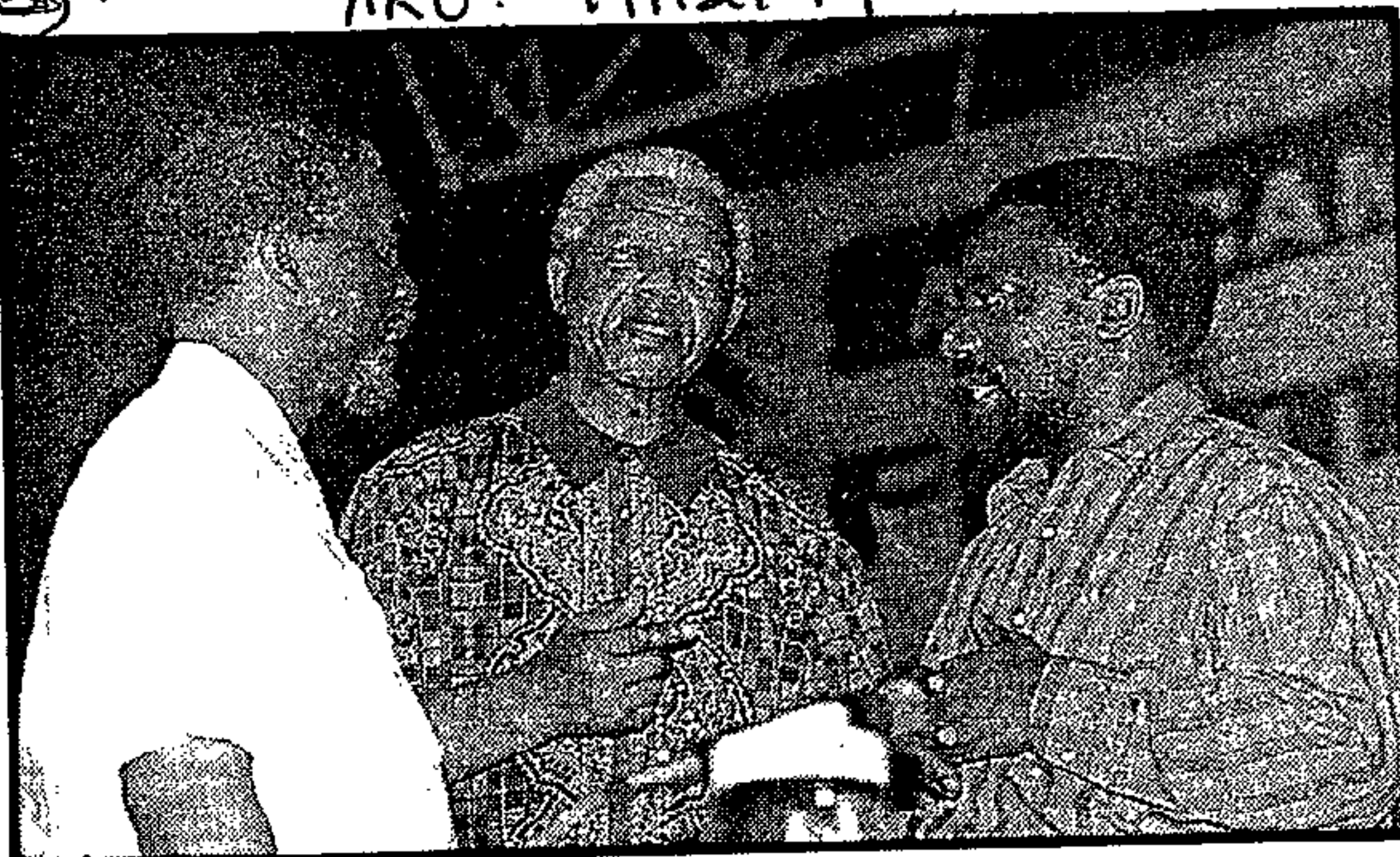
"The fact that we dragged our feet in implementing change or developing a strategy from a national perspective allowed the existing bureaucrats to entrench themselves and take charge of the process."

He said strategic management team members, who were to establish new departments and restructure existing ones, had "clearly been sidelined" in the process of restructuring by the acting director-general and his officials.

"The fact that we, so soon after the elections, closed down ANC structures dealing with civil service units nationally and in the provinces was possibly a fundamental mistake."

Mr Nissen said in his report that the immediate priority for the ANC in the Western Cape was to set up local government election structures.

The movement would try its best to



CONFERRING: President Nelson Mandela confers with the ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki, left, and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, right, at the conference in Bloemfontein.

unite democratic forces in the province. Other plans were for improving the organisation generally, and creating an "efficient and user-friendly membership system".

Taxi violence and violence in squatter areas had to be defused and eradicated. The violence was "bedevilling our very ability to organise and to do our work".

In a separate report, Mr Nissen said the ANC was determined to learn from what happened in the April election, to be well prepared for local government elections.

There were 28 497 paid-up ANC members in the Western Cape and a total of 73 319.

Mirroring problems of the ANC at national level, policy departments of the ANC in the province lacked finance and organisational support, and there was a lack of clarity about their future roles.

● Thabo Mbeki says it is in whites' own interest to help deracialise South Africa because it will bring peace and stability.

Deracialisation was not a threat to whites.

"The process of emancipation of the black majority is not anti-white," Mr Mbeki yesterday told the ANC national conference.

The ANC would have to determine which forces were in favour of change and which were against, and defeat or weaken reactionary forces.

He said white soldiers, police and business people had not yet been won over by the ANC.

They continued to represent the interests of the old society which the ANC wanted to end.

The country and the economy had to be transformed to ensure there was peace.

Deracialisation of the economy meant an end to white domination of wealth, access to opportunities, and skills.

The democratic revolution had ended white domination of the executive, but had not yet eliminated it in all areas of government.

The management and decision-makers of the police, prison services and judiciary were white.

The process of transforming these institutions would not be easy.

'Self-rule still main aim'

PIETERSBURG. — Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said today self-determination for the Afrikaner would remain his party's main aim in 1995. (304A) CT 19/12/94

In a Christmas and New Year's message, he said a formula for peaceful co-existence with the rest of South Africa would have to be negotiated.

"Our aim is to develop the road of peace with the rest of South Africa to ensure a century of prosperity and tolerance," he said. — Sapa

Ramaphosa admits debts are 'huge'

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The ANC has "massive debts" — reliably understood to total about R70 million — its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said yesterday.

About R10 million of this debt was incurred in the ANC's unsuccessful election campaign in the Western Cape.

"Yes, we do have financial difficulties," Mr Ramaphosa said at a press conference at the ANC's conference here on the campus of the University of the Orange Free State.

"As is common with all political parties, we are still addressing problems of the massive debts incurred after the elections."

Although he declined to disclose the amount of the debt, it was established yesterday that it is in the region of R70 million.

ANC insiders said yesterday that although ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had been given numerous

promises of financial support during his overseas visits, many of these had not been delivered to the ANC.

The ANC said in a confidential document, circulated among delegates but not released to the press, that its structures were "having to operate in an environment where foreign funding has dwindled to a trickle".

"The years of illegality have bred a dependence on external funding," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said in his report to the conference said the problems encountered by the ANC's finance department included:

- "Lack of financial discipline at head office and in the regions.

- The Youth League and Women's League did not adhere to financial controls.

- Sources of finance had dried up since the election.

Mr Ramaphosa also told delegates that the ANC needed to develop "a culture of contribution towards the organisation".

ANC's local Govt votes plan

(3044) 27/11/74

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

THE ANC is to launch a major drive in the New Year to broaden its racial base.

This follows the shock disclosure in a confidential ANC document that 97% of the 12.2 million people who voted for it in the April 27 election were African, with only 2% of its support coming from coloured voters, 0.75% from Indians and a minuscule 0.25% from whites.

The new campaign to make the ANC more representative in preparation for next year's local government elections was announced over the weekend by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

It coincided with disclosures of serious organisational problems in the ANC and "massive debts" understood to total R70m.

In his opening address to 3 000 delegates and scores of international observers at the ANC's national conference here on the campus of the University of the Free State, Mr Mandela frankly acknowledged that the election exposed a number of "serious weaknesses" in the ANC's organisation, tactics and appeal to minority groups.

Of special significance was the extent to which particularly poorer sections of the coloured and Indian communities found solace in the racist mobilisation of the National Party and voted in a manner that demonstrated fear of their counterparts among Africans.

The ANC said in a confidential document, circulated to delegates but not distributed to the press: "We need to examine the effect of the composition of the ANC sup-

port on our policies, our organisational capacity, our coherence and our unity.

"In this, we need to examine not only the ethnic composition of the ANC, but our class, gender, religious and cultural composition.

"Our failure to have minorities participating in the structures of the movement in a substantial way has limited our capacity to unite a broad section of the South African population behind our programme," the document said.

INSIDE

● W Cape ANC was 'chaotic'
● Ramaphosa admits debts are 'huge'
● Address policies on women

● Search for consensus on top positions
● MPs' performance 'not up to scratch'
● Assembly, Senate tension warning

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a press conference the organisation would launch an action plan early next year to improve its appeal among minority groups.

He said this was a task that had to involve the entire movement.

ANC national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki told the congress that since the organisation was fighting for a non-racial and non-sexist society it should be non-racial and non-sexist in its composition and character.

Turning to the problems

facing the ANC, Mr Mandela told delegates the financial state of the ANC was a matter of serious concern.

The organisation would have to eliminate wastage and lack of financial discipline at all levels.

"Seldom before have we experienced such dislocation as in the few months after the election.

"We were disorganised and behaved in a manner that could have endangered the revolution."

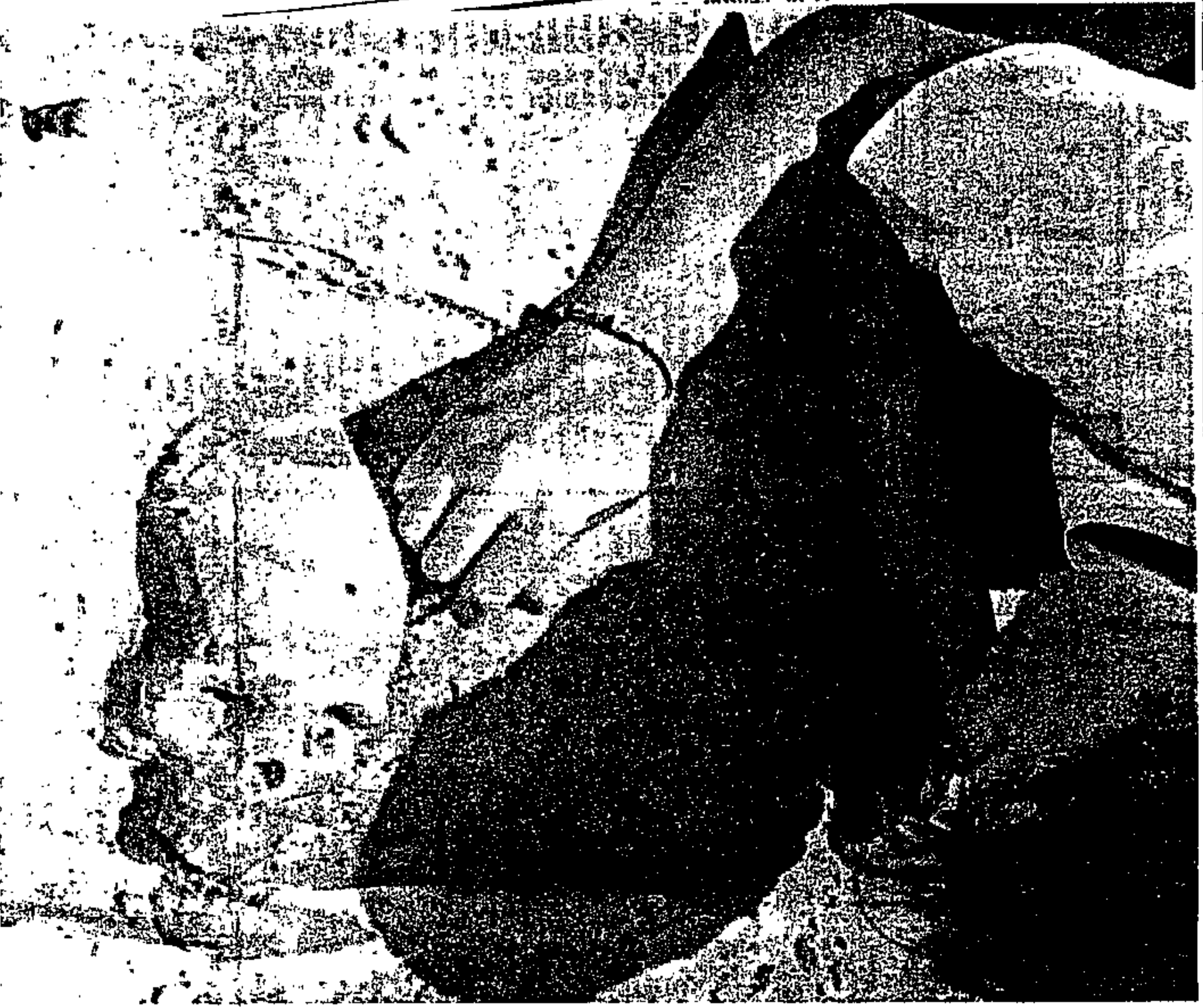
This was underlined in the confidential ANC document, which said it was essential for the ANC to introduce proper management of its financial and other assets. Stricter control mechanisms would have to be introduced and the ANC had to "eradicate mismanagement and gross negligence in the handling of our meagre resources".

It also said ANC leadership's failure to take action against those who had breached the principles of the organisation contributed "to a general mood of ill-discipline" which had not only proved embarrassing for the organisation but had also hampered the proper functioning of its structures.

Mr Ramaphosa told delegates: "Discipline has been a problem in our organisation and we all know it."

Although ANC leaders openly admitted the organisation faced serious problems, they were also unanimous that its sweeping election victory demonstrated that it was the dominant political force in South Africa.

Mr Ramaphosa said: "This is a very happy conference. There are no areas of dispute. We admit we have our weaknesses and problems. We have to grapple with these."



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year, ministerial colleagues believe.

304.A
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Master plan for non-racial, non-

A master plan for transforming South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist society has been unveiled at the African National Congress national conference.

The "strategy and tactics" document calls for the ANC to lead the country into a new phase of revolution.

The ANC had to remain a mass-based movement, taking into its ranks all who accepted its policies and aims.

Introducing the document yesterday, ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki warned against the movement being used by opportunists to get careers in government.

And he warned against the movement allowing itself to shed support to populist parties.

The document said the strategic objective of the ANC was the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society.

"This, which visualises the reconstruction and development of South Africa, can only be achieved through struggle."

Affirmative action and striving for national unity were key elements of the transformation.

The ANC had to build its organisational capacity.

Each part of the alliance of the ANC, SA Communist Party and Congress of SA Trade Unions had to mobilise people

for the defence of the democratic revolution, implementation of the RDP and mobi-

sation of people for fundamental transformation of the country."

The government, unions, civics and the private sector should be formed into an alliance to build a national consensus on transforming the economy.

Economic objectives included ending South Africa's status as a net exporter of capital, ending monopoly domination of the economy, making all sectors competitive and integrating South Africa into the global economy.

Threats to national unity included uneven socio-economic development and disparities among provinces.

These disparities were a threat to co-operation be-

tween, central and provincial government.

The ANC should promote a constitution and political framework designed to boost patriotism and a national perspective.

The masses had to be involved in government.

"We must pay great attention to issues of local government in urban and rural areas to ensure the new democracy we are still building has strong and representative elected and administrative structures at local level."

The ANC had to ensure it was seen as one movement, not split into sections, like MPs and extra-parliamentary or national and local wings. Internationally, the ANC

should contribute to a new world order, based on human solidarity, which recognised that the survival of the world depended on the survival and development of all its people.

Other points made at the conference were:

● The National Party will be marginalised if it withdraws from the government of national unity, says African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC was "not overly concerned" by "noises" from the NP and Inkatha Freedom Party about pulling out of the government.

"It is in their own interests to be part of it," Mr Ramaphosa said. But he made it clear the ANC objective was

simple majority rule when the 1999 constitution came into force.

The government of national unity, a coalition executive based on proportional representation, was proposed by the ANC at Kempton Park constitutional talks.

Mr Ramaphosa said he was confident it would last while the interim constitution was in effect.

● Umkhonto weSizwe regional commands had been kept operative to enable the call-up of MK soldiers for integration into the new defence force when their turn came, ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said.

A number of MK soldiers were not at assembly camps because the defence force

sexist SA

could not process them all at once.

The next intake of recruits for integration would be in March or April next year.

● The SA National Civic Organisation, seen by many as an ANC ally, should not fight next year's local government elections as a political party, Mr Mbeki said.

Admitting there had been tension between Sanco and the ANC, Mr Mbeki said talks had been held in past months about interim municipal government and next year's local elections.

He said civics ought to represent everyone, irrespective of political affiliation, though it was possible some Sanco members would want to stand as ANC candidates.

Govt 'hamstrings'

Evergreens

'can fight off colds'

OTTAWA — Evergreens indoors give off chemical vapours that knock cold germs out of the air, a research scientist of the Canadian forestry service said here.

Russian-born Dr Vladimir Smirnov extracted germ-fighting substances from the air of rooms decorated with Christmas trees or just evergreen branches. He identified them as thujone, limonene and fenchone.

In a report to the government, Dr Smirnov particularly recommends evergreen extracts for poorly ventilated work-places, but adds people could benefit also from evergreen branches in their homes.

Homefinder tomorrow

DON'T miss Homefinder, free with the Cape Times tomorrow. To give homebuyers additional time to shop around, Homefinder is being carried on Wednesday until the end of the year, reverting to both mid-week Homefinder and Friday Homefinder in the first week of January.

Crack of dawn



On the other hand it

Threat to slash Christ painting

By VETIE VAN BREDA

A PAINTING on display in St George's Cathedral depicting Christ afflicted with AIDS has provoked a threat to slash the work of art.

American artist Mr W Maxwell Lawton, who is HIV-positive, said he had been called blasphemous, communist and heretic by critics of the painting, which will probably be housed in the cathedral. He said people had come to the church threatening to spit on the painting and destroy it in the three weeks he worked on it in the new wing of the cathedral.

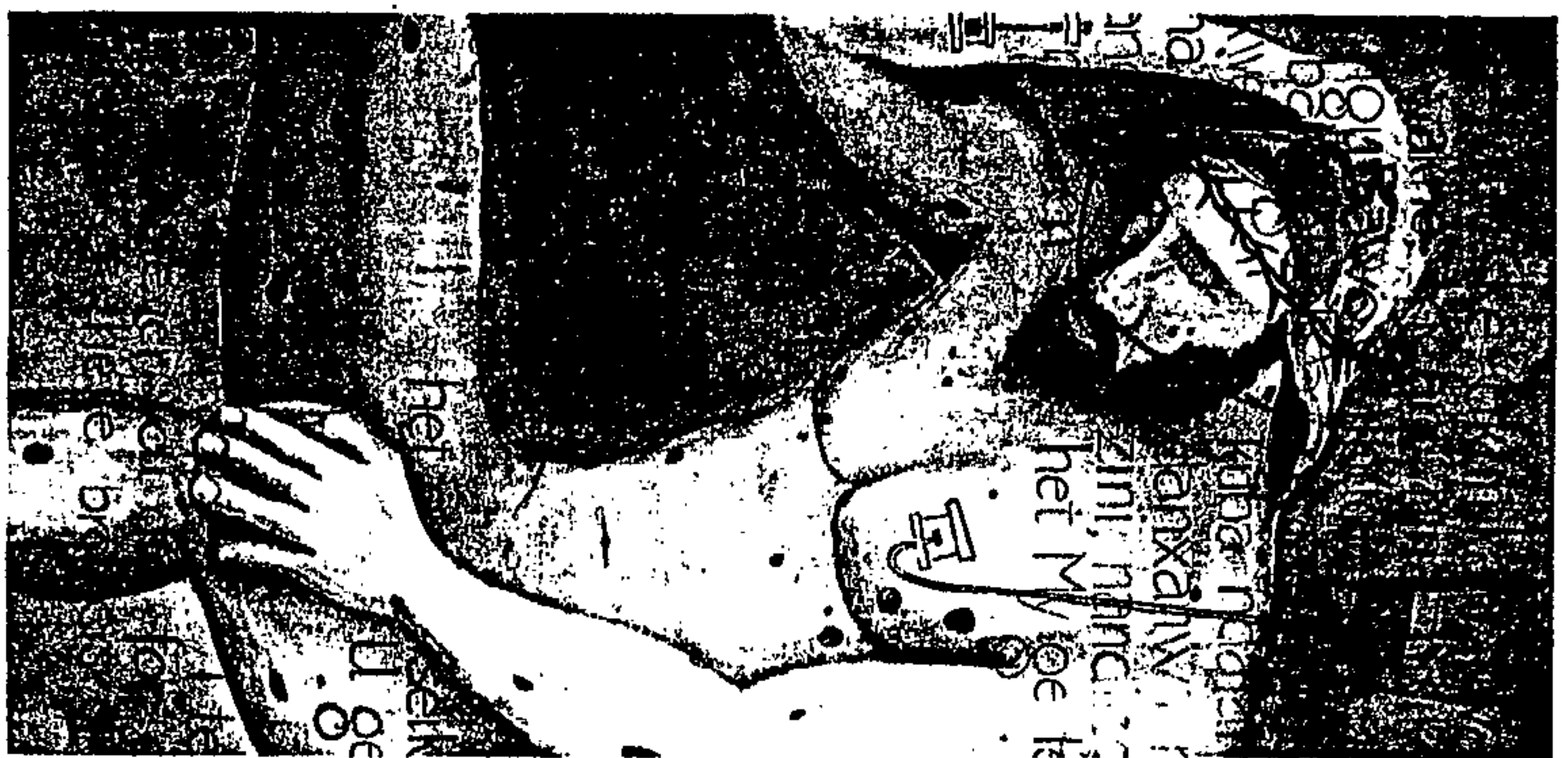
However, most people have been supportive and complimentary of the picture which shows a leprosy-riddled Christ with intravenous drips and an oxygen tube up his nose, said the cathedral's sub-dean Mr Chris Ahrends.

"It's a very meditative work which holds an important message and makes incredible statements," he said. It would be used for AIDS awareness campaigns.

Mr Ahrends said the church supported a recently-coined phrase "Our church has AIDS" because "Christ suffers in each person including those with AIDS".

Admitting that he intended "to shock", Mr Lawton said the message of the painting was "theologically correct". People who knew the scriptures of the Bible appreciated the painting but those who did not were critical, Mr Lawton said.

"It's a wake-up call to the church. Fight AIDS, not people... it's not people... it's AIDS."



CONTROVERSIAL CHRIST ... This painting by W Maxwell Lawton, which depicts Christ as an AIDS victim, is on display at St George's Cathedral until the end of the year.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Angry government ministers yesterday slammed "unsympathetic" white male civil servants in key positions who they claimed are hampering their efforts to govern.

The ministers' frustration emerged from confidential reports discussed at the ANC conference here.

In the reports ministers said they were being "hamstrung" and even "sympathetic" by an unsympathetic civil service dominated in key positions by white men.

They expressed their anger as demands from a number of regions grew yesterday for a review of the constitutional job guarantee for civil servants. The ministers stressed the urgent need to speed up affirmative action to transform the "too pale and too male" character of the public service.

Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister Dr Pato Jordan complained in his report, circulated to ANC delegates (but not the media) here, that the culture of his department was "that of Afrikaner males, some with strong commitments to the past".

He said: "It is virtually impossible to develop relationships of trust between myself and most senior staff, adding that on taking over the ministry he found only one black — a messenger."

"The guarantees we have accepted for incumbent civil servants remain an obstacle to any serious restructuring and the dearth of qualified blacks to fill upcoming posts means that we will have to make do with what we have got," Dr Jordan said.

The Minister of Public Service and Administration, Dr Zola Skweyiya, noted in his report to the conference that a public service dominated, especially at higher levels, by white men "is one of the greatest challenges we face in transforming the public service to a representative organisation that will reflect the multi-cultural

mission would have to establish new criteria for hiring, promotion, training and grading as well as create a completely new classification system that would ensure that blacks were accorded priority attention.

The FSC would also have to embark upon "intensive recruiting drives focusing on candidates from disadvantaged communities".

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise complained that there were still "significant numbers of former SADF personnel who are finding it difficult and do not want to change to the new democratic society".

Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi said: "The extent of grievances around personnel matters is a legacy of apartheid injustices, with black members of the SADF having been severely disadvantaged."

CIVIL SERVICE TOO PALE AND TOO MALE — MINSTER

One of the burning issues at the ANC conference is the groundswell of demands that the ANC force a review of job security for civil servants negotiated at the multi-party constitutional talks in the run-up to the April election.

A resolution submitted by the Western Cape calling for "the constitution to be amended to abolish job guarantees" captures the mood of delegates from a number of regions.

However, ANC negotiators — including secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa — have acknowledged that it would be difficult for the ANC to wriggle out of the sunset clause provision.

Three provincial ANC leaders — Mr Chris Nissen of the Western Cape, Mr Tokyo Sexwale of Gauteng and Mr Patrick Lekota of the Free State — have also complained in their provincial reports to the conference that job guarantees were hampering the needed transformation of provincial bureaucracies. And two ANC women deputy ministers — Deputy Minister of



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Culture, Science and Technology Mrs Winnie Mandela — complained of the way their ministers were treating them.

Ms Msane said the Minister of Agriculture, Dr Krasel van Niekert, had agreed to the principle of having regular meetings with her before and after cabinet meetings but this was "not yet a satisfactory practice". She also said the principle of consultation and information exchange between Dr Van Niekert, the department and herself before any major announcements and decisions had been agreed but had not happened.

Mrs Mandela said there had been problems in the relationship of the advisory group of experts and the minister, Dr Ben Ncube. She said the advisory group had been "severely critical of unilateral action on the part of the minister, who has in turn been unwilling to take criticism".

Self-rule main aim for 'volk'

Sowetan 20/12/94

■ **FREEDOM FRONT** 'In the end, our

salvation is in the hands of God':

FREEDOM Front leader General Constand Viljoen yesterday said self-determination for the Afrikaner would remain his party's main aim in 1995.

In a Christmas and New Year's message, he said a formula for peaceful coexistence with the rest of South Africa would have to be negotiated.

"Our aim is to develop the road of peace with the rest of South Africa to ensure a century of prosperity and tolerance. The foundation of that century is now being formulated," he said.

He added that the FF would strive towards political self-determination in a "territorial area of areas".

"We will also have to negotiate cultural self-determination on the local level for our Afrikaner communities to formulate peaceful grassroots coexistence with the rest of South Africa.

"Continued conflict benefits no-one," he added.

Viljoen said the FF had offered an enormous and valued contribution towards the April elections to

ensure a spirit of reconciliation between Afrikaners and other groups.

"We have walked this path with dignity. But a secure future, economic stability and true reconciliation can only be obtained by self-determination for the Afrikaner people." (304A)

He said it did not require great vision to predict the continuation of the psychological and political degeneration of the Afrikaner's self-respect.

Labour opportunities would be minimised which would result in increased poverty, while their language and culture would be held in contempt, he said.

"But 1995 also promises hope. We must stand up, consolidate and take on the future."

"We will have to work towards the reconstruction of our people. Our younger people must become entrepreneurs because our welfare is dependent on our contribution to the economic growth of South Africa.

"And in the end, our salvation is in the hands of God," General Viljoen said.

Countdown to own to council elections

THE countdown to South Africa's local government elections has begun with the announcement of a master plan that should have 22 million voters ready in October to choose the bodies which will replace hundreds of town and city councils.

The plan, unveiled yesterday by the co-chairman of the Task Group on Local Government Elections, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, sets deadlines for drawing up the first comprehensive voters' roll which will be used in the ballot.

It also sets out polling regulations and the role transitional local authorities, which will run local affairs until the election, will have to play.

No final date for voting has been set but it is expected that the election will take place before the end of October and that the voters' roll will be ready by the end of August.

Regulations on the preparation of the voters' roll will be promulgated by all provincial governments by January 1. In terms of the plan announced yesterday, transitional authorities must begin registering voters no later than January 27.

After that, transitional authorities will have just 90 days to prepare the first draft of their voters' rolls which, after inspections, will have to be completed within about 12 weeks.

Referring to the nomination and finalisation of candidates, the regulations stipulate:

- The returning officer should invite nominations 100 days before the elections;

- Party and ward candidates should apply for nomination 80 days before the election; and

- A final list of candidates should be drawn up 40 days before the election.

One of the most significant changes in the new set of regulations is the broadened definition of "address".

The task group's Paddy Roome said people would no longer need fixed street addresses to vote in a particular metropolitan area or ward.

All they would need were "significantly precise addresses" enabling the local government to allocate the area in which they would be entitled to vote, said Mr Roome.

"It has imposed an obligation on local government to identify areas with no addresses and to establish zones so that the areas can be identified," he said.

The change is designed to facilitate voting in squatter areas where there are no defined streets or readily identifiable addresses.

But the onus is on voters to ensure that they are on the roll, although the responsibility for registering them remains with the local authority.

Task group co-chairman Kehla Shubane said people who had property in one area but lived in another would be able to decide where they wanted to vote.

Also, because of the voters' roll, people would not be able to register in two areas, he said.

The cost of the elections has not yet been determined, but Dr Slabbert said the central government would bear the bulk of the expense, while provincial and local governments had to work out how much they could contribute.

Referring to the regulations, he said: "These should be the cranking-up mechanisms to get the process going. The engine is purring, but we just have to get the process going now."

22 million in local polls

Political Staff

2016 (A)

ARG 16/12/94

Nzo names 16 envoys

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PRETORIA. — Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo today announced the names of 16 new ambassadors and high commissioners to present their credentials to foreign countries and organisations.

"You will all agree that the task on the shoulders of these men and women before you will be to ensure that the countries to which they have been posted will make it possible for us to consolidate relations to our mutual benefit," Mr Nzo told a news conference at the Union Buildings.

The list includes eight contract appointments and eight officials from the foreign affairs department.

President Nelson Mandela's former

personal secretary Barbara Masekela is the only woman appointed an ambassador — to France.

"This is the first group of officials. I am sure as we go along the process you will see that we have paid attention to the gender question," Mr Nzo said in answer to a question about the appointment of only one woman.

The ambassadors and high commissioners announced today were:

United States: Franklin Sohn — former rector of Peninsula Technikon, SABC board member.

Canada: Billy Modise — former ANC chief representative in Sweden, SABC

board member, Matla Trust executive director.

United Kingdom: Mendi Msimang — former ANC chief representative in London and India, chairman of the ANC parliamentary caucus.

France: Barbara Masekela — President Mandela's former personal secretary, served on the ANC negotiations commission and declined nomination to parliament. Former head of the ANC arts and culture desk.

Mozambique: Mangisi Zitha — former chief minister of Kangwane.

Netherlands: Zac de Beer — former leader of the Democratic Party, former executive director of Anglo American Corp.

former ANC chief representative in Botswana, official in Mr Nzo's department.

Indonesia: Piere Dietrichsen — foreign affairs official.

Namibia: Stanley Mabizela — chief director of foreign affairs under Mr Nzo, formerly ANC personnel training co-ordinator.

Nigeria: George Nene — former ANC chief representative in Nigeria, official in Mr Nzo's department.

Singapore: Hennie de Klerk — former South African ambassador in Canada.

Zimbabwe: Jeremiah Mamabolo — former ANC chief representative in Mozambique, Cuba and Zimbabwe, official in Mr Nzo's ministry.

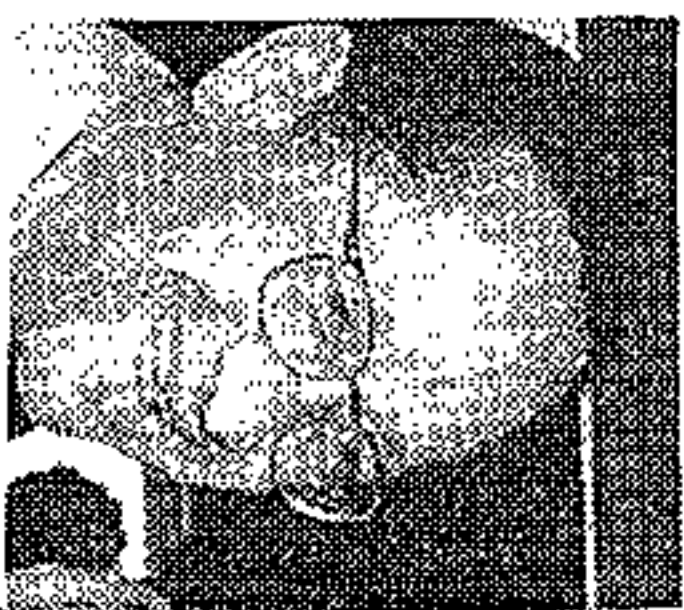
United Nations (New York): Josiah Jele — member of parliament and former World Peace Council director of international affairs.

UN (Geneva): Allan Boesak — former president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, former ANC Western Cape chairman, former Western Cape economic affairs minister.

Bulgaria: Tim Maseko — member of parliament, served as ANC chief representative in Denmark, an official in Mr Nzo's department.

Egypt: Justus de Goede — former foreign affairs training officer, charge d'affaires in Cairo.

Ethiopia and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU): Welile Nhlapo — for-



Franklin Sohn



Alan Boesak



Barbara Masekela



Zac de Beer

for abroad

sday, December 8 1994 ★

Parliament stays till public debate

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has told diplomats no decision will be taken on a possible move of Parliament before the issue has been aired in "public debate".

Mr Mandela said he had "an open mind" on the siting of Parliament, when European Union ambassadors quizzed him on the topic during a recent meeting, diplomatic sources said.

Sources close to the President and the cabinet said yesterday the matter was far from resolved.

A cabinet minister told the Cape Times there were far more pressing issues for the government to be concerning itself with at this stage.

The 311-member ANC caucus resolved earlier this year that it would not countenance any attempt by the cabinet to take a decision that bypassed MPs or Senators in Parliament.

The Cape-based Citizens Alli-

No decision yet, says Mandela

ance for Parliament (CAP) yesterday strongly disputed reports this week that Parliament will definitely move to Pretoria.

CAP spokesperson Dr David Bridgman said no decision had been taken and the matter had not even been debated in any decision-making forum. The alliance said the report had been leaked by the pro-Pretoria lobby to influence public opinion.

He said independent surveys showed most people wanted Parliament to stay in Cape Town.

"If and when a debate is held in an empowered forum such as the Constitutional Assembly or one

of its theme committees, CAP will submit evidence in favour of Cape Town and it will also conduct a most vigorous campaign which we are convinced will persuade the relevant decision-makers not to meddle with this most sensitive issue," he said.

He added that figures produced by the Pretoria lobby, suggesting it would be cheaper to locate Parliament in Pretoria rather than Cape Town were "fatally flawed".

Meanwhile, the Parliamentary Staff Association has decided to test the views on the capital issue among the hundreds of workers in Parliament and send the results to the cabinet committee currently examining the issue.

The chairperson of the Association, Mr Hector Tshabalala, said yesterday that members had signalled their opposition to moving Parliament at a meeting earlier this year with the Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Frene Ginwala.

Speaker's Vow

CT 9/12/94 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MORE than 700 parliamentary staff members yesterday signalled their resounding opposition to any attempt to move Parliament from Cape Town.

The workers, many of them union members, broke into tumultuous applause when National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala said they would have to be consulted on any proposal to move the legislature to Pretoria.

Addressing an end-of-year function for parliamentary staff, she promised she would make representations to the cabinet urging that Parliament and its workers be fully consulted on the sensitive issue.

"We need to be consulted before a decision is taken," she said to roars of approval.

Dr Ginwala said if Parliament moved it would mean that many of the staff which rendered excellent service to the institution would also be lost.

President of the Senate Mr Kobie Coetsee endorsed the Speaker's comments about the need for the cabinet to consult parliamentary staff about matters directly affecting them.

He said to enthusiastic applause that while some believed that it was the politicians who kept the "the mighty wheels of South Africa" running, the parliamentary staff played a major role.

"Thank you for what you do so well — it is highly appreciated," he told hundreds of interpreters, translators, secretaries, clerks, typists, printers, messengers, cleaners and catering staff.

Chairperson of the Parliamentary Staff Association Mr Hector Tshabalala said questionnaires would be distributed among staff members next week to gauge their attitude to a possible move.

The findings would be forwarded to the cabinet committee charged with examining the cost, efficiency and siting of Parliament. The committee has not completed its investigation.

Meanwhile, the Cape Town-based Citizens Alliance for Parliament served notice yesterday that it was gearing up for "a vigorous campaign" to fight for the Mother City to retain the legislature.

● During the ceremony in the Parliamentary dining hall, Dr Ginwala and Mr Coetsee paid tribute to the retiring serjeants-at-arms of the National Assembly and Senate, Mr Johan Loubser and Mr Piet Schuin. Mr Tshabalala, chairperson of the Staff Association and a Hansard reporter, has been appointed acting serjeant-at-arms in the Senate.

Sixteen diplomats appointed

CT9/12/94

(304A)

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday announced the appointment of 16 South Africans — including three Capetonians — as ambassadors and high commissioners abroad.

They include former Democratic Party leader **Dr Zach de Beer** (now living in Clifton), who is to be ambassador to the Netherlands.

Former Peninsula Technikon rector **Professor Franklin Sonn** will succeed **Mr Harry Schwarz** as ambassador to the United States.

And after months of speculation, former Western Cape ANC chairman and Economic Affairs Minister **Dr Allan Boesak** was confirmed as permanent UN representative in Geneva.

The only woman appointee was ANC national executive member **Ms Barbara Masekela** as ambassador to France.

The other appointees are ANC national executive member and former ANC representative in London, **Mr Mendi Msimang**, as high commissioner in Britain; **Matla Trust** executive director **Mr Bill Modise**, as high commissioner in Canada; ANC MP **Mr Josiah Jele**, as permanent representative at the UN in New York; **Kangwane** former Chief

Minister **Mr Mangisi Zitha**, as ambassador to Mozambique; former ANC envoy to Denmark **Mr Timothy Maseko**, as ambassador to Bulgaria; former charge d'affaires in Cairo **Mr Justus de Goede**, as ambassador to Egypt; former ANC head of political affairs **Mr Welile Nhlapo**, as permanent representative at the OAU in Ethiopia; Department of Foreign Affairs policy director **Mr Pierre Dietrichsen**, as ambassador to Indonesia; former ANC personnel co-ordinator **Mr Buzwa Mabizela**, as high commissioner in Namibia; former ANC envoy to Nigeria **Mr Siphonene**, as high commissioner in Nigeria; former ambassador to Canada **Mr Hennie de Klerk**, as high commissioner in Singapore; former ANC envoy to Mozambique, Cuba and Zimbabwe **Mr Jeremiah Mamabolo**, as high commissioner in Zimbabwe.

The demise of the 'CP' ^{304A} in disguise ^{WM 9-14/12/94}

The relaunch of the Afrikaner Volksfront appears to be little more than a damp squib, reports **Jan Taljaard**

THE once-influential Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) — relaunched last weekend after its demise in the wake of the April election — has been dismissed as "the Conservative Party in disguise".

At a press conference held to launch the "restructured" AVF, AVF president and Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg reinforced the view that the AVF has little future as an independent and viable power bloc.

The AVF's newly elected executive committee is dominated by prominent CP members. The leadership also omitted to divulge the names of any of its "more than 30 member organisations". Freedom Front spokesman Chris Landman reacted immediately by calling the organisation "the CP in disguise".

This year the CP has already had to contend with criticism from within its own ranks on the issue. Delegates to CP congresses have accused the party of keeping an unnecessary and expensive duplication of the party alive.

Those in favour of the continued existence of the AVF defended it by saying a representative umbrella body of Afrikaner parties was necessary. It was with this umbrella organisation in mind that the AVF was last Saturday "restructured" and a new executive elected.

Dr Willie Snyman, also deputy leader of the CP, was elected deputy president of the AVF. Among the other seven members of the executive were Daan Nolte, former CP MP; Koos Kemp, CP spokesman and former CP town council member; and Fanie du Venage, CP youth leader.



AVF president and CP leader **Ferdi Hartzenberg**

It was a far cry from the heady pre-election days when the AVF was widely regarded as the biggest threat to the transitional process.

When General Constand Viljoen and colleagues such as General Tienie Groenewald left the AVF to establish the Free-

dom Front, the organisation was left rudderless, allowing the CP to establish total sway over the organisation.

The CP takeover started in January this year when control of the organisation was wrested from the generals at a heated mass meeting attended by thousands of emotional rightwingers. On that day the CP managed to get all its MPs elected to the executive, bringing the AVF under its virtual control.

Under the leadership of Viljoen and other former generals, the AVF had made major strides towards rightwing unity, combining almost all the paramilitary and political forces of the disgruntled right. Several factors eventually led to Viljoen stepping down from his executive position — the most important being the ill-fated rightwing excursion into Bophuthatswana under AVF command.

The maverick role of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging inside the organisation and serious divisions between AVF supporters on the issue of participation in the elections eventually led to its demise.

In a first attempt to regroup after the elections, the AVF/CP established the so-called Volksrepubliek Werkkomitee (VWK) to "gather all relevant information and to put the ideal of Afrikaner self-determination into practice".

Hartzenberg said on Saturday that the VWK was active and that its first reports would be made public early next year. But it is widely seen as a knee-jerk CP reaction to the establishment of the government-sanctioned Volkstaat Council, which Viljoen supports.

The *Weekly Mail & Guardian* has obtained the list of the AVF's affiliates, which does contain some notable organisations outside the CP sphere of influence. They include Carel Boshoff's Volkswag and Afstig, all-white trade unions in the metal industries, Transnet and the postal service, and the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions. Boere Krisis Aksie, long regarded as loyal to Viljoen, also forms part of the AVF's interest group on security matters.

The aim of the restructured AVF will be to regain the freedom of the Boer nation, Hartzenberg said.

In one aspect, it appears to be in step with the rest of South Africa; according to a statement handed out at the meeting, one in every three AVF regional representatives will in future have to be a woman.

ARC. 12112194

SA out of isolation by leaps and bounds

304 (A)
□ 36 foreign missions here in 1990, now 133

TOS WENTZEL
Diplomatic Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's diplomatic relations have increased by leaps and bounds since the moves to full democracy started in 1990.

While there were only 36 foreign missions here in 1990 and 58 last year there are now 133.

South Africa in turn now has relations with 124 countries, compared with only 39 in 1990 and 63 in 1993.

According to the latest figures from the Department of Foreign Affairs the country is physically represented in 72 foreign countries. In the other countries a South African ambassador in another country is accredited.

The ambassador in Finland is also accredited to the Balkan states, Letland, Estland and Lithuania.

Countries with whom South Africa now has diplomatic relations are:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria and Azerbaijan.

Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Belarus, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burkini Fassa, Bulgaria and Burundi.

Cameroon, Cambodia, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China (Taiwan), China (Beijing), Colombia, Camores, Congo, Cota Ruica, Cote d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus and Czech Republic.

Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Estonia, Equador and Ethiopia.

Finland, Fiji, France, Gabon, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Guatemala, Guyana, Hong Kong, Holy See in Rome and Hungary.

Iceland, India, Ireland, India, Indonesia, Israel, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, North Korea, South Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Kuwait, Lao

Republic, Latvia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Lichtenstein, Lithuania and Luxembourg.

Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Moldova, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique and Myanmar.

Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, Nigaragua, Niger, Nigeria, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philipines, Poland and Portugal.

Quatar, Reunion, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Syria, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden and Switzerland.

Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobacco, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Vietnam, Western Samoa, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Election fever to grip country again

Voting for your new local government may be more important than the last elections

Local government is what puts water in the taps, power in the lines and makes sure that refuse gets removed.

Often described as the form of government closest to the people, it is the one area that everybody has an opinion about.

This is why the municipal elections scheduled for 1995 are vitally important. Until then, local authorities will be run by nominated transitional councils.

On a national level, only two key points are firmly agreed on as far as the election is concerned.

These are that everybody in every corner of the country will get a vote, and that local government will have for the most part a two-tier structure. There are some large towns, such as Port Elizabeth, which are likely to have only one tier of local government.

But for the major cities, this means that in metropolitan areas there will be transitional metropolitan councils, which will act as umbrella bodies for a number of smaller councils, or substructures as they are termed in the Local Government Transition Act.

In rural areas, there are likely to be Rural District Councils with a number of transitional councils falling beneath them.

Unlike the national elections, voters in the municipal elections will have to be registered



South Africans will go to the polls again, probably in October next year, but this time to vote for new local government. Municipal Reporter ANDREA WEISS looks at how you are likely to be asked to cast your vote in the 1995 municipal elections.

304 (A)

and form part of a voters' role. This is a complicated process which will have to be completed within 90 days, starting 28 days after the election date is announced.

Transitional councils will have the task of seeing to registration, but it will be up to every potential voter to ensure that they are registered.

It is anticipated that political parties will pitch in to ensure that as many people as possible are eligible to vote.

People who wish to vote must have valid identification documents, not the voter's cards they were issued with for the general election. They must also have a fixed address.

At this stage, how the addresses of those who live in informal settlements will be determined is still being decided, but a variety of systems are being considered, including the use of aerial photography.

Another possibility is that a number of families can be registered as residents at an area address.

Voters will also have to vote at the polling station closest to their home where their name

will be on the list. So if you're away on holiday, or have moved, you can only vote if you return to your home voting station.

This is another important difference compared to the general election.

In the Cape metropolitan area, it is likely that residents will be asked to vote three times.

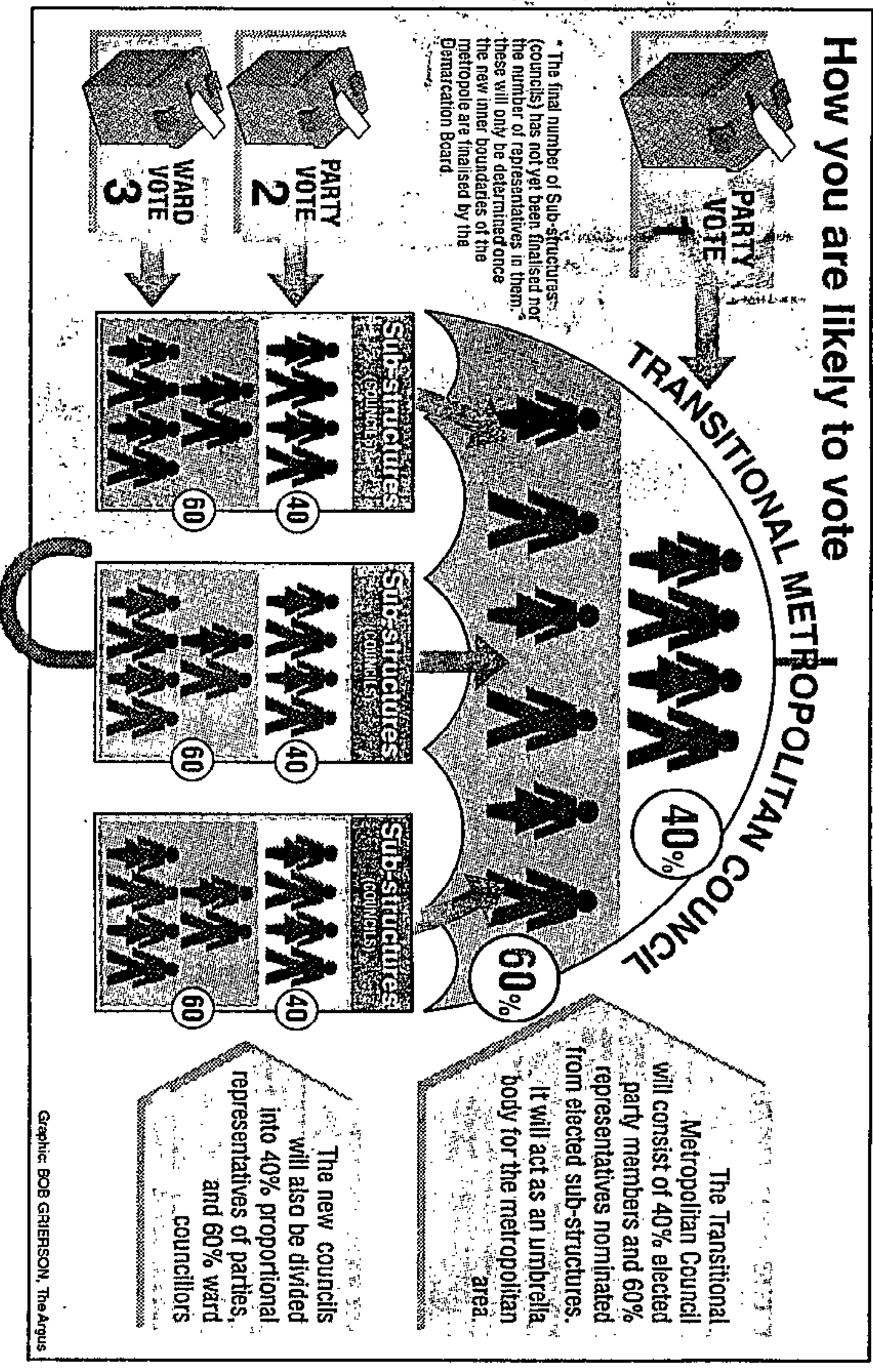
They will be asked to cast two votes for their local authority or substructure. One vote will be for a ward council, the other for a party.

The new councils will be divided into 40 percent proportional representatives of parties, and 60 percent ward councillors.

One peculiarity of the Act is that there will be an equal number of wards for areas which used to fall under white local authorities and those under black local authorities — a factor which will skew the final representation.

This clause was called the "sunet clause" by housing minister Joe Slovo, because it protects minorities.

How you are likely to vote



Graphic: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

TRIPLE VOTE: Residents of the Cape metropole will probably be asked to vote three times in the municipal elections scheduled for next year. This graphic illustrates how they will be asked to vote.

Graphic: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

The other vote people will be expected to cast will be for the Transitional Metropolitan Council which will act as an umbrella body for the metropole area. This vote will purely be on party lines for the 40 percent party representatives on the council. The remaining 60 percent of the TMC will be drawn from the substructures which will nominate their representatives upwards.

A confusing factor in all this is that every ballot paper for every local authority may look different depending on which parties participate.

Smaller civic organisations spring up in the period just prior to the election. So if you thought the Independent Electoral Commission had it hard, hold on to your wets...!

AP26 14/12/94
**De Klerk, Mbeki to meet
public servants over pay**

304(A)
PRETORIA. — Deputy presidents Thabo Mbeki and F. W. de Klerk were scheduled to meet public service personnel associations in Pretoria today to discuss their salary demands. In the afternoon they will have talks with teacher bodies, also on salaries.

Mr de Klerk told a Press conference the purpose of the meetings was to discuss the "full spectrum" of issues — not to bargain on specifics or to replace normal salary negotiations. — Sapa

Shelly Robertson from the Cape has the harness of her horse named a winner at the Cape Championships which began at Kyalami, outside Johannesburg, yesterday.

Most of SA believes Mandela leads well

BD 14/12/94

(304A)

A LARGE majority of SA citizens approve of President Nelson Mandela's leadership of the country, according to a recent Markinor survey of political attitudes.

In the survey, 83% of blacks, 55% of whites, 65% of Indians and 51% of coloureds believe Mandela is leading the country very or fairly well.

"Mandela has seemingly won the approval and respect of the majority of South Africans of all races," said Markinor account director Mari Harris.

This approval extended to substantial proportions of non-ANC members.

The survey, which was based on interviews with 1 000 blacks, 640 whites, 240 coloureds and 120 Indians in metropolitan areas, together with an additional 320 whites in non-metropolitan areas, was conducted in September and October.

In an evaluation of major politicians, respondents were asked to rank political leaders on a scale from one to 10.

Among black respondents, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were ranked at 7,4 and 7,1 respectively, Deputy President FW de Klerk registered 4,5 while Mandela topped the list with 9,1.

For whites, coloureds and Indians, De Klerk came first with between 7,5 and 8,6. Mandela was a close second.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Mandela, who was rated with a 4,3 by whites in November last year, boosted his popularity to 5,6.

Concerning political parties, 88% of blacks said they would vote for the ANC if an election were held tomorrow.

"Even if first and second choice is combined, other parties barely feature among metropolitan blacks," Harris said.

Second to the ANC among this group was the PAC, whose total potential support stood at 16% while the NP came third with a potential 12%.

The NP received 56% support from whites, while 48% of coloureds and 36% of Indians expressed support for the party.

According to the survey, the NP faces strong opposition from the ANC for the coloured vote while the ANC is vulnerable to a switch to the NP by Indian voters.

If first and second choices are combined, the NP has 70% support among Indians compared with 58% for the ANC.

"The ANC could face a stiff challenge from the NP in Indian constituencies in upcoming local elections," said Harris.

Further aspects of the survey include attitudes to strike action, general confidence in the future and in the relationship between races as well as an assessment of government's handling of reconstruction and development programme issues.

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Move Parliament (304A) Nafcoc

JOHANNESBURG. — The Gauteng region of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoc) said yesterday it favoured shifting Parliament from Cape Town to Pretoria. CT 15/12/94

It said in a statement the step, on which a resolution had been taken by the Nafcoc Gauteng executive committee, would save the country millions of rand and stimulate growth.

Regional secretary Mr Mashudu Ramano said it would avoid an unnecessary duplication in costs.

Given the high concentration of voters in Gauteng, it would save many businessmen the expense and time of having to travel to Cape Town to lobby.

The building of new facilities in Pretoria would stimulate growth and be a good training opportunity for blacks in the con-

struction trade.

Besides, the fact that the Gauteng legislature had moved to Johannesburg meant there was already excess office space in Pretoria.

The existing Parliament buildings could be transformed into up-market accommodation and shopping centres to boost Cape Town's tourist potential.

Nafcoc in Gauteng would lobby for the change. — Sapa

ember 16 1994

7

ARG. 16/12/94

W Cape premier attacks central government 304(A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

WESTERN Cape Premier Her-nus Kriel has sharply criticised the central government for frustrating provincial initiatives by failing to delegate powers to the region's governors.

His strongly worded criticism is published in the government's own journal, *RSA Review*, which is published by the South African Communications Service.

Mr Kriel said in an interview that while the Western Cape government was fully prepared, and had all the necessary mechanisms in place, to take on all the powers and functions to which it was entitled, its "hands are tied".

And the reasons for the delay were "unknown".

As a result, public impatience was growing.

"In my view, the delay is unnecessary," he said, adding that it appeared the central government wanted to delegate powers to all provinces simultaneously.

"I believe that some provinces won't be ready even within a year and, in the meantime, the central government is completely overloaded with responsibilities which are really tasks for the provinces."

As a result of this, he said, the provincial government could not accept responsibility for problems in education, though planning of a future education service was under way.

Furthermore, Mr Kriel said that the Western Cape was not able to finalise its own objectives until it was clear what level of RDP funding it was likely to get. This would become clearer once the 1995 budget had been finalised.

W Cape ANC rejects Mandela plan

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC in the Western Cape has rejected as "undemocratic" President Nelson Mandela's proposal for creating a more representative national executive.

In preparation for the ANC's Bloemfontein conference which starts tomorrow, a high-powered "list committee" was established at Mr Mandela's insti-

gation in a bid to make the NEC more representative of ANC minorities and regions.

But a meeting of ANC branches in the Western Cape this week roundly rejected the President's so-called "Inda option", and resolved that the ANC should continue with the existing system of nominations and elections which left much of the decision-making power on the composition of the

NEC with ordinary branch members.

A Western Cape resolution to be presented to the conference expresses concern that Mr Mandela's proposal "creates problems with the democratic tradition of the ANC" and attempts to shift the policies of the ANC by giving the organisation's constitution a "federal content".

Other Western Cape resolutions for the ANC national conference state the

following:

● Affirmative action legislation should be tabled in Parliament early next year and government ministers should take "urgent corrective measures" to ensure that their departments "reflect the character of South Africa".

● The constitution should be amended so that job guarantees to existing civil servants as part of the negotiation process be abolished.

CT 16/12/94

Government 'may not last'

304 (A)

□ Zulu patience could wear thin, warns Buthelezi

EMPUSHINI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said the government of national unity (GNU) is in danger of folding within a year if his demand for international mediation is not met.

"I fear that if there is any renegotiating on this matter, there is no prospect that the GNU will last even for 12 months," the home affairs minister told about 3 000 supporters at a rally to celebrate his party's April election victory in KwaZulu-Natal.

"I do not suggest they will resign, but there are people other

than the two leaders in both the African National Congress and the National Party (Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk) who are vehemently opposed to international mediation taking place."

Chief Buthelezi said Zulus wanted their monarchy entrenched in the constitution.

He warned: "There is a real danger that if this matter is not sorted out soon, the patience of the Zulu people may ultimately wear so thin that it may not be

possible to put right that which is wrong."

Chief Buthelezi said a management committee of the constitutional assembly, which was seeking legal advice on whether the agreement on international mediation was binding on the present government, was obligated to ensure mediation got under way.

"International mediation should precede rather than follow the work of the constitutional assembly and it should have commenced

right after the April 27 elections," he said.

Inkatha ended a boycott of elections a week before the poll after the ANC and NP agreed to take the constitutional position of the Zulu monarchy to mediation.

Chief Buthelezi told the rally in this semi-rural community, which has seen bitter violence between Inkatha and the ANC, that political conflict in his KwaZulu-Natal stronghold was not abating.

"There is not a shred of evi-

dence that the ongoing conflict has a ghost of a chance to abate in the near future. On the contrary, the conflicts and the bitterness these conflicts generate are getting worse by the day.

"I have on more than one occasion told President Mandela in his capacity as the president of the ANC that while things appear to be normal in the GNU at the executive level, that is far from being the case in KwaZulu-Natal," he said.

Chief Buthelezi blamed the ANC for "interfering" with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini

Leaders call for NP members to lift profile

3044 CT 28 11 14

PRETORIA. — National Party leaders, parrying rank and file criticism that they lack high profile media visibility, told members at the weekend they should get to work raising the party's profile and making it an effective instrument on the ground.

Mr De Klerk again defended his "behind-the-scenes" approach to the government. He and the six NP ministers in the cabinet, as well as Nats on the provincial executive structures, al PWV congress of the NP, that media appearances were not the total sum of the NP's political achievements.

were "at the coalface." "In the scrum" and involved in "tough and bloody" negotiations. He would leave it to the "Tony Leons" to grab the headlines while he got to grips with the real issues. When he spoke to a congress motion calling for leaders to "place a high priority on the visibility of the party and its leadership", Mr De Klerk in turn said the party should

be made more visible "on the ground". In the field of education, for example, the NP wanted an unprecedented level of involvement by its constituency. MP Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk conceded that the party was having difficulties getting its image across. While the print media was generally open to the NP, the elec-

tronic media — the SABC — was now hostile. Minister and Energy Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, whom the congress elected unopposed to the PWV leadership, said the SABC had become an instrument of the ANC which now had the corporation "in its pocket" — something the Nats had never been able to achieve, he said. — Sapa

NEWS Gain for PAC

ANC fast losing public support

Sowetan 2/12/94

PUBLIC support for the African National Congress fell by seven percent between the April elections and September, according to a national survey commissioned by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

The results were released yesterday.

The survey of 2 517 people in urban and rural areas also found reduced support for all the other major parties.

The ANC's support dropped from 60,6 percent in April to 53,6 percent in September, the National Party's from 18,7 to 15,8 percent, the Inkatha Freedom Party's from 5,8 to 4,1 percent, the Democratic Party's from 1,5 to 1,1 percent and the Freedom Front's from 2,1 to 1,8 percent.

Support for the Pan-Africanist Congress rose from 1,5 to 1,6 percent. (3044)

The number of respondents, who declined to disclose their voting preference, rose from 8,2 percent in April to 12,5 percent in September.

Post-election drop

Idasa executive director Professor Wilmot James said a post-election drop in party support was "not unusual" but the "floating vote" appeared to show a marked rise.

The survey found much political intolerance among all communities. Only 26 percent of respondents said they would allow activity by political opponents in their town or neighbourhood.

Supporters of most parties showed relatively high intolerance (60 to 80 percent would not allow activity by political rivals), but only 19 percent of DP respondents voted this way.

Voting analyst Dr Bob Mattes, one of the survey consultants, said the data generally showed low fluidity in South African politics, with most respondents having identified strongly and consistently with their parties.

An analysis of party identification and voting in the April elections found only 6,4 percent of voters had defected from their party.

Significantly, 24,4 percent of respondents who identified with the African Christian Democratic Party voted for the NP in April, as did 18,6 percent of DP and 18,2 percent of FF supporters.

The survey found most IFP and FF supporters identified with their parties for racial or ethnic reasons and DP, NP and ANC supporters listed ideology, policies and performance as the main reasons for their support. — Sapa.

Parties have lost support, says poll

CAPE TOWN — Public support for the ANC fell seven percentage points between the April elections and September, according to a national survey commissioned by the Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa).

The results of the survey of 2 517 people in urban and rural areas also found reduced support for all the other parties.

The ANC's support dropped from 60,6% in April to 53,6% in September, the NP's from 18,7% to 15,8%, the IFP's from 5,8% to 4,1%, the DP's from 1,5% to 1,1% and the Freedom Front's from 2,1% to 1,8%. PAC support rose from 1,5% to 1,6%.

Respondents who declined to disclose their voting preference rose from 8,2% in April to 12,5% in September.

Idasa executive director Wilnot James said a post-election drop in party support was "not unusual" but the "floating vote" appeared to show a marked rise.

Our political staff reports nearly half of the sample would "not allow" the parties to which they were most opposed to operate, while only 20% would "allow" them to function in their areas.

The survey found that 31% of ANC supporters were most opposed to the NP and 47% to the IFP, while 51% of NP supporters were most opposed to the ANC and 31% to the PAC.

On the other hand, 85% of IFP supporters were most opposed to the ANC and 10% to the NP, while 61% of Freedom Front supporters were most opposed to the ANC, 21% to the PAC and 17% to the NP.

Among DP supporters, 48% were most opposed to the PAC, 14% to the ANC and 12% to the NP, while 54% of PAC support-

ers were most opposed to the NP, 26% to the IFP and 6% to the ANC.

The survey found that most people would not allow protests or canvassing by parties to which they were most opposed.

Surprisingly, there was greater tolerance of political opponents living in a residential area. There was also high levels of tolerance among people with no formal education, people who had passed Std One to Std 10 and people with matric, but far greater tolerance among people with degrees and higher qualifications.

Voting analyst Bob Mattes, one of the survey consultants, said the data generally showed low fluidity in SA politics, with most respondents having identified strongly and consistently with their parties.

An analysis of party identification and voting in the April elections had found that only 6,4% of the voters had defected from their parties. (304A)

Significantly, 24,4% of respondents who identified with the African Christian Democratic Party voted for the NP in April, as did 18,6% of DP and 18,2% of Freedom Front supporters.

The survey found that most IFP and Freedom Front supporters identified with their parties for racial or ethnic reasons and DP, NP and ANC supporters listed ideology and performance as the main reasons for their support.

Another consultant, Hennie Kotze, said the survey recorded "strong ethnic feelings" among most respondents. "For this reason it is better to have the accommodative approach which takes into account group identity rather than try to enforce the concept of control hegemony." — Sapa.

Aymes from next month.

Bank said today.

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BUSINESS DAY, Friday, December 2 1994

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Another consultant, Hennie Kotze, said the survey recorded "strong ethnic feelings" among most respondents. "For this reason it is better to have the accommodative approach which takes into account group identity rather than try to enforce the concept of control hegemony." — Sapa.

Who voted for who on April 27?

Sowetan
Sowetan Correspondent 2/12/94

THOUSANDS of South Africans crossed party lines in April to vote for parties with which they did not normally identify, according to an Institute for a Democratic South Africa's survey released today.

The Democratic Party was worse hit, with about 18 percent of people who said they identified with the party voting for the National Party.

The African National Congress escaped virtually unscathed, with 97 percent of its supporters having put their crosses next to President Nelson Mandela's picture.

The average level of defection across all parties was about 6,8 percent at national level and six percent at provincial level.

There were some surprising defections, including 0,6 percent of NP supporters who voted for the ANC, 0,4 percent of ANC supporters who voted for the NP, and two percent of IFP supporters who voted for the ANC.

About 2,2 percent of DP supporters and 9,9 percent of PAC supporters voted for the ANC.

The survey, conducted in August and September, showed there had been little change of support for parties after the election.

There was a slight drop in support for most parties as general interest in politics receded.

The only party which gained support, the survey found, was the PAC, which gained a fraction of a percent.

Worrying trends included continuing high levels of political intolerance and a high degree of people being conscious of their own race and ethnic group.

Across the board, about 30 percent of party supporters were opposed to opponents being allowed to canvass in "their" towns. (30/4/94)

Most intolerant were those who said they supported the ANC and NP, while most tolerant were DP supporters.

The survey revealed great animosity among black people towards the IFP.

An analysis of "threat perceptions" showed that people were most worried about violence and crime, with figures showing this was a far greater source of concern than education issues.

● See page 8

Survey reveals vast political intolerance

By BARRY STREEK

HIGH levels of intolerance by supporters of all political parties except the Democratic Party have been found in a national survey, the results of which were released yesterday.

"Most supporters of political parties are quite intolerant except for the DP," com-

mented Dr Amanda Gouws, a lecturer in Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch.

The people surveyed were intolerant to the party to which they were most opposed, she said.

Dr Gouws is one of three academic consultants to the survey, which was conducted

between April and September among 2,517 people throughout the country on behalf of the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa).

Nearly half of the sample would either "not allow" or "definitely not allow" the parties to which they were most opposed to operate, while

only 20% would "allow" or "definitely allow" them to function.

The survey found that 31% of ANC supporters were most opposed to the National Party and 47% to the Inkatha Freedom Party, while 51% of NP supporters were most opposed to the ANC and 31% to the PAC.

On the other hand, 85% of IFP supporters were most opposed to the ANC and 10% to the NP, while 61% of Freedom Front supporters were most opposed to the ANC, 21% to the PAC and 17% to the NP.

Among Democratic Party supporters, 48% were most opposed to the PAC, 14% to the ANC and 12% to the NP.

ANC loses 7% of its support

CT 2/12/94 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC shed seven percent of its public support between the April election and September, a nationwide survey commissioned by the Institute of Democracy in SA (Idasa) has found.

The opinion poll, based on face-to-face interviews among 2517 voters in urban and rural areas, also found a drop-off in popularity for all other parties except the PAC, which maintained its support level.

Support for the ANC among those surveyed dropped from 60,6% in April to 53,6% in September, for the National Party from 18,7% to 15,8%, for the Inkatha Freedom Party from 5,8% to 4,1%, for the Freedom Front from 2,1% to 1,8% and for the Democratic Party from 1,5% to 1,1%.

Backing for the PAC rose marginally from 1,5% to 1,6% — statistically insignificant.

The number of respondents who declined to disclose their voting preference rose from 8,2% in April to 12,5% in September. An additional 4,4% of respondents who voted in April said they did not know how they would vote if the election had been held in

Poll shows only PAC maintains support

September.

Idasa executive director Dr Willem James said a post-election drop-off in party support was "not unusual or surprising".

However, the "floating vote" (won't tell/don't know) had risen to almost 17% — quite a significant level.

One of the survey consultants and UCT academic, Dr Bob Mattes, said the data generally showed a surprisingly low fluidity in South African politics, with most respondents having identified strongly and consistently with their parties.

An analysis of party identification and voting in the April election found only 6,4% of voters had defected from their party.

Significantly, nearly all the ANC supporters voted for the

party during the April poll (97% at national level and 95,2% at provincial level).

A total of 89,3% of NP supporters voted for their party at national level and 80,6% at provincial level. Figures for the IFP were 87,3% and 88,0%, the Freedom Front 69,9% and 78,6% (with most defectors backing the NP), the DP 71,5% and 65,9% (with defectors going mainly to the NP and IFP), the PAC 80,7% and 74,9% (with defectors going mainly to the ANC, the NP and the DP), the ACDP 45,4% and 61,0% (with defectors going mainly to the NP, the ANC and the DP).

The survey found most IFP and FF supporters identified with their parties for racial or ethnic reasons and DP, NP and ANC supporters listed ideology, policies and performance as the main reasons for their support.

Dr Mattes said the survey findings did not point to major changes in the next election. "People are fairly planted in their parties, even when you consider the roughly 12% of 'independents' and 6% of 'defectors'."

Another consultant, Prof Henrie Kotze of Stellenbosch University, said the survey recorded "strong ethnic feelings" among most respondents.

'Support for ANC dropped 7%'

Star 2/12/1990

Cape Town — Public support for the ANC fell 7 percent between the April election and September, according to a national survey commissioned by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa).

The results were released yesterday.

The survey of 2 517 people in urban and rural areas also found reduced support for all the other major parties.

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Freedom Front's from 2,1 to 1,8 percent.

Support for the Pan Africanist Congress rose from 1,5 to 1,6 percent.

The number of respondents who declined to disclose their voting preference rose from 8,2 percent in April to 12,5 percent in September.

Idasa executive director Professor Wilmot James said a post-election drop in party support was "not unusual" but the "floating vote" appeared to show a marked rise. (30/11/90)

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The survey found most IFP and FF supporters identified with their parties for racial or ethnic reasons. DP, NP and ANC supporters listed ideology, policies and performance as the main reasons for their support. — Sapa.

SA gravy train chugs into Brussels, raising EU eyebrows

BRUCE CAMERON and ALIDE DASNOIS

Weekend Argus Business Staff

BRUSSELS. — The South African gravy train chugged into Brussels this week as South African negotiators tried to get a better trade and aid deal from Europe.

Two South African delegations — one parliamentary and one ministerial — booked into the Belgian capital's most-expensive hotel.

Some members objected to the excessiveness and the Department of Foreign Affairs took the rap.

Even-jaded European Union (EU) officials raised their eyebrows when they discovered where the

South Africans were staying.

South African ambassador to the EU Neil van Heerden, whose staff booked the rooms, said a substantial discount had brought prices of rooms on to a par with those in other, less-luxurious hotels.

A room without meals at the sumptuous Conrad Hotel, part of the Hilton group, costs 11 000 Belgian francs (nearly R1 200) a night. A normal suite costs up to 40 000 francs (about R4 250).

The price negotiated for the South African delegates in single rooms was about R600 a night.

However, many delegates from other African countries, in Brussels to negotiate the next stage of the

Lomé aid-and-trade package for developing countries, were staying in cheaper hotels where the discounted price for groups was about R320 a night.

One of the South African delegations, led by Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel, was in Brussels to lodge South Africa's application for membership of the Lomé Convention.

The other, a group of parliamentarians led by Speaker of the House of Assembly Frene Ginwala, was on a trip to meet members of the European parliament.

Both Mr Manuel and Dr Ginwala expressed reservations about the price and the status of the hotel

chosen for them.

Questioned about the issue at a Press conference, Mr Manuel deflected the question to Mr Van Heerden. The buck, he said, should stop with the person responsible.

Senior European officials told Weekend Argus the embassy had been advised not to book the delegations into the Conrad Hotel for two reasons — because of the negative image this would create at a time when South Africa was arguing its development country status, and because it was inconveniently situated.

Mr Van Heerden denied the EU had given this advice, South African parliamentarians

on the trip produced a range of excuses when questioned by Weekend Argus.

Some claimed the EU was paying the bill. Others said they were only paying one-third of the full price.

Democratic Party MP Dene Smuts accused Weekend Argus of trying to detract from the important negotiations going on in Brussels.

She said Weekend Argus should stick to reporting the major issues of South Africa's accession to the Lomé agreement.

Dr Ginwala said the previous government had not imposed sufficient limits.

■ Convention reports, page 7

ARG 3/12/94 (SOUTH)

LOOSE CANNONS!

ARC 3/12/94 (304A)
Undisciplined bodyguards spark fears for safety of nation's leader

■ Poor discipline, refusal to take orders and non-attendance by ANC guards of cabinet ministers have put a severe strain on the capability of the police to ensure the safety of South Africa's leaders.

WILLEM STEENKAMP
Weekend Argus Reporter

FRICTION between members of the VIP Protection Unit of the police and former members of the African National Congress intelligence branch responsible for ministerial guard duties has finally boiled over, raising doubts about the safety of South Africa's leaders.

As frustration reached breaking point between the former enemies, who now have to work together, a senior police officer and a member of the ANC's intelligence branch nearly came to blows and had to be physically restrained, a senior police source has said.

The bad blood has in some cases led to a near-breakdown of adequate protection measures for the country's leaders and a senior officer in the VIP Protection Unit of the Police in the Western Cape has warned that the situation has reached critical proportions.

The officer, who asked not to be named, said there were serious concerns about the safety of some of the ministers, in particular Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, in whose case there was nearly no co-operation whatsoever between police members and former ANC intelligence staffers who have to ensure the safety of Mr Mbeki.

The officer said that in one recent incident an ANC guard suddenly jumped out of a minister's car, cocked his gun and waved it about.

"This was a critical situation. One of our members could have seen that man as a threat to the minister in question and could rightfully have taken him out. For that matter, the minister could have been hit. This is totally unacceptable."

He said some ANC guards openly boycotted co-ordination meetings to ensure adequate protection measures. They simply did not arrive for guard duties and showed a total lack of discipline.

■ To page 3

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Fears for safety of country's leaders

ARC 3/12/94 (304A)
■ From page 1

The officer said this made it nearly impossible to ensure adequate protection and he feared radical enemies of the government could make use of this situation.

Morale in the VIP Protection Unit of the police had now reached an all-time low with some members saying that unless the situation improved, they would apply for transfer to other units.

The senior officer, who has been involved in the VIP Protection Unit for nearly 20 years, said some of the ANC guards had been involved in shooting incidents in shebeens in townships and in one case a guard was facing three charges of murder. Some of these people had been suspended by the ANC.

"We now issue and withdraw firearms daily to prevent these shooting incidents. For obvious reasons we now do not allow ANC guards to take weapons home."

The officer said, however, it was only a certain section of ANC guards who did not want to work with the police or undergo training.

Other ANC guards had in fact undergone some police training and were appointed as temporary police constables. This group willingly complied with the police regulations and some were clearly well trained.

"The one positive thing is that President Mandela has a very capable team and co-operation in his office is good."

"We have, on our side, bent over backwards to accommodate ANC-trained guards. We have a professional duty to perform and we want to do that the best we can. It is in our interest to work together. The last thing we can afford in this country is another Chris Hani-type assassination."

"But then the training must be uniform and there must be definite structures under which we all work. With the situation as it now stands we have to take the word of some of the ANC guards that they have in fact had the necessary training. But we do not know how they will react if the life of one of our leaders is threatened."

Peter Payne, commanding officer of the National Protection Service of the police, under which the VIP Protection Unit of the police falls, confirmed that there were some serious problems with the amalgamation of ANC members and members of the police.

Brigadier Payne said negotiations were ongoing to resolve problems and that there was a difference of opinion on some issues, but he believed the "teething problems" would be resolved.

He said most of the former ANC intelligence staffers were appointed as temporary police constables and received some training.

He said that if a minister wanted to make use of guards who were not policemen, then the protection of that minister was the responsibility of those guards and not of the police.

Race still an issue in new SA

Survey posts warning to government — experts

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE vast majority of South Africans still identify strongly with racial and ethnic or tribal groups, a post-election survey has shown.

Even supporters of the "non-racial" African National Congress identify strongly with racial and ethnic communities as well as their language and culture.

The survey was conducted for the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (the new name for Idasa) by Market and Opinion Surveys, and results were published in Cape Town this week.

■ Strong ethnic and racial feelings persist in post-apartheid South Africa and the government should beware of suppressing these in the new South Africa.

Analysing the survey results, Hennie Kotzé, head of political science at the University of Stellenbosch, said the government should take note of strong ethnic feelings among South Africa's electorate, which could pose problems for inter-communal relations.

He cautioned against the government trying to force a "nation-building exercise" over existing cultural, language and ethnic loyalties.

The survey, conducted in

September, showed nearly 60 percent of ANC supporters considered themselves members of a distinctive community.

About 70 percent of National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters also saw themselves as members of a distinct community as did more than 80 percent of Freedom Front and, surprisingly, more than 60 percent of Democratic Party supporters.

Of these, nearly 50 percent of

ANC supporters cited race (the vast majority of ANC supporters are black).

About 37 percent of community-oriented ANC supporters cite ethnic links — which includes tribal loyalties.

Racial identity is even stronger among community-oriented NP supporters (more than 60 percent) and higher still in the FF (75 percent) while Zulu ethnic loyalties (about 80 percent) are uppermost among IFP supporters.

Even DP community-oriented supporters show fairly strong racial identity (about 40 percent) and language (about 50 percent).

ARG 3/12/94

(304A)

Racial, ethnic links still big factor

3 112 144
DAVID BREIER

CAPE TOWN — The vast majority of South Africans still identify strongly with racial and ethnic or tribal groups, a post-election survey has shown.

An astonishing finding is that even supporters of the "nonracial" ANC identify strongly with racial and ethnic communities as well as their language and culture.

The survey was conducted for the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (the new name for IDASA) by Market and Opinion Surveys, and results were publicised in Cape Town this week.

Analysing the survey results, Stellenbosch University political science head Professor Hennie Kotze said the Government should take note of strong ethnic feelings among South Africa's electorate.

Loyalties

The survey, conducted in September, showed nearly 60 percent of ANC supporters considered themselves members of a distinctive community, as did about 70 percent of the National and Inkatha Freedom parties, more than 80 percent of the Freedom Front, and, surprisingly, more than 60 percent of Democratic Party supporters.

Of these, nearly 50 percent of ANC supporters cited race identity (the vast majority of ANC supporters are black). About 37 percent of community-oriented ANC supporters cited ethnic identity — which includes tribal loyalties. (304A)

Racial identity is even stronger among community-oriented NP supporters (more than 60 percent) and higher still in the FF (75 percent), while Zulu ethnic loyalties (about 80 percent) are uppermost among IFP supporters.

Ideology

Even DP community-oriented supporters show fairly strong racial (about 40 percent) and language (about 50 percent) identity, placing them in the white, English-speaking category.

University of Cape Town academic Dr Bob Mattes took issue with Kotze's findings on the importance of ethnicity. Mattes cited other results in the survey which showed voters stressed the importance of interests and ideology rather than race.

According to the survey, only 11 percent of ANC supporters said they had voted on the basis of race, although the figures were higher for the FF (42 percent) and the Pan Africanist Congress (26 percent). The Zulu ethnic motive for IFP voters was high (41 percent).

The survey showed large numbers of white (42 percent) and coloured people (23 percent) were most opposed to the ANC while blacks were most opposed to the IFP (32 percent) and to the NP (22 percent).

FW raises spectre of new apartheid

SITimes [C1 Metro]

LEADER of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, warned this week that if a policy of affirmative action was "wrongly implemented", it could degenerate into reverse discrimination and "a return to apartheid".

Earlier this week Mr de Klerk, in his role as deputy president, and his wife Marike, conducted a hectic one-day post-election tour of the Southern Cape.

In an interview later, Mr de Klerk indicated that the NP would support the Truth Commission as long as it did not become a "witch-hunt".

His tour took him to the heart of the NP's Western Cape support-base, where coloured residents helped his party win control of the region in the election.

The huge support for the NP and Mr de Klerk among coloureds, was graphically illustrated by the enthusiasm with which he was welcomed.

And nowhere was this support more enthusiastic than at Riversdale. On Thursday a crowd of about 1 500 sat on bales of hay at the show-grounds as they were entertained by catchy songs.

The *liedjies* were composed and sung by the Western Cape Minister of Local Government, Mr Peter Marais, who has recorded an album with well-known Afrikaans songstress Carike Keuzenkamp.

Speaking as leader of the NP, Mr de Klerk said the ANC, in its interpretation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) — and the implementation of affirmative action — were "talking more of black and white and less of the coloured people... and in that sense were trying to reinstate apartheid".

He said the RDP was "a joint plan of the government of national unity (GNU) and not an ANC-only programme", although he acknowledged there were people who thought the NP was "in the pocket of the ANC".



F W DE KLERK

Mr de Klerk said his criticism of the ANC did not indicate disunity in the GNU.

About the proposed Commission of Truth and Reconciliation, Mr de Klerk revealed a change of attitude by his party to the commission.

"We already feel much better about it, which shows what can be achieved through negotiation in the GNU. There

are still points on which we disagree very seriously, but we will proceed through the parliamentary processes to try to bring about improvements to the legislation.

"If the interpretation of the legislation leads to a major witch-hunt, then it will be a serious setback to the reconciliation process, as well as a threat to the RDP

and real bad news for South Africa.

"We dare not let that happen. The motive for the Truth Commission was to bring about reconciliation."

Mr de Klerk warned that, depending on how affirmative action was implemented, there was a risk of it degenerating into "reverse discrimination".

"If affirmative action means to fast-track those left behind to improve their economic positions, to improve their living standards and equip themselves better, then the NP supports it with enthusiasm," he said.

"But if it means there will be a form of race discrimination because you are white, coloured or Indian and you are advantaged if you are black, we would again have a system of apartheid which would be completely in contradiction of our Constitution," he said.

Launch of New Labour Party

CT 5/12/94
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE New Labour Party would be formally established at a congress in Elsie's River on December 27 and 28, the party said yesterday.

The decision to launch the party had been taken by representatives from 30 different areas of the Western Cape who attended a meeting in Athlone, the NLP said in a statement issued by its media liaison officer, Mr David Maritz.

Three of the key figures in the new party are former Labour Party MPs Mr Dougie Joseph, Mr Ken Lategan and Mr Anver Essop, who opposed the dissolution of the old Labour Party.

When it split up a hard core felt it still had an important role to play to articulate the views and aspirations of coloured people.

Mr Maritz said the NLP emphasised the individual needs of coloured people.

The NLP's Peninsula leader, Mr Lategan, said the party should not be a purely ethnic party and it had to be expanded to include other people who had been sidelined. (251) (304A)

Democracy monitor

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A HIGH-POWERED independent research body intended as a "democracy monitor" to evaluate MPs and Parliament and promote good government in South Africa has been formed.

The Public Information Centre — which is being established by the Institute for a Democratic South Africa with R10.3 million foreign funding for 1995-96 — is to be headed by UCT deputy vice-chancellor Dr Mamphela Ramphele.

The centre will serve as a non-partisan "performance evaluator" of the legislature and the executive and make policy proposals to the new administration.

One of its functions will be to evaluate if members of the government and members of other political parties keep their promises and

New body to evaluate MPs

achieve the targets they have set. It will publish regular reports which will be available to the public.

The centre will also conduct original research on issues facing the electorate and serve as a public clearing house for information dealing with critical areas of government from the Budget to the RDP.

It aims to train a team of "specifically black people and women" in policy directed research on matters of public concern.

In a major boost to the campaign to keep the

legislature in the Mother City, the centre will be located in Cape Town, "the site of Parliament", Idasa executive director Dr Willmot James said.

Dr Ramphele, 47, a leading scholar with degrees in medicine, social anthropology and commerce, said she was "very excited" about taking on the new challenge.

The non-executive chairperson of the Independent Development Trust said she would retain a link with UCT, devoting one day a week to assisting the university with policy issues.

However, she will retain her title as deputy vice-chancellor, albeit on a part-time basis.

"Never in my wildest dreams did I imagine that I would be able to have the best of both worlds, doing things that I passionately believe in," she said.

"It's time to go back to my original mandate in public policy research while maintaining a link with UCT."

CT 2/12/94

(304A)

Blacks disillusioned — Tutu

CANBERRA. — There is growing disillusionment among South Africa's black population that the government is doing more to appease whites than to effect change, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

Speaking in Canberra, Australia — where he is to address the world assembly of disabled people — Archbishop Tutu said the daily life of black South Africans has changed little since the

CT 6/12/94
April elections, in which the ANC had taken over the functions of government.

It was important for the government to translate the ANC electoral victory into homes for the poor, schools, clean water, and street lighting.

"I think that there is already beginning to be a kind of slight disillusionment," the Anglican archbishop said.

(304A)
"There are those who are saying that the government is spending far too much time appeasing whites... The black constituency is feeling that the government has not done enough for those who are responsible for their election victory."

It was important for the international community to remain interested in South Africa as the country needed assistance and investment, he said. — Sapa-AP

Mass workers' party may be formed in SA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE formation of a Mass Workers' Party for South Africa will be considered at a major conference of local and overseas socialists in Cape Town next week.

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) said yesterday the socialists would assess strategic options for the left in the "new South Africa".

The major issue to be dealt with at the Wosa national conference from 16-18 December would be the formation of a movement for a Mass Workers' Party, Wosa said in a statement.

(304A) Hundreds of delegates from all regions of South Africa will attend the conference, joining speakers from Rwanda, Mauritius, Namibia and possibly Nigeria.

In addition, the Wosa youth wing will hold a "cadre school" from 12-15 December.

The conference will also discuss youth issues, racism and sexism, student-worker alliances, the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme, socialism and religion.

A session open to the public will be held on 16 December at 7pm in the Mowbray town hall.

ET 6/12/94

New public holidays for 1995 gazetted

ARG 7/12/94 (304A)

□ ... but they're much too late for most diaries

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

A GOVERNMENT gazette published today listing details of new public holidays could become a collector's item — because the Public Holidays Act was passed too late for the deadline for diaries and calendars.

Many diaries had to be published without lists of school and university terms.

Among the calendars without details of the 12 new public holidays is the SA Tourism Board's showpiece calendar.

Robert Bond of Cape and Transvaal Printers diary section said "only a very small percentage" of diaries contained a list of new public holidays.

Deadlines for diaries and calendars were between April and July.

A committee appointed by home affairs minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced its recommendations in September.

Passing the legislation was delayed slightly when the Pan Africanist Congress and other groups protested at the exclusion of March 21, the Sharpeville massacre anniversary.

The act was passed at the end of last month's session of parliament.

Caught in the middle, publishers either omitted holidays altogether or included a bumper list of 23 holidays, including all the holidays of the former South Africa and TBVC states.

A spokeswoman for SA Diaries said the company had included in some diaries a list of holidays "we thought would stay".

Guesses that January 1, Easter and Christmas would stay

proved correct — but the company was wrong about Ascension Day, dumped by legislators from the official list.

Some recently-printed diaries will include inserted slips listing the new holidays.

For the record, and to prevent a throng at the government printer's office, the new holidays are:

January 1 — New Years Day, March 21 — Human Rights Day, Good Friday, the Monday after Easter Sunday — Family Day, April 27 — Freedom Day, May 1 — Workers Day, June 16 — Youth Day, August 9 — National Women's Day, September 24 — Heritage Day, December 16 — Reconciliation Day, December 25 — Christmas Day, December 26 — Day of Goodwill.

If a public holiday is on a Sunday, the following Monday will be a holiday.

Tug-of-war over Parliament goes on

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SPECULATION that Cape Town will lose its status as legislative capital of South Africa flared again yesterday — but a final decision on the hotly debated issue will not be taken this year.

Sharp divisions exist among the top hierarchies of virtually all political parties — including the ANC and the NP — on a possible move of Parliament from the Mother City to Pretoria.

The pro-Pretoria faction have been making a concerted push for Parliament to move up north in the next three years.

However, a recent survey conducted by Idasa revealed that South Africans of all races, regions, languages and political parties wanted Parliament to remain in Cape Town.

More than half (51%) wanted Parliament to stay put, and 23% believed that Pretoria was the best site for the legislative capital. The independent survey showed that 26% of citizens did not have a view on the issue.

CT 7/12/94
The Cape Town lobby said it would be difficult for a government claiming to represent the democratic will of the people to ride roughshod over the findings.

A spokesperson for the cabinet committee on the costs and effectiveness of the current system, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said the committee had not completed its investigation.

He said the committee was still awaiting reports on the matter and that it would not be on the agenda for today's cabinet meeting in Pretoria.

Co-chairperson of the committee, Mr Roelf Meyer, a strong supporter of the move to Pretoria, said at the end of last month that he hoped the committee would be able to deliver a report to the government before the end of this year.

The tug-of-war over the seat of the legislature is expected to be resumed with full vigour when parliamentarians reconvene for the sitting of the Constitutional Assembly in late January.

Constitution to cost R90m

(304A)
CT 1/11/94

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE cost of writing the final constitution is expected to be about R90 million — but the Constitutional Assembly would have to take heed of the government's belt-tightening drive, its chairperson Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Presenting the constitutional committee's report to the Constitutional Assembly, he said the estimated cost of the constitution-writing process was about R25m, with a further R65m budgeted for 1995/96.

"Naturally we will take into

account the belt-tightening measures announced by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

"We will make sure that the assembly marches in time with what the government is doing with regard to reducing state expenditure," he said.

The 1995/96 budget allocates R8,2m to salaries, medical aid, housing allowances, pension funds and vehicle allowances for assembly personnel.

The 10 minute-secretaries each get a basic annual salary of R81 114 (excluding perks), while the executive director gets R148 590 (excluding perks).

At yesterday's management committee meeting questions

were raised about plans to spend over R4m on toll-free lines on which members of the public can have questions answered in any of the 11 official languages.

R10m has been allocated to forums to inform the public and R10,7m to advertisements.

Questions were also raised in the management committee about the R13m allocated to "technical contractors" to assist the constitution-writing process.

The breakdown of next year's proposed expenditure of R65,2m is: Personnel R8,16m, administration R29,19m, stores and livestock R9,9m, equipment R3,59m, and profession services R14,35m.

Senate approves Volkstaat law

ET 4/11/94
THE Senate unanimously approved a law formally establishing the Volkstaat Council yesterday.

Most senators made it clear, however, that their support for the measure did not mean they supported the concept of a Volkstaat.

The council, provided for in the interim constitution, began sitting on June 16 to determine whether an Afrikaner nation state should be formed.

Prominent right-wing Afrikaners, including Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen, sat in on the debate.

The council will make recommendations to the Constitutional Assembly on a volkstaat. — Sapa

Workers' party an idle thought, say unions

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Labour Reporter

SOUTH Africa's major trade union federations have dismissed as "pie-in-the-sky stuff" embryonic attempts to form an independent workers' political party.

The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) released a press statement yesterday after a national strategic meeting at the weekend of its labour commission.

It hinted that the formation of a "Mass Workers' Party (MWP)" was imminent.

Wosa said its planning meeting was attended by members of 14 trade

unions, including several affiliates of Cosatu and Nactu.

The unionists had "pledged to work together", said Wosa vice-chairman Mfanafuthi Ndlovu.

Among the resolutions adopted by the meeting were:

■ To reaffirm the necessity for an independent political party of the working class.

■ To call on all working class organisations to "establish a movement for the MWP".

■ To set up MWP committees in every township, factory, educational institution and other appropriate areas.

The meeting also resolved to support the call by the Cosatu-aligned National Metalworkers' Union of South Africa's (Numsa) for the establishment of a new political party.

Cosatu national spokesman Neil Coleman said there was "no official Cosatu representation" at Wosa's meeting.

He confirmed Numsa had proposed, at the recent Cosatu national congress, the establishment of a new worker-based political party, but the resolution was defeated.

"We decided to continue supporting our alliance with the ANC."

He said Wosa, together with other

ultra-left organisations, were "trying to use their individual contacts" to put forward their agendas.

"We have just come out of a socialist conference at the weekend to which Wosa was invited. There were no resolutions for the launching of a workers' party."

"It's pie-in-the-sky stuff."

Nactu president James Mndaweni said the formation of a workers' party had not been on the agenda at his federation's recent annual congress.

"It has not been discussed within Nactu. We are an independent federation, not aligned to any political party or organisation, and we believe we should maintain that position."

304A
ARC 8/11/94

Workers' party an idle thought, say unions

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304A
ARC 8/11/94

Job creation a priority - poll

■ BY GLENDA DANIELS

A nationwide poll has found that job creation is the highest priority for South African voters, with housing next.

The voter opinion poll was commissioned by the International Republican Institute (IRI) based in Washington DC, in co-operation with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

The poll also found that while six out of 10 people felt their lives had stayed the same since the April election, eight out of 10 believed the country was headed in the right direction.

The poll was part of an IRI programme aimed at assisting South African political parties to

understand and respond to the needs and interests of their constituencies.

The nationwide poll, the IRI said, was based on a stratified probability sample of 4 003 voters in all categories in rural and urban areas. (304A)

The poll focused mainly on what voters expected from Parliament and the Government. A total of 54 percent of people said they had a great deal of confidence in the Government of National Unity and 34 percent had some confidence.

Some 60 percent of voters felt that the first priority of the Government should be job creation, 55 percent said housing, 34 percent mentioned educational

issues, and 25 percent wanted potable and clean water.

On the question of payments of rates and services, 83 percent of whites and 47 percent of Indians felt people should not receive services for which they did not pay.

Among Africans, only 41 percent held this view, but 37 percent of them felt that communities should share the burden of services that people could not afford.

On the housing question, the majority among Africans felt that subsidies should be lower to enable more people to be assisted. More than 70 percent of Africans were willing to settle for less than completed houses.

Majority of citizens have confidence in govt — poll

MORE than eight out of ten people have confidence in government, according to a nationwide poll conducted by the International Republican Institute.

The institute, a Washington-based non-profit organisation affiliated to the US Republican Party, yesterday announced the results of its survey of voters' opinions.

According to the poll, which was based on interviews with 4 003 voters in rural and urban areas, 54% said they had a "great deal of confidence" in government while 34% said they had "some confidence".

The poll noted though that only a third of those interviewed were familiar with the reconstruction and development programme while 41% of black South Africans were "not at all familiar" with the RDP.

The survey, which was conducted

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE

in co-operation with the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, found the majority of black citizens would prefer the current R12 500 housing subsidy to be lowered to enable more people to get houses.

More than 70% said they would be willing to settle for less than complete houses and 29% felt complete houses should be built for purchase or renting, even if they cost more.

Of the shack and hostel dwellers interviewed, 40% preferred small starter homes, to which residents could add rooms and 26% supported site-and-service schemes.

The poll indicated substantial support for government's housing strategy, an institute spokesman said.

"There are, however, significant minority views on housing issues and interaction with constituencies could

be helpful."

Sapa reports people should receive local government services even if they did not pay, less than half the blacks polled believe.

About 83% of whites and 47% of Indians believed people should not receive services for which they did not pay, the institute said.

Among blacks only 41% held this view, whereas 37% felt that communities should share the burden of services that people could not afford.

Job creation was South Africans' highest priority, with housing second on the list of what voters expected government to address most urgently. Attention to educational issues drew support from 34% and the provision of potable water, 25%.

Other major issues were wages, crime, electrification, peace and health. Few voters mentioned constitutional or human rights issues.



A protester from the during yesterday's m delivered a memorar scrapping of arrears a mandated that Preside

'Chaos without tertiary funding'

EDUCATION Minister Sibusiso Bengu said yesterday he hoped to announce measures soon that would prevent tertiary education institutions barring students simply because they could not pay their fees.

Speaking at the Johannesburg launch of the R175m USAid project for black tertiary institutions, Bengu said there would be chaos in the new year unless his ministry succeeded in raising funds for disadvantaged students. "But hopes are high that we will receive this funding," he said.

Resources for student financial aid should be made available for 1994 and 1995 while plans were made for a viable funding system, he said. A long-term plan was expected to be in place by 1996.

Government had released R20m to pay fees for disadvantaged students and the ministry hoped to raise a further R100m to keep the situation stable.

Bengu said a national commission would

KATHRYN STRACHAN

be set up to make recommendations on reorganising tertiary education.

USAid's 10-year tertiary education linkages project aims to help transform disadvantaged tertiary institutions.

Its primary goal is to improve access by the disadvantaged to tertiary education, and to improve academic, administrative and research facilities in black universities and technikons.

Sapa reports Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau told the select committee on public enterprises in Cape Town yesterday parastatals should fund schoolchildren from disadvantaged communities to give them a boost.

A co-ordinated effort by parastatals could significantly advance the level of education in disadvantaged communities, Sigcau said.

Trio found guilty of cheque theft

DEBORAH FINE

RWANDAN citizens Sylvestre Gazana, his wife Veronica Mukagaju, and Soweto auditor Samuel Morailane, were convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday of stealing American Express traveller's cheques worth R12,9m.

Magistrate P Johnson that found Morailane, an internal auditor at Nedtravel Holidays, had stolen the cheques between November 1993 and March 1994 and had passed them on to Gazana to cash overseas.

Gazana had tried to cash cheques worth R8,8m in Singapore and Bangkok in March, but was apprehended by an American Express agent.

Gazana evaded arrest and fled back to SA.

Johnson found Mukagaju to be fully aware of the operation. She had assisted in the commission of the offence by faxing instructions to her husband's Bangkok hotel room.

Police linked the accused to the stolen cheques by tracing the faxes back to her shop.

Morailane was linked to the operation when detectives found Gazana's name and the name of Mukagaju's shop written on a card in his office.

The case was postponed to November 21 for sentencing.

Kas con

PRETORIA effective police armed forces defence was stability of Deputy Defence Minister Kasrils said.

To this end that a secret be created v the formulation and administration Department, Futures and held at Unisa.

"The Secretary's primary fence matters status to the Force," he told.

The present the SA National would also be remain the SANDF and wity for its maintenance. The Chief be the Minister advisor.

Kasrils add

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



Jobs and houses top of voters' lists

Political Correspondent

JOB and houses top South African voters' priorities, and while their lives have not changed much since April, most believe the country is headed in the right direction.

This emerges from a national opinion poll commissioned by the Washington-based International Republican Institute in co-operation with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

While only a third of the sample of 4 003 voters questioned were familiar with the government's reconstruction

ARG 9/11/94
and development programme and 41 percent of Africans were "not at all familiar" with it, the survey found that the voters' own priorities closely matched the programme's key objectives. (304A)

Most of the sample — 54 percent — said they had "a great deal of confidence" in the government

Asked to identify the three most important problems in the country, 60 percent said job creation, 55 percent housing, 34 percent education and 25 percent the provision of clean and drinkable water.

ay, November 11 1994 ★

Boesak's Geneva posting confirmed

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Western Cape Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr Allan Boesak, had been appointed South Africa's permanent representative at the United Nations in Geneva, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Alfred Nzo, said yesterday.

He rejected "the unsubstantiated and indeed malicious reports and rumours about the misappropriation of funds by Dr Boesak" and said there was no need to reconsider the matter.

Mr Nzo, who was replying to a question tabled in the National Assembly by Dr Boy

Geldenhuys (NP), said he assumed the question was being asked because of these reports about his alleged misappropriation of funds.

"The truth of the matter is that there is no evidence of this."

"Indeed the Foundation for Peace and Justice (FPJ) have stated that they deny cate-

gorically that any foundation money has been used for Dr Boesak's personal gain."

The Swedish development agency, Sida, had also stated it had not accused Dr Boesak of using aid funds for private purposes.

"The FPJ's accounts are audited annually by a reputable firm and annual statements

are sent to donors.

"These accusations are not new. The FPJ was investigated three times under the notorious Foreign Funding Act and no evidence of misconduct was found.

"In the light of all this, we have no need to reconsider our recommendation," Mr Nzo said.

CT 11/11/94

304A

A new approach to communication

THE closure of the Black Sash national advice centres announced last week could be a blessing in disguise for Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, the political head of the South African Communication Service (SACS). As the communications arm of government, and formerly the Bureau of Information, it remains an unrepentant, Afrikaner-dominated, Pretoria-based bureaucracy. Mbeki is charged with its conversion to an effective communications vehicle to promote the reconstruction and development programme and redress the information deficit left by apartheid.

Addressing Parliament on September 23, Mbeki outlined his vision of the SACS becoming fully "informed and involved" in reconstruction.

He cited SACS's affirmative action campaign as proof of its new dispensation. 30% of staff would be black by September 1995, and they would occupy 50% of management positions by September 1998.

The service had already provided valuable assistance in the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Media Commission, the "highly successful" presidential inauguration and preparations for October's OAU Ministers of Information conference at Sun City.

Personnel once charged with managing counter-intelligence campaigns to undermine the Namibian elections had proved equally capable of serving the parastatals that delivered a hefty ANC majority in the 1994 election. Why doubt, then, that the SACS could adjust to the new shape of provincial government, the principle of transparency and the objectives of the RDP.

His Cabinet colleagues did not share Mbeki's confidence. When Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister Pello Jordan took office he wanted nothing

to do with the SACS, although it should logically have fallen under him.

The absence of an Information Minister in the government of national unity, a departure not only from SA precedent but also the norms of most other African states, suggests Jordan's ideological hostility to a government information bureau prevailed in the drawing up of Cabinet posts. His view that the organisation is a "discredited propaganda tool characteristic of renegade Third World governments" is an open secret, says an ANC colleague.

Minister without Portfolio responsible for the RDP, Jay Naidoo, was the obvious candidate to benefit more than any other Minister from the services of a well-resourced information agency to drive the RDP. But well-placed sources say he was deterred by fears that an unreconstructed SACS could undermine him.

So SACS landed in the lap of the famously diplomatic First Deputy President. Mbeki's conciliatory stance arguably makes him the best man for the job.

According to one black government spokesman who took office in 1990, SACS has been subject to "stinging and fiery criticism from the President's office... but it is the one department that is unlike a government department in its operation". Government's new spokesmen are less accommodating with regard to SACS history because they have not experienced "how slow and unprofessional" are the other arms of the public service.

Joe Slovo's spokesman Stephen Lauler seems to endorse this view. SACS information gathering and media monitoring services provide vital backup to Ministers and their spokesman. "There have been tensions over SACS's accountability to spokesmen, but there is no confusion over its role. The emphasis is on the last word: they pro-

vide a service".

There is, however, an obvious conflict of interest between SACS's role inside government, and Mbeki's vision of an interactive national information service.

The strategic skills that streamline the work of ministerial departments and their spokesman are quite different from those required to manage a public information service. If the service's real value to government is indeed to protect naive officials from the potential embarrassment of their own ideological exuberance, then somebody else should be running a government information service.

Ground level

Black Sash spokesman Gille de Vlieg says the service is ill-suited to the task of disseminating government information. The nine Black Sash advice centres provide a model infrastructure for the kind of SACS envisaged by Mbeki.

"Government does need to be able to explain its policies simply and easily to people in language that people understand... it needs to be out on ground level". Government has a duty to publish its information, but it may not be best qualified to distribute it.

Although Black Sash is known for its resistance to apartheid, its structures ironically embody Mbeki's goal of facilitating "two-way communication between government and the people".

While explaining legislation and offering advice (such as how to circumvent the Pass Laws) to anyone who wanted it, Black Sash used its flow of information from the ground to lobby government.

SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin claims Black Sash, operating on "a miserable budget and volunteer staff" provided a more efficient information service than the Pretoria-based SACS with 600 staff and a budget reported to be R60m a year. About

100 000 people visit the Black Sash advice office in Johannesburg every year.

Mbeki's claim that the service can discharge its information function "in a manner which ensures government does not engage in deceitful propaganda (but) focuses its resources on communication as a bridge-builder" is a prerequisite for transformation.

Naidoo has already used the service to place full-page advertisements in the national Press and publicise the objectives of the RDP.

President Nelson Mandela's spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe says a strategic task team will soon be appointed to rationalise SACS's huge publishing operation, and define new roles for its technically skilled staff. Service head David Venter, applying his experience as a trained psychologist to his professional circumstance, approached the ANC before the election to try to do this. But plans for a joint ANC-SACS workshop, widely perceived as the first step towards a new information policy, were overtaken by events and the party took office without a policy.

A meeting this weekend between the SACS, ministerial spokesmen and the parliamentary Press lobby was the first more or less public attempt to reach a consensus on how the service can realise its new, politically correct objectives.

It remains to be seen how progress made in Parliament's public relations department can set a precedent for meeting the diverse information needs of SA.

Until then, SACS spokesmen will remain shy of the Press when approached for comment on articles such as this one. And rural villages will wrestle with identical problems in developing infrastructure, industry, farming and education — without ever knowing that someone else already has the information they need.

'Strong women's movement needed'

JOHANNESBURG. — A strong women's movement was needed to combat discrimination, oppression and violence against women in the new South Africa, Minister Without Portfolio, Mr Jay Naidoo said at the Transvaal Rural Action Committee's annual general meeting at Nasrec here on Saturday.

"There is no doubt a strong women's movement is needed to ensure that the provisions of constitution on gender equality become a reality," he said.

At government level, a plan of action to benefit women would be implemented within the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), in conjunction with other ministerial departments, provincial and local governments.

"Through provincial workshops, women will have a role to play in shaping policies in health, economic, legal and other spheres. In this way, the question of women's emancipation will not be treated as a side issue but

as an integral part of the reconstruction of the new South Africa," Mr Naidoo said.

Other measures the RDP was committed to included affirmative action for women in the civil service, free basic health services to pregnant women, a programme to set up rape and abuse units in police stations to handle violence against women, and water provision and clinic building programmes.

CT 14/11/94
In redefining the position of women in society the first step was to understand the depth of women's oppression, Mr Naidoo said.

"On the whole, the lives of women are framed within patriarchal assumptions and practices. Women's choices in life are subject to decisions made by men.

"While some laws, like marriage laws, have changed to give women equal status, oppressive attitudes remain enforced by socio-cultural and religious laws and customs." — Sapa

15/11/94 AR6 304 A

Constitution changed again — 'just part of transition'

Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa has amended its interim constitution six times in the past seven months, in one case attempting to pass two amendments in one day.

But the amendments were not made at a whim and were necessary to ensure successful implementation of the constitution, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at a joint sitting of parliament yesterday.

Chairman of the select committee on constitutional affairs Pravin Gordhan said the reality of transition had to be accepted.

"Frequent changes may be required and we will address them as they come."

Yesterday, the constitutional assembly passed the Sixth Amendment Bill.

The Fifth Amendment Bill, put to a joint sitting of the two houses for approval, was not passed because less than the two-thirds majority of members required to pass it were present.

The sixth amendment provides for the size of the independent panel of constitutional experts, which will play a key role in mediating differences in forthcoming talks, to be increased from five to seven.

The increase was necessary because a sub-committee could not agree on which five people should serve on the panel.

The panel's key role is underlined by

the provision that deadlock on the 1999 constitution would have to be resolved by a referendum.

If the referendum result is indecisive, the president will have to dissolve parliament and announce an election.

The fifth amendment allows the appointment of acting-judges to the constitutional court.

It has been dubbed the "Goldstone Amendment" because Mr Justice Richard Goldstone will be unavailable to serve on the court as he has accepted an appointment as special prosecutor of crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia.

The fifth amendment was supported by all parties except the Democratic Party. DP leader Tony Leon said it undermined the constitutional principle of judicial independence. Creating acting-judges contradicted the principle of non-renewability originally intended in the constitution.

● Mr Leon was among MPs who called on Mr Justice Goldstone to choose between his job as United Nations special prosecutor and his seat on the constitutional court.

● Earlier yesterday, the constitutional committee agreed to hold a meeting away from parliament next month.

The meeting will be held in Johannesburg or Pretoria.

Slovo: Housing through 'bank negotiation'

INDIVIDUAL housing subsidies would be paid on behalf of a succes-

ful applicant to a bank or a developer, says Housing Minister Joe Slovo.

Star 16/11/94
Now it's 12 public holidays for all

Cape Town — A hurriedly re-drafted Bill proposing 12 paid holidays for all South African workers was accepted in the National Assembly yesterday (30/11). The Bill, approved by 168 votes to 62, increases the number of holidays for mine and farm workers and full-time domestic workers from seven to 12 a year and guarantees those days off as a right. — Reuter.

Sanco calls on govt to pay for service arrears

WILSON ZWANE

GOVERNMENT had to give sufficient money to new local governments to make it possible for them to scrap arrears and to train officials who had not been involved in local government in the past, the SA National Civic Organisation said yesterday.

An education programme should also be launched to allay the uncertainties of whites over the "deracialisation" of local authorities and to rebuild confidence among township residents in administrative structures.

The organisation also called for the establishment of support units within local authorities, which would simplify tender

systems and advise small business people on opportunities.

Sanco president Lechesa Tsenoli said the non-payment of services in townships should not be seen in isolation. The problem should be seen in the context of the inherited baggage of apartheid, which included the "culture of non-delivery of services" in townships.

"It would be wrong for us to focus only on the non-payment of services. We have to look at all aspects of local government transformation."

Tsenoli said declarations from the civic movement and other "mass democratic formations" would not, in themselves, instil a culture of services payments in townships.

The establishment of new local government structures would be an important step towards rebuilding confidence. But people serving on the new structures would have to demonstrate ability to deliver to the people.

In this regard, officials who had not been involved in local government in the past would have to undergo training.

And government had to give clear directions on the scrapping of arrears. He said

negotiations had to be entered into to decide on a cut-off date for the writing off of the arrears.

He said these negotiations would have to take into account arrears incurred by Indian and coloured communities. "There are also genuine cases of indigence in those communities," he said.

Tsenoli also called for an education programme to address the uncertainties of whites caused by the introduction of non-racial local authorities.

However, whites were not, he said, covered by the services and finance agreement which emanated from the local government negotiating forum.

Volkstaat zones mooted

PRETORIA. — Semi-autonomous Afrikaner regions within large metropolitan areas could be one option for self-determination, Volkstaat Council chairman Mr Johann Wingard said here yesterday. (304A)

Unveiling some self-determination models the council was examining, he said such Afrikaner communities could be organised on the principle of free association and develop commun-

ity councils with autonomy over schools and other activities.

The Volkstaat Council was set up to make recommendations on how Afrikaner self-determination could be accommodated in the final constitution. It became a statutory body in Parliament this week with the passing of the Volkstaat Council Bill.

Mr Wingard said the council was also examining a territory for a future volkstaat. — Sapa

CT 17/11/94

TerreBlanche

threatens war

Star 17/11/94
Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre-Blanche last night threatened war if rightwingers in South African prisons were not released. (20/11/94)

"I plead with the Government that if they want peace in South Africa they must allow the soldiers to come home — white and black," TerreBlanche told about 300 supporters, most of them armed and in uniform, at an AWB meeting in Alberton last night.

He said although the AWB would "never talk to the ANC about the future of the Afrikaner nation," it was prepared to discuss the release of "our people from prisons". — Sapa.

Volkstaat Council studies self-determination models

Semi-autonomous Afrikaner towns or communities within large metropolitan areas could be one option for self-determination, Volkstaat Council chairman Johann Wingard said in Pretoria yesterday.

Unveiling some of the self-determination models the council was examining, he said in an interview such Afrikaner towns could organise themselves on the principle of free association.

They could develop community councils which would have autonomy over their schools and other activities.

"Appropriate supporting fiscal measures should enable them to fund their own decisions (3049)

The Volkstaat Council was set up to make recommendations on how Afrikaner self-determination could be accommodated in the final constitution.

It became a statutory body in Parliament this week when the Volkstaat Council Bill was supported by all parties except the PAC. The Senate passed the Bill earlier this month.

The council, which is looking into eight possible models, hopes

to have an interim report on self-determination ready by March.

Wingard said the list of models included a sovereign Afrikaner republic. This would require negotiated secession which could be a difficult and drawn-out process. "Even in favourable political conditions it would probably take longer than 10 years to establish."

He said the council was also examining the possibility of setting apart a territory intended for a future volkstaat.

Afrikaner numbers would have to be dominant in the area before a volkstaat in the real sense of the word could be established. This could take between 30 and 40 years.

Another option under consideration was sub-regions or combinations of Afrikaner communities within existing provinces.

"The residents of a sub-region could enter into an agreement with the provincial authorities, entailing cultural, social and economic autonomy in exchange for economic and industrial co-operation with the province." — Sapa.

Clash over role of traditional leaders

WSM 18-24/11/94

204A

Hostage-taking and deaths are the result of a clash between the civics and traditional leaders, reports **Farouk Chothia**

DISAGREEMENTS over the role of traditional leaders has led to violence between members of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contraleesa) in rural parts of the Eastern Cape.

Contraleesa this week blamed the violence — which has resulted in hostage-taking and at least two deaths — on Sanco members bent on "wiping out" traditional structures. Sanco hit back by accusing armed headmen who derived their power from the apartheid regime of being behind the conflict.

To add to the tensions, Contraleesa and the provincial government are

locked in dispute over the creation of a House of Traditional Leaders.

Contraleesa Eastern Cape chairman, chief Mwele Nonkonyana, said that with the provincial MEC for Local Government and Housing Max Mamase being a former Sanco member, the regional government has been unable to "put Sanco in order".

"If the provincial government does not take a firm stand, it will have a negative impact on the 1995 election," Nonkonyana warned.

He claimed that attacks on Contraleesa members since the April elections included:

● A Mr Vananda, who is a headman in the former Transkei's Ngqamake area, was "dragged out" of his vehicle and taken hostage in July. He was "interrogated" until midnight. Sanco members also "forced" the headman's wife and children out of the area.

● Chief Zambodla Ndamase, the head of a traditional authority in Ngqeleni, was "physically attacked" in September while performing his duties. He has laid assault charges and a court

case is pending.

● Sanco members "occupied" the offices of traditional authorities and magistrates in the Herschel district in July, resulting in a "fierce battle" taking place.

Nonkonyana also claimed Sanco members were preventing people from attending community gatherings called by chiefs, were bypassing chiefs in the allocation of kraal sites and had brought a newly-introduced government feeding scheme in Libode to a "standstill" after attempting to "hijack" it.

Sanco deputy president in the Border region Joe Jordan vehemently denied Sanco was opposed to chiefs as this would be "tantamount to saying that Sanco is against the interim constitution". But Sanco had problems with the headmen, who act as advisors to chiefs and to whom chiefs delegate authority.

"The headmen system is not traditional. It was created by the previous South African government. (The headmen) have denied the image of chiefs.

They were used by the Ciskei regime to crush our people," Jordan added.

Jordan said headmen were armed even "at the present moment" and a headman has been implicated in the murder of two Sanco members who will be buried in the King William's Town district this weekend. "The point of dispute is that (Contraleesa) does not want to compromise anything with regard to the headmen system. We are prepared to work with chiefs but not headmen," Jordan added.

Nonkonyana also accused the provincial government of negotiating in "bad faith" over the creation of a House of Traditional Leaders.

"We have been negotiating since June but they are adopting delaying tactics," claimed Nonkonyana.

He added that Contraleesa has proposed an 82-member House with chiefs receiving the same salary as provincial MPs. This is reportedly R184 800 a year.

Nonkonyana said while members of the provincial government have "raised

eyebrows" about the cost of running the House, they have still failed to table a counter-proposal. "We are amenable to negotiations. We do not have any firm demand," Nonkonyana added. Repeated attempts to contact Mamase, the provincial MEC, were unsuccessful.

According to Nonkonyana, the draft bill for the House has been "published but still not formally introduced to the provincial legislature". He said the bill was with the select committee dealing with traditional affairs.

In kwaZulu/Natal, the bill for the creation of the House was recently passed amid fierce opposition from the minority African National Congress (ANC) and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini who claims the bill will turn him into a "mere chief" in the House.

At a national level, a bill for the creation of the House was passed in parliament this week, though some Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members are believed to have expressed reservations as they fear they would not control the House.

'Traditional leaders fear elected bodies'

CT 18/11/94 804A (157)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Traditional leaders' fears that local government elections scheduled for next year will undermine their authority is a key obstacle to finalising election regulations, government sources said yesterday.

They said chiefs, particularly in kwaZulu/Natal, do not want to have anything to do with elected bodies.

Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer is having discussions with traditional leaders on constitutional arrangements to enable people living under traditional authority to vote in the elections.

The sources said the discussions included issues such as the powers and functions of elected bodies and those of traditional authorities, as well as arrangements for traditional leaders' representation on the elected bodies.

'Wosa plan on Mass Workers' Party is pie-in-the-sky stuff'

ROGER FRIEDMAN

Weekend Argus Labour Reporter

THE Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) says no amount of wishful thinking by union leadership can stop the momentum to the formation of a "Mass Workers' Party".

Last week, national Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman dismissed the concept as "pie-in-the-sky stuff".

Wosa had hinted that the formation of a workers' party was imminent following a national strategic meeting of its labour commission.

The meeting was attended by representatives of Cosatu and Nactu unions who had pledged to work together, said Wosa.

Mr Coleman replied there was no official Cosatu representation at Wosa's meeting and the recent Cosatu na-

"We are an independent federation, not aligned to any political party or organisation, and we believe we national congress had reaffirmed the union federation's alliance with the African National Congress.

Nactu president James Mundaweni said the formation of a workers' party had not been discussed at their recent annual congress.

should maintain that position," he said.

But, in a hard-hitting response, Wosa said this week that support on the ground for a workers' party was growing.

"No amount of wishful thinking by union leadership like Cosatu's Neil Coleman can wish it away.

"The participants, who attended Wosa's strategic planning meeting, repre-

sented sizeable constituencies within these (Cosatu and Nactu) federations.

"Neil Coleman's remarks display the remarkable gulf that has developed between union leadership and rank-and-file.

"The working class is becoming increasingly aware that the ANC alliance cannot liberate them from capitalist oppression and exploitation in the new South Africa."

Financial integration progress

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

25/11/94 304 (A)
SIGNIFICANT progress is being made in the financial integration of former provincial and homeland administrations in new provinces, says deputy finance minister Alec Erwin.

He was speaking to a liaison meeting between central and regional ministers. These meetings, chaired by provincial and constitutional affairs minister Roelf Meyer, are held monthly to discuss matters of common interest to central and

provincial government. 304A

Reporting on the administrative capacity of the provinces, public service commission officials said agreements would be concluded soon on the transfer of functions such as water affairs, forestry, labour, land affairs, tourism, housing and education.

Minister without portfolio Jay Naidoo, reporting on the reconstruction and development programme, emphasised the responsibility of provincial governments in the successful implementation of the RDP.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Continued from Page 46.

Ironically, it is trying to unite the minorities and fulfil the role held by the DP in the past. (304A)

NATIONAL PARTY New offensive

As his new-look party gears itself up for the local government elections next October, KwaZulu-Natal NP leader Danie Schutte has clearly decided the best form of defence is attack. (304A)

Last week's provincial congress in Durban was the first of the NP's regional congresses to be held since the election. The party's role has changed from that of ruling party to a minority organisation — third behind Inkatha and the ANC in the region — and it has had to adjust accordingly. The event, therefore, provided a valuable pointer to future directions and strategies of the party.

In his address Schutte launched into a blistering attack on the NP's two larger regional rivals.

Predictably, his remarks stung Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi (who is already deeply embroiled in a bitter public row over his role in Zulu royalty) into an immediate and equally scathing response.

Schutte accused Inkatha leaders of devoting more time to internal cultural squab-

bles than vital provincial issues and doing precious little to foster the spirit of togetherness and stability that are essential if the region is to realise its potential as the country's model province.

Responsible role

Schutte also used an attack on the ANC and the enduring rumours of some of its prominent leaders being involved in hit squads in the region, as a means to demonstrate the responsible role being played by the NP with its wealth of experience and record of peaceful participation in the election.

He says the NP is ahead of the other parties in drafting a provincial constitution. (304A)

In the same vein, he also used the congress as a platform to launch a policy document committing the party to fighting for a better quality of life for all. Among its proposals are:

- Free-trade zones and sports pools to fund upliftment;
- Provincial agricultural credit institutions;
- Greater provincial control of the electronic media, combined with greater protection for media freedom;
- An adult education programme targeting rural and traditional areas;
- Addressing the housing needs of farm workers; and
- A primary health care strategy for rural areas.

Also significant was the changed style of the congress. As Natal University's Mervyn Frost puts it: "This was a very significant change from past NP congresses at which the faithful sat and were addressed by a series of Cabinet Ministers, and then intoned 'ons dank die minister'."

The difference is that the congress split up into workshops dealing with themes, such as the constitution and the role of small parties in the interim constitution and were addressed by experts rather than party members.

"That participatory style clearly represents a democratisation of the NP."

Frost adds that it was also interesting to note that the delegates were no longer exclusively white. Blacks were still in the minority, but "it was very conspicuously not a white meeting."

The NP's constituency has changed dramatically and now seems to be aiming at attracting those blacks and whites who are afraid of a monolithic majority.



Schutte ... blistering attack on NP's regional rivals

Continued on Page 50



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QUALITY

Nation votes for Parliament to stay

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICANS of all races, regions, languages and political parties have given a resounding thumbs-up to Parliament staying in the Mother City.

The results of a nationwide survey released yesterday reveal that the majority of the nation, 51%, want Cape Town to retain its status as the legislative capital.

Less than a quarter (23%) of 2 517 respondents questioned in the independent study commissioned by the Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa) believed Parliament should be moved to Pretoria.

Of those questioned in the poll conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys from August 26 to September 16, 26% said they had not thought about the issue or did not know where Parliament should be sited.

CAPE TOWN A CHOSEN CITY

See PAGE 6

Support for keeping Parliament in Cape Town was greater than for moving it to Pretoria, which stands to benefit the most.

Supporters of all political parties — except the PAC which was marginally in favour of Pretoria — favoured retaining Cape Town as the seat of Parliament. Cape Town was also overwhelming preferred to Pretoria by all racial groups and by the language groups sampled. Co-director of the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament (CAP), Dr David Bridgman, said

the Idasa study was the "broadest and most significant research yet conducted into the issue of the location of Parliament". He was sure the government would take notice of the results of the study which "clearly reflect the public mood". Sanco spokesman Mr John Neels responded: "Now that South Africa is truly a people's democracy, we challenge Pretoria to listen to the voice of the people."

(304A)
Volkstaat
'not road for
Afrikaners'

ARG 14/10/94
A VOLKSTAAT was an economically unviable concept and was not the road Afrikaners should take for their survival in African politics, the National Party said today.

In a statement issued in Cape Town, the NP said it had noted the "realistic standpoint" taken by General Constand Viljoen on the attitude of right-wingers to the new South Africa.

Yesterday the Freedom Front leader said people fearing the black majority should leave the country.

Rightwingers no longer had power and could not lead the country with "raised fists".

Addressing about 350 people in Pretoria, General Viljoen said Afrikaners should not be afraid and had to be part of negotiations on the final constitution to ensure it made provision for self-determination.

In the statement, the NP said it was on record as supporting the principle of self-determination for those who chose it.

But the NP felt it was not economically practical and was not the path Afrikaners should take for survival. — Sapa.

Viljoen hatches a reborn 'New Right'

A possible coalition between political parties, including the NP, could see a shift in rightwing politics, writes **Jan Taljaard**

THE Freedom Front's Constand Viljoen has called for co-operation between the political parties "representing the Afrikaner", fuelling speculation about the emergence of a "New Right" that would bring a radical realignment of traditional "white" politics.

Viljoen has been speaking of a possible loose coalition between the National Party, FF and Conservative Party and has disclosed talks with NP leader FW de Klerk and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg on the issue of Afrikaner self-determination.

Viljoen nevertheless cautioned supporters that any agreements are still a long way off.

Embarking on a speaking tour to inform supporters on the "state of the *volkstaat*", Viljoen picked his hometown of Standerton as a departure point where he addressed a gathering of about 150 supporters on Tuesday.

Last night he was due to speak in Pretoria and take up the same theme.

If the Afrikaner is to realise its ideal for self-determination it will only come about if the NP, CP and FF agree on proposals which they can jointly put to the ANC, he is arguing. "If we (the three parties) stand united then nobody will be able to stop us," Viljoen said in his Standerton speech.

Viljoen, who recently returned from a fact-finding mission to Europe, also indicated that the



Constand Viljoen: Now for the Brussels option ...

emphasis has now also shifted from the initial proposals for a single large area for a *volkstaat*, to a view favouring several separate "cantons" spread across the country.

He also disclosed proposals for "self-determination for those Afrikaners who will be living outside these cantons while emphasising the need for independent *volkstaat* areas to serve as "the engine room" for Afrikaner nationalism.

As far as those Afrikaners outside the *volkstaat* areas are concerned, Viljoen proposed a system of "community councils" similar to the Brussels model where the different communities (German, French and Flemish) are respectively represented by community councils that in turn have representation on a

central council.

In the proposed South African model the community councils may have control over issues such as education, he stated.

He was nevertheless at pains to point out that these proposals do not represent a return to apartheid.

"We do not want segregation or apartheid, but the conservation of our own," he said.

According to him the community councils also do not need to be established along racial lines but one such council can, for instance, represent the farming community — white farmers as well as black labourers.

Explaining the differences between the three "Afrikaner parties", Viljoen said the CP may be persuaded to co-operate with the FF in pursuing a sovereign *volkstaat* as it had this ideal as its stated aim.

The CP is nevertheless not interested in other measures that will stop short of independence and may not be that willing to work alongside the FF in its quest to establish community councils.

The NP on the other hand is not in favour of a *volkstaat* as it still regards it as unfeasible, Viljoen said.

De Klerk had also mentioned to him that any such co-operation will result in the NP alienating its coloured and black supporters.

On the way future negotiations between a possible tripartite alliance and the ANC should take place, Viljoen warned that the time of "kragdadigheid", threats and "political clichés" is in the past.

"I have found that when you talk to the ANC you better do your homework properly and keep to logical arguments", he said.

But while Viljoen may be trying to put together an alliance that may yet prove to be extremely fragile from the outset, other alliances in the rightwing sphere are already in the making.

Next month will see a "volks congress" under the chairmanship of professor Adriaan Pont taking place in Pretoria followed by an "Education Congress" hosted by the Afrikaner Volksfront/CP alliance.

And if these latter groupings have one common denominator going for them, it is a serious distrust of and even aversion to Viljoen and the FF.



Coen Vermaak: Wants a fast-breeding volk and gays behind bars

More sex please, we're Afrikaners

Jan Taljaard

COEN VERMAAK is a champion of free sex, bigamy, unbridled procreation and democracy. But a very unlikely champion at that.

"The Afrikaner must be taught that sex is not a sin but as natural as breathing," he proclaims. "Nor must churches be allowed to preach against sex — be it part or not part of marriage."

Vermaak is also an executive member of the ultra-right Boerestaats Party (BSP), a man who would like to see gays sent to prison for 20 years without the option of a fine and a man who quotes freely from Marcuse, Heraclitus and Zola.

Not one for keeping his somewhat strong views to himself, Vermaak is the author of two books, *Sex and Politics* and *Diary of a Revolution* in which he expounds merrily on his central theme, namely that for the Afrikaner to

become a majority in a true democracy he must have sex, sex and more sex — or rather procreate, procreate and procreate.

For in any conversation with Vermaak it soon becomes clear that while he may urge fellow compatriots to give themselves over with (gay?) abandon to sensuous pleasures it is not so much with the feelings of the flesh in mind but rather to ensure a lineage.

If there is one thing that Vermaak can't tolerate and that he will have outlawed in any future Boer democracy, it is the use of contraceptives.

So strong does he feel about it, that purveyors of contraceptive contraband will face a minimum of 20 years in prison.

Abortion will carry the death penalty.

With views such as the above it is small wonder that Vermaak does not always have a sympathetic audience among fellow right-wingers.

Poll shows coloureds don't trust government

Coloured people are increasingly emerging as a political force with firm political views and a nation-wide profile. **STEVE MATTHEWSON** reports on an exclusive new poll conducted for Weekend Argus in Pretoria and the Cape.

ANALYSIS 10/94

3041A

THERE was a time when the liberally-minded would cautiously refer to them as "so-called coloureds", reflecting hypersensitivity to racial terminology.

Lately, however, those of mixed race (as the old government euphemism had them) appear quite happy to be known as coloureds — with a capital C if you like.

If this signals a growing easiness with their title and status (and an acceptance of being neither African, European or Asian), it also marks their ascendancy as a distinct, unique racial group.

This trend has emerged from an opinion poll, conducted by the independent National Surveying Institute on behalf of Weekend Argus, which found that three-quarters of coloured people don't mind the label.

But, the survey also discovered a clear distrust among coloured people of majority rule.

The bulk of the 500 respondents polled in the Western Cape and the Pretoria region believed they were no better off under a democratic government.

Lacking the economic power of whites, but still a minority floating in the political

midstream out of the way of the main thrust of the new government's social upliftment policies, many coloureds seem threatened by the demise of a system which — although it may have pigeon-holed and treated them like second-class citizens — afforded them some protection.

This was abundantly clear in the way the National Party secured the coloured vote — albeit in a campaign the African National Congress described as racist and dirty.

And, in spite of President Mandela's untiring efforts at reconciliation since the election, and his apparent soft spot for coloured people, more than half (51,6 percent) of those polled thought the new government was giving less attention to their problems than the old regime.

Only 18,8 percent believed the government was paying them more attention, while 29,6 percent said there was no change.

In Pretoria, where they are a minority, 43 percent of the respondents believed the government was doing less for them while 23 percent thought it was doing more or much the same.

But, in the Western Cape, where attitudes are no doubt influenced by the majority support the NP enjoys, 57,3 per-

cent said the government was paying less attention to their problems.

The recent storms in the Cape, which destroyed the homes of many coloured people, may have added to this perception in the region.

Not only was there a sense that they had been abandoned in the wake of the universal franchise, but many indicated they were the victims of active prejudice.

Nationally, 75,6 percent believed that discrimination against coloureds was more, or just as, prominent in the new South Africa.

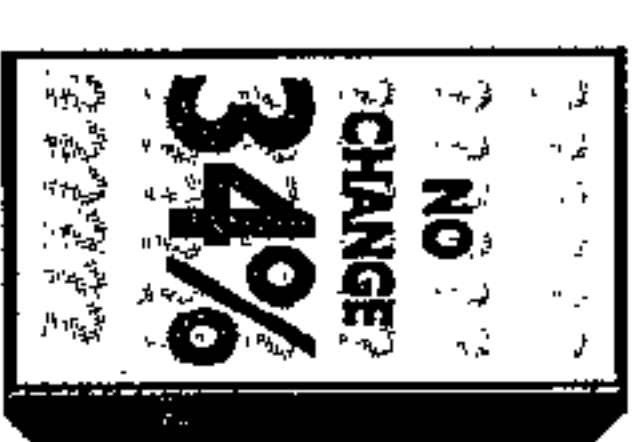
The trend continues in the employment sphere. More than 55 percent in both regions did not believe they were benefiting from affirmative action against 24,2 percent who thought they were and 20,6 percent who were not sure.

Again, the impression that discrimination is still being practised is stronger in Pretoria than it is in the Western Cape.

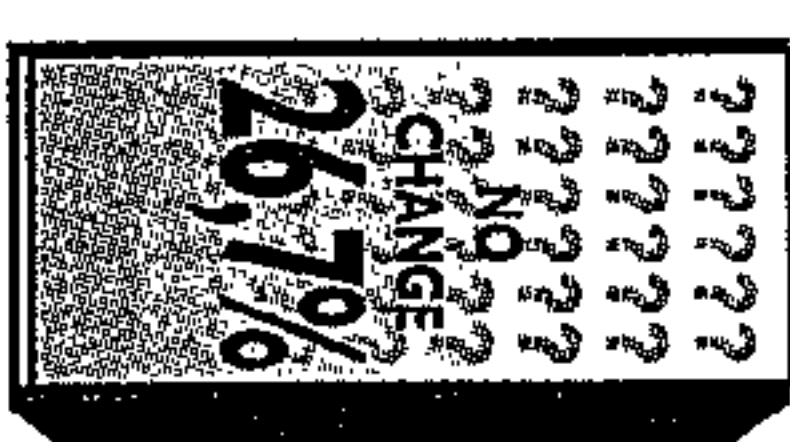
Notwithstanding the government's commitment to address gender as well as racial imbalances, the majority (56,1 percent) of coloured women said they had gained nothing from affirmative action.

Only 20,3 percent of this group believed they were benefiting from these policies

Do you think the new government is paying more attention to the problems of coloured people?



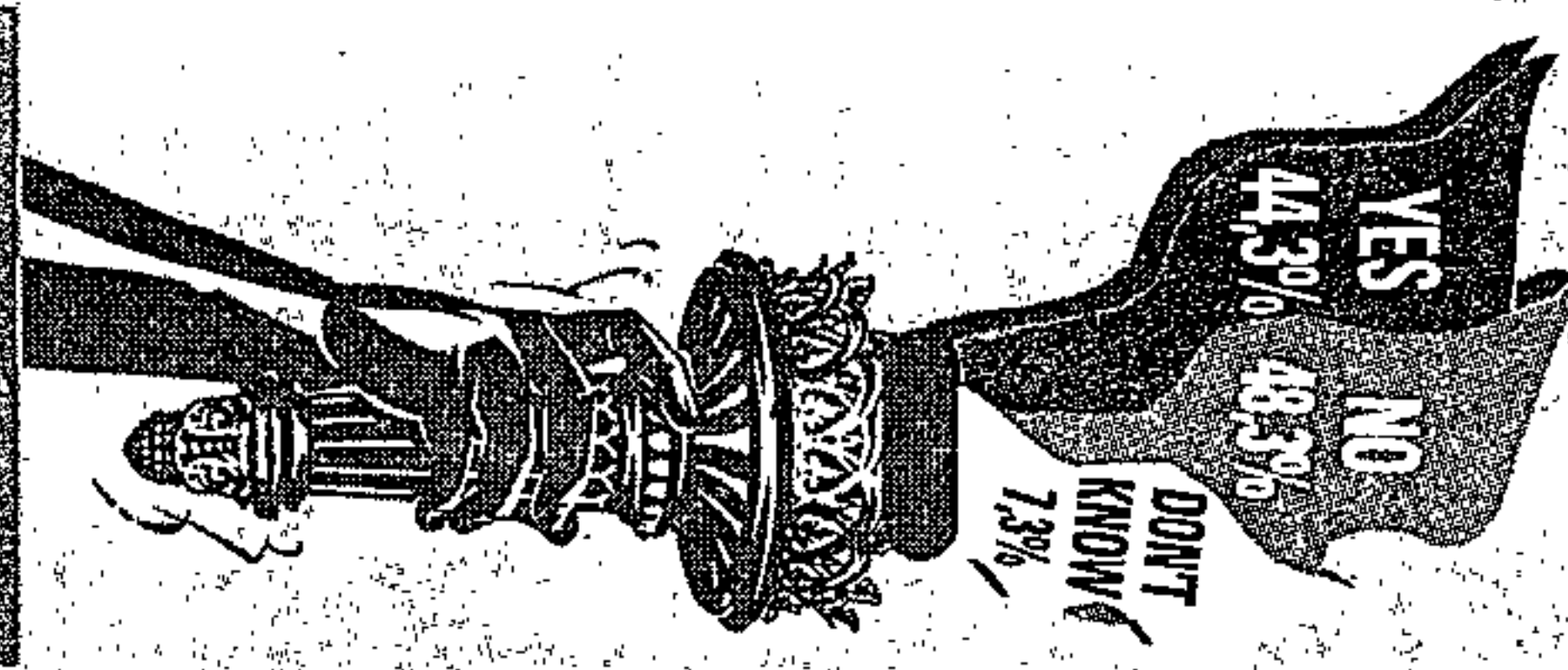
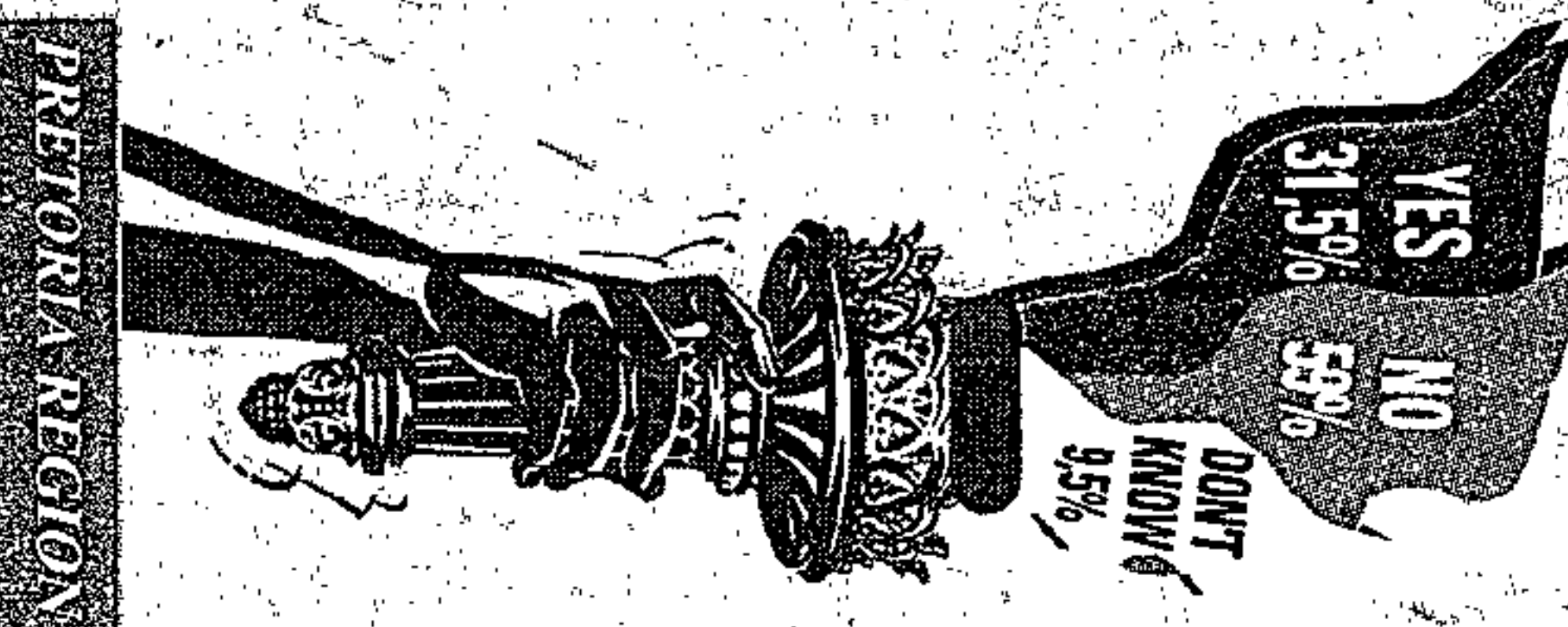
PRETORIA REGION



WESTERN CAPE REGION

Graphic by: JANET PETERSE

Do you feel there is a need for self-determination among the coloured people, like creating your own political party or resistance movement?



PRETORIA REGION

WESTERN CAPE REGION

Graphic by: JANET PETERSE

DO YOU MIND BEING REFERRED TO AS COLOURED?

NATIONALLY



Graphic by: JANET PETERSE

compared to 30,5 percent of their menfolk. So deep does the sense of alienation in some quarters appear to be that, during the upheavals in coloured areas in the PWV, one group claimed to have established a coloured resistance movement.

And, according to the survey, a sizeable number of coloured people would join such an organisation.

Nationally, 39,2 percent agreed there was a need for self-determination among the coloured people, and the creation of their own political party or resistance movement to represent them.

This feeling was particularly strong in the Western Cape where 44,3 percent of the respondents would take up the cause of group rights in the style of the Freedom Front or the AWB. Such sectional political activism was not as evident in Pretoria, where 59 percent opposed such an idea and 31,5 percent agreed with it.

Although the survey was conducted in a range of different geographical locations, among all income groups and with a sample of men and women almost equivalent to the demographic breakdown, a strange pattern emerged.

Group probes right of access to State files

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Moves to provide South African citizens with access to State information have advanced with the creation of a task force to draw up an Open Governance Act.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki announced the move yesterday, pointing out: "The constitution provides that every person shall have the right of access to all information held by the State or any of its offices."

"The purpose of the Act would be to give citizens access to information held by governmental institutions and other bodies exercising public power, while recognising the right to privacy on the part of citizens."

The Act would also provide citizens with access to the proceedings of "certain public bodies".

The chairman of the task force, advocate Mojanku Gumbi, said it would consult widely and hoped to have legislation ready to table in Parliament early in the new year.

19/10/94
Gumbi indicated that there would be "exclusions" to the general rule that access should be open.

Issues such as the privacy of information gathered by the government on companies would have to be part of the deliberations.

The privacy of individuals would also have to be respected, and this would also have an impact on the task force's deliberations. (304A)

Another task force member, Professor Mandla Mchunu of the University of Natal, said it was possible that individuals would be able to obtain information on themselves held by the Government. However, all these issues would be the subject of negotiation before the Bill was drafted.

Other members of the task force are Professor Ettiene Murenik of the University of the Witwatersrand, advocates Vincent Malaka and Empie van Schoor of the State Legal Adviser's office, and the South African Communication Service's Dirk Venter and Adriaan Nortje.

CP's Catch-22 at congress of crises

WSM 21-27/10/94

Jan Taljaard

THE Conservative Party faces a congress of crises this weekend when CP faithful gather in Bloemfontein for the party's first national congress after the elections.

On the agenda will be the unresolved issues of possible participation in next year's municipal elections, whether negotiations with the government should be called off, and the issue of co-operation with other rightwing parties.

The CP is caught between taking a strong stand on these issues and a fear of alienating its supporters. The failure to come to grips with the issues at the party's four provincial congresses earlier this year has already resulted in a paralysis within its ranks, as well as a lack of clear direction and enthusiasm.

Hence the CP's Catch-22: to get the faithful fired up again, a clear indication of direction is needed from the leadership; but such a stand may result in a deepening of existing divisions and some insiders fear this will lead to a split.



Louis Stoffberg: The most serious differences within the CP apparently revolve around the issue of participation in next year's municipal elections. In August the Transvaal Municipal Association, which was strongly associated with the CP at the time, cautiously advocated participation.

While this was apparently backed by the top leadership of the CP, including Hartzenberg, numerous supporters came out strongly against participation as a matter of principle.

As former CP MP Louis Stoffberg put it at the Transvaal congress in September: "We decided as a matter of principle not to participate in the elections of April 27 and since then the principle has not changed at all."

But other prominent members, including Paul Fouche, are adamant that participation is necessary, saying it is the only way to galvanise CP support again and to prove that the party has a support base.

Aggravating the situation, the FF's Constand Viljoen recently disclosed that the former president of the Transvaal Municipal Association, Professor Ben van den Bergh, has been co-opted by the FF to investigate rightwing participation in the municipal elections.

With such conflicting standpoints on the issue, insiders say Hartzenberg will be loath to push it towards any firm conclusion at this weekend's congress. Instead, the leadership may fudge the issue by stating that the CP will not contest the elections as a party, but will allow members to support the Transvaal Municipal Association and its candidates.

LOUIS STOFFBERG: FORMER CP MP

Buthelezi opposes local elections

304A

21-27/10/94

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened IFP non-participation in local government elections unless the status of traditional leaders is ensured. **Farouk Chothia** reports

HOME Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has come out in strong opposition to local government elections in areas controlled by kwaZulu/Natal chiefs and has urged traditional leaders to boycott transitional local government structures.

He has also warned of IFP non-participation in local government elections next October unless the status of the Zulu kingdom is satisfactorily hammered out in constitutional negotiations held under foreign mediation. "The stakes are frighteningly high. Inadequate legislation with respect to

local government could wipe out the role and power of the *amakhosi* (chiefs) and destroy the kingdom forever," said Buthelezi.

The Home Affairs minister outlined his position at a meeting of IFP-aligned chiefs in Ulundi last week which was held under the banner of the newly-formed Iso leSizwe (Eye of the Nation).

Professor George Devenish, a public law lecturer at the University of Natal, slammed Buthelezi's proposals as "incompatible" with the interim constitution.

Devenish believes Buthelezi has

fired his "opening gambit" for constitutional talks and compromises will be found.

The ANC head of local government in kwaZulu/Natal, Mike Sutcliffe, said Buthelezi's comments were "tantamount to a declaration of war" and it was a "pity that he does not leave us in this province alone".

Even within the IFP, there are problems with Buthelezi's stance. Two senior IFP leaders told the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* that traditional leaders must allow local government elections to take place in their fiefdoms, with one adding that *izinduna* (headmen) should contest the poll to "maximise their legitimacy".

The litmus test could come tomorrow when the Pietermaritzburg Local Government Negotiations Forum

(LGNF) reconvenes.

After much cajoling, IFP-supporting traditional leaders from Taylors Halt and Vulindlela agreed to participate in the LGNF negotiations and gave their blessing for the inclusion of their territory into a metro forum. It remains to be seen whether they will stick to this in the wake of the Iso leSizwe indaba.

Buthelezi said the IFP plans to pass a Rural Local Government Act through the kwaZulu/Natal provincial legislature which will "preserve" the powers exercised by chiefs and headmen "in administering the community". Traditional councils will be "the primary local government structure in the traditional community". The Local Government Transitional Act "should apply to metropolitan areas only".

Responding, Devenish said: "In effect Buthelezi is saying there must be no elections and chiefs must rule. Power will be vested in an autocratic elite." He said the envisaged rural Act is in conflict with the interim constitution which provides for chiefs to serve only in an ex-officio capacity in local government structures.

Buthelezi envisages elections only for regional councils, the "over-arching local government structure", and sees traditional communities participating in these, but wants to see regional councils devolving maximum powers to the lower unelected structures.

Sutcliffe accused Buthelezi of once more engaging in "brinkmanship". "Unfortunately, Buthelezi has still not woken up to the fact that we now have a national democracy where the IFP is a minor player."

● The Zulu Royal House has rejected the IFP's draft Bill on the House of Traditional Leaders which will come before the provincial legislature next month. Zwelithini's new legal adviser, S'dumo Mathe, said: "No adequate or new powers are given to him. In terms of the Bill, the king enjoys the same status as a chief."

It is understood Zwelithini wants to be the head of the House of Traditional Leaders but the Bill makes provision for him merely to send a "representative".

W Cape the crown prize in local polls says Dawie

STimes [Cimetro]

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

23/10/94

THE Western Province would be the "crown prize" in next October's local government elections — but the National Party would have to "launch a determined and effective campaign to counteract the onslaught" from opposition forces.

This was the message from NP regional leader Dr Dawie de Villiers when he addressed the party's first Western Cape congress since the restructuring of the party in the Cape.

"We have been conditioned for so long to believe that only middle-aged white men should provide leadership in politics," he said.

"That is totally wrong. We have shaken off the bitter legacy of colour. Today, the NP must be regarded as the best example of a non-racial party in South Africa — more so than any other party in politics."

In his address, Deputy President F W de Klerk praised the NP-controlled Western Cape legislature as the party's national "flagship" and said the NP would use the Western Cape as a power base to launch its electoral offensive on other provinces.



F W de Klerk

"The fact that we are governing here provides an opportunity to prove the governing capabilities of the National Party in contrast to the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party."

Later, Mr de Klerk lashed out at President Nelson Mandela, saying he could cause a "crisis" within the government of national unity if he attempted to implement the RDP on a "racist" basis by favouring people who voted ANC. (304A)

He was reacting to a speech by Mr Mandela in Tongaat, Natal, on Friday night, in which he said Indian and coloured voter support for the NP had created "a problem" for him in respect of the implementation of RDP allocations.

This was because 70 percent of Indian and coloured people had voted for a party (NP) "with a history of racial oppression".

Meanwhile, the furore over the inclusion of the Helderberg basin in the Transitional Cape Metropolitan Council (CMC) has petered out after threats by local farmers and businessmen to air their grievances at the conference.

Minister of Local Government Mr Peter Marais assured delegates the debt burden of the black authorities would be shared by central government, provincial government and local government.

Tony Leon elected new DP leader

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party congress here elected unopposed acting chief and PWV MP Mr Tony Leon as national leader at the weekend.

In his acceptance speech, Mr Leon urged his party to strive for victory in next year's local government elections.

"Victory does not belong to the faint of heart. We must not be too fastidious, precious or prissy. Certainly not if we are to

attract the numbers we need to make a difference.

"And we must make deals, and arrangements, even pacts, whenever and wherever and it will be to our advantage and will cause our support to be maximised.

"Politics is about power and bases, and ours need to grow."

Mr Leon said the party's revised strategy should be to raise its profile, revive its relevance,

and increase its support base. The person who would be attracted to the DP, he said, was the "little person". The person who was left behind by the "toy-toying battalions" and who didn't fit the ethnic requirements of other parties.

He urged party members to reinvent the DP and be "hands-on, get-up-and-go activists, not sit-back-and-wait-for-it passive observers".

(304A) CT 24/10/94
The DP elected Maritzburg member Mr Benjamin Haswell as youth leader. He is the son of ANC city councillor Mr Rob Haswell, a former DP MP.

Mr William Mnisi and former House of Representatives minister Mr Chris April were elected as deputy leaders of the party.

Cape Town-based MP Ms Dene Smuts was elected national chairperson. — Sapa

De Villiers to lead NP again

Political Staff

ENVIRONMENTAL Affairs and Tourism Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers was re-elected at the weekend as leader of the NP in the Western Cape.

His three deputies were also re-elected — Western Cape Premier Mr Hernus Kriel, provincial Housing Minister Mr Gerald Morkel and Mrs Marietta Badenhorst.

Mr Carel Greyling retained his position as provincial secretary and Mr Tommy Immelman was elected to the new position of deputy secretary at the party's Western Cape congress in Somerset West.

The congress also elected eight regional chairmen.

Back to business

US money will soon stream in - Mandela

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela arrived back in South Africa yesterday after concluding a highly successful visit to the United States during which he met with top politicians, businessmen and a wide spectrum of influential opinion makers.

The president was upbeat about the success of his trip and said he was confident his visit would bring "a satisfactory stream of investors" to South Africa. But he conceded that US President Bill Clinton's offers of aid had fallen short of what he had asked for.

Speaking at South Africa's embassy, where ambassador Harry Schwarz hosted a send-off party for him attended by about 1 000 people, Mandela said Clinton was going to do everything in his power to ensure the opening of US markets to South African goods.

"It was also my intention to strengthen the relations between the people of the US and those of South Africa and I think that we have done this very well."

Asked whether he agreed that the level of aid offered had been unsatisfactory, Mandela said: "We ourselves asked for more assistance."

He said Clinton had given an undertaking "that he will examine our representations. We have no doubt that he will try to honour that undertaking."

Mandela told influential American editors that South Africa's labour leaders had agreed not to disrupt the economy while the country attracted investment and tried to provide jobs for five million unemployed.

US investors

Mandela has repeatedly moved to assure US investors that their investments would not be sabotaged by wholesale strike action.

He said South African labour leaders had been told, and had agreed, not to "embarrass" the new government by disrupting the economy.

He said he had called together the leaders of the Congress of South African Trade Unions to discuss the rash of post-election strikes.

He said he had told them: "We are here to end discrimination in all its ramifications but don't embarrass us in that task because we have got five million people unemployed. We want business to expand in order to absorb those five million people."

"We also want investors both from inside and outside the country, and if the environment for investment is not there, we are not going to get investment."

Mandela described South African trade union leaders as "a highly talented and seasoned group of leaders who know how to relate their problems to the welfare of the country as a whole."

"I said to them: 'We have just taken over the government of this country. But at the present moment we merely occupy political office, we do not exercise real political power. To acquire political power is not something that can be achieved overnight. It is a process that is going to take a year, two and even as much as five years.'"

Mandela said South Africa's black workers were paid three or even five times less than white workers for the same job.

"And the workers are fighting to close this gap and that is why we are fully behind them, because that is a just struggle."

He said Cosatu's leaders had accepted his message of restraint. "Because we are dealing with people who can think, who have fought for liberation, who have won political power even though they still merely occupy political office, they realise the importance of discussing their problems without coming out into the open and disrupting the economy."

A new age

In his address of the joint Houses of Congress Mandela said the "new age of great change" into which a democratic South Africa had been born "must also mean a life of plenty".

"The new South Africa has been born out of and into a new age of great change."

"The new age will surely demand that democracy must also mean a life of plenty."

"As the images of life, lived anywhere on our globe, become available to all, so will the contrast between the rich and the poor within and across our frontiers and within and across the continents, become a motive force in telling the deprived to demand a better life from the powers that be, whatever their location."

"As the possibility of nations to become islands, sufficient unto themselves, diminishes and vanishes forever, so will it be that the suffering of the one, shall, at the same time, inflict pain upon the other," Mandela said.

Mandela also disclosed he had held discussions with a senior executive of the McDonnell-Douglas aircraft corporation about South African arms producer Denel's bid to supply Rooivalk attack helicopters to the British military.

McDonnell-Douglas produces the Rooivalk's main competitor for the contract, the Apache.

Boost to economy

Mandela said the contract was important to South Africa as it would mean a great deal to the economy and provide 8 500 jobs.

Armcor is being indicted in the US for securing technological components in defiance of the arms embargo and although it is not linked to Denel, the Rooivalk manufacturer is also affected by the action.

US law prohibits a company under indictment from doing business with US companies, which in this instance would have to provide weapons and other systems for the Rooivalk.

Mandela has asked Clinton to issue a waiver of the denial order on Armcor. - Sapa.

Buthelezi and Meyer on collision course

Star 24/10/94

■ POLITICAL STAFF

A clash is looming between Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Cabinet counterpart in charge of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, over next year's local government elections.

Buthelezi, who is also Minister of Home Affairs, has taken issue with Meyer's temporary role of overseeing the introduction of transitional local structures and the planning of the local polls.

Buthelezi's stance is based on the fact that all elections are

usually the responsibility of the Department of Home Affairs.

Meyer has appointed a task force to investigate the logistical requirements for the elections, expected to take place in October next year.

The other dimension to the dispute is the question of the power of politically based local government structures over traditional authorities (BOHA).

The Interim Constitution makes provision for tribal chiefs, or amakhosi as they are known in KwaZulu/Natal, to be ex officio members of elected councils.

Buthelezi has expressed con-

cern that the elected town councils will usurp the control that chiefs have over their communities and eventually lead to the destruction of traditional Zulu power structures.

He is opposed to local polls in the mainly rural areas controlled by traditional authorities and called on the chiefs to boycott the transitional local government bodies.

Yesterday the IFP's national council endorsed Buthelezi's stand when it resolved to ensure local government structures were not used to destroy the influence of traditional leaders.

DP in push for black support

Durban — The Democratic Party's federal congress in Durban elected Senator William Mnisi and former House of Representatives Minister Chris April as deputy leaders of the party yesterday.

In the election, delegates showed their support for a move by the DP to increase its support base in the black community.

Cape Town-based national MP Dene Smuts was elected national chairman to replace Ken Andrew, who did not stand again.

DP acting chief Tony Leon was elected leader unopposed.

In his acceptance speech Leon told delegates the party had to become "less prissy and adopt a more aggressive, pro-active approach" to win support in next year's local government elections. Mnisi promised to reform,



Helen
Suzman



Zach
de Beer.

revive, and rebuild the DP.

"To elect us means the party is saying we are not serving a small group of people, but all South Africans," April said.

Among the resolutions passed by the weekend conference was one in favour of pro-choice in abortion. Delegates voted overwhelmingly against a referendum in favour of allowing citizens to decide on the issue.

Instead they resolved: "The

DP guarantees the right of every woman to choose or reject a safe, legal termination of her pregnancy, preferably within the first 12 weeks, by a willing, qualified legal practitioner."

■ Dr Zach de Beer and Helen Suzman were named honorary life presidents of the DP.

The several hundred delegates to the congress greeted De Beer with a standing ovation. Suzman was not at the meeting.

Accepting the honour, De Beer said he had decided to step down as DP leader after the party's "disastrous" showing in the April elections. (304A)

"After the elections I was sure I should go. That was only partly because so many South African politicians make messes and don't go." — Sapa, Reuter.

Sowetan 24/10/94

Row over election grows

By Lulama Luti, Mzimasi Ngudle and Sapa

COOKED ELECTION DP chose

not take legal action:

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY and the National Party yesterday dismissed reports that they tried to cook the results of South

Africa's first non-racial election.

DP leader Mr Tony Leon and NP spokesman Mr Olaus van Zyl rejected the allegations by Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) officials carried in a Sunday newspaper yesterday.

The newspaper reported that minutes before the announcement of the results on May 6, the DP and the NP called on the IEC to cut 2.3 million votes from the total or face being taken to court.

Van Zyl said the report was

clearly another attack aimed at harming his party (3044)

He said there was nothing wrong with making corrections for "undisputed irregularities" which occurred during elections, adding that the NP accepted the election results in the interests of the country, even though the party felt a "better reflection of the democratic process would have been 5 to 7 percent more votes for the NP".

Leon said the election was plagued by irregularities of every kind and that the DP drew the IEC's attention to this frequently during the poll. The IEC suggested that the

DP seek an adjustment of votes in relation to the degree to which the party felt it was prejudiced by the election.

"The DP's conduct was not coercive for spoiling... and in the end the DP did not proceed with legal action despite the fact that the IEC did not make such an adjustment." This decision was made in the greater interests of South Africa, he said.

While ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa reportedly said that the proposal had been put to the organisation as well, he said, they rejected it because "this would

have undermined the democratic will of the people". No ANC spokespersons could be reached for comment by late yesterday.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) resolved at its national council meeting last week that the IEC should not be permitted to administer next year's local election, saying the IEC's role should be limited to supervising the electoral process.

The organisation expressed alarm that Local Government Minister Mr Roelf Meyer had "taken political control" of Home Affairs structures engaged in the preparation and conduct of elections.

Meyer "expropriated this important function from Minister of Home Affairs Mr Buthelezi," the council said.

DP chooses two deputies

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party federal congress has elected Chris April and William Mnisi to the newly created posts of party deputy leaders.

Mr April, vice-chairman of the DP's federal council and a former House of Representatives minister from the Western Cape, said he would be the party's link with the "people on the ground".

Mr Mnisi, a senator from the PWV whose task is to recruit black members, told cheering delegates yesterday: "I'll reform, rebuild and revive this party."

National MP Dene Smuts was elected chairperson of the federal council. — Reuter.

DP must return to combat, says new leader Tony Leon

DURBAN. — New leader of the Democratic Party Tony Leon has urged a shake-up of the party.

"Our political recovery must be confirmed in the local government elections, just as the old Progressive Federal Party's fortunes turned around in the 1988 municipal contest," Mr Leon told several hundred delegates to the DP's federal congress in Durban at the weekend.

"We have to get back into combat mode."

Mr Leon said the DP, which had a dismal showing in the April elections, had to be seen to be making a difference in South African politics.

"We must make deals and arrangements, even pacts, wherever and whenever it will be to our advantage," he said.

The party was changing too slowly and had to be transformed to become representative, he said, adding that he had appointed Senator William Mnisi to recruit new black members.

"We need to be seen everywhere in South Africa over the next few months — in townships, in suburbs and on doorsteps," he said.

There was no problem with the DP being the "party of business" but it also had to represent small and medium en-

terprises.

Mr Leon said the DP had to help the government of national unity succeed but was obliged to stand up to the ANC when necessary.

"This government will never succeed without a responsible, vigilant and effective opposition and we're doing that already out of all proportion to our size and circumstances."

"The highly paid jobs in government are the only area of the South African economy where employment is rising."

Mr Leon said the DP had to be seen as "champions against tyranny and tamers of power". — Reuter. (304A)

ARLT 24/10/94

PAC member hits at 'gray train culture'

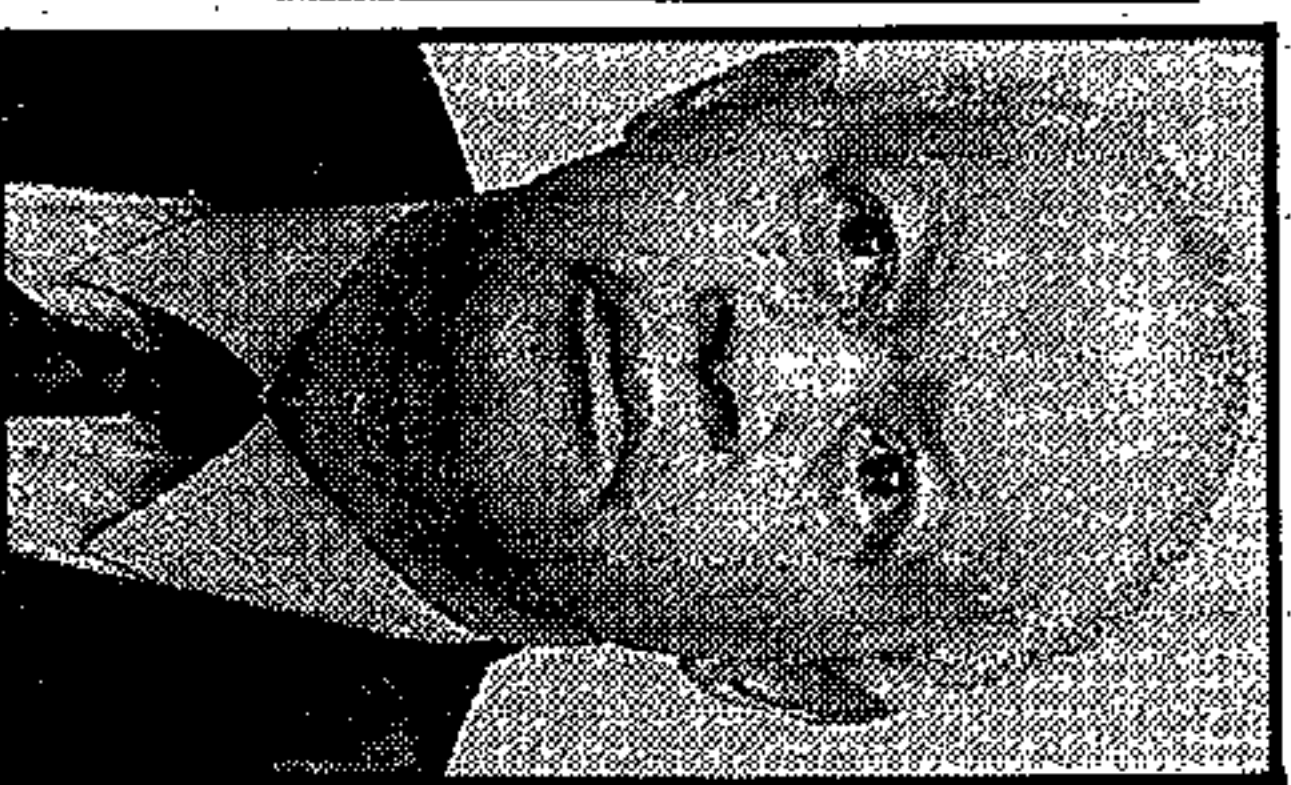
PORT ELIZABETH. — Pan Africanist Congress Transkei vice-chairman Gilbert Sineke says parliament would be reduced to a den of crooks if the fight against a "gray train" culture was lost.

If MPs continued to earn high allowances, it would set a dangerous precedent, encouraging people to view parliament as a money-making venture, he said.

The PAC's view was that people seeking political office should be motivated by a commitment to public welfare, not financial gain. — Sapa.



Frene Ginwala
Speaker



Joe Matthews
Inkatha MP

MPs say heavy workload keeps them out of assembly

MARTIN CHALLENGOR *(204A)*
Political Staff

MEMBERS of the national assembly have been caught up in a tussle over their appearance time between the Speaker of the national assembly Frene Ginwala, the chairs of the 27 portfolio committees and the constitutional assembly.

At the heart of the time problems parliament is running into is that members of the assembly and senators have too much on their plates.

Matters came to a head at the national assembly rules committee meeting yesterday because chairs of portfolio committees and constitutional assembly committees scheduled meetings when MPs should have been sitting in the national assembly.

Dr Ginwala said chairs were unilaterally doing this, although "I have asked committee chairs not to do so."

"I have been very concerned at the absence of members in the house. The public is commenting on the empty benches," Dr Ginwala said. "I have chided chief whips about the absence of members."

The chief whips always replied that "the select committees are meeting".

Dr Ginwala threatened to raise the issue of a quorum in the national assembly "because a presiding officer's

duty is not to connive with chief whips to abort a quorum. This visual image we are sending to the country is actually to the detriment of parliament."

National Party chief whip, Henrie Smit was quick to point out that MPs were working, even if they were not in house. This was backed up by Inkatha Freedom Party MP Joe Matthews and African National Congress MPs.

Yesterday there were 14 portfolio committee meetings. Today there are 16. Each committee has 26 members. MPs were also facing a mountain of legislation before parliament rose on November 17, including 10 justice Bills, said Johan de Lange, chairman of the justice portfolio committee.

The rules committee added to the work load by deciding that MPs and ministers could make statements on important issues in the national assembly.

MPs may move to shorten the hours that the national assembly sits, because much of their work now takes place in committees which are open to the public.

MPs will add to their work load by adopting a more transparent but lengthier way of introducing legislation to the national assembly.

PWV name group passes the buck

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — Faced with the unenviable task of choosing a new name for the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging province, the legislature's Seat of Government Committee has failed the Harry Truman test: it has passed the buck to advertising agencies.

Committee chairman !Khoisan X (Benny Alexander) said members of a sub-committee had been unable to agree on a name from the 15 on the shortlist. (304A) ARG 25/10/94

So they had shortened the list again and decided to ask "professional agencies" to see if they could rework the ideas suggested by the latest shortlist into one, appealing name.

Mr X said the committee realised it had to try to satisfy interest groups with very different concerns. Business, he observed, wanted continuity in the name with a capacity "to attract people to the province".

Then there were diametrically opposed groups: those who wanted the name to reflect the social change the country was experiencing and "the old school", who emphasised tradition and saw a name change as an assault on their culture.

Not one of the 15 names before the committee had the attributes which would satisfy all these groups, said Mr X. It was therefore proposed to ask professional agencies which had "expressed a willingness to help" to join the name search in earnest, using the shortlist as a guide.

Mr X said the sub-committee proposed that the agencies be given 14 days to complete the task and that the legislature be asked to extend the deadline accordingly.

The full committee accepted the proposal without much debate and, one suspects, with a suppressed collective sigh of relief.

The new shortlist is: Egoli, Transvaal, Gauteng, Rand and Central.

IEC did not exceed its budget

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and MICHAEL SPARKS

The Independent Electoral Commission has put it bluntly: the haste and complications of South Africa's first democratic election poll must never be repeated.

The IEC's report on the election, published yesterday, also reveals that the country's democracy elections are likely to cost close to R1 billion.

In the bulky report's chapter on recommendations for future elections, it says: "No electoral administration should ever again be called upon to plan or implement an election in a

hurry. In the glow of elections of national reconciliation the electorate was indulgent. Its forbearance should not be tried again."

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Justice Johann Kriegler also

More reports — Pages 6 and 23

strongly denied press speculation that the result of the election in KwaZulu/Natal was the result of a deal between political parties.

"I don't mind being called a fool, but I strongly resent being called a crook," he said.

He said the country could not hold local government elections without a voters roll and, if possible, an address list of where voters live. (304A)

Mr Justice Kriegler also warned that the local election was going to cost significantly more than the R3 to R4 per voter that was being quoted.

He recommended that a permanent body be established which could regularly run elections.

The report reveals that, to date, the IEC's expenditure has been R912 million. It estimates the final figure would

► To Page 3

Report on poll costs

◀ From Page 1

be within the amended budget of R998 million.

The report says it is a pity that debate about the election budget has "been perverted by some basic misconceptions". One was that the IEC grossly exceeded its budget.

This was based on the premises that the original budget was R287 million and ultimate expenditure exceeded R1 billion: "Both premises are false." (304A)

It says that the R287 million figure arose from a Department of Home Affairs estimate long before the IEC was established.

The IEC's original estimate was R696,5 million.

By April 20, after the impact of a change from the single to the double ballot system had been evaluated, a request was made for an additional appropriation for R300 million.

The report also admits that administrative and financial controls proved unequal to the task.

It "also wishes" to disclose frankly that its asset and salary control systems broke down under pressure. This exposed the IEC, "and hence the tax-paying public, to the risk of loss through folly or fraud".

The report says that in future a voters' roll would be "highly desirable".

IEC doubts on 'cash for crosses' in election

ARG 27/10/94
(304A)
CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

MANY smaller political parties won no seats in the April election, but got something almost as good — money.

In its report tabled in parliament, the Independent Electoral Commission says: "There is reason to suspect that the multiplicity of participating parties is not unrelated to the prospect of qualifying for a grant from public funds."

Payments to parties, big and small, totalled R53 million. The funds were paid to parties according to the number of votes they got.

The IEC questioned the lack of a penalty for failure to account for election cash dividends.

● Dividends for parties were: Pan Africanist Congress R5,38 million; Freedom Front R5,57 million; African Christian Democratic Party R3,5 million; African National Congress R13,5 million; Democratic Party R5,5 million; National Party R7,76 million; Inkatha Freedom Party R6,61 million.

● For parties which won no parliamentary seats, payouts were: Soccer Party R546 391; Women's Rights Peace Party R136 597; Workers List Party R546 391; African Muslim Party R956 185; African Democratic Movement R136 597; Dikwanketla Party of SA R136 597; Federal Party R682 989; Islamic Party R136 597; Minority Front R1,81 million.

Govt's plan to curb wages

CT. 27/10/94

(304A)

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government is poised to announce a sweeping national "belt-tightening" exercise to curb union wage demands.

The cabinet gave its unanimous approval to the plan yesterday after a comprehensive briefing on the initiative from Finance Minister Mr Chris Liebenberg, a top government source said. It is understood the deal will include a proposed agreement between workers and business involving wage restraint by unions in return for more democracy in the

workplace. The goal is both to limit inflation and reduce the chances of production disturbances to spur growth and make the country more attractive to foreign investors.

The determination at executive level to instil fiscal discipline is likely to have a significant impact on bargaining between government and public service unions — whose latest demands would cost the economy R8 billion, Parliament was informed yesterday.

All eyes will be on Public Service and Administration Minister Dr Zola Skweyiya when his budget vote is discussed in the National Assembly.

The minister faces the difficult problem of closing the gap between the lowest and highest paid civil servants, as well as integrating former state and homeland bu-

reaucracies, where huge discrepancies in pay packages exist. Many civil servants in the homelands awarded themselves promotion and huge pay and perks hikes shortly before the elections.

NOT FEASIBLE TO CUT EARNINGS

See PAGE 12

Government sources said it was likely a cap would be placed on the packages of many senior civil servants to allow those lower down to close the gap.

Mr Liebenberg's presentation to the cabinet focused on a programme to revamp the public sector in line with the government's commitment to fiscal discipline and affirmative action.

Cabinet secretary Professor Jakes Gerwel said: "The programme would consist of the transformation of the public sector through reprioritisation of expenditure on the one hand and the achievement of greater representativity on the other hand, as well as belt-tightening measures.

"A few details have to be finalised, and a full announcement will be made before the end of the week."

Prof Gerwel said there was "unity" among the ANC, NP and IFP cabinet members "on such a key policy initiative."

The drive would be in line with the government's "commitment to fiscal discipline as a crucial prerequisite for the implementation of the RDP and for sustainable economic growth and prosperity". The cabinet believed transform-

ing the face of the public sector was important "to the success of the transition".

The cabinet also discussed the composition of the various statutory boards and councils within the jurisdiction of government departments and government ministers are to report to the cabinet on steps they had taken to reconstitute these bodies "in line with the changed political circumstances".

Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe's plan to review the state procurement process, as well as the appointment of planning, construction and civil engineering consultants was also approved by the cabinet yesterday.

"It is envisaged all these measures will lead to greater representative participation in all aspects of our public life," Prof Gerwel said.

The election 'miracle' happened thanks to the team that oiled the wheels writes Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield

Star 21/10/94

IEC fought huge odds for 'miracle'

As the country's first democratic election got under way on April 27 South Africans celebrated in the streets.

But the euphoric mood belied the fact that at Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) Johannesburg headquarters the headaches were mounting, which put the whole country on a knife edge for days.

The scope of the problems being encountered — and a re-election of the crises which racked the organisation — are to be found in an 86-page report on the election, released yesterday.

It is evident from a reading of the report that the much discussed "miracle" of the election was not only that it passed in relative peace, the very mounting of the poll required something akin to a miracle. It indicates that from day one the IEC, created to run the elections, was confronted with problems.

Compounded by a ridiculously short time to tackle its massive task, the IEC's difficulties ultimately manifested themselves in well-documented election day headaches with ballot distribution and then serious difficulties in the counting process.

The report also indicates that administrative and financial controls proved to be inadequate and it abounds with accounts of mounting complications as the election approached. A dramatic example was the late entry of the Inkatha Freedom Party only six days before special voting was due to begin.

"The national interest would so manifestly be advanced by the advent of a major party with substantial support, particularly among Zulus (the largest ethnic group) that the IEC simply had to accept the challenge," observes the report.

This entailed identifying, equipping and staffing 549 voting



stations and dozens of counting stations, having 78 million gummed strips bearing the IFP particulars designed, printed and distributed to every voting station in the country. Amended instructions had to be passed to electoral staff around the country while the staff at some 10 000 voting stations each had to be increased by two people.

The new voting stations immediately exhausted the IEC's stock of voting material reserves. The report notes: "That provisioning should come unstuck for two days as a consequence is hardly surprising. That the election in KwaZulu took place at all was nothing short of miraculous. In the event the IEC met the challenge but the financial and administrative cost was high."

The identification of voting stations at a late stage proved to be a problem in other areas, including Transkei, Ciskei and the former homeland territories of the Northern Transvaal. The report admits that the belated signing of voting stations was to complicate "and very nearly scupper" distribution of voting materials.

Complications in the IEC's operational field were compounded by the fact that the Department of Home Affairs's preliminary work on the election had been undertaken without knowing what the eventual statutory and political realities would be, necessitating a "radical reassessment" by the IEC.

IEC access to Bophuthatena was refused by the territory's administration until it was toppled in the second week of March. At the same time the Transkei administration put pressure on the IEC to dramatically increase the number of voting stations in its area.

The security situation in the country had also to be taken into account, leading to "adaptions which were to prove prejudicial to administrative efficiency". Satisfactory voting across the country was eventually secured, however, when an extra day of polling was allowed in six areas most troubled by administrative and supply problems.

The IEC then ploughed through a counting process that

Madam's in the queue... a domestic worker

entertains her charge while his parents queue to vote in Sandton on April 27. Despite all the obstacles, the elections were widely regarded as a huge success. PICTURE: GARY BERNARD

(3049)

at times took on nightmarish proportions. An "array of impediments" included the failure by some voting station presiding officers to submit ballot paper statements or even seal ballot boxes. Where available ballot boxes had been filled, presiding officers delivered the overflow in a variety of containers, often not sealed.

In the end, the reconciling of ballot papers was largely abandoned in many areas. The election was eventually declared free and fair.

The report does not, however, seek to hide the IEC's shortcomings. In its evaluation of the counting phase it bluntly admits that irregularities in the sealing of ballot boxes, certifying of ballot material and the manner of their delivery to counting stations were breaches of the Electoral Act.

"It is also clear that such irregularities were not isolated but occurred at a significant number of voting and counting stations."

In a section on financial and administrative controls, it admits that they proved "unequal to the task, particularly during the final phase of the hazardous enterprise. In some instances, decisions were taken in the full knowledge that they entailed heavy expenditure which in other circumstances could and should have been avoided."

In its evaluation of voting it acknowledges that "administratively the elections were flawed". But it points out that not a single voting irregularity which was material to the outcome of the results was established.

In perhaps the most telling comment on the success of the election and its own operation, the IEC comments: "Our elections established that a determined spirit of political reconciliation can overcome administrative obstacles."



Roelf Meyer
... keen to
learn words
of Nkosi.

The RDP comes first - Meyer

Roelf Meyer, who helped negotiate the National Party out of power to bring black majority rule to South Africa, has one regret — he does not know a black language.

Now Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provincial Affairs in Nelson Mandela's Government of National Unity, says learning a black language and the words of *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika* are among his priorities.

An African language, he feels, would help most white South Africans communicate easily with their black counterparts and assist them in making a contribution to the new nation.

Meyer said that although much still had to be done to deliver basic needs such as steady jobs, essential services and the redistribution of wealth to those disadvantaged by apartheid, a foundation of reconciliation and nation-building had been laid.

Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa concluded four years of democracy negotiations with an agreement on an interim constitution last November.

They were also key members of the Transitional Executive Council which replaced the multiparty negotiating forum to oversee government departments in the run-up to the April elections.

Meyer (47) told how during the negotiations he endured the wrath of colleagues in FW de Klerk's NP, who were worried he had gone too far to appease the ANC in striking a power-sharing deal until 1999.

"Many people's fears have been allayed.

Working well

"They still cannot believe things are so normal and the Government of National Unity is working so well," he said, although admitting he did not win over all his colleagues in the NP.

Some moved to the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a staunch advocate of federalism, which many believe dilutes the ANC's beliefs for a unitary state.

Meyer is worried that Inkatha's insistence on international mediation on the model of South Africa's new constitution could shift the focus away from the Government's stated aim of reconstruction and development.

He said the Government's priority must be to build South Africa into a vibrant economic powerhouse.

"We are not going to benefit anything if we put up another constitutional fight. We have to work hard to improve the living conditions of the majority of South Africans," Meyer said.

"Future constitution-making is important, but it comes second."

— Sapa-Reuter.

'Inefficiency could have favoured some'

IEC satisfied poll free, fair

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Independent Electoral Commission has acknowledged that its inefficient administration may "to some extent" have favoured the majority parties in KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Transvaal and Transkei during the April election.

However, it was satisfied that the election had been free and fair and its announced results "fairly expressed the wishes of the South African electorate regarding its future governance".

The IFP was the majority party in KwaZulu/Natal while the ANC swept home in Northern Transvaal and Eastern Cape, which embraces Transkei. (304A)

The IEC's election report, published yesterday, revealed that the Democratic Party, the IFP, the National Party,

the ANC and the African Moderates Congress Party all made formal allegations of irregularities during the counting process after the election.

It indicated that the IFP, the DP and the NP had objected to the failure in some areas to reconcile ballot papers. The DP and NP gave notice that they may take legal action, a step that neither took.

The commission found that there was no justification for vote reductions in various areas suggested by the two parties.

During the night of May 5 the ANC lodged "a voluminous and composite objection" in which it alleged that the election in KwaZulu/Natal had not been conducted freely and fairly.

Central to its complaints were that a number of pirate stations had been established and that a number of presiding officers had been partial to

the IFP.

The IEC ruled that it could not make a finding on pirate stations on available information and rejected all objections based on this issue. The AMCP challenged the freeness and fairness of the election on the grounds of defective distribution of voting materials. The report said the party's complaints were "manifestly based on a misapprehension of the nature of the counting process".

The PAC also lodged a complaint, "not couched as a formal objection", alleging irregularities in the PWV and North West.

"In the ultimate analysis the commission concluded that only one case of electoral fraud had been established. About 30 ballot boxes delivered at a counting station in Lady Frere, Eastern Cape, bore clear signs that they had been forcibly opened."

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

Continued from Page 55

make its presence felt in next year's local government elections.

Though, as one delegate put it, "the DP is still too pale a party," it certainly tried to do the politically correct thing by electing a woman, Dene Smuts, as federal chairman (in place of Ken Andrew, who is to retire as chairman), and a coloured, Chris April (former House of Representatives' Welfare Minister), and a black, Senator William Mnisi, as deputy leaders.

Tony Leon was elected unopposed as party leader, having been acting since Zac de Beer stepped down after the party's dismal showing in the April election. De Beer, who along with Helen Suzman was made an honorary life president of the party, looks set to be SA's next ambassador to the Netherlands.

Leon, in his acceptance speech, said he hoped the DP's opponents realised that, while the DP has a proud past, he was not elected leader simply to conduct a retro-tour of its previous accomplishments. "What this party urgently needs is an agenda for tomorrow. Failure will make the party a distant memory and a footnote in SA's history."

His first task is to transform the DP to become truly representative "of the hopes and dreams of the rainbow people of God." His second aim is to improve the re-

lationship between the public and the party to ensure that the DP's recovery is performance-driven. And his third mission is to weld the DP's political "fruit salad" of groupings and ideologies together, to produce a clear vision of the society for which the party strives and to provide long-term goals to people who will rapidly become weary of the lost promises of those who govern the country. (304A)

Says Leon: "To do so we must be far crisper, less fuzzy and more focused than ever before. We must cease being a 'yes but' and 'me too' political shadow boxer and become a 'can do' party at the political cutting edge of the radical centre."

Leon concedes that party support was confined to a small electoral base in the DP heartland in the last election, but stresses that this does not mean the party should be written off. Though its 500 000 supporters across the country might be small in terms of the total electorate, they represent disproportionately much of the "backbone" of the country: professionals, entrepreneurs, the self-employed, academics and domestic workers.

The problem, however, is to convince the electorate that the DP has a future. For this, it is vital that its performance improves dramatically in next year's local elections.

UCT's David Welsh feels that the party

is unlikely to make any dramatic gains in the next few years. Yet there are some positive aspects to the party's break with the past, says Welsh. "Clearly the DP's strategy will be to try to do well and establish footholds in the far more defused environment of local government elections. And it probably will hang in there and get some representation. But, given the electoral system, they won't, in the foreseeable future, be a major political actor."

He says it is critically important for the DP as a small party to be represented at all three levels of government, not only for the sake of its own survival, but because of the calibre of its supporters. "This was seen in the multiparty negotiating process where Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew played a role out of all proportion to the actual DP strength on the ground. It has also done well in the new parliament in spite of being a very small party. It has effectively been the only opposition, which has probably earned it some brownie points." Welsh adds that Leon has already proved to be a highly effective leader.

Clearly, the DP recognises many of its problems and is trying to address them. And it could be that the new leader and his new deputies will make the difference. At best, it will be a long, hard struggle for SA's liberal democrats — but then they're used to that. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY The struggle continues

The Democratic Party (DP)'s annual congress held in Durban at the weekend was marked by a mixture of nostalgia and recognition of the vital need to organise and

(304A)

Continued on Page 58

Clarify role of chiefs — ANC

CT 28/10/94
THE ANC caucus has called on the organisation's national executive committee to give clear policy direction on the role of traditional leaders in local government and their relationship with the South African National Civics Organisation, chief whip Mr Arnold Stofile said yesterday (304A)

Chief Patekile Holomisa, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and an ANC MP, told the caucus chiefs could not be wished away. — Sapa

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Continued from Page 50

Cape Town Citizen's Alliance for Parliament, says government cannot ignore the results, which clearly reflect the public's mood.

John Neels, Western Cape spokesman for the SA National Civics Organisation, says Pretoria must "listen to the voice of the people" and stop its "fruitless and inappropriate campaign." He adds that the interests of the RDP will be served by balanced economic growth throughout the country, not just in and around Pretoria.

The poll found that a remarkably high 84% of respondents had heard of the RDP while 16% had not. Most aware are blacks (87%) followed by whites (86%), Indians (60%) and coloureds (56%).

The relatively low awareness among coloureds in the Western Cape could reflect the lack of effort made in the province by the ANC during the election campaign. In other provinces the party relied heavily on the RDP to win votes, but in the Western Cape it tended to focus more on attacking the record of the NP, which was dominant in the region. James says the lower awareness figures in the province should worry government to the extent that its RDP message is apparently not getting through to people.

Another significant finding is that 64% of respondents regard jobs as the RDP's priority, with 18% opting for housing and 10% for education. Strongest support for job creation came from coloureds (66%) followed by blacks (65%), whites (62%) and Indians (51%). Housing as a top priority was chosen most often by Indians (23%) followed by blacks (20%), coloureds (18%) and whites (9%). Education as the top priority was also chosen most often by Indians (22%) followed by coloureds (14%), whites (12%) and blacks (8%).

Half the total number of respondents said they were not willing to pay higher personal taxes to fund the RDP, while only 32% said they were and 19% were undecided.

The survey also found that 60% of respondents believed a truth and reconciliation commission should be set up to investigate crimes that occurred under the previous government, while only 15% were opposed and 24% undecided.

There was 58% support for the investigation of crimes committed by the liberation forces and supporters of the former government, while 18% of respondents believed that only apartheid-related crimes should be probed. ■

PUBLIC OPINION

Much to mull over

Parliament should not relocate to Pretoria; the top priority of the RDP should be job creation; and crimes committed by all sides should be investigated by a truth and reconciliation commission. (30/11/94)

This is how the majority of South Africans think on three key issues facing government. Their views are reflected in a nationwide poll of 2 517 people conducted in August and September by Market & Opinion Surveys on behalf of the Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa).

Idasa executive director Wilmot James says special care was taken to ensure that the sample of respondents was as representative as possible, particularly of sub-groups such as those in rural KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Transvaal. The results will give government much to mull over. The views on the location of parliament are particularly significant, considering the high concentration of voters in the PWV and neighbouring provinces.

A Ministerial committee is now investigating parliament's future location.

The survey results are also a massive blow to Pretoria's high-budget initiative to lure parliament to the city and will again raise questions about whether the money is not being wasted on a futile campaign. A total of 51% of respondents said the national legislature should stay in the Cape, 23% backed relocation to Pretoria and 26% were unsure.

Even in the PWV itself, only 30% supported relocation, against 38% who favoured Cape Town, and 32% who were unsure. It is not surprising that strong support for Cape Town came from respondents in the Western Cape, with 81% backing the city, 2% favouring a move and 17% unsure.

But strongest support for Cape Town was in the Northern Cape (82%), while strongest support for relocation came from North West province where 43% of respondents backed Pretoria, but they were countered by 46% favouring Cape Town.

David Bridgman, convenor of the pro-

Continued on Page 55

Local polls a minefield — Slabbert

ARG 29/10/94

(251) (304A)

Will they be postponed to first quarter of 1996?

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

LOCAL elections next year face a minefield of difficulties, warns Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, one-time opposition leader who is now co-chairman of the task group planning the nationwide municipal elections due next October.

And he acknowledges there is now talk of postponing the local elections to the first quarter of 1996.

Why the great hassle at local level when the big league elections took place six months ago without too much of a hitch?

For a start, remember that in the national negotiations at Kempton Park small teams of technical experts settled contentious issues for the whole country, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert writes in the *Idasa* journal *Democracy in Action*.

But, in each town and city, local people have to negotiate details — and they are not all experts.

"In other words, the Local Government Transition Act expects ordinary people to take a range of critically important decisions, without the technical competence to do so," Dr Van Zyl Slabbert writes.

For example, should bulk supply of electricity, water and sewerage, maintenance of cemeteries, administration of libraries and so on, fall under the new Transitional Metropolitan Councils (TMCs) or should some of these powers belong to sub-structures — or to city councils?

"Perhaps the most important difference of all is that transition at the local level will affect people in a very concrete and immediate sense.

"It will affect them in terms of basic services that they have taken for granted or expect to be improved. The redistribution role that local government will have to play,

■ After the relative success of the April national and provincial elections, next year's municipal elections should be a piece of cake by comparison, right? Think again ...

in order to abolish the very severe inequalities and imbalances inherited from the past, will have a particularly dramatic impact," he cautions.

The process of change in local government, simply put, is:

■ Negotiating forums have been established.

■ New councils will be appointed (not elected) shortly, representing both those who were in the old system and those who were excluded.

■ Interim elections will be held, possibly next year. All municipal elections are to be held on the same day. Sixty percent of councillors will be elected in wards and 40 percent by proportional representation.

■ Fully democratic elections will be held within a few years once the new constitution is finalised at national level.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert foresees major headaches — starting with the appointed transitional councils trying to tell boycotting township residents to pay for their services.

For the problem with appointed councils is that they can be accused of lacking legitimacy — which is the reason many township residents give for boycotting payments in the first place.

"It will be the difficult task of an appointed local government body to tell township residents not only that they will have to pay for services, but that they will face punitive action if they fail to pay.

"What is worse is that this potentially fraught process will have to take place during the run-up to local government elections and at the same time as appointed tran-



■ Van Zyl Slabbert

sitional councils try to implement the projects and programmes of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

"It does not take enormous intelligence to conclude that somewhere along the line people are going to turn around and say to the appointed councils: 'But who are you? Who elected you? What legitimacy do you have to demand of us that we should do these things that you command us to do?'"

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert foresees tough and unpalatable decisions taken at national, provincial and local levels to make things work.

"For example, there is no way that an effective housing programme is going to get off the ground if the government is not prepared to take a tough line on people who invade vacant land destined for development purposes, or who illegally occupy houses intended for people on waiting-lists," he adds.

The answer is twofold, he says.

■ Elected national and regional government must use their legitimacy to help the

appointed local bodies.

■ Community organisations must come to the help of the appointed local councils.

"Appointed bodies at the local level cannot be expected to take tough decisions without legitimacy conferred on them by the national and regional structures of government.

"Firm guidance on land invasion, illegal occupancy of houses and arbitrary and destructive political populism will have to come from the national and regional governments.

"If the national and regional leadership avoids coming to terms with these tough decisions, they will make the task of the appointed bodies at the local level virtually impossible."

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert also highlights the logistical problems before the interim elections can be held.

"Who, for example, is going to be an eligible voter at the local level? What about the foreigners who have settled in towns and metropolitan areas? How does one distinguish between them and genuine citizens of South Africa? How do we set up effective voters' rolls after wards have been demarcated?"

He says these are the issues which gave rise to talk of postponing the elections to early 1996.

A further complicating factor is that different political parties are in control at regional level in the three major metropolitan areas:

The National Party in the Western Cape which includes Cape Town, the African National Council in the PWV including Johannesburg and the Inkatha Freedom Party in the Durban/Pinetown/Westville area.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert warns that these political difference can lead to local government issues being exploited for short-term political purposes and partisan gains.

"It is necessary for us to have the kind of multiparty accord for local government elections that we had in the April general elections," he says.

FF accuses CP of being dishonest

PRETORIA. — A renewed initiative towards co-operation between right-wing parties and organisations suffered a setback on Saturday when the Freedom Front accused the CP of dishonesty and insincerity.

FF member of the PWV legislature Mr Christo Landman said the CP had demonstrated that it was not prepared to accommodate the FF.

He was reacting to the exclusion of the FF from a Volksfront meeting in Pretoria on Saturday to discuss the

transformation of the front into a co-ordinating body for right-wing groups.

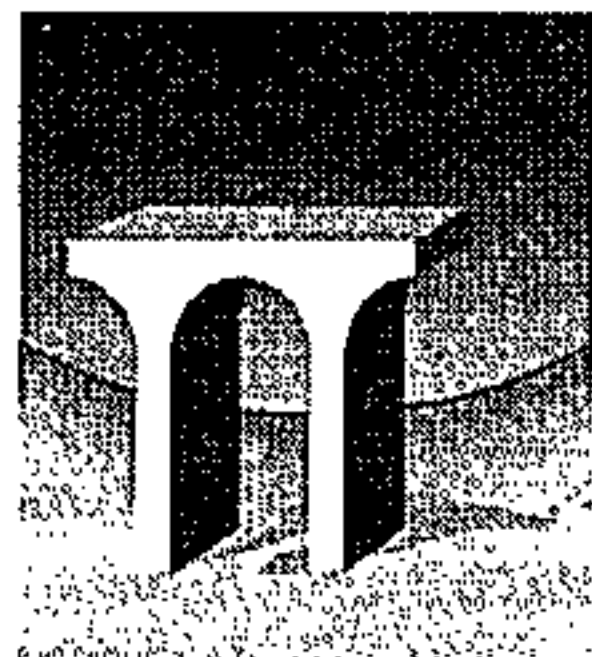
Volksfront leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said they were simply excluded as "they are not part of the Volksfront".

CT 31/10/94
But Mr Landman said the FF been on a committee with the CP and the Volksfront to discuss right-wing co-operation since July.

The FF's exclusion was unacceptable, he said. — Sapa

Beware the siren song

Individual rights need to be at the heart of the final constitution



One test of a new constitution is whether the governing party would find the structure equally acceptable if it were to lose its grip on power.

The old tricameral constitution, which lasted a decade from 1983 until the present interim one was approved, certainly did not pass this test. The ruling National Party knew very well that the coloured and Indian MPs, even in combination, were condemned to permanent minority status in relation to the white House of Assembly. In theory, the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives had control over Indian and coloured "own affairs" but ultimate power rested securely in the House of Assembly.

This was unacceptable but at least it was known to be part of an evolutionary process — just like the present arrangement. When the interim constitution was drawn up during the tortuous multiparty talks that preceded the April election, everyone knew that it was temporary.

Even so, the interim version does amount to a precedent. The final constitution will probably be derived from it in the form of amendments. These amendments will be voted on by the Constitutional Assembly, which consists of members of the National Assembly and the Senate sitting together. It will be presided over by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, whose talents for conciliation must now be complemented by a broader vision.

It is to be hoped that this time the negotiators will rise above party interests; they need to concentrate their minds on what kind of constitution SA needs. The present one, if some of its prescriptive elements survive, could have the bizarre effect of driving any future government to despair — and to long for opposition.

What is a constitution for? The *Penguin Dictionary of Politics* says it is "a set of rights, powers and procedures that regulate the relationships between public authorities in any State and between those authorities and the individual citizens." The great debate, and it is especially vigorous in the SA context, is whether a constitution should be essentially defensive of freedom — that is, protecting abstract individual rights — or whether it should go further and prescribe what citizens are entitled to in material terms.

Our interim constitution is strongly libertarian in tone. It restores the rights of the

individual that are enshrined not only in the common law inherited from Britain but also from Roman-Dutch law. But the time has come to ask whether libertarian zeal has not in some cases extended to outright political romanticism.

Certain weaknesses are already obvious. First and foremost, there is the electoral system — one of the pure versions of proportional representation (PR). This system has the great merit of delivering an arithmetically fair result in terms of parliamentary representation.

But PR tends to favour parties and detract from individuals because MPs owe their survival not to a few thousand geographically located voters but to a place on a list which is drawn up by party managers.

And the ANC is now discovering an entirely different weakness of a parliament elected by PR: the lack of work for the individual MP in a large party. Under a constituency system, he or she has to answer to the constituency electorate. The ANC — to its credit — has already responded to the problem with a proposal to allocate phantom "constituencies" to its MPs, as though they had been elected in a particular area. But this is hardly likely to generate the close relationship between MP and electorate that flows from a constituency system.

There is an attractive alternative: the German system, which enables half the MPs to be elected by PR and the other half from constituencies. This would preserve parliamentary representation for small parties through PR, while constituencies would then have individual MPs who would be directly accountable.

Party fragmentation is the reason governments in PR countries generally have to be coalitions — for the simple reason that absolute majorities are extremely difficult to attain.

The result of the latest SA election must be regarded as abnormal. That the ANC obtained not just 50% of the votes but almost two-thirds has to be attributed to the special circumstances of a liberation election, along with the strong personal charisma of President Nelson Mandela. We have no reason to assume that this pattern will survive Mandela's political lifetime. If, as is all too likely, the ANC eventually splits, SA could find itself laboriously construct-

ing a ruling coalition.

Do we want a strong future government in the hands of the largest single party or would our interests be better served by a weak coalition government? The answer probably lies somewhere in the middle and a middling sort of answer is what a hybrid PR/constituency system would deliver.

The interim constitution has been saddled with one anomalous and certainly illiberal provision — that MPs (including Senators) will lose their seats if they cease to be members of the party that nominated them. This was done, it seems, at the instigation of the ANC, which evidently feared (and fears) schism in its ranks.

What the ANC negotiators evidently failed to consider, however, was the nasty possibility that they themselves, as the controlling cadre, could end up on the losing side of an internecine struggle. Party radicals might achieve a majority in the caucus and control of Shell House.

But, without the resignation requirements, a large moderate bloc within the ANC, finding itself in a minority, could form a coalition with other parties to continue to govern along centrist lines. SA's executive presidency is a deplorable legacy

from the P W Botha epoch and the tricameral constitution. At least the executive president is not a position hallowed by long tradition; on the contrary, there are sound political reasons for scrapping it and reverting to the tried and trusted system of a prime minister, with executive authority, and a titular head of state.

A nonexecutive presidency is a powerful reinforcer of political democracy in a continent where democracy can do with some reinforcing. Apart from fundamental reasons, this proven structure might provide an eventual graceful exit for Mandela from the strains of

office as executive president, while preserving his charisma as a national asset.

Within the Bill of Rights, some strongly assertive provisions are sure to give the Constitutional Court real headaches in the near future. Notably, Section 32(a) says every person shall have the right to basic education and equal access to educational institutions. This right will almost certainly be unenforceable for some years, perhaps forever. What if there are no schools in remote areas? Or there are not enough



Ramaphosa

teachers? Or the schools have been burnt down by feral children and the teachers are on strike?

What would be the outcome if such conditions produced a court case? Would the judges resort to the implication of a term "as far as is practicable?" This would largely negate the resounding wording of the section. Or would they oblige the relevant tier of government to enforce busing to a far-removed but functioning school? One escape could be resort to Section 33. This permits "reasonable" limitation of fundamental rights by "law of general application, which does not negate the essential content of the right." But why have the right in the first place if it is not a right?

Still more idealistic is Section 29, which states that every person shall have the right to an environment which is not detrimental to health, and Section 30, which protects children's rights to security, basic nutrition and health, and social services.

It is to be expected that a multitude of cases will initially be referred to the Constitutional Court, which is likely to be swamped (and will therefore incur enormous costs). The court, still to be appointed, will have to devise its own rules to deal with this. It will also have to set its priorities for hearings, in terms of the importance and general applicability of the issue. Parliament may well have to amend various existing Acts, such as the all-important Income Tax Act, to bring them into accord with the constitution.

Clearly, the establishment of the Constitutional Court will detract from the authority of the existing Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. In the US, the Supreme Court fulfils both functions — but political considerations, understandable as well as regrettable, have prevented the present Appeal Court from being awarded the function of adjudicating the constitution. However, in the long term, when most of the judges of both courts owe their appointments to the post-apartheid government, it would make good judicial sense to amalgamate the two.

One area of government where libertarianism has evidently run riot is the interaction between the Bill of Rights and criminal law. Section 23 confers on the individual the right to information in the hands of the State if such information is needed to protect his or her rights. This is high-sounding and meritorious as a general proposition, but what of the names and statements of witnesses in a trial for murder or armed robbery? Already, this breach of confidentiality has caused problems. To prevent intimidation or physical harm to such witnesses, some limitation on the

general principle is desperately needed.

The right of accused people to release from detention, with or without bail, is enshrined in Section 25(2)(d). While that section is qualified by the words "unless the interests of justice require otherwise," the courts now appear hesitant to deny bail even in cases of murder and armed robbery. With armed brigandage amounting almost to anarchy in some areas, this is too generous to violent criminals and requires further qualification.

The constitution awards individuals "the right to life" (Section 9). It is not clear whether this excludes the death penalty. Nevertheless, this touchy issue needs to be kept under constant review. The sensitivities are compounded

by the appallingly discriminatory way in which the gallows were used against black criminals under apartheid. But violent crime is now so serious a problem that the death penalty cannot be excluded as a deterrent. The emergence of vigilante "death squads" in black areas shows that anguish about the prevalence of murder is not confined to whites. (304A)

The composition and duties of the Financial & Fiscal Commission are set out in Sections 198-206. The commission is supposed to advise government on all financial & fiscal matters and to play a key role in allocating revenue to the various tiers of government. For now, these provisions appear to be a dead letter. Admittedly, these are early days, but the last thing SA wants is a new constitution incorporating lifeless institutions. Either the commission must be brought to life quickly — or it must be scrapped.

There are other areas of detailed concern but the central issue is whether it is desirable to include in the final constitution the politically correct "second-generation" rights to education, housing, security, nutrition and so on. We believe there is a strong case for not doing so.

Second-generation rights should not be termed rights at all. They are really political issues because they have to do with the drawing up of priorities and the allocation of resources. These tasks of government, entailing as they do constant adjudication among competing interest groups, are the stuff of politics. The strength of the Victorian British ruling class, according to the Labour politician Richard Crossman, "was not cleverness or clarity of thought but a sense of tradition, which it shared with the common people, and its native ability to know the time for firmness and the time for concession."

If government was Father Christmas, there would be no need for the harshness of a list of priorities and it would be

possible to entitle everyone to food, shelter, electricity and a swimming pool. Instead, government must give what it can — and that is never enough. Why promise rights that everyone knows cannot be enforced? The effect will be to discredit those parts of the constitution that protect individual freedoms, which, in turn, produce prosperity through their dependence on equality under the law and on the right to private property. To bring political issues into the constitution would make it a political document and SA cannot afford that.

James Madison, fourth US President and a gifted constitutional thinker, believed the one principle in the US Constitution that was "more sacred than any other" was the separation of powers: legislative, executive, judicial. To put second-generation rights in the constitution is surely to blur the distinction between executive and judicial and confuse the role of the Constitutional Court. It's worth noting a judgment handed down by US Chief Justice Marshall in the early 19th Century: "The province of the Supreme Court is to decide on the rights of individuals, not to inquire how the executive or executive officers perform duties in which they have discretion."

The US Supreme Court has moved away from that doctrine, most sharply in the Seventies and Eighties when it was under pressure to legitimise affirmative action and compensate for inequalities in society. In doing so, argues Prof Edward J Erler of California State University, the Supreme Court "has come perilously close to converting the doctrine of individual rights — a doctrine presupposed by the whole of the American legal and political tradition — into a doctrine of class rights."

We need to go back to the intellectual

**"Has libertarian zeal
toppled over into
outright political
romanticism?"**

origins of the American constitution, upon which is founded the world's most resilient and productive democracy. That constitution is based on equality and natural rights rather than a dedication to the improvement of society — which is, after all, the purpose of government.

It may not be politically correct to point this out, but perhaps the 18th Century Founding Fathers like Madison understood human society better than their counterparts in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The greatest evil is tyranny, not economic inequality. Russia has learnt this lesson at enormous cost. We will have no excuses if we make the same mistake. ■

OPINION POLL

Economy a big worry

Before the momentous election in April, The Argus Political Staff offered an insight into the psyche of the nation, dissecting the findings of a major Argus/MMR poll on political attitudes. Now, four months into the new South Africa, they present the highlights of the latest survey, conducted last month, and point to shifting attitudes.

DURING the election campaign that eventually saw him elevated to the White House, Bill Clinton had this slogan pinned to his wall: "It's the economy, stupid".

He read the mood of the American nation accurately, and South African politicians would do well to follow his lead, according to the latest Argus/MMR opinion poll.

While it seems that pre-election fears of escalating political violence have been dampened by the post-election reality, economic concerns loom large in the South African mind.

A full 52 percent of respondents say they are worried about the economy. Of these more than half are now more concerned than they were before the election. Thirty-seven percent say their worries are easing.

There has been a notable shift in peoples' concern about political violence, as opposed to common crime.

Forty-six percent of South Africans say they are now less concerned about political violence than they were before the transition, while 43 percent cite increasing worries about crime levels.

Looked at from a party-political perspective, there are clear differences in expectations among supporters of the various groups.

Most optimistic, unsurprisingly, are supporters of the majority party in the Government of National Unity, the

ANC: a full 82 percent expect a better life for their families.

The figure dips markedly among supporters of other parties, with a bare 11 percent of Freedom Front backers expecting the same.

Corresponding figures for the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, and Democratic Party are 22 percent, 42 percent, and 25 percent respectively.

Forty-seven percent of Freedom Fronters expect conditions to get worse, while 36 percent of NP backers are also pessimistic. More DP supporters — 31 percent — expect a worsening of conditions than those backing the IFP — 20 percent.

Women are generally looking forward to a better lot in the new South Africa.

Asked whether they thought people of their gender would be better or worse off in the new society, 68 percent predicted an improvement, 19 percent expected life to be much the same, and 13 percent feared a worsening.

But men do not think they will be disadvantaged: 63 percent predicted better conditions for males, while 18 percent were pessimistic. Of this 18 percent, more than half were Freedom Front supporters.

A notable statistic reveals pessimism among white males — presumably wary of affirmative action. Only 14 percent include themselves among those looking forward

to a better life for men. The corresponding figure for white women is 34 percent.

Indian males (61 percent) are more optimistic about the future than those in the coloured community (47 percent). African males (84 percent) and females (87 percent) are both considerably more optimistic than other communities.

Religious people expect an improvement in conditions for the faithful.

Fifty-five percent, representing all faiths, anticipate a better climate for worship in the new South Africa, while 32 percent thought things would remain much the same.

The Argus/MMR survey also brought to the fore intriguing attitudes toward the unusual "dual anthem" arrangement.

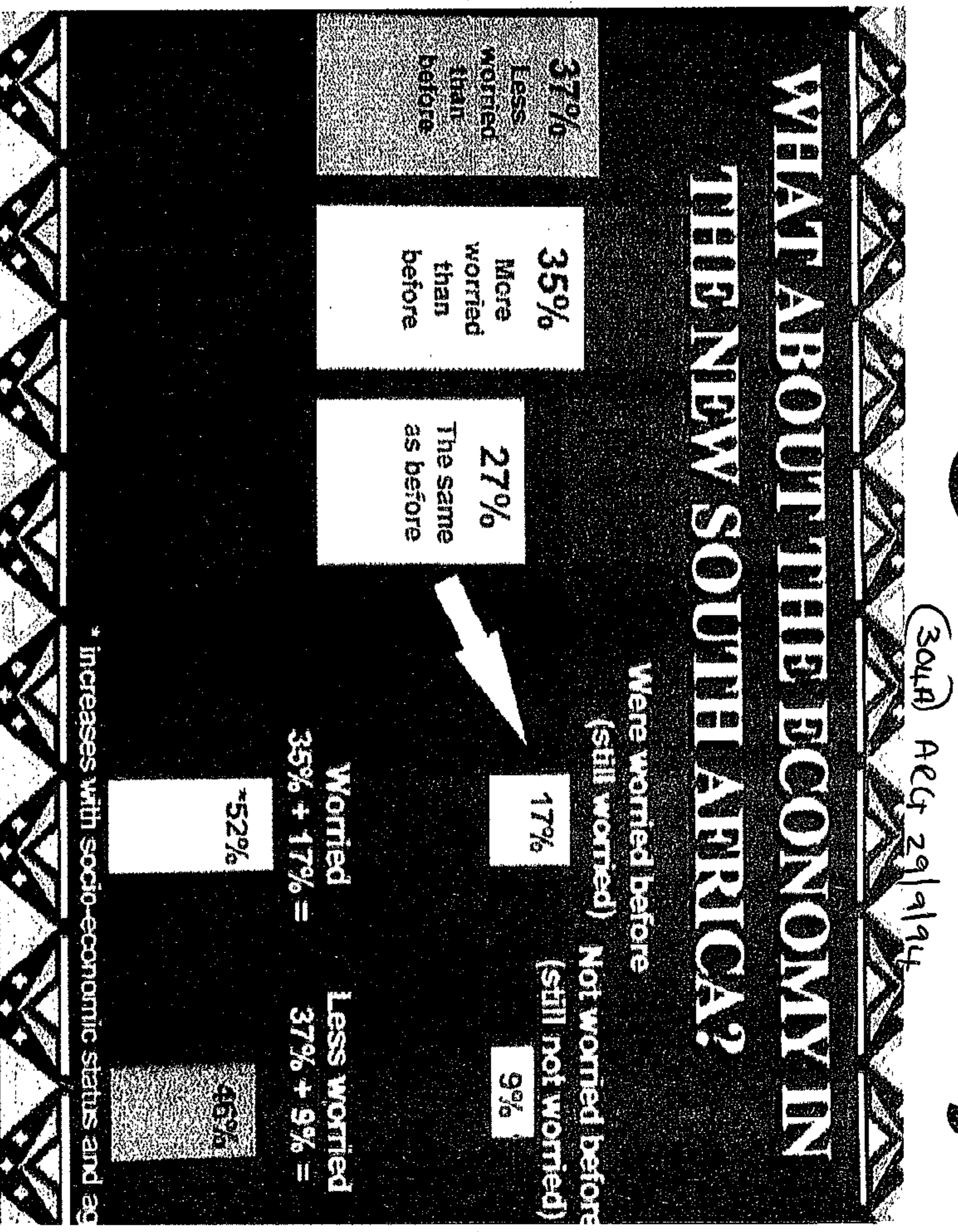
Four months into the new society, 16 percent of South Africans say they can sing both anthems, while another 37 percent say they can sing only one — but intend to learn the other.

Thirty-five percent signalled their opposition to the new arrangement by saying they had no intention of learning the "other" anthem. Twelve percent of the country's citizens know neither anthem.

An overwhelming 82 percent of respondents said they thought the new national flag should be retained permanently.

Least enthusiastic were whites.

WHAT ABOUT THE ECONOMY IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA?



HOW THE SURVEY WAS DONE

THE Argus/MMR survey covered adults of all races, aged 18 and over. African coverage of major metropolitan areas was supplemented with samples from towns and villages.

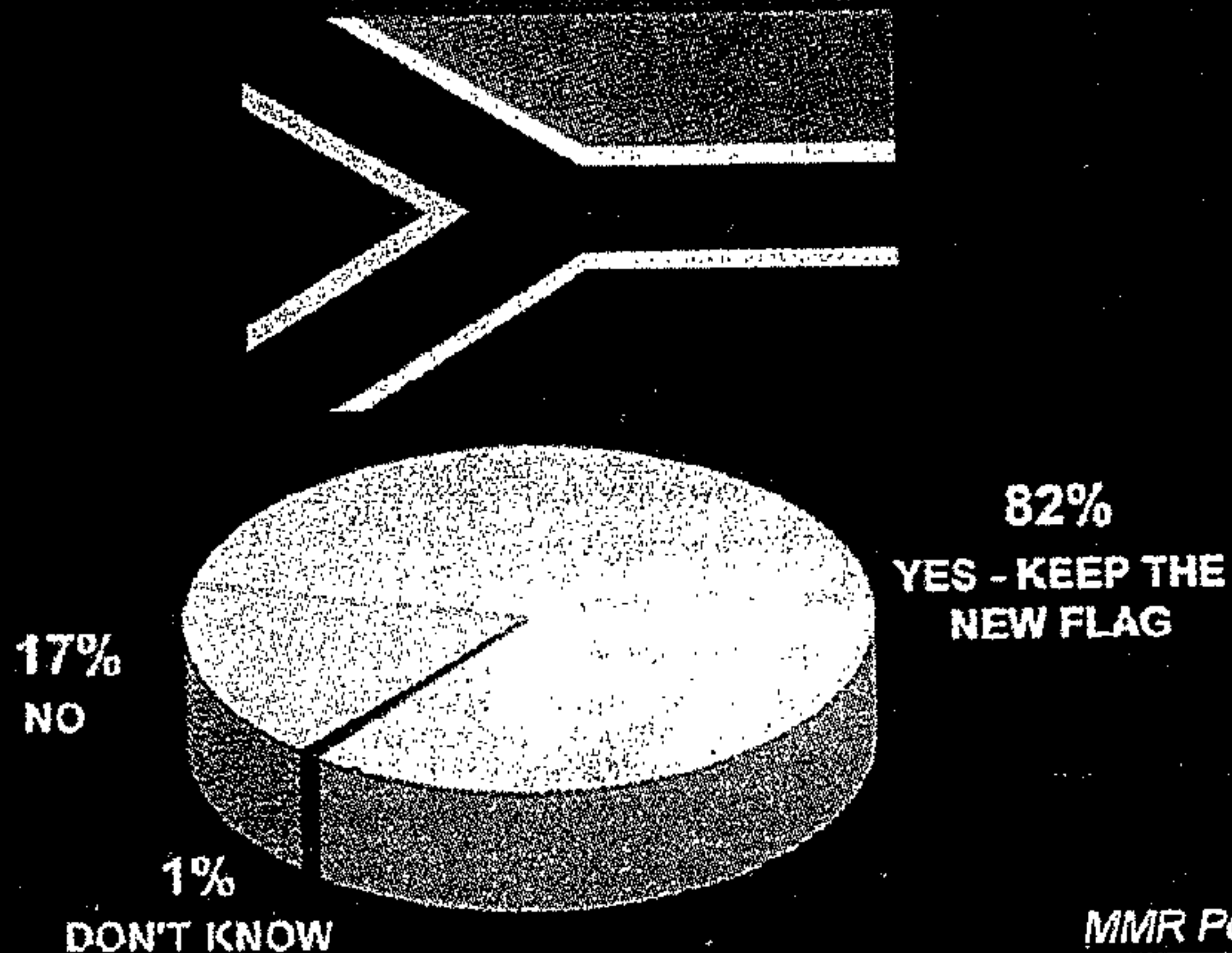
Interviews were conducted at home, in the language of the respondent, using a

questionnaire. Interviewers were of the same race as the respondents.

The fieldwork was done from July 19 1994 to August 14 1994.

The margin of error in the survey, according to MMR, is less than five percent at a 95 percent confidence level.

Do you think South Africa should keep the new South African flag or not?



MMR Poll - Aug

SA women 'remain invisible'

PRETORIA. — South Africa has made some progress in integrating women into government at national level, but women in general remain invisible at most levels in public structures.

This is according to the official 1994 government report on the status of SA women, which was released yesterday. The report is to be submitted to the 1995 Beijing conference on women.

CT 30/9/94
The report said that although 26,5% of the MPs in the National Assembly were women, the fact remained the great majority of women had not been integrated into the social, political and economic spheres of society.

"The key challenge for the new government (in SA) is to ensure integration of women at all these levels," the 60-page report said. To achieve this a strong lobby had to be built inside and outside

Parliament. (30/9/94) (SAPA)

The report stressed that to enable women to participate effectively in society cognisance had to be taken of the obstacles women faced here.

Recent studies had confirmed that women constituted a disproportionate number of those who were unemployed, under-employed, impoverished and subject to oppressive workplace conditions. — Sapa

Government on your doorstep — it's trendy

304A

W/End Argus

1/2/10/94

Intimate local councils on the cards

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Reporter

GOVERNMENT within walking distance of everybody in the city. That is the new trend in Western Cape local government circles as the country heads towards a new nonracial municipal system.

If the idea takes off within a year or two every city resident could be able to walk to an office to take up local issues directly with elected local area councillors instead of wrestling with bureaucracies in distant civic centres.

The goal of user-friendly neighbourhood "fourth-tier" government is gaining ground to counterbalance the vast impersonal new municipal structures being planned to replace the existing apartheid municipal system.

Cape Town's metro area is to have a giant metropolitan council consisting of six or eight huge new municipalities which will have the real teeth — but which could be even more distant from ordinary people than existing councils.

"People want a sense of belonging," said Democratic Party Western Cape leader Hennie Bester, a strong advocate of a completely new system of fourth-tier government which supporters want slotted below the municipalities.

The goal would be to bring "government within walking distance," he said.

At present ward councillors sit in splendid isolation in huge

■ A movement is gaining ground to bring local government closer to people by setting up intimate local area councils within the proposed new municipal and metropolitan councils.

municipal buildings kilometres from most people. A trip to the civic centre to deal with issues of local concern can be a terrifying experience.

"Public representatives in municipalities become distanced from their constituencies. People get lost in a city council," said Mr Bester, himself a former Cape Town city councillor.

He warns that ordinary people could become even more alienated from the proposed new municipal system due to be elected in October next year.

Cape Town's metropolitan council made up of six or eight huge municipalities, will replace the dozens of existing apartheid local authorities. These new mega-municipalities are to straddle existing apartheid boundaries and are essential to abolish the legacy of apartheid, Mr Bester said.

But in the process, each of these large new municipalities will become even more unwieldy and distant from the people whom they represent.

For example, one of the proposed new municipalities envisaged is a broad band across the Peninsula from as far as Llandudno on the Atlantic coast, across the city centre to some of the southern suburbs, to the Philippi farms all the way to Mitchell's Plain.

Mr Bester stresses that such

non-racial municipalities straddling old apartheid boundaries are essential to get rid of past segregation, but the result could be large and even more impersonal councils.

Local area councils had to be created on a strictly nonracial basis and dare not follow racial lines, he said. It would be unconstitutional to juggle with constituency boundaries to entrench privilege.

In practice, one such local area council could include Fish Hoek with nearby Site 5 and Ocean View. Another could include the Marconi Beam squatter camp with Milnerton and Table View.

Large areas such as Khayelitsha could be divided into several local area councils.

These small fourth-tier councils would have no powers to tax residents, but would survive on a mini-budget provided by the municipality.

The local area councillors should not be elected on a party political basis. But they should be able to put pressure on ward councillors elected on party tickets on the big municipality, to produce the goods for their constituents.

Mr Bester said the legacy of the liberation struggle was that no development could take place in disadvantaged communities until developers received the support of "local politicians".

SA's people 'need support from UN'

(304A)
CT 4/10/94

NEW YORK. — The help of the United Nations is needed to improve the lives of South Africans, President Nelson Mandela told the UN General Assembly here yesterday.

He also thanked the UN for its support in ending apartheid and said the focus must now be on economic upliftment.

In his third address to the General Assembly, and his first since becoming president, Mr. Mandela said political freedom was not enough.

"Our political emancipation has brought into sharp focus the urgent need to engage in struggle to secure our people's freedom from want, from hunger and from ignorance."

"That better life must mean an end

to poverty, to joblessness, homelessness and the despair that comes with deprivation."

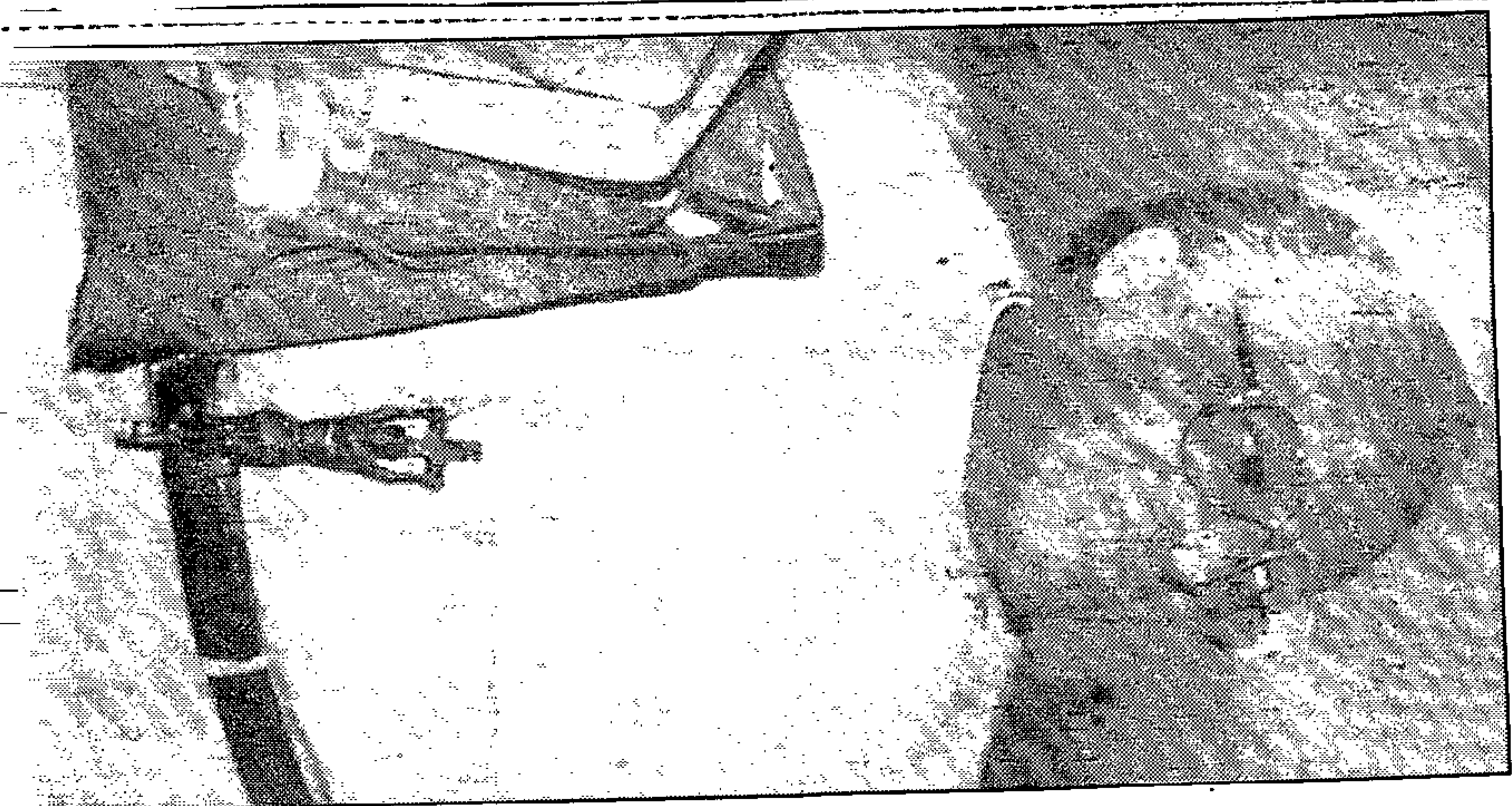
People needed not only the vote, but "bread and work" too.

"We therefore return to the UN to make the commitment that as we undertook never to rest until the system of apartheid was defeated, so do we now undertake that we cannot rest while millions of our people suffer the pain and indignity of poverty in all its forms."

"At the same time, we once more turn to this world body to say that we are going to need your continued support to achieve the goal of the betterment of the conditions of life of the people." — Sapa

Of twigs and trains

Fearless foe . . . the archbishop, once maligned as a 'religious superstar', is not afraid to challenge even the likes of President Mandela.



A man was driving his car along a mountain road. The car went over a cliff. The man was thrown out but clutched on to a twig.

Then, discovering he was still alive, he called out: "Help, is there anyone up there?" A voice from Heaven said: "Yes, my son. Do you trust me?" And he said: "Yes."

"Let go of the twig and I will catch you at the bottom." And he looked down. A silence followed, then: "Help, is there anyone else up there?"

The congregation at Cape Town's St George's Cathedral, the seat of the Anglican Church in South Africa, cracked up.

It was March 6 1990, barely a month after the release of Nelson Mandela and the occasion was a thanksgiving service.

The preacher was the man Mandela had just displaced from his position of pre-eminence in the resistance against apartheid, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The clergyman could not have been happier. The long-awaited opportunity had come to abandon his interim political leadership, lower his profile and do the normal things that become a priest. Gratefully, he reverted to his appointed task of justifying the ways of God to man.

JOHN CARLIN finds Desmond Tutu's laughter does not mask his wisdom and sincerity

Now he could tell his flock that, despite all the evidence, God had vindicated his flimsy twig of faith and South Africans could, at long last, proclaim the beginning of the end of apartheid.

In what might have been interpreted as his final bow from the political stage, on May 9 this year he introduced Mandela, freshly sworn in as President, to a rapturous crowd from the balcony of Cape Town's city hall.

Diminutive, but drawing on oratorical skills unmatched by any South African, he captured the apotheosis: "Friends, this is the day for which we have waited for over 300 years. This is the day of liberation. This is the day of celebration . . . We of many cultures, languages and races are become one nation. We are the Rainbow People of God.

"And one man embodies this new spirit of reconciliation and unity."

"One man inspires us all, one man inspires the whole world. I ask you: Welcome our brand-new President, out of the box, Nelson Mandela."

Those words held a few ironic echoes last week when Tutu and Mandela suddenly ventured into a most unexpected war of words.

It would have been no less of a shock to learn the Pope had been in a slanging match with Mother Teresa.

Mandela, in a speech, accused the archbishop of an irresponsible inability to resist temptation.

And the archbishop replied that Mandela had not only acted in a manner beneath his stature, he had been economical with the truth.

The row concerned a statement Tutu made about highly paid officials in the new Government "having stopped the gravy train only long enough to get on it".

At Bishopscourt, the lavish Cape Town residence of the Anglican primate, Tutu, 63 this week, appeared neither hurt,

battered, nor bowed.

Lounging back in his chair, shoes off, purple-socked feet resting on a cushioned stool, he chorled when asked whether he and the President had kissed and made up.

Good-humoured, he found more than 30 occasions to laugh aloud during the next hour. He tilted, he shrieked, he giggled, he guffawed, he chuckled, he clutched his sides. The spectacle would have been ludicrous if not for the wisdom and sincerity of his words.

The archbishop is a Nobel peace laureate, he has more than 50 honorary degrees, has met more heads of state than he can remember, is one of the world's most famous people, has seen God, but is the enemy of pomposity.

So, had they kissed and made up? "Oh yes. "I called him on Wednesday morning, and then I called him again and eventually, in the evening, he called me back."

"And I said: 'Why are you attacking me, man?' The eyes were bright, the tone mock indignant.

"And he laughed." At which the archbishop himself, in his mirth at the recollection of the exchange, almost fell off his chair.

So they had remained friends?

"Of course. He tells me things, private things. I'm incredibly fond of him and I'm also in a way in awe of him, really: his serenity, his presence, magnanimity."

"You know, it's not put on. I don't think if you squeezed him you'd get one drop of bolshiness out of him."

As an example of what Mandela had given the country, he quoted a recent editorial in The Citizen, a newspaper that was, in effect, the mouthpiece of the government during the 1980s, which used to deride Tutu as, among other things, "a religious superstar".

"Can you imagine reading The Citizen, and The Citizen saying, 'Mandela, we need you.'?"

Tutu is laughing so hard now he battles to complete the sentence.

He has collapsed now, overwhelmed by the triumphant implication of a newspaper that for so

long had slavishly supported apartheid now telling its white conservative readers that Mandela was the best thing South Africa had ever had.

Why did he think Mandela had lost his cool, his serenity, and attacked him?

"Yes, it was so unlike him. At no point does he normally denigrate anybody, which is why this attack on me was so odd. Why? I don't know . . . But, well, it's good to know he's human."

Friends or not, as the gravy train episode showed, Tutu does not intend to let his adulation get in the way of moral vigilance.

How did he define his political role today? "As it comes." (yet more raucous laughter.)

How does it come? "We want to be part of the healing process because everyone in this country has been traumatised."

"We want to be the instruments of the truth and part of it is having to say to these guys: 'Where is the idealism?'"

"Partly, our beef against them is precisely

that we don't want them to fail, man. We've invested so much in helping them to get there."

The miracle having taken place in South Africa, how did he see the future?

The gravy train remained a worry. "You know, it's painful because one loves so many of them, and one knows how deeply committed they have been to the struggle. You're hurt because they have succumbed so quickly to these blandishments."

Blessed

But he chuckled even as he said this, as if he expected his friends, the Government Ministers, to mend their ways.

For South Africa, he believes, is blessed. "We will succeed and the reason why is not because we're smart, it's because God wants us to succeed for the sake of the world."

"Dullah Omar (the Justice Minister) is an example. Remember, the Third Force tried to kill him by switching his heart pills."

"This man is sitting down now, drafting legislation for amnesty so that the people who tried to kill him might be forgiven. We are this beacon of hope for the world because we are so improbable." — The Independent News Service.

Fascinating facts about the new SA

Star 6/10/94

BY CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

The majority of South Africans speak Zulu, with the next most popular languages Afrikaans, North Sotho and English, according to latest available figures.

However, the inclusion of the former TBVC states will probably put Xhosa in second place, authors Christo Luus and Ronel Oberholzer of Absa Bank say in the 1994/95 booklet, *Provincial Characteristics of SA*.

The booklet highlights some aspects of SA's unequal economic and social development.

Of the nine provinces provided for in the SA constitution, the PWV is the smallest area, with 1,54 percent of the total area, and the Northern Cape is the largest, with nearly 30 percent.

SA's literacy rate is about 58 percent.

The least number of literate people are in the northern part of the country and most are in the PWV, Western and Eastern Cape.

But even in those three areas the literacy rate is less than 72 percent.

Only 9 percent of the economically active population is highly skilled.

According to the booklet, SA's population in 1993 was 40,7 million, concentrated at a rate of 343 people per sq km in the PWV compared to the national average of 31 people per sq km.

The population is expected to rise to 50,1 million in 2006.

Migration

There were 95 males to 100 females in SA in 1991 on average, but in the Eastern Transvaal, Northern Cape, Free State and PWV there were more males than females because of the migration of men to seek work.

About 37 percent of SA's population is estimated to be younger than 15 years of age.

In KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Transvaal and Eastern Cape the potentially economically active population is below the average for the country and mostly female.

The highest percentage of people in formal employment was in the

PWV, with 53,1 percent, followed by the Western Cape with 44,9 percent.

The highest rate of unemployment was in the Northern Transvaal, at 30,5 percent. (30/11/94)

The greatest inequality of income is in the Northern Transvaal, KwaZulu/Natal, Eastern Transvaal and Northern Cape while the PWV has a more equal income distribution, the booklet said.

There is a huge discrepancy between SA's formal and informal housing sectors and the areas where the need for housing is most acute are often those where the necessary infrastructure and building materials are lacking.

In the Northern Transvaal there are 133 informal dwellings to 100 formal houses while the ratio in KwaZulu/Natal is 122:100. Only 64 percent of the national population is in formal housing.

The PWV is the most expensive area to build a new house, at R964 sq m, and the Northern Cape is the cheapest, at under R600 sq m.

VOLKSTAAT *fm 7/10/94*
Voice of reason

There is no more opportune time than now for Afrikaners, as members of a minority group, to negotiate the principles of self-determination within a democratic society. This was Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's message to the Volkstaat Council, which he addressed in Pretoria last week.

He told the council that various factors, not least President Nelson Mandela's own role, could benefit minorities in the present political situation.

The democratic process in SA had been driven by negotiations during which the major parties had entrenched the basic principles of a liberal democracy in an interim constitution, said Slabbert.

Another important aspect of the process had been the continuous insistence on inclusiveness. "In this regard President Nelson Mandela has played a decisive role," says Slabbert. Mandela focused on reassuring minorities, especially Afrikaners, that they would not only be included in the democratisation process, but that they would play a formative role in the new democracy. *(304A)*

At the same time the Afrikaner, as the dominant minority, had also played a decisive role in the negotiating process. "The increasing esteem in which the Afrikaner is held in the international community as a result of this historic democratisation role should not be underestimated.

"There are few, if any, precedents where a dominant minority abdicated its exclusive power without violence, remaining at the

same time involved in the democratisation process." *fm 7/10/94*

It is, therefore, of cardinal importance to minorities, including Afrikaners, how negotiations for self-determination will be conducted within the present national and international climate.

Slabbert defines self-determination as the degree of independence a group may have to decide over matters which it may regard as having definitive importance for the upholding of the group as an identifiable, separate unit. In this regard self-determination is a variant which could change in intensity.

He observed that a group may claim:

☐ Exclusive territorial separation (*afsonderlikheid*) as a prerequisite for self-determination;

☐ Merely freedom of religion within a divided, plural society;

☐ inclusive territorial separation in the form of federal autonomy; or

☐ Merely mother tongue and religious education within the divided educational system. *(304A)*

As Slabbert sees it, Afrikaners who want to negotiate autonomy in terms of maximum self-determination over language, religion and cultural issues, in an inclusive, democratic framework with constitutional entrenchments, will have the best chance of success in the present climate. White minority claims for land will rouse emotions and enjoy little national or international sympathy."

In short, says Slabbert, the time is right to negotiate for self-determination — but the manner in which it is done and what precisely is being sought, will determine whether self-determination will be constitutionally viable or undermined. ■

Now four months into the new South Africa, Chris Whitfield and Shaun Johnson present the highlights of the Star/MMR survey conducted last month and point to shifting attitudes.

SA politicians should follow Clinton

During the election campaign that eventually saw him elevated to the White House, Bill Clinton had this slogan pinned to his wall: "It's the economy, stupid!"

He read the mood of the American nation accurately, and South African politicians would do well to follow his lead, according to the latest Star/MMR opinion poll.

While it seems that pre-election fears of escalating political violence have been dampened by the post-election reality, concerns about the economy loom large in the South African mind.

A full 52 percent of respondents say they are worried about the economy. Of these more than half are now more concerned than they were before the election, while 37 percent say their worries are easing.

Most South Africans seem to think that on balance life is getting better in the new South Africa for people of their gender, religion and race. There are clear exceptions, however, with 52 percent of whites fearing a worsening of conditions for their community. Only 15 percent of whites think things will improve.

violence is behind us, with 34 percent of those surveyed saying they had increased concerns about it.

The "coloured" community is most concerned about continuing political violence (55 percent predicting an increase) and crime (64 percent), followed by white and Indian concerns about crime (61 percent and 52 percent respectively).

By contrast, only 32 percent of Africans are now more concerned about crime levels, and 25 percent about political violence.

Most South Africans seem to think that on balance, life is getting better in the new South Africa for people of their gender, religion and race.

There are clear exceptions, however, with 52 percent of whites fearing a worsening of conditions for their community. Only 15 percent of whites think things will improve.

Most upbeat of all are Africans, with 84 percent predicting a better life for people of their race and only four percent predicting that things will get worse.

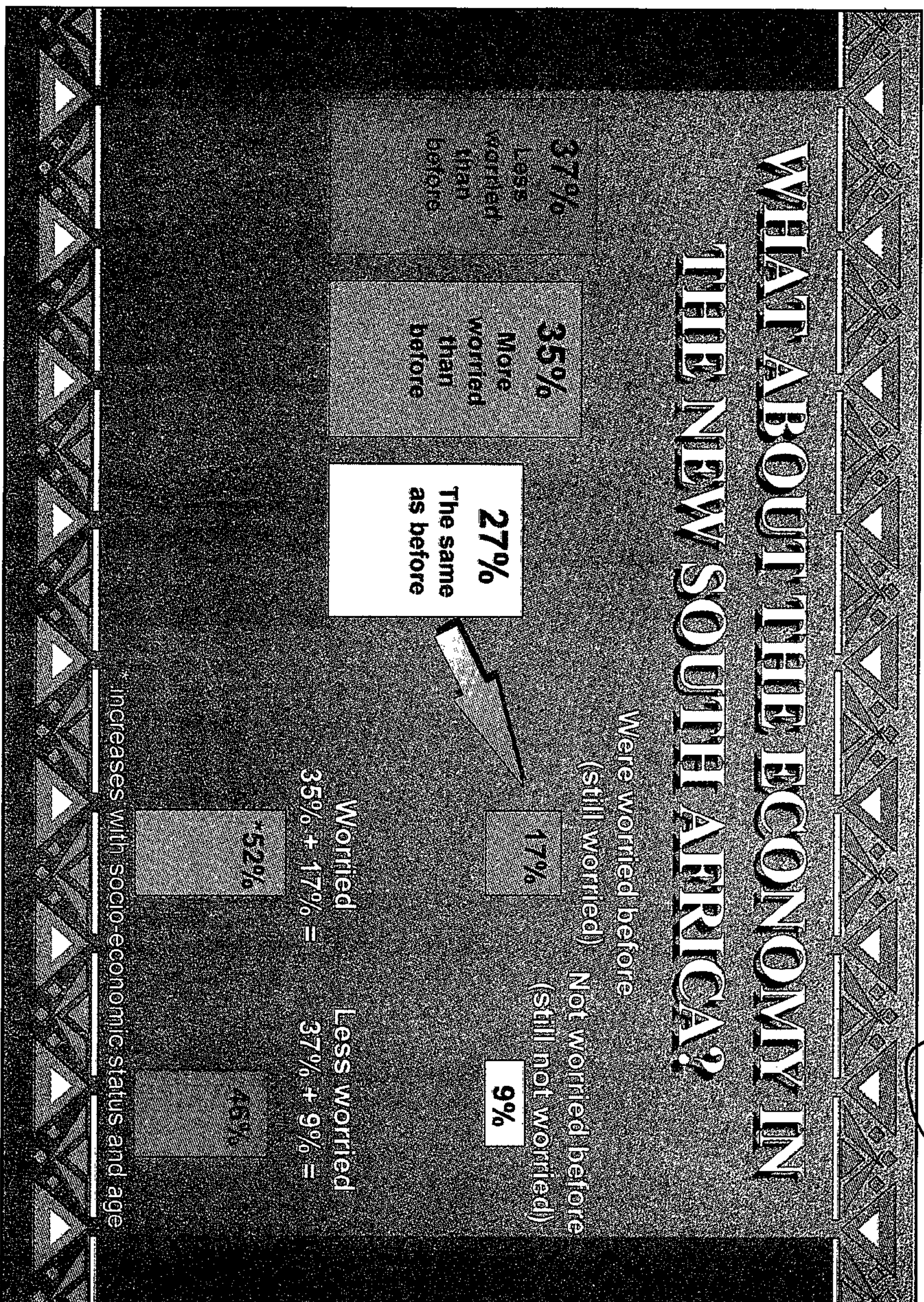
The Indian community is also generally optimistic, with 58 percent of respondents looking forward to an improved lifestyle and 16 percent pessimistic.

Only 37 percent of "coloured" people expect a better life, while 27 percent predict a worsening of their conditions.

Looked at from a party-political perspective, there are clear differences in expectations among supporters of the various groups.

Most optimistic, unsurprisingly, are supporters of the majority party in the Government of National Unity, the ANC, a full 82 percent expect a better life for their families.

The figure dips markedly among supporters of other parties, with a bare 11 percent of Freedom Front backers expecting "the same" in the sur-



to get worse, while 36 percent of NP backers are also pessimistic. More DP supporters — 31 percent — expect a worsening of conditions than those backing the IFP — 20 percent.

Improvement, 19 percent expected life to be much the same, and 13 percent feared a worsening. But men do not think they will be disadvantaged: 63 percent predicted better conditions for

action. Only 14 percent include themselves among those looking forward to a better life for men. The corresponding figure for white women is 34 percent. Indian males (61 percent) are

Religious people expect an improvement in conditions for the faithful. Fifty five percent, representing all faiths, anticipate a better climate for worship in the new

Four months into the new society, 16 percent of South Africans say they can sing both anthems, while another 37 percent say they can sing only one — but intend to learn the other.

Four months into the new society, 16 percent of South Africans say they can sing both anthems, while another 37 percent say they can sing only one — but intend to learn the other.

Regarding the new South African flag, an overwhelming 82 percent of respondents said they thought it should be retained permanently.

Least enthusiastic were whites, although a majority of 56 percent concurred. Ninety five percent of Africans, 88 percent of Indians, and 72 percent of "coloureds" have fully embraced the new banner.

The Star/MMR survey covered adults of all races, aged 18 and over. African coverage of major metropolitan areas was supplemented with samples from towns and villages.

Interviews were conducted at home, in the language of the interviewee, using a questionnaire. Interviewers were of the same race as the respondents.

about political violence than they were before the transition, while 43 percent cite increasing worries about crime levels. However, not all South Africans are convinced that political

National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, and Democratic Party are 22 percent, 42 percent, and 25 percent respectively. Forty seven percent of Freedom Frontiers expect conditions

forward to a better lot in the new South Africa. Asked whether they thought people of their gender would be better or worse off in the new society, 68 percent predicted an

optimistic. Of this 18 percent, more than half were Freedom Front supporters. A notable statistic reveals pessimism among white males — presumably wary of affirmative

than those in the coloured community (47 percent). African males (84 percent) and females (87 percent) are both considerably more optimistic than other communities.

thought things would remain much the same. The Star/MMR survey also brought to the fore intriguing attitudes toward the unusual "dual anthem" arrangement.

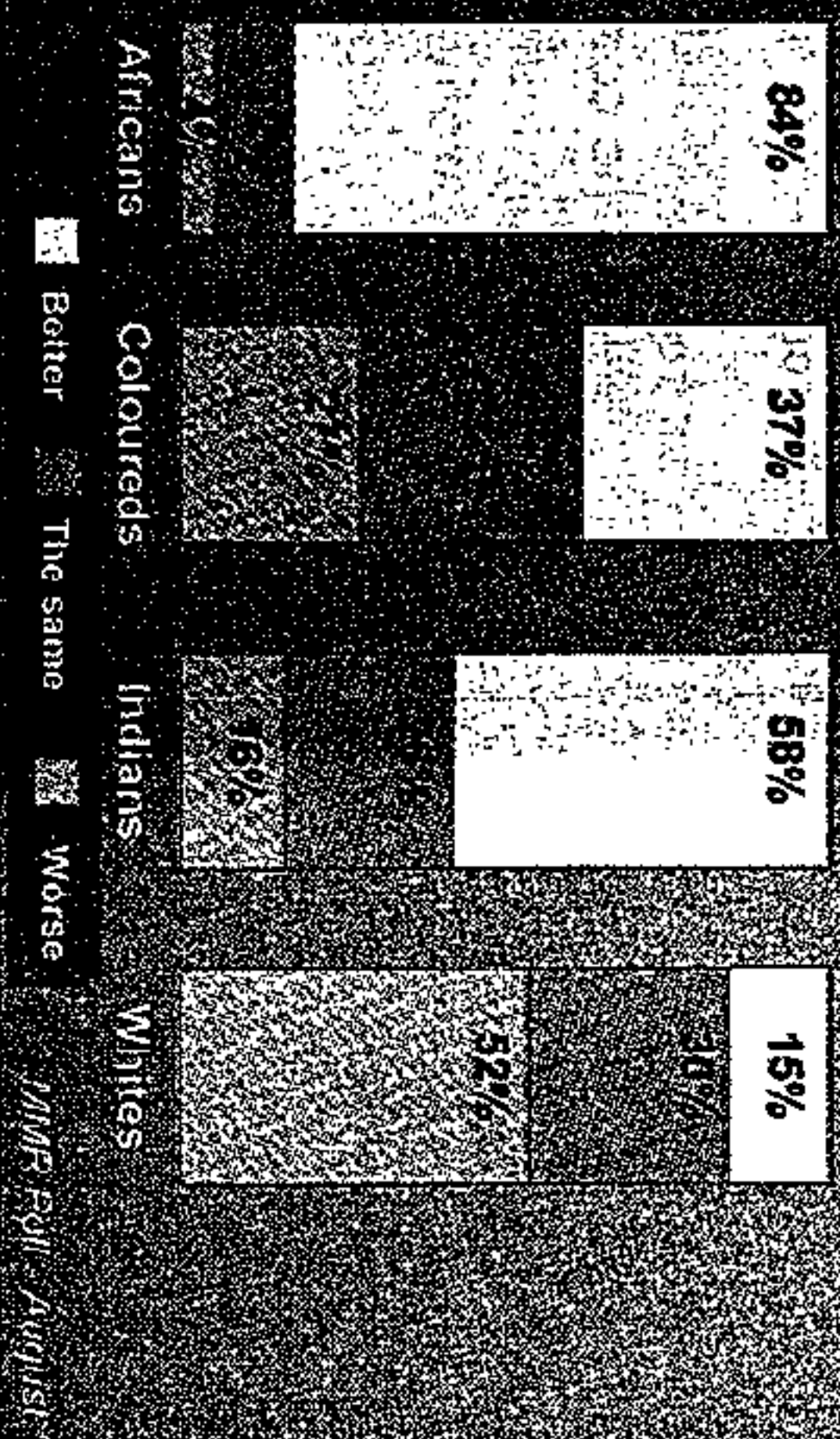
their opposition to the new arrangement by saying they had no intention of learning the "other" anthem. Twelve percent of the country's citizens know neither anthem.

from a survey conducted in August 1994. The margin of error in the survey, according to MMR, is less than five percent at a 95 percent confidence level.

Do you think life in South Africa under the new Government will be better, or worse than before for People of your Gender?



Do you think life in South Africa under the new Government will be better, or worse than before for People of your Race?



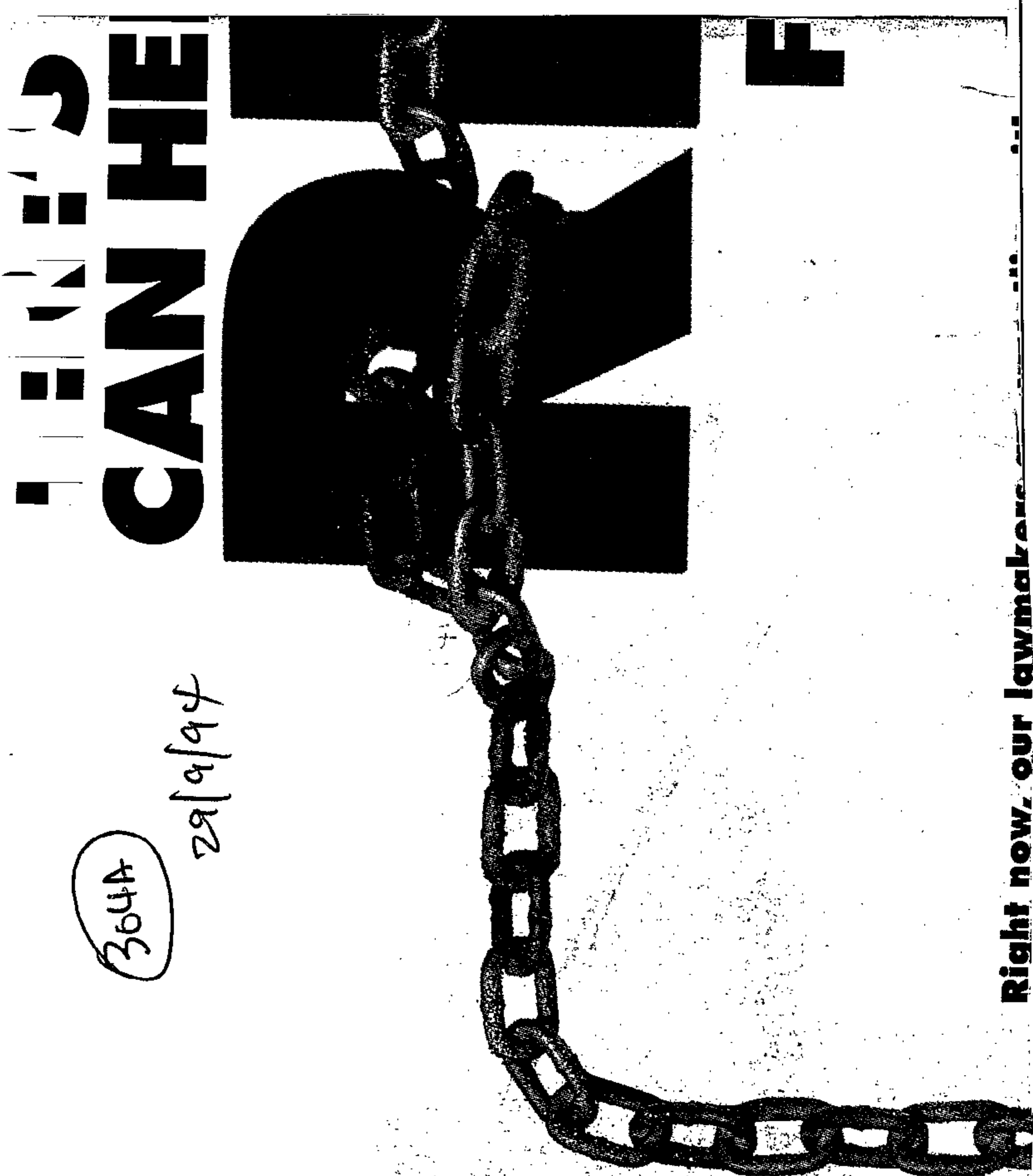
THE SOUTH AFRICAN ANTHEMS

Most Sincerely: Afrika Die Stem

37% can sing only one and intend learning the words of the other
 16% can sing both
 35% will only ever sing the one Anthem
 12% don't know either of the Anthems

MMR Poll - August '94

Right



7/6/94/82

4793

Mandela eases Nat fear, asks Ministers to cut pay

Star 15/9/94

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — President Mandela has confirmed Deputy President F W de Klerk's chairmanship of the powerful Cabinet committee on security and intelligence — a step that is expected to significantly ease National Party concerns over its failure to secure a Cabinet security portfolio.

And in another indication that Ministers might take a pay cut, Mandela urged the Cabinet to lead the way in boosting the economy by tightening their belts.

Speaking in the Senate, the president said: "The perception that Cabinet members are living well above acceptable standards for public representatives should be eradicated by our own

bold actions. We will then be able, justifiably and credibly, to call on others to tighten their belts."

Turning to legislation in the pipeline, Mandela announced that Bills approved by the Cabinet yesterday would give the president direct political charge of the country's intelligence services.

Mandela said De Klerk would remain the chairman of the Cabinet committee on security and intelligence matters.

Significant (304A)

National Party sources last night described this as significant in that it would give De Klerk oversight of all security.

He also said a Bill providing for the creation of a national council and provincial Houses — as required by the Interim Constitution — had been

approved by the Cabinet. The Bill would be submitted to Parliament for debate and, at the same time, ways would be found for consultation with traditional leaders on this legislation.

Mandela expressed concern at reports indicating that the scourge of crime was once more on the rise. He said the Government was determined to eradicate drug trafficking, arms smuggling, the killing of police and ordinary citizens, and "gangsters who lord it over some communities".

Turning to frustration at provincial level over delays in assigning powers, Mandela said this posed "one of the biggest administrative challenges this country has ever experienced".

He said powers should be assigned "in the shortest possible time".

Sharpeville Day public holiday

304A
CT 13/9/94
Political Staff

MARCH 21 — Sharpeville Day — has been added to South Africa's newly announced calendar of 11 paid public holidays.

President Nelson Mandela told the Senate last night the original exclusion of March 21 — which is also the anniversary of the 1985 Langa massacre outside Uitenhage — had been "a serious omission".

He announced to applause from ANC and PAC benches the cabinet had decided to rectify the matter after a lengthy debate yesterday.

The National Party last night criticised the "ad hoc addition of March 21 as Human Rights Day", saying the original list was the product of compromise by all parties.

SA 'also down under'

Political Correspondent

(304A)

CT 15/9/94

THE time had arrived for relations between South Africa and Australia to move beyond rivalry on the rugby and cricket fields, Australian High Commissioner Mr Ross Burns said last night.

Addressing the SA Institute of International Affairs, Mr Burns said South Africans needed to realise that they too were "down under" and the time had come for both countries

to shake off the "rivals in everything" mentality and instead work together to build a more productive relationship beyond sport.

"The brutal fact is that we are too small to win any game by ourselves," he said. "We both face battles in getting our voices heard in international forums and it will pay to work together on multilateral issues like the environment, in the trade arena and the strategic front."

Envoy calls on SA and Australia to work together

□ Real battle ahead is an economic one, Burns warns

PIETER MALAN
Staff Reporter

THERE must be greater co-operation between Australia and South Africa and the countries should stop extending their sporting rivalry into the "serious business of world affairs", says Australian High Commissioner Ross Burns.

Mr Burns told the South African Institute of International Affairs last night he believed South Africa could learn a lot from Australian economic reforms over the past 10 years. The real battle ahead for South Africa was an economic one.

"The Australian economy has also had to face the daunting prospect of getting out of a rut which it had worn for itself through decades of neglect, complacency and isolation."

The two countries' economies were similar in many respects.

"Both of us prided ourselves in taming hostile lands, winning a presence in markets at the other end of the earth and were both 'down under', struggling to be on top."

After years of relative plain-sailing

Australians realised in the early '80s that their economy needed serious restructuring.

Labour productivity was one of their most serious problems. "In 1981, for example, over four-million working days were lost due to industrial disputes.

"Strikes were only part of the problem: the wage-setting system in Australia had become inflexible, excessively confrontational and largely divorced from the realities of the market place."

Mr Burns said that when strikes had been avoided, much productivity had been lost because of time-consuming arguments and lengthy arbitration procedures.

"Compounding these problems was our narrow economic base — both in the sense of what we exported and to whom.

"Most ominous of all was the fact that our industry — particularly the textile, clothing, footwear and motor manufacturing sectors — had grown used to being propped up by government handouts and protection."

In 1983 the new Labour government decided to use its credibility with the

unions to persuade them that Australians were writing themselves out of the world economy.

Far-reaching reforms aimed at getting their economy more in tune with the rest of the world had seen definite results, Mr Burns said.

The two economies could benefit tremendously by working together to counter a world "that needs us less and less unless we add significant value to what we produce".

He added: "The future for both our economies lies in finding our niches in a world economy that is fed by liberalised trade flows.

"What I am suggesting is a radical rethinking of many South Africans' reflex reactions about Australia."

Mr Burns identified three areas where the two countries could work together:

● Issues regarding the sensible management of the environment in the southern hemisphere.

● Further measures to liberalise world trade. ARG 15/9/94

● Issues of common interest among Indian Ocean states.

HISTORY

Monumental fuss

fm 16/9/94
A row over the removal of political memorabilia from the colonial and apartheid eras was inevitable. It is surprising that it has taken so long to occur.

Two events in the past week have sparked heated reaction from the Nationalists and parties to their Right: the rather undignified removal of former PM Hendrik Verwoerd's statue from outside a government building named after him in Bloemfontein; and reports of rumblings in the ANC caucus because the parliamentary complex remains dominated by portraits, statues and artefacts that reflect virtually nothing but the perceived glories of a white Afrikaner male-dominated past. *(304A)*

The matter is now with the Cabinet and a decision is expected soon. It is likely to be a compromise that will satisfy most.

Ironically, it appears that most members of the ANC caucus are not insisting on the wholesale removal of all tributes to colonial or apartheid leaders. Instead, they want a balance which accurately reflects the past and the transition to democracy. In parliament this will probably mean repositioning statues and portraits.

For example, the massive painting of P W Botha's last white Cabinet which dominates the main entrance to parliament could be removed to the parliamentary museum and replaced by a painting of the national unity Cabinet or even something less extravagant such as many of the beautiful nonpolitical artworks that are now hidden in distant corridors of the labyrinthine complex.

Some statues outside parliament, such as Louis Botha astride his charger at the gates to President Nelson Mandela's Cape Town office, Tuynhuys, are also now inappropriate to the new order.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

fm 16/9/94
Finding room for them could be a problem, but it need not be insurmountable. Parks, museums and even less prominent public places are all possibilities. In some cases, the statues in particular may be unwanted and may simply have to be put in storage. A case in point is the massive white granite bust of Verwoerd that was recently removed from what was the H F Verwoerd Building alongside parliament.

Not even the Verwoerd family can accommodate the bust, which is now stuck in a corridor of a government building while Public Works officials try to find it a new home.

The removal of the bust a few weeks ago and the renaming of the building to 120 Plein Street drew virtually no adverse comment. *(304A)*

However, it appears that the prospect of widespread name changes and the removal or repositioning of statues and portraits has spooked the Nationalist press in particular into pre-emptive action.

In the end, the hue and cry will probably prove to have been unnecessary. There seems to be no psychological need in SA to smash symbols of colonialism as happened in most other African states.

But there is an urgent need to reassess the nation's requirements for monuments and other reminders of the past. Many people who should be honoured are not and just as many who do not deserve national acclaim have places of honour.

The trick facing government is to find a balance that promotes rather than damages national reconciliation and diversity. ■

Special committee on parliament's symbols

Political Correspondent

(304A)

THE fate of apartheid-era symbols in parliament will be decided by a special committee.

This step was approved at an African National Congress caucus meeting yesterday, in spite of demands from some that all politically tainted memorabilia be removed immediately.

Membership of the committee has not been decided yet.

ARG 16/9/94

This week, ANC members said the party would not decide unilaterally what should become of the pictures and busts from the old order.

The National Party, Democratic Party and Freedom Front have called for a moderate approach to symbols.

Erentzsen
~~113~~ (304A)
named as
CT 16/9/94
adviser

Political Staff

FORMER South African Municipal Workers' Union president Mr Johny Erentzsen has been appointed as a special adviser to the Minister for Public Service and Administration, Dr Zola Skweyiya.

In a statement yesterday Dr Skweyiya added that a former World Bank official, Mr Sandile Nogxina, had also been appointed as a special adviser.

"The appointments come as part of a process to prepare the ministry for the ominous task of restructuring and rationalisation of the public service."

He said Mr Erentzsen's understanding of the public service was internationally acknowledged.

Volkstaters lower sights

ARG 17/9/94

(304A)

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

AFRIKANER separatists have watered down their *volkstaat* demands and are now talking of confining their "self-determination" to small rightwing enclaves within the borders of nonracial municipalities.

The move towards white rightwing "dorp states" in conservative neighbourhoods is one of the ironies of the new South Africa. The former white government once toyed with the idea of satisfying black political aspirations through black "city states" in the townships.

Now, even hardline *volkstaters* in the Conservative Party — which boycotted the elections — have thrown in the towel and are no longer demanding a separate *volkstaat*.

Fiery CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said this month that the practical way to

■ *Volkstaters* have lowered their sights and now aim at setting up homelands that will amount to little more than tiny mainly-white neighbourhoods in conservative towns.

achieve self-determination for Afrikaners was to grant autonomous powers to local authorities controlled by the CP.

In practice, this would affect traditionally white enclaves in small conservative towns mainly in the Free State and former Transvaal. These towns are to be incorporated into new nonracial municipalities.

Analysts believe the remnants of the *volkstaat* ideal could amount to mainly white neighbourhoods having limited fourth tier government status — under the new non-racial third tier municipalities.

Dr Hartzenberg's position represents a quantum leap from his former insistence that the *volkstaat* be based on constituencies controlled

by the CP in the previous parliament. This would have given the CP control of much of the *platteland* and large towns including much of Pretoria.

The latest *volkstaat* trend is a watered-down version of the Freedom Front's insistence that votes for it in the recent elections be counted separately in a bid to have some kind of guide as to what the *volkstaat* borders could be.

The trend away from a separate *volkstaat* was confirmed recently by Johann Wingard, chairman of the Volkstaat Council which is to have statutory powers under the constitution. Mr Wingard envisages a system of communes with limited self-rule.

The Volkstaat Council is considering a wide range of

scenarios ranging from a separatist state to mere cultural autonomy — amounting to Afrikaners confining their separatism to church and cultural life. The Freedom Front is to take up the issue at the Constitutional Assembly consisting of both houses of the new parliament.

But the main thrust in rightwing circles has now moved towards recognising Afrikaans neighbourhoods in conservative towns.

Volkstaters are now convinced their new position can be accommodated by the new African National Congress-controlled government which has been surprisingly sympathetic to rightwing demands and which has cordial relations with Constand Viljoen's FF.

The concept of semi-autonomous Afrikaner neighbourhoods avoids the *volkstaters'* dilemma of devising sensible boundaries for Afrikaners dispersed throughout the country.

Viljoen, Marais in bribe claim clash

STEVE MATTHEWSON

Weekend Argus Political Staff

AFRIKANER leaders, Constand Viljoen of the Freedom Front and Jaap Marais of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, have clashed in a bitter exchange of letters over claims that the general was bribed by the National Party to co-opt the rightwing into the new government.

The argument appears to have begun earlier this year after the elections when the Freedom Front leader invited the HNP to prove their claims.

"I have in the past, already publicly challenged the HNP to conduct an audit (of my accounts) in order to prove their

scandalous allegations that as an agent of FW de Klerk I accepted millions of rands in bribe money," General Viljoen said.

Mr Marais, however, said he had never before come across such a challenge from the general.

In a lengthy personal attack on the general, Mr Marais referred to bad blood between the FF leader and other sectors of the right wing.

Mr Marais said that if the general was suggesting that the FF's books be audited, it was unlikely that bribe money would be recorded in them.

Anyway, the HNP did not gossip about these issues ...

What was more important was the fact that General Viljoen neglected to embark on a struggle to stop Mr De Klerk, said Mr Marais.

The HNP made no secret of its suspicion of General Viljoen and the FF and clearly outlined its position in publicly distributed pamphlets, he said.

General Viljoen dismissed Mr Marais' letter.

He wrote notes in the margin of Mr Marais' original letter and returned it to him.

"All your accusations and casting of suspicion are untrue. I really choose not to start corresponding with you," General Viljoen said.

"You serve the Afrikaner in

your way and let history judge. It is not in my character to be involved in an exchange such as this ... Leave me alone to do my work in peace," he added.

But Mr Marais wrote a second letter telling General Viljoen his reply was evasive and that it was obvious he could not deny his claims.

Mr Marais added as a footnote: "To get my own letter back with your comments in the margin must have some 'strategic' significance which I cannot grasp."

"I hope this unkindness is not a trademark of certain roleplayers in the parliamentary politics of the new South Africa."

Kathrada gets new position

CAPE TOWN, 19/9/94
ANC
National Assembly
member Mr Ahmed
Kathrada has been ap-
pointed political adviser
to the President.

Presidential spokes-
man Mr Parks Mankah-
lana said the official ti-
tle is Parliamentary
Counsellor in the Office
of the President. (304A)

□ All things possible, John Major declares 'dawn of a new age'

TOS WENTZEL
Diplomatic Correspondent

BRITISH Prime Minister John Major arrived in Cape Town today and declared that Britain and South Africa stood "at the dawn of a new age where, with faith, hope and courage, all things are possible".

It is the first visit by a British Prime Minister since that of Harold Macmillan in 1960, when he made his "winds of change" speech.

Deputy presidents Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk were on the tarmac at Cape Town airport when Mr Major's British Airways Boeing 747, "City of St Andrews", landed at 7.20am.

Among the other dignitaries who welcomed Mr Major and his wife Norma were the deputy minister of Foreign Affairs,

Aziz Pahad, British overseas development minister Lynda Chalker, who arrived earlier, Cape premier Hernus Kriel, South African High Commissioner in London Kent Durr and acting mayor Llewellyn van Wyk.

Mr Major said he was "thrilled" to be in South Africa at last. No one would have predicted that in 1994 a British Prime Minister would set foot in a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

A new era had begun for South Africa. He was here to renew old friendships and to make new ones.

It was a thrill to meet so many old friends. "Today we stand at the dawn of a new age where, with faith, hope and courage, all things are possible," he declared.

"My wife, Norma, and myself may not know South Africa,

Several agreements signed by leaders

Diplomatic Correspondent
PRESIDENT Mandela and British premier John Major today signed a number of agreements between their countries at Tuynhuys before Mr Major addressed parliamentarians.

The agreements included:

- A protection of investment agreement aimed at creating favourable conditions for investment by nationals and companies of one state in the territory of the other.

- A memorandum of understanding concerning the British advisory and training team. Britain is helping with the integration and training of the SANDF.

- A memorandum of understanding on bilateral development co-operation. This memorandum deals with the R330 million bilateral aid promised to South Africa and the areas to be focused upon.

- A letter of intent to intensify discussions aimed at concluding a science, engineering and technology agreement between the United States and South Africa.

sify discussions aimed at concluding a science, engineering and technology agreement between the United States and South Africa.

Mr Mandela said the two countries were interacting on a wide range of issues.

British aid had been well structured in various fields.

Mr Major said: "We are trying to work as well as we can with the new South Africa in terms of business and in terms of helping to develop and restructure the country in terms of needs that existed."

The expertise that existed in South Africa and Britain could be shared. "We have a great deal to gain from one another".

Mr Mandela had said relations between the two countries dated from time immemorial "and it is our task to strengthen this. There is the will and the capacity on both sides to do this."

British PM says after arriving in Cape Town



AUTOGRAPHS: Nelson Mandela and John Major sign a cricket bat at Tuynhuys. (3047) ARG 2019/94

Pictures: LEON MULLER, The Argus.

but we do know South Africans.

"The deputy presidents and President Mandela, and many other South Africans, have been friends of ours and have visited Downing Street.

"Your elections earlier this year have earned admiration, emotion and excitement.

"They opened a huge opportunity not only for South Africa, but for South Africa's friends.

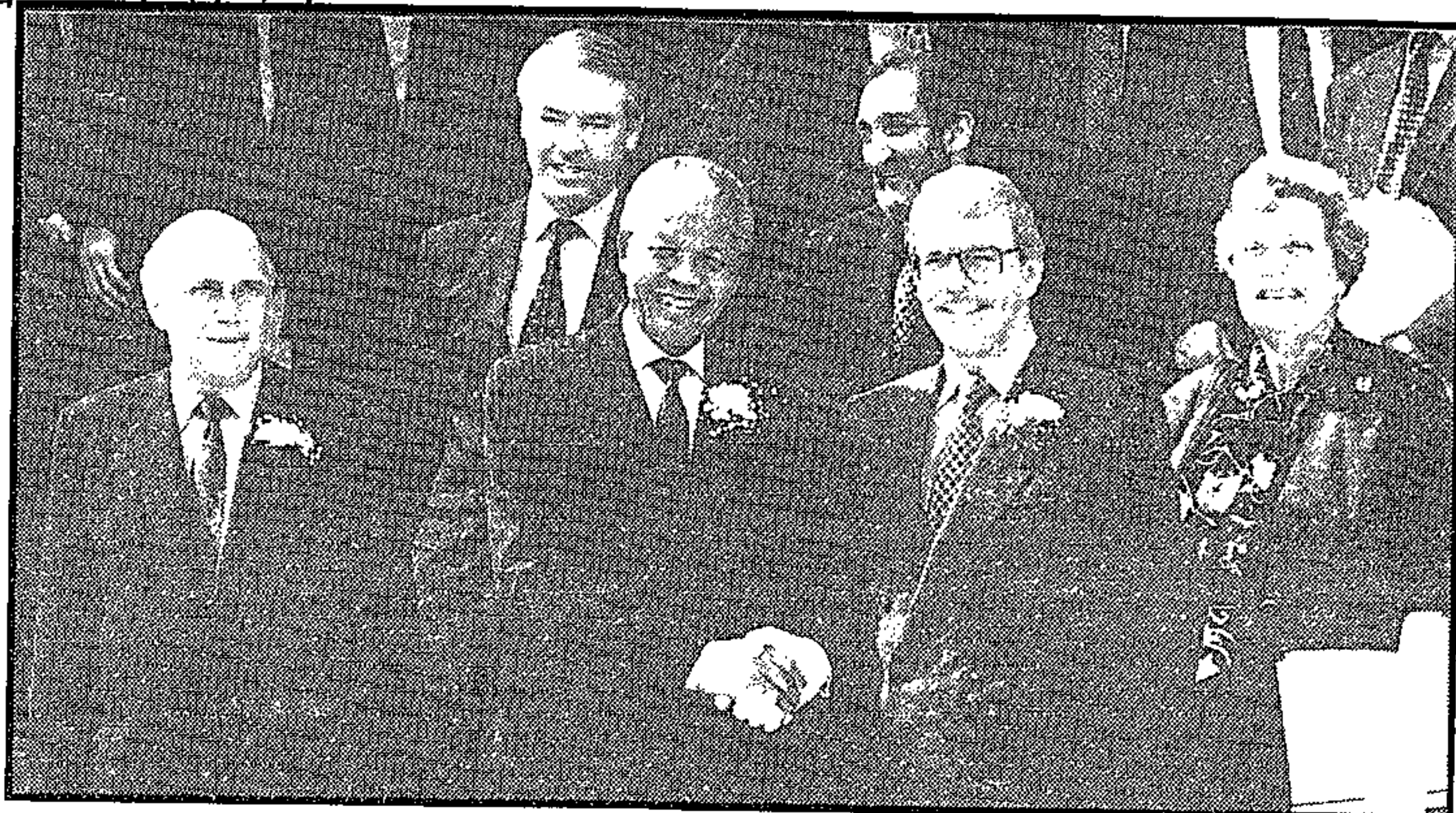
"I am here today with a large group of those friends — Baroness Chalker well known by many people in this country, Tony Nelson, minister of state at the treasury, with captains of industry and of finance, and with the president of the Royal Society, Sir Michael Atiyah, one of our most eminent scientists.

"I have with me also sporting ambassadors whose names are familiar, not only here but throughout the sporting world."

The sporting stars accompanying Mr Major include former cricketer Sir Colin Cowdrey, former soccer star Sir Bobby Charlton, rugby player Rob Andrew and Judy Simpson (formerly Livermore) who represented Britain in the heptathlon at three Olympic Games.

Mr Major said: "This team represents only a small cross-section of the interests Britain and South Africa have in common.

"I will be privileged later this morning to address your parliament. On that occasion I



LEADERS MEET: Nelson Mandela and John Major on the steps of Tuynhuys with British overseas development minister Lynda Chalker and FW De Klerk, front, and British treasury minister Anthony Nelson and deputy foreign affairs minister Aziz Pahad, back.

will be able to say we are here to make a new beginning, and here because in so many areas of life Britons and South Africans have a tremendous amount to offer one another.

"For the next three days my party and I are going to spread ourselves across South Africa.

"We intend to make the best use of every single moment we have. There is work to be done and we want to get on with it."

Later today Mr Major was due to meet President Mandela at Tuynhuys, where they were to sign agreements on trade,

aid and a British military supervisory team.

He was to address parliament at 11.50 am and later he planned to Mr Mbeki, Mr De Klerk and home affairs minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Major will be guest of honour at a banquet at Tuynhuys tonight. Tomorrow his party goes to the Transvaal.

● Clive Sawyer, Political Correspondent, reports that ironically for a visiting party from the country that boasts

the mother of parliament, Mr Major's group will see a little less parliamentary pomp and ceremony than other VIPs who have visited recently.

During Mr Major's speech to members today, the golden mace of the national assembly and the black rod of the senate will be absent, and speaker Frene Ginwala will not occupy her usual chair.

Even more strikingly, parliamentarians will be allowed to sit where they choose, irrespective of rank or party.

SA invited to be Lome observer

From LINDA ENSOR

LONDON. — South Africa has been invited as an observer in the joint assembly of the European Union and the 70 African-Caribbean-Pacific countries that are members of the Lome Convention.

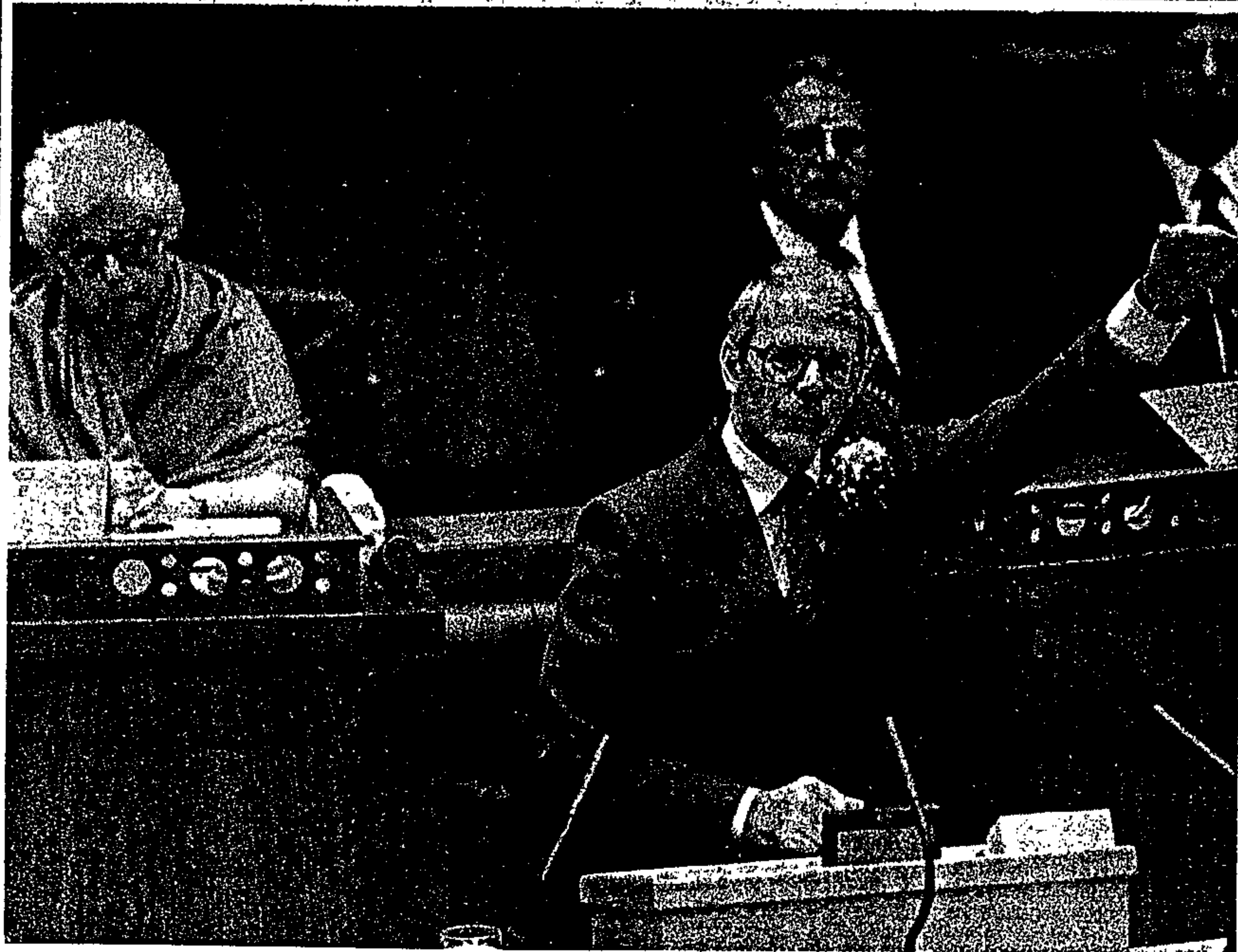
A key item for discussion at the meeting in Libreville, Gabon, from October 3-7, will be SA's relationship with the Lome Convention and with the European Union.

The invitation for the Speaker of the SA Parliament, Dr Frene Ginwala, and a parliamentary delegation to attend the proceedings of the 19th session of the joint assembly as an observer was issued by the ACP-EEC joint assembly co-presidents.

It represents the first formal institutional relationship between the Lome joint assembly and the SA government and follows shortly after the EU-SADC summit held in Berlin recently.

SA's participation in the joint assembly meeting is seen as having great political and symbolic significance.

(304A) CT 21/9/94



NEW WIND OF CHANGE . . . British Prime Minister Mr John Major makes a point during his speech to parliamentarians yesterday. The prime minister confirmed and fleshed out a major British aid package to South Africa and unveiled his vision for a "New Age for Africa".

304A Picture: BENNY GOOL

Major tells of a new age for Africa

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BRITISH Prime Minister Mr John Major yesterday unveiled his vision for a new age for Africa, spearheaded by a joint British-South African drive to save the ailing continent.

He also spelt out a plan to forge "fellowship for the future" between Britain and South Africa and confirmed the R530 million for investment and development aid committed in July by British Trade Minister Mr Michael Heseltine.

Predictions

In a wide-ranging address to parliamentarians on the first day of his historic visit to South Africa, Mr Major proposed a bold new initiative aimed at "turning the tide in this continent".

Despite the "traumatic conflicts and appalling humanitarian disasters" that had beset the continent, Mr Major dismissed the gloomy predictions of sceptics by arguing that "this continent, too, has the chance for a new beginning".

In a dramatically different "wind of change" address from the one deliv-

ered to the South African Parliament by Mr Harold Macmillan over three decades ago, Mr Major predicted that "the last years of this century and the early years of the next can be the prelude to a new age for Africa".

Britain would like to work closely with South Africa in the areas of trade, aid and diplomacy to help "re-invigorate" the continent.

**MORE
PICTURES,
STORIES
— PAGE 9**

Britain would next week propose at the United Nations that more people be trained to mediate as peace-brokers in Africa.

"With the right backing in Africa — and I hope from the new South Africa — we believe that imaginative diplomacy of this kind can help the continent to that elusive new age."

During his speech, Mr Major said that the "formidable relationship" that

already existed between Britain and South Africa should be strengthened into a "fellowship for the future".

R350m of the development and investment aid — to be spread over three years — will come directly from the Britain's ministry for overseas development, with the balance being channelled through the European Union and the Commonwealth Development Corporation.

Agreements signed yesterday with President Nelson Mandela on investment promotion and protection would strengthen the growing trade and business ties between the two countries.

Mr Major outlined ways of strengthening relations between the two countries in the areas of health care, community policing, education, sport, farming, science and technology, public administration, defence and international affairs.

Mr Major attended a state banquet in Tuynhuys last night after a series of meetings with political leaders.

Mr Mandela said at the banquet he was happy Queen Elizabeth would visit South Africa next year.

Mr Major will travel to the Transvaal today for a series of business meetings.

Buthlezi in elections row

CAPE TOWN.— A row erupted yesterday after Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi lost a bid in the Cabinet to exercise overall political control over next year's local government elections.

The Cabinet approved the establishment of a national and provincial task group to oversee and co-ordinate the election process, as proposed by a technical committee on local government elections.

But Buthelezi accused the Cabinet of ignoring his proposals and deciding on the matter while he was out of the room meeting the Egyptian ambassador. "By the time I got back I heard the issue had been disposed of." He had proposed that he recommend the appointment of the task group's chairman.

He particularly criticised Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, on whose recommendation the chairman will be appointed.

DAVID GREYBE

On the Cabinet ignoring his request to address it, Buthelezi said that was "the kind of disdain I am used to from Meyer. That's why our people walked out of the multiparty talks."

Meyer refused to comment.

Buthelezi said he would have been prepared to share with Meyer the chairmanship of a committee to which the task group reported. However, there was nothing more he could do now.

He warned of a crisis if the task group wanted him to co-operate in organising the elections. He would not be imposed on. "I hope they exclude me for good. I am out of it. If they want to do it by themselves then they will do it by themselves."

Meyer later told the select committee on constitutional affairs that the Cabinet ap-

□ To Page 2

Elections

proval for the task group followed agreement between provincial ministers. Each province remained responsible for conducting the election which would be co-ordinated by the task group.

It would consist of one representative from each province, one nominated by Buthelezi, one by Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg and one by Meyer. The chairman would be appointed by Mandela on Meyer's recommendation. Senior Constitutional Development official Fanie van der Merwe has been tipped for the post.

Meyer said the task group would be formed soon. Its first job would be to draft "a unified set of regulations that will go out

to each province for proclamation". Provincial ministers would be empowered to make changes. He hoped the regulations would be adopted next month.

ANC MP Salie Manie expressed concern that local elections would be held on different dates. Meyer's department had to ensure that a national framework was drawn up, or "we could end up with nine pieces of chaos".

Meyer said the task group would try to ensure maximum co-ordination, but some flexibility had to be allowed. "At the end of the day the holding of the elections is the provinces' responsibility."

□ From Page 1

Let's be fair ^{304A} _{ARLr. 23/9/94}

Asmal defends use of advisers and consultants

THERE has been much public discussion and misconception about ministerial advisers and consultants. Criticism of the system has been strong and in the interests of public clarity it is necessary to enter a defence.

At the outset, we can pride ourselves on the fact that, in the rigorous transparency of the new order, there can be such a vigorous debate about advisers, with full disclosure of their names and earnings.

That is something new in South Africa, quite unlike the era when a secret society placed hordes of secret advisers at government's elbow.

Advisers have been used widely and to advantage in the political, economic and social revolutions of our times. Such a system is essential in the conditions of South Africa where the people have chosen a totally new political course for government — yet where the "old" civil service enjoys tenure in terms of the Constitution.

The adviser system is a way of getting new blood into government, but without destabilising the old order in destructive ways. Obviously, when a country is engaged in massive reconstruction and transformation, advisers come into their own and play a key role.

It is primarily reforming governments that find it most necessary to have advisers — to give momentum to new ideas and help to deal with problems associated with the existing civil service. This happened in Britain with the accession of Clement Attlee in 1945. It happened in France with the election of France's first socialist president, Francois Mitterrand, in 1982. The 17 European Commissioners have numerous advisers, even for individual countries. Franklin D Roosevelt needed advisers for his New Deal — some of them world-renowned for their success. The list is endless.

South Africa faces massive tasks. We must change, and



Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry KADER ASMAL ...
when a country is engaged in massive reconstruction and transformation, advisers come into their own and play a key role.

quickly, if social unrest is not to threaten the whole fabric of society. And those entrusted with the responsibility of government cannot sit in splendid isolation in ministerial offices, surrounded by a civil service, at least in part, which fails to grasp the vastness of the challenge ahead nor the nature of the revolution they have lived through.

Yes, the new government needs the talent and enthusiasm of soul-brothers who will strengthen the resolve and capacity of the administration to get things done, for instance affirmative action, change management, righting the wrongs of apartheid, seeking equity and social justice.

Not surprisingly, the main hostility in the media has come from those who so enthusiastically supported the defunct order in South Africa and who, for their own good reasons, want no new blood in government. They would rather continue with the self-same civil service that served P W Botha and the likes.

The whole matter needs to be effectively and openly debated, because it is the public's money at stake, but let us be fair.

In terms of a Cabinet decision, up to two special advisers may be appointed to the personal staffs of each minister on a temporary basis agreed by contract. They are not civil servants in the ordinary sense of the term. They perform a wide range of functions in support of a particular minister. They can rise and fall with that minister.

Full details of advisers appointed, hourly and monthly rates and qualifications, were given by President Nelson Mandela in answer to a written question in parliament in August.

The hourly tariff for consultants (R120 to R180) is modestly within the range of those paid by non-governmental organisations, indeed very modest by comparison with commercial rates including the pyrotechnic fees commanded by some lawyers.

The monthly rate for advisers mentioned by the President, R19 200 to R28 800, might — at first glance — seem high. But advisers enjoy no fringe benefits (housing, transport, double cheque, medical aid, parliamentary allowance, etc), all of which can add up to 50 percent to civil service basic salaries. Like should be compared with like, to be fair.

The real question to ask is whether the advisers and consultants are worth it. Are they giving service? If they are, the money paid is well spent. If not, their services should be dispensed with as a non-affordable luxury.

So let us respond to the hue and cry with some realism, and some facts. The US New Deal and Lend-Lease era benefited from a Harry Hopkins; British science from a Lord Zuckerman; why, for instance, should South African health not have its Olive Shisanas and Tim Wilsons?

Volk board gravy train

Political Correspondent

CT 24/9/94
THE Cinderellas of the transition process, the Volkstaaters, have finally caught up with the gravy train — and boarded it.

Draft legislation tabled in Parliament yesterday stipulates that full-time members of the Volkstaat Council be paid salaries equivalent to at least those of MPs or provincial legislators.

MPs are entitled to a basic annual salary of R161 000 and a car allowance of R32 200 (a total of R193 200), while

provincial lawmakers receive a package of R184 800. (304A)

The Volkstaat Council Bill makes provision for salaries to be paid retrospectively from May 26, when the 20-member council was elected.

The Minister of Finance will decide on pay and allowances of council members "provided that full-time members' remuneration shall not be less than that of an MP or that of a member of the provincial legislature".

Persons co-opted on to the council will also be entitled to payment.

Fate of W Cape statues up in the air

THE sight of Dr Apartheid — H F Verwoerd — bobbing at the end of a cable as he was plucked from his plinth in Bloemfontein has emphasised the uncertain fate of Cape Town's statues.

Amid calls from different quarters for the removal of traces of the old order, the future of city's solid stone and bronze monuments is looking fragile.

As more politicians add their voices to the call to remove colonial relics, Western Cape premier Hennis Kriel has declared himself against their removal, saying the statues are as much a part of history as the present president.

But others are taking a harder line: the Pan Africanist Congress's Benny Alexander has included his own name among things to be tossed on the apartheid scrap heap, saying he will now be known as 'Khot-san X'.

"It is necessary that racist colonial names, symbols, statues, river names, city names and airport names be removed," he said.

Newly elected regional African National Congress leader Chris Nissen said it was a pity that symbols and statues around the Western Cape are not as representative as they should be.

■ What will happen to Cape Town's statues? Weekend Argus Reporter **ADELLE HORLER** investigated.

"The history of Cape Town is terribly one-sided. What about our ancestry — the Khoi-san and slaves — and that of the indigenous people of the province and the country?"

"Xhosa and Zulu chiefs were imprisoned in the Castle, the Khoi used to fish in the Liesbeek River — these are important to us as they speak of early history."

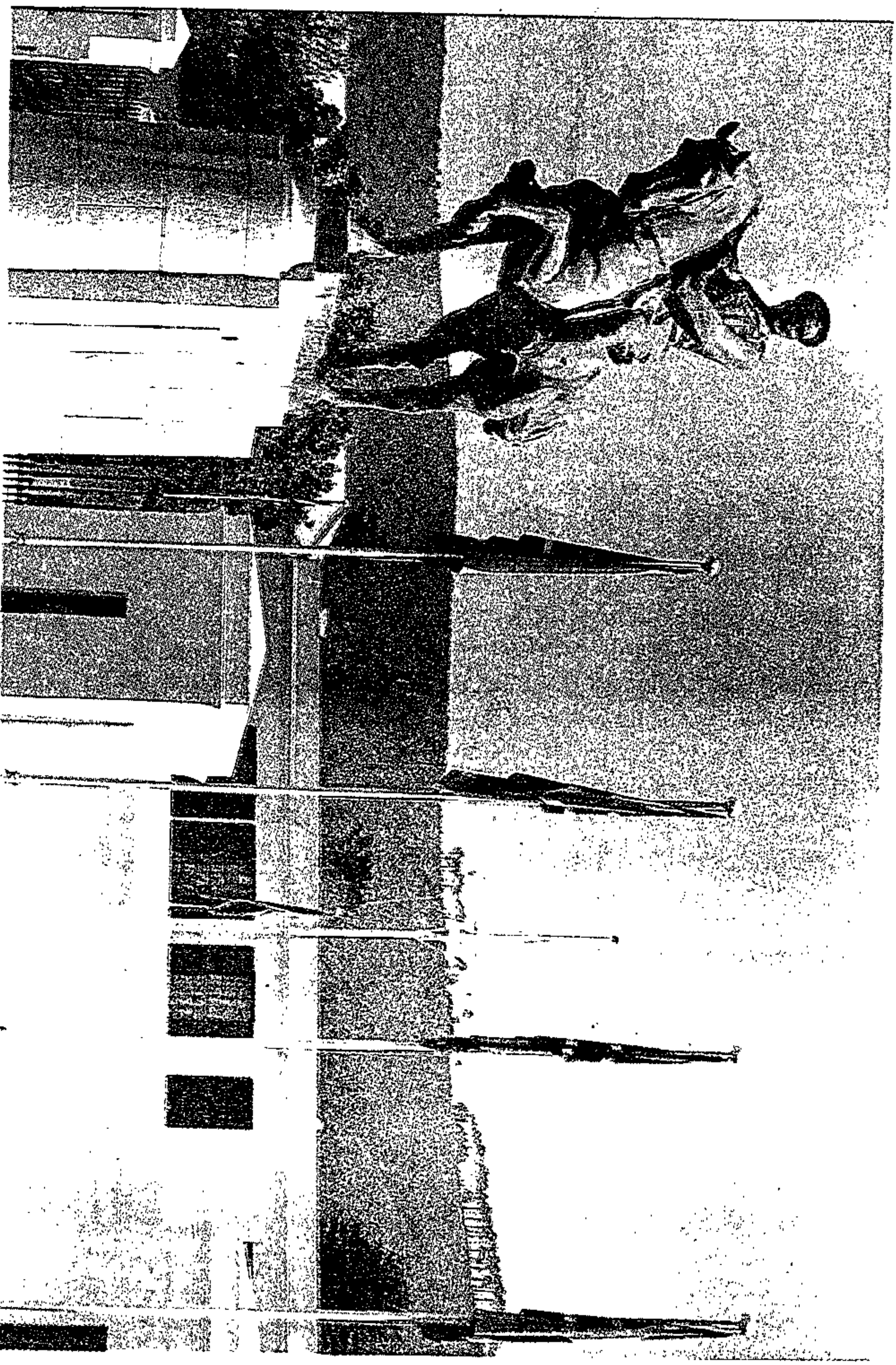
"Where is the statue to Austhoma, also known as Harry the Strandloper?"

Mr Nissen acknowledged that history could not be denied.

"In the past, many of the symbols and statues were reminders of colonialism and apartheid, and meant bitterness and hatred. But we can't look through those eyes anymore. We cannot deny history, even when it impacted negatively on us."

He said the statues should not be removed "willy-nilly".

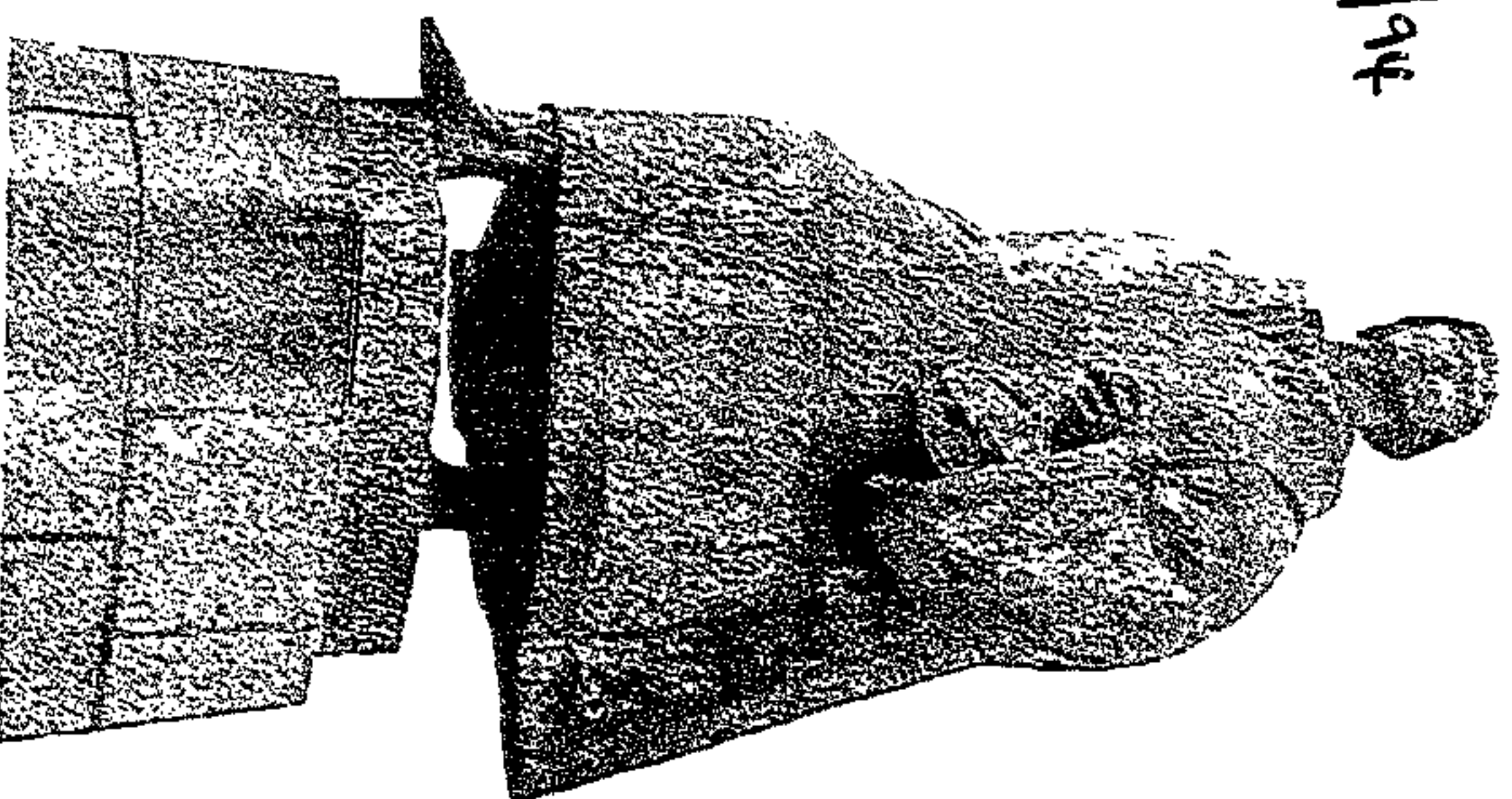
He said agreement must be reached through consultation and that the provincial legislature would discuss the fate of Cape Town's statues soon.



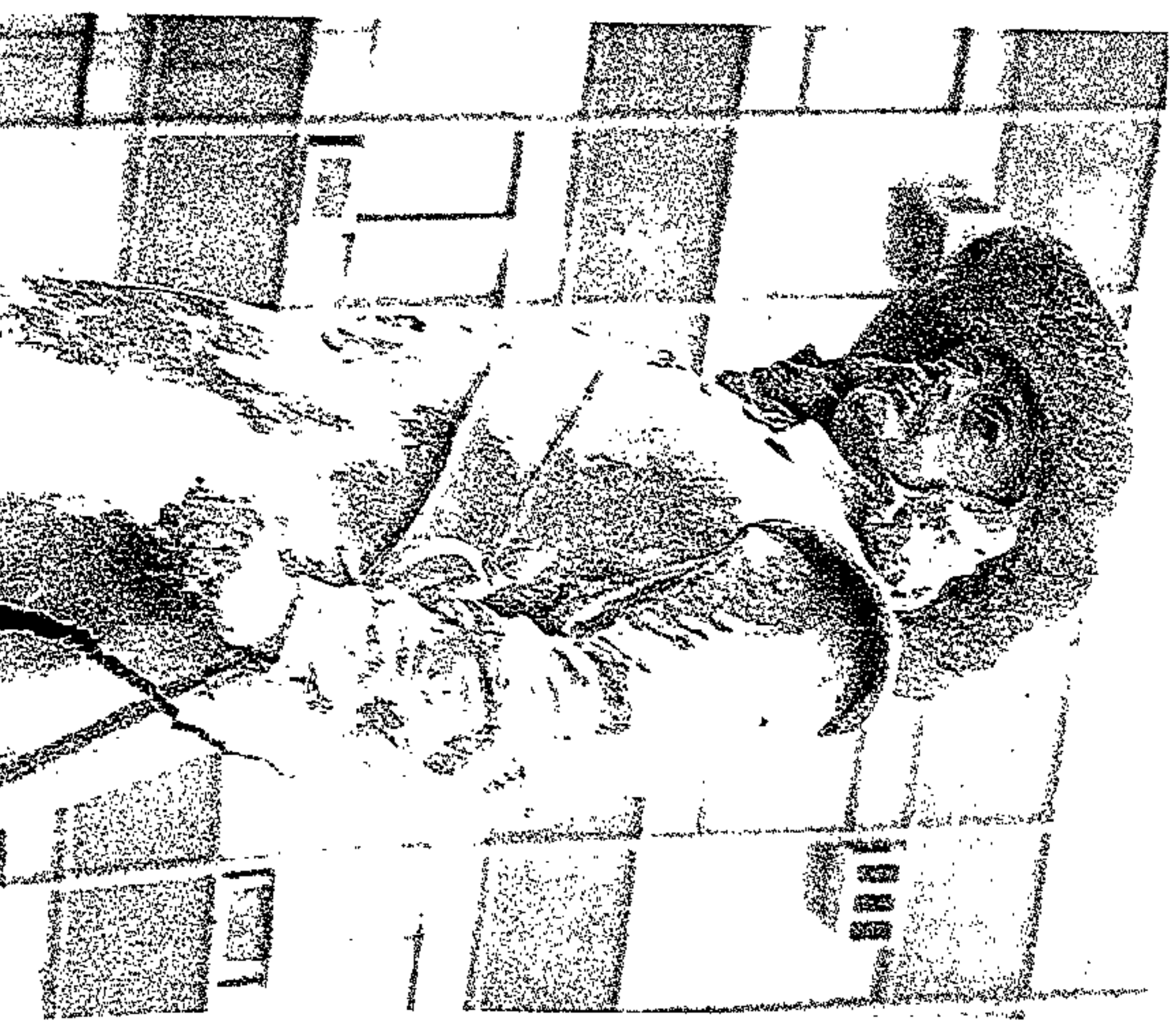
□ **HORSEMAN:** Louis Botha — "farmer, warrior, statesman" — welcomes visitors to Tuynhuys astride his horse. Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus.

3044

ARL 24/9/94



□ **EXPLORER:** Early sea voyager Bartolomeu Dias stands on the Foreshore. Picture: BRENTON GEACH, Weekend Argus.



□ **SETTLER:** The first white settler at the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck, now stands on the Heerengracht.



□ **SMART ART:** Thami Kiti displays his proposal for a statue at the University of the Western Cape depicting the culture of education. Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus.

Art by the black, for the black

AS the country re-evaluates its political monuments and public statues, the Cape Town Urban Arts Foundation has launched an innovative scheme to encourage statues that reflect the new South Africa more accurately.

In conjunction with the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape, the foundation has started an annual workshop to train disadvantaged artists to prepare sculptures for public commissions.

"There are no public sculp-

■ South Africa has no public sculptures by black artists. **ADELLE HORLER** reports on plans to change that.

tures by black artists in South Africa," said the Mayibuye Centre's Gordon Metz.

"That's mainly because they've had little exposure to the materials for urban art and no access to facilities for the expensive processes involved, such as bronzing — even though bronzing has its roots in Africa."

Sculptors attending the workshop will be paired off

with leading South African artists for a three-month "apprenticeship" during which they will prepare maquettes for a statue on the UWC campus.

"We need to find a new means of commemorating figures and events," Mr Metz said.

All maquettes produced by the sculptors attending the workshop will be exhibited on the UWC campus and will hopefully tour the country.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus.

□ **BIRD PERCH:** Jan Smuts becomes a perch for seagulls in Government Avenue.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus.

□ **IMPERIALIST:** "Your hinterland is there", Cecil John Rhodes silently intones in the Gardens.

DP unveils new business plan for Cape

By NORMAN WEST,
Political Reporter

THE DP yesterday unveiled a new "business plan" aimed at a more aggressive community involvement and a more meaningful role in the Western Cape Provincial Legislature. 25/9/74

Details of the new strategy were revealed at the DP's Western Cape congress in Cape Town yesterday.

In a document detailing the new strategy, the DP acknowledged that it had a "legitimacy" problem in certain communities — it was a "very valid accusation that we had shown no concern for

their welfare and consequently have very little legitimacy in asking them to vote for us" (30/9)

In an address to the conference, outgoing regional chairman Mr Jasper Walsh admitted that April election results were "very disappointing".

But subsequent developments had demonstrated the need for strong liberal, democratic opposition "and it remained the DP's responsibility to provide this".

The new "business plan" of the

DP, to be implemented over the next 12 months, has as its "mission" two main objectives:

- To ensure that the country and the Western Cape was governed according to the rule of law and to participate in it;

- To ensure the country was governed by a liberal democratic constitution safeguarding fundamental human rights, representative government and the maximum devolution of power.

To achieve this the party's strategy would be to strive to obtain the balance of power.

focus on the right

CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADER Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg believes President Nelson Mandela is serious about creating a stable and peaceful country.

However, he harbours one great fear — the communist connection that Mandela is not prepared to denounce.

Hartzenberg thinks this could turn the tables against Mandela and lead to a communist takeover.

"Mandela is serious about having a peaceful country and for that I salute him," he said in an interview with *Sowetan*.

Turning rather pensive, Hartzenberg remarked: "You see, the influence of the communists in Government is great. In the scheme of things, winning an election is the first phase of the eventual takeover of government by a communist workers' republic."

With the first phase completed, cracks will begin to show in the Government of National Unity as the South African Communist Party and its trade unions force their opinions on the Government.

Hartzenberg is also concerned about the gravy train and Government overspending. He predicted that the country was heading for bankruptcy if that was not contained.

"The Government will have to tighten its belt if we are to avoid a catastrophe."

He said he did not wish to be hard on the Government but the past 120 days were beginning to show a pattern that did not augur well for the country.

"Overspending and the gravy train are patterns that are beginning to emerge," he said.

As far as he is concerned, the resignation of Mr Derek Keys as Minister of Finance was an indication that there was no fiscal discipline in the Cabinet.

"I don't think Derek Keys wanted to have his image dented, hence his resignation," Hartzenberg said.

He said the fact that there were so many advisers in Cabinet, most of whom drew large salaries, was also a source of concern.

"Perhaps those who now rule the country feel their predecessors were underpaid."

"The Government promised to deliver houses in abundance before the April 27 election but so far only one showhouse has been built. Is that what you call a better life?"

Labour unrest was also undermining the Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Hartzenberg said as long as the country was plagued by strikes, local and overseas investment would be hard to come by.

"Who wants to invest in a country that is beset by labour unrest?"

The breakdown of law and order, including student unrest, also undermined economic growth, he claimed.

"As a young boy in the Western Transvaal,

Sowetan 26/9/94
While CP leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg believes President Nelson Mandela is serious about creating a stable country, he is concerned about 'disturbing patterns that are beginning to emerge in the Government'. He talks to Political Reporter **Joe Mdhlela**:



Nelson Mandela

my parents told me that education was the best investment, especially as an underprivileged Afrikaner.

"That does not seem to be the case with black students who are disrupting their education through boycotts. There is a need for blacks to persevere with education."

On the CP's refusal to participate in the election, Hartzenberg said he was convinced they took the right decision.

"We are in South Africa and we need to co-exist with other nations. As a minority, yes we do have a vote. But we are no longer free because we do not exercise control over political power. We are dominated by the majority."

"Even the United Nations charter states that minorities are entitled to self-determination."

"We believe the Government must accede to our demand and grant us our *volkstaat*."

Hartzenberg said the CP was having top-level discussions with the Government and he was confident Mandela would address their concerns. He cited the conflicts in Palestine, Bosnia and Rwanda as indicating that minorities throughout history "have always demanded self-rule".

He said conflict in those regions was about to be resolved because there was a realisation that



Ferdie Hartzenberg

minorities were entitled to self-determination.

"We are hoping this realisation will dawn in South Africa as Afrikaners demand their own piece of land. The Government and the people of South Africa must realise that what we claim will not be at the expense of other nations. We do not wish to be privileged above other people. But what we demand is to rule ourselves," he said.

A *volkstaat* republic working committee has been established to produce an interim report to be presented to the Government.

"Already we have had meetings with President Mandela and are encouraged that he is sympathetic. Our discussions were held in a positive spirit and we are hopeful."

On the issue of the removal of apartheid symbols, Hartzenberg said the Government handled the matter clumsily. He said it was an emotional issue and wide consultation was needed.

"My feeling is that statues are part of history. New symbols and statues will continue to be erected. Indeed, people like Mr Mandela will be honoured for their contributions in the struggle of their people. I have no objection to that."

"However, if statues are desecrated and brought down without consultation, this creates a problem. We need to be sober about this."

CP councils warn govt of court action

Wilson Zwane

THE CP-aligned Transvaal Municipal Association has warned that it will take provincial authorities to court if they disband CP-controlled towns which refuse to establish transitional local councils.

Association president Paul Fouche said at the weekend suggestions that CP-controlled towns were holding up transforming local government were "utter rubbish".

Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo said last week local authorities which refused to make way for nonracial local government structures would not receive funding from government.

Fouche said the association had directed all its affiliates to co-operate and get the process to set up nonracial local government structures under way.

However, an apparent determination by some provincial authorities to foist the "transitional local council concept" on CP-controlled towns was creating problems.

The Local Government Transition Act provided for two models of local government — the transitional local councils on which statutory and non-statutory organisations would have equal representation

and co-ordinating committees, which would incorporate existing local authorities in areas where agreement on local councils was not possible. 26/9/94

Statutory organisations are organisations which have been involved in local government in the past. They include political parties such as the NP, CP and DP, as well as municipalities.

He said an agreement had been reached that medium-sized and small CP-controlled towns should opt for co-ordinating committees. In these towns, the transitional local councils could only be established if sufficient consensus was reached.

Fouche said his organisation was ready to help provincial authorities resolve problems which arose in CP-controlled towns. But if the authorities disbanded the local authorities and foisted transitional local councils on them, the Transvaal Municipal Association would have no choice but to go to court. It was his organisation's intention to prove that the co-ordinating committees were workable. (26/9/94) (301A)

NP slated for stance on education

Star 29/9/94

■ BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

The National Party should demonstrate its commitment to addressing the causes of school disruptions by getting Deputy Minister of Education Renier Schoeman to sign the White Paper on Education, ANC members of the PWV legislature said on Tuesday.

Schoeman withheld his approval when the White Paper was presented in the National Assembly last week.

PWV legislators were participating in a debate initiated by NP

member Julie Coetzer, who argued that the disruption of classes on the brink of exams could increase the failure rate and lead to a massive waste of public money.

"Let this democratically elected government say to the community and to student and teachers' associations out there: stop jeopardising the RDP with your disruptive behaviour," Coetzer challenged the House.

Her argument referred to the recent ejection of principals from Soweto schools.

ANC members were reluctant to

take the tone she set, although many said there was a real urgency to re-establish a culture of learning and teaching.

Only the radical restructuring of education could ultimately solve disruptions, ANC members said.

Coetzer did, however, win support from the ANC for her call to move swiftly to set up a single education department which would be "fair and equitable for all pupils, teachers and parents living in the province" and to conduct a systematic upgrading of schools lacking in resources.

(304A)

CP vows to run its own schools

Sowetan 27/9/94

■ NEWCASTLE CONGRESS

Hartzenberg says ANC at fault:

THE Conservative Party in KwaZulu-Natal has voted to establish its own schools, based on Christian principles. This was one of the resolutions adopted by the CP at its annual KwaZulu-Natal congress held in Newcastle at the weekend.

The Government's White Paper on education, released on Friday night, was roundly condemned by delegates.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the African National Congress had failed to discuss the White Paper with all interested parties. He said the implementation of the proposed educational policy would lead to an alarming lowering of standards.

He added that at a time when the country should have been stable and productive, South Africa was experi-

encing the greatest number of stayaways, unrest and economic disasters in its history.

Hartzenberg said the CP was experiencing more and more understanding from people and organisations abroad for its policy for a "volkstaat".

The party was seriously considering opening a number of offices in Europe to promote the cause of a "volksrepubliek".

He said the Afrikaner had a legitimate and historic claim to a volkstaat in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

Another resolution condemned the

state and big corporations for the "blatant disregard" of Afrikaans as a language.

Delegates condemned the SABC for its policy of "downgrading" Afrikaans and CP leaders were asked to "confront" the corporation on the issue.

CP leaders were also requested, as a matter of urgency, to implement a strategy for the party to obtain its own radio stations. (BOHA)

The congress also voted to not take part in municipal elections if self-determination for Afrikaners was not guaranteed. — Sapa.

CP rejects govt education plan

B. Day
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The CP has vowed to establish its own schools for whites in Natal, based on "Christian principles".

This was one of the resolutions adopted by the CP in Natal at its annual congress in Newcastle at the weekend. Government's White Paper on education, released on Friday, was roundly condemned by delegates. 27/1/1948

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the policy would lead to an "alarming" lowering of standards. He said SA was experiencing the greatest number of stayaways, unrest and economic disasters in its history, while the CP was experiencing more and more understanding abroad for its policy of a "volksrepubliek".

The party was seriously considering opening a number of offices in Europe to promote its cause.

One of the resolutions condemned the state and big corporations for the "blatant disregard" of Afrikaans as one of the dominant languages in the country. Delegates condemned the SABC for its policy of "downgrading" the Afrikaans language.

The CP would not take part in municipal elections unless self-determination and no power-sharing was guaranteed. (304A)

CP plan 'violates SA constitution'

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE Education Department said yesterday the CP's plan to set up whites-only schools contravened the interim constitution which outlawed discrimination on the basis of race.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said a CP education congress would be held in November to discuss a strategy to begin implementing its plan to establish Afrikaner schools. 281919

The right to educate children within their own cultural background was an internationally accepted principle enshrined in the UN Convention.

The plan, he said, was not racist as the schools would not be for all whites. They would be exclusively for children of the Afrikaner volk.

Other children were excluded because it would be difficult to create a "cultural" school if the majority were not of that culture. Allowing other children also placed the principle of freedom of association at stake.

Hartzenberg said the schools would be set up by the community, but the plan would be supported and encouraged by the CP. 3044

Education Ministry spokesman Lincoln Mali said it was unfortunate that the CP would not involve itself in planning a system which was acceptable to all concerned. 30

He said schools such as Jewish schools had made proposals to the Ministry on how their schools could fit into the national plan. But there was clearly a difference between schools which organised around a religious ethic and schools which discriminated on the basis of race.

NEWS FEATURE *National survey reveals crime rate*

Government gets thumbs up

By Joe Mdhlela and
Sowetan Correspondents

■ GREAT EXPECTATIONS

BLACKS ARE PLEASED with the performance of the Government of National Unity and are more prepared to give it time to work out its programme. This is one of the findings of the *Sowetan* MMR survey conducted between July and August and released yesterday.

There are clear differences in expectations among supporters of the various political groups.

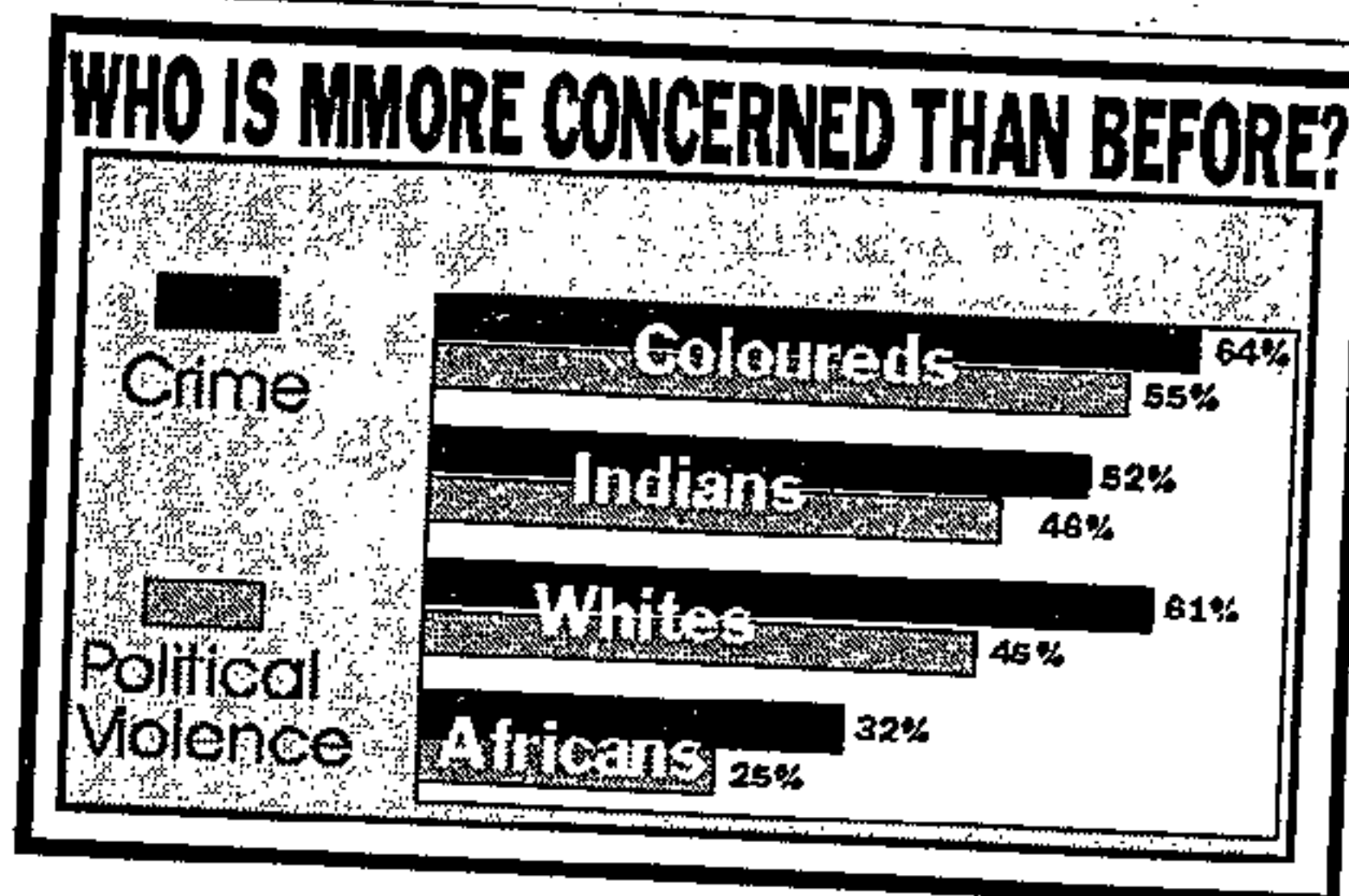
Most optimistic, unsurprisingly, are supporters of the majority party in the GNU, the ANC. A full 82 percent expect a better life for their families.

The figure dips markedly among supporters of other parties, with 11 percent of Freedom Front backers expecting the same.

Corresponding figures for the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, and Democratic Party are 22 percent, 42 percent, and 25 percent.

Forty-seven percent of Freedom Front supporters expect conditions to get worse, while 36 percent of NP backers are also pessimistic. This compares with 31 percent of DP supporters and 20 percent of those backing the IFP. Women are generally looking forward to a better life in the new South Africa. Asked if they thought people of their gender would be better or worse off in the new society, 68 percent of the respondents predicted an improvement, 19 per-

Many want the new flag retained:



cent expected life to be much the same, and 13 percent feared it would worsen. But men do not think they will be disadvantaged: 63 percent predicted better conditions for males, while 18 percent were pessimistic.

A notable statistic reveals pessimism among white males — presumably wary of affirmative action. Only 14 percent are looking forward to a better life for men. The corresponding figure for white women is 34 percent. Indian males (61 percent) are more optimistic about the future than those in the coloured community (47 percent). African males (84 percent) and females (87 percent) are both considerably more optimistic than other communities. The *Sowetan* MMR survey also brought to the fore intriguing attitudes toward the un-

sual "dual anthem" arrangement.

Four months into the new society, 16 percent of South Africans say they can sing both anthems, while another 37 percent say they can sing only one — but intend to learn the other.

Of those who refuse to learn a second anthem, 78 percent are Freedom Front supporters, 43 percent back the Pan Africanist Congress, and 40 percent the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Regarding the new South African flag, an overwhelming 82 percent of respondents said they thought it should be retained permanently.

Least enthusiastic were whites, although a majority (56 percent) concurred. Ninety five percent of Africans, 88 percent of Indians, and 72 percent of coloureds have embraced the new flag.

(304A)

Morobe heads fiscal commission

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — PWV Provincial Secretary and former United Democratic Front leader Murphy Morobe has been appointed to head the Financial and Fiscal Commission.

He and the deputy chairman, Unisa vice-rector Professor A Melck, are the only full-time members and have been appointed by President Mandela for a five-year term. (304A)

The commission is to make recommendations to legislative authorities about the financial and fiscal requirements of the national, provincial and local governments.

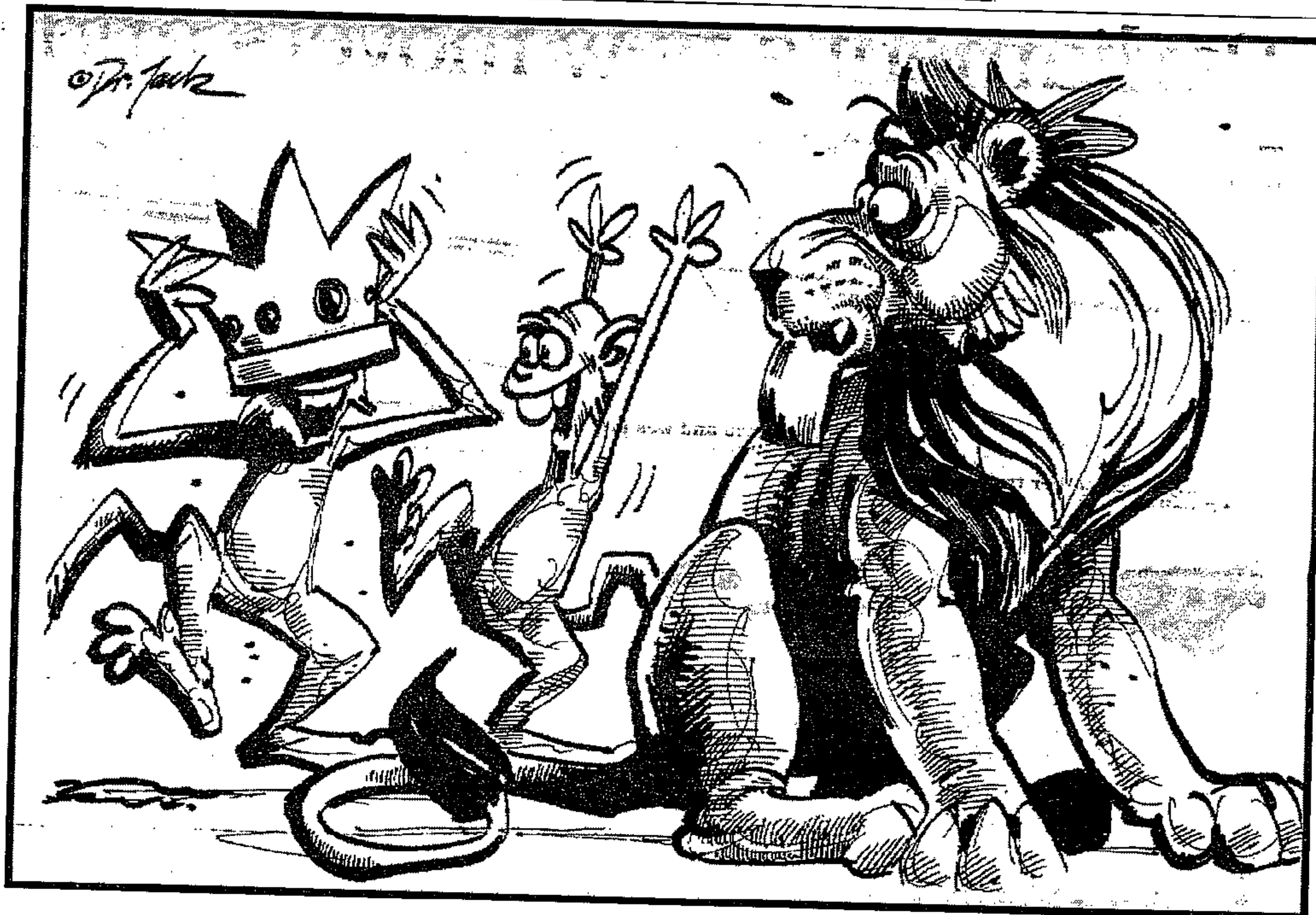
Star 26/8/94
It will also make recommendations on financial and fiscal policies and revenue allocations to Government.

The seven other nationally designated members to the commission are Andrew Borraine from the Institute for Local Governance and Development, Dr F le Roux of the Department of Finance, Western Cape economics professor L Loots, Eric Molobi who heads the National Housing Forum and Kagiso Trust, Dr R Mokati of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, assistant general secretary of the Clothing and Textile Workers' Union Ebrahim Patel, and M van Blerck of Anglo American Corporation.



Fulltime member ...
Murphy Morobe.

The back bench seizes the crown



The new politics: Hardly anyone's noticed, but the rules of the power game have been changed



Chris Louw
reports from
Parliament

Behind the NP grumbles about unfair treatment lies a belated discovery: the cabinet's no longer the seat of power

PARLIAMENTARY power is shifting inexorably away from the cabinet of national unity to the ANC-dominated standing committees. And since the NP based its negotiating strategy on shared power in the cabinet, it is being left high and dry at the committee level.

Plans are all but finalised to transform the standing committees — traditionally little more than "talk shops" — into powerful bodies with supervisory capabilities over government departments.

New rules will enable the standing, or portfolio, committees to give clear direction to civil servants, ensuring that they adhere to government policy.

When parliament reconvenes after the September recess, it will resume in terms of rules that will fundamentally transform the legislative process. Input on law-making will be more accessible to both the public and parliamentarians.

More importantly, the NP's "power-sharing" arrangement with the ANC — provided for in

the constitution — will be largely neutralised as executive power shifts to the portfolio committees.

The recent conflict over who would chair the portfolio committees, which had deputy president FW de Klerk warning that "red lights are flickering" for the ANC, was directly linked to plans to empower the committees.

"It was essential that ANC people serve as chairmen, as these will be influential positions," an ANC MP said this week. "The chairmen will direct the course the committees take. But even more important, they will be the link to our communities. We cannot allow Nats in these powerful positions."

In terms of proposals accepted by a subcommittee of parliament's rules committee, the standing committees will:

- Have the power to summon any person, including cabinet members, or party to appear before them to give evidence under oath, or to produce any documents required.

- Be allowed not only to receive representations directly from the public, but also to send delegations to communities to get an



FW De Klerk ... saw the 'red lights'

input in preparing legislation affecting them.

- Perform functions "relating to parliamentary supervision of ... government departments falling within the category of affairs assigned to it".

These powers go beyond those prescribed by the transitional constitution, but they can be effected by the passing of normal legislation.

There are also plans for the

committees to meet for a full week each month to cut out time-consuming, repetitive debates in the national assembly and the senate. During this time parliamentarians will be expected to do "constituency work".

Although the NP — like all other parties — is represented in the standing committees, the party has so far intellectually and strategically been thoroughly outwitted by ANC members. Accustomed to relying heavily on technocrats, NP members are no match for the ANC, and tend to submit meekly to directives from the majority party.

ANC caucus members this week made it clear that the legislature was in no way bound by constitutional agreements prescribing consensus government at cabinet level. "There is no reference whatsoever in the constitution forcing the legislature to be part of the government of national unity," said ANC justice committee chairman Johnny de Lange.

De Lange, the driving force behind the rule changes, rejected accusations that the ANC caucus was not acting "in accordance with the spirit" of agreements

reached at Kempton Park. He also dismissed reports of conflict between President Nelson Mandela and the ANC caucus: "Our president receives a standing ovation every time he addresses the caucus."

The proposed changes to the parliamentary rules have been accepted in part by the rules committee. They still have to be referred back to the various caucuses.

De Lange was optimistic the ANC caucus would have no problem accepting the new rules: "We already have a broad agreement on the direction and approach of the legislative process. Only the details need to be confirmed."

The shift of power from the cabinet has exposed a serious flaw in NP strategy during the past year's negotiations. It hinged on two assumptions: that final decision-making would reside with the executive (the cabinet); and that the state apparatus, including the civil service, would remain largely unchanged.

The NP believed it had achieved its goal in securing a commitment to consensus government at executive level and the retention of

WM 26/8-1/9/94(304A)

New committees galore

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

CONSTITUTION-MAKING in South Africa is under way.

The Constitutional Committee held its second meeting in Parliament yesterday. The meeting was dominated by structural arrangements.

New committees were formed thus adding to the myriad of initials and acronyms that now dominate South African political jargon.

Here are a few:

- CA is the Constitutional Assembly, comprising all MP's and Senators sitting together to draw up the new constitution.

- CC is the Constitutional Committee formed by the CA to draft the final constitution. It has 46

members of all parties represented.

- MC is the Management Committee appointed by the CC to run the affairs of the CC. It has 12 members who include the CA chairman and his deputy.

Representation was yesterday fixed at three ANC, two NP, and one each for the rest of the parties. This raised a laugh when Essop Pahad MP (ANC) pointed out that for the ACDP with its two MPs, this represented 50 percent of their complement occupied the MC. (30/11/94)

- SC is the Sub-Committee on themes which will comprise one representative for every party. Its duties are to define the themes that will guide the drafting of the constitution.

- TC is the technical committee which may be appointed to help any of the above committees. Its members need not be MP's.

The mundane activity of drawing up the constitution was yesterday lightened up by the light-hearted banter of chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and his committee which kept many in stitches throughout. In one such moment, Ramaphosa was doubting a member's excuse for wanting some proposal to be postponed. The member, Valli Moosa, had said he and Roelf Meyer had attended many sessions of parliament and Ramaphosa said this was not so.

National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala then interjected and said, tongue in cheek, "I can vouch for the attendance of Valli Moosa and Minister Meyer. I can also vouch for the absence of the chair, Ramaphosa."

Amid much laughter, Ramaphosa responded: "I will get you when the CA sits, and I will watch whether you are attending".

Whites pessimistic about government

By CHRIS BATEMAN

PERCEPTIONS about the government of national unity are starkly divided along racial lines, a survey done exclusively for the Cape Times by Omnicheck reveals. Blacks are optimistic and whites generally pessimistic.

The surveyors spoke to 2 600 respondents face to face, asking what their expectations of the government of national unity were compared to their expectations of the previous dispensation in terms of housing, education, "fairness" and many other issues.

The survey shows that blacks expect the new government to do dramatically better than the last government and that whites expect it to do worse. Whites' expectations were especially low as far as fairness, the government's spending on itself and gambling controls were concerned.

No coloured or Indian people were interviewed.

Opinions about the ability of the government to handle inflation followed the racial divide — whites pessimistic and blacks very optimistic.

Mr Butch Rice, joint managing director of Research Surveys (of which Omnicheck is a division), said the study showed "very clearly" that the new government had a

Fairness,
spending,
education
are major
concerns

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"lot to live up to, particularly among blacks".

"If expectations are not met, it is likely that the impact on voter preferences could be significant," he added.

Of the respondents, only 43% of white women and 50% of white men felt housing would now be better.

But 69% of black women and 60% of black men felt this would improve.

Expectations for education threw up even more stark racial disparities, with only 29% of white women and 35% of white men expecting things to get better.

The equivalent figures for black women and men were a whopping 75% and 67% respectively.

Questions about "fairness" in treatment

by the government had 17% of white women agreeing things would improve and 18% of white men.

Blacks tripled this percentage with 59% of women and 55% of men expecting a "fairer" deal.

That the government would do better in creating jobs had whites agreeing at a low 36% for women and 42% for men. Black expectations leapt to 72% for women and 55% for men.

There was widespread scepticism among whites about the new government's ability to put the

brakes on the gravy train — only 15% of white women and 19% of white men felt the new government would do a better job.

But faith in a government most of them brought to power had 46% of black women and 45% of black men agreeing it would perform better on this.

Twelve percent of white women and 14% of white men agreed that the new government would control gambling better, and 36% and 20% of black women and men, respectively, agreed.

That a better check would be kept on inflation had 18% of white women and 21% of white men agreeing, while these figures for black women and men were 51% and 44%, respectively.

Government's fragile unity stretched

WIM 29/7-4/8/94

30249

As MPs get ready to reconvene parliament next week, **Ian Clayton** analyses the tensions in the Government of National Unity

THE fragile political unity in the Government of National Unity — with the ANC, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party as unlikely bedfellows — is coming under strain as MPs and party members become increasingly restless about the compromises necessary to make the deal work. In the immediate post-election and post-inauguration phase, party leaders were able to preserve the image of common purpose in the interests of the broad goals of promoting democracy and reconstruction.

But that is beginning to come unstuck — and will come under increasing pressure in the next four months as parliament gets down to the serious business of dismantling the bureaucratic apartheid empire and replacing it with democratic structures. And, as reports this week reflected, the NP could be the first to break ranks, although it will almost certainly not quit the GNU at this stage.

NP MPs are envious that the tiny and much-scorned Democratic Party has emerged as the parliamentary opposition to

the government, and the ANC in particular.

Indeed, so jealous are they of the role played by DP acting leader Tony Leon in exposing the police and the ANC over the Shell House shootings in which eight IFP supporters were killed, that the NP's chief whip, Hennie Smit, says the party wants to play a dual role as both an opposition party and as "responsible co-governors".

The NP's real problem, though, is more fundamental: it has lost its purpose. The party that tried to force apartheid on South Africa with missionary zeal became the party of the gravy train. It handed out jobs and high income positions to loyalists, people who served the government machine as long as they were paid. And that has all but gone.

Its one common ideological strain was an all-embracing anti-communism, but now it sits in the GNU with communists. After February 2 1990, and with the election of FW de Klerk as its leader — remember how he just managed to defeat Barred du Plessis — the NP did, briefly, become a party of reform, but that ended with the April election.

With its historical baggage, the NP does not have much to contribute to the building of democracy and redressing its own wrong-doing. As it stumbles around, a process aided by De Klerk's holiday in Europe — which has left the party rudderless for many weeks — it's an open secret that many of its old guard, par-

ticularly former ministers and deputy ministers, are considering taking their pensions and getting out while the going is good. A number of NP MPs are expected to quit before the end of the year.

As De Klerk re-enters active politics, he may be able to use his stature and charm to stamp his authority on the NP's troubled caucus.

This week, the salt was rubbed into the NP's wound by Justice Minister Dullah Omar's statements of solidarity with Cuba. Nothing could be further from the NP's ideological soul and yet it is part of the same government as Omar.

The ANC caucus, too, has similar problems. Many ordinary MPs simply cannot handle being on the same side — or at least being seen to be on the same side — as the NP and particularly the IFP. And the compromises in the GNU are often painful.

The South African Communist Party's attack on President Nelson Mandela's statements about the wave of strikes must be seen in the context of the problems being faced internally by the ANC alliance about its role in government.

As parliament reconvenes next week to debate the welter of legislation facing it and the first 100 days of Mandela's government, these tensions are bound to become more obvious. But for the time being at least, the GNU is expected to survive.

focus on constitution

THE MAKING of South Africa's new constitution is bound to produce new and strange bedfellows.

While the negotiations at the World Trade Centre last year and early this year had a clear and distinct composition of federalists and the unitarists, the configuration in the Constituent Assembly will be different.

ANC negotiator and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Mr Valli Moosa contends that while the ANC may have adopted a unitarist stance at the World Trade Centre, there was "nothing intrinsically wrong with federalism".

"It is not as if you could say that France is undemocratic because it is a unitary state. Nor can you say that Germany and Switzerland are undemocratic because they are federal states.

"The functions of the ANC as an organisation are essentially federal. The UDF was a federal organisation with autonomous regions.

"We opposed federalism as introduced at the World Trade Centre because some people were bringing it in with a double agenda. We are opposed to the concept. And it may well be that more powers may actually be given to the provinces as there is nothing wrong with that," Moosa said.

Six sub committees

The ANC has tabled its proposals of how the formulation of the new constitution should be done. They propose six sub committees. These are: Character of the State, Structure of the State, Bill of Rights, Relationship, Centre to Provinces, Legal Systems and Specialised Structures of State.

Moosa admitted that it was in the sub-committee on Relationship with provinces that the bigger debate would ensue, both on the floor of the Constituent Assembly and in the ANC's own debating chambers.

"While many of our own people are now arguing for more powers, it is also a fact that except for the PWV, no other region could stand on its own.

"The PWV produces 60 percent of the wealth of the country and in order to ensure equitable distribution of resources and development, the central government has to exercise fiscal control."

Another area of debate will be the Specialised Structure of State, where traditional authorities will have to be dealt with.

"Finding a working and democratic formula between the competing forces of modern democracy and the traditional role of chiefs, where gender equality is not recognised, will be the bigger challenge of the new formulation," Moosa said.

He also identified language as an area of great concern: "The truth is that English is the lingua franca of this country. We have accepted the fact that we have 11 equal languages, but we have not dealt with how this will impact on our lives.

"Can we publish government publications in

Sowetan 29/8/94
Finding a working formula for the new constitution will be no easy task as some of the more complicated issues present a bigger challenge to the Constituent Assembly. Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** investigates.



Mr Valli Moosa

all official languages? Should we do so?", he asked.

Moosa agreed that the problem is compounded by the need to resist the effective denigration of African languages which the declaration of English as the language of record would amount to. And so, while all languages are equal, English is the REAL language of parliament, with almost all ANC members addressing the house in it.

Federal or unitary

The IFP's proposal for the formulation of the new constitution is based on the need first to agree on the form of state. This means that before any issues are discussed, the Constituent Assembly must agree on whether the outcome will be federal or unitary.

"The initial framework should include a preliminary determination of whether we are going to amend the 1993 constitution into a final constitution, and a preliminary determination on the form of state that we are aiming at, and which will necessarily condition the work of all Theme Committees," the IFP stated.

"We want more than another ANC-NP compromise constitution. By now every party knows what kind of constitution it wants. Let us debate

the form of state as a prior issue which will in part influence Theme Committees' headings and the subject matter of each Theme Committee," it said.

The IFP proposes 10 lists for the Theme Committee. They are: Fundamental human rights; economic, social and cultural rights; civic obligations and duties, and economic provisions; the legislature; executive and public administration; The Judicial System; subsidiarity and the allocation of powers and functions; independent commissions, other powers of state, and the autonomy of civil society; international law provisions and emergency and war powers; and the constitutional court and other guarantees of the constitutional order.

Allies within the ANC camp

While the ANC and IFP differ greatly in their approach to the form of state at the World Trade Centre, the clamour for more powers from regional ANC premiers means that the IFP will find allies within the ANC camp, thus perhaps making their task easier.

And it may well be that the country should start preparing itself for a more defined federal government.

Fundamental to the new approach is the openness that the system has adopted up to now. This has meant that all sittings of the Constituent Assembly and its committees are open to both the public and the media.

A draft proposal for the constitution on media strategy identifies transparency, democratic accountability and public involvement and participation as underlying principles of its approach. Attempts will be made to make the media "a forum of the expression of ordinary people's views on the constitution" to ensure public debate and participation.

This will be done through media briefings, newsletters, and briefing documents.

The Constituent Assembly is also bound to see a scaled-down involvement of technical experts such as lawyers, who virtually took over the drafting of the constitution at the World Trade Centre.

Constitutional Committee members last week argued that they should remain in charge of the process, as they carried the political mandate of producing the new constitution.



Lotteries and Gaming Board chairman Prof Nic Wiehahn, right, talking to Lotteries and Gaming Commission acting secretary David Swanepoel at the first sitting of the Board in Pretoria yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela wins white SA's hearts

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has achieved a dramatic rise in popularity among the white population over the past year, according to a Gallup poll.

The poll, conducted by the Markinor research group, showed white support for Mandela had grown to such a degree recently that he now enjoyed almost as much support as Deputy President FW de Klerk.

On a rating of zero to 10, Mandela scored an average of six among whites, a sharp increase on his November 1993 rating of 3,8. De Klerk scored seven in his poll.

Support from urban blacks for the president was higher than ever, with an average 9,2 out of 10 on the popularity scale. Among urban coloureds it was 6,9 and Indians 7.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had a high popularity rating of 7,2 among urban blacks, but only 4,7 in the white community, which Markinor ascribed to his rela-

KATHRYN STRACHAN

tively low profile. His tally among coloureds was 5,2 and Indians, five.

De Klerk was far more popular among these groups, with coloureds rating him at 7,6 and Indians at 7,2 — even higher than his seven among whites. Blacks gave him 4,8.

However, urban blacks largely rejected IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Volkstaat leader Gen Constand Viljoen. Buthelezi scored 1,9, while Viljoen scored 1,5. Among whites Buthelezi scored 5,6 and Viljoen 5,2.

In its survey of support for parties, Markinor found overwhelming support for the ANC among urban blacks.

The survey also showed a sharp decline in support for the PAC and the SACP since November last year. (30/8/94)

Viljoen keeps flag flying

Star 30/8/94

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Freedom Front has signalled that it intends to keep the issue of self-determination for Afrikaners high on the agenda in the writing of the new constitution. (30/8/94)

FF leader General Constand Viljoen yesterday proposed to the Constitutional Committee (CC) that the issue be placed on the agendas of five of the six 20-member theme committees which will probe aspects of the constitution.

It had been proposed

to the CC that self-determination should be discussed by the theme committee on fundamental rights.

Viljoen argued that the Volkstaat Council's work on self-determination could be negated if other theme committees were not kept abreast of developments.

However, it was agreed that the theme committees would operate in a flexible manner and members would be free to raise any issue in more than one theme committee.

Viljoen said he was "slightly alarmed" at the

reaction of fellow CC members, but agreed to the compromise.

"If we accept that fundamental rights apply to all theme committees then I am happy to accept," said Viljoen.

It was agreed the theme committees would address six broad areas: the character of the democratic state, the structure of government, the relationship between levels of government, fundamental rights, judiciary and legal systems, and specialised structures.

The management committee met for the first time yesterday.

Theme committees to help with constitution

B/Dag

30/8/94

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The 46-MP constitutional committee yesterday agreed to a proposal to appoint six theme committees which would canvass public opinion to help write the new constitution.

Earlier, the 12-member management committee, meeting for the first time, decided to defer a decision on whether to recommend extending the May 1996 deadline to write the new constitution after complaints that 20 months was a hopelessly inadequate period.

NP chief negotiator and Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it was more important at this stage to get the constitution-making process properly off the ground.

Deciding now to extend the deadline — some negotiators wanted the full five years until the planned 1999 elections to rewrite the interim constitution — could slow the process, he said.

The 490-MP Constitutional Assembly, the country's highest constitution-making body, is expected to give the go-ahead for the establishment of the six theme committees. An all-party subcommittee drew up the proposals.

The theme committees, each to be staffed by a maximum of 30 MPs, assisted by three technical experts, were broadly based on the 34 constitutional principles agreed at the World Trade Centre negotiations.

The proposed committees are: character of a democratic state, structure of government, relationship between levels of government, fun-

damental rights, judiciary and legal systems and specialised structures of government.

Negotiators agreed the committees would adopt a flexible approach.

"Nothing is ever cast in stone," constitutional committee and Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said. "Flexibility should be used to achieve consensus."

A significant first addition agreed to yesterday was based on Meyer's proposal that the executive be dealt with separately.

The government of national unity ends in 1999 and Deputy President FW de Klerk has already indicated that the NP wants a form of power-sharing entrenched in the new constitution. (30/8/94)

The issue will be discussed by the government structure committee.

However, Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen's proposal — that self-determination be prescribed for debate in five of the six committees — was turned down.

Viljoen accepted assurances that the so-called volkstaters could raise the issue of self-determination wherever they thought it relevant. In the meantime, it would fall under the fundamental rights committee.

Negotiators agreed that international and comparative experiences could be discussed by any theme committee and that they could establish commissions on special topics, such as abortion and the flag.

Whites rate Mandela highly

JOHANNESBURG. — White South Africans rate President Nelson Mandela almost as highly as they do Deputy President F W de Klerk, an opinion poll published yesterday found.

Mr Mandela scored a popularity rating of six out of 10 among whites surveyed compared to the seven achieved by Mr De Klerk in the poll done by the

Markinor research group.

Markinor says black support for Mr Mandela stands at 9,2, and urban Indians and coloureds rate him at 6,9 and seven respectively.

Ms Christine Woessner, the research group's deputy managing director, said the results showed Mr Mandela, 76, enjoyed tremendous support from all.

The survey found that coloureds rated Mr De Klerk at 7,6 and Indians rated him at 7,2, compared to the seven rating given him by whites.

Blacks pegged him at 4,8 against the 7,2 scored by the other deputy president, Mr Thabo Mbeki, who was rated at 4,7 by whites, 5,2 by coloureds and five by Indians. — Sapa-Reuter (304A)

Pik opposes cutting Sasol, Mossgas benefits

CAPE TOWN — Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday opposed cutting "tariff protection" provided to Sasol and Mossgas.

Although government was examining the system of tariff protection of the synfuels industry, Botha said Sasol sold R4,5bn of fuel yearly and importing this would seriously damage foreign exchange reserves. It was thus impossible to cut the 9,4c/l "equalisation fund levy" on petrol.

Speaking during the mineral and energy affairs debate in the Senate, Botha said oil companies wanted to deregulate fuel prices, saying it would lead to cheaper petrol.

But the effect on small concerns and the number of jobs lost would have to be taken into account, he said.

The Motor Vehicle Accident Fund required R3bn to be on a sound footing. He promised not to raise petrol prices to make up the shortfall.

Cabinet had decided last year against shutting Mossgas which got "synlevy compensation" and tariff protection of about R379m in this financial year.

Answering a question by DP MP Kobus Jordaan, Botha said the total cost of Mossgas at December last year amounted to R11,1bn.

Government did not intend closing down the project which had a positive

cash flow, forecast as R455m for the current financial year.

The positive cash flow included "synlevy compensation" of about R139m and tariff protection of about R240m. But it excluded capital expenditure and finance costs and repayments on foreign loans financed by the Central Energy Fund.

In accordance with the recommendation of the joint committee on public accounts, no further money was to be invested in the project without a comprehensive investigation.

Sapa reports Botha said an additional R2,5m would be allocated to reconstruction and development programmes. Electrification was the most important project of the RDP and "the electricity supply industry must be restructured".

"There are 1 000 or more different electricity tariffs operating in this country, and more than 300 suppliers of electricity."

His ministry was geared to "initiate the electrification projects of the RDP", Botha said.

Reuter reports that he said his department would survey mines to determine which were marginal "so we can have a picture of their life span". This was to prevent retrenchment.

Eglin rejects MPs' resignation clause

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government did not intend scrapping the clause in the constitution under which MPs would lose their seats if they left their party, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He suggested in the National Assembly that the question should be reconsidered by the Constitutional Assembly. But this was rejected by DP MP Colin Eglin, who said the clause affected the present constitution, not the future one.

He said the clause violated the Charter of Fundamental Rights which guaranteed freedom of association and the freedom to make political choices.

"This clause, which requires members of Parliament to toe the party line and to submit to the authority of the party bosses, violates the whole spirit of openness, of freedom of expression, of transparency which is the hallmark of the new constitution."

He said it meant no party political changes would take place in Parliament for the next five years.

Ken Andrew (DP) said it had to be decided whether MPs were representatives of the people or delegates of parties, whether the people would govern or the parties would govern.

Meyer said the rule was appropriate to SA's system of pure proportional representation.

Restructuring of govt 'needs political solution'

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — Senior government officials told Parliament yesterday only a political solution could resolve the crisis over restructuring government at national and provincial levels, including the allocation of powers.

ANC MPs said they wanted to play a role but Constitutional Development director-general Neil Barnard said the process should be left to Cabinet, his Minister Roelf Meyer and the newly established intergovernmental forum made up by national and provincial premiers and ministers.

Select committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said after the committee met a "big tussle" was looming. Members mandated Gordhan to meet Meyer and other stakeholders before the next meeting.

ANC MP Salie Manie said unless new "overarching" legislation was passed to take charge of the process, "this process is going to blow up in our faces".

Barnard warned against introducing new laws. He said there was a long tradition in SA which had proved "laws do not take people along" or change attitudes.

Ian Robson, one of five members of the Public Service Commission, said political leaders would have to step in and decide, in terms of the constitution, which powers belonged where.

Robson said only two phases — the creation by legislation of a single public service and the allocation of powers to provinces — had largely been completed. What re-

mained was the task of "refining" activities at national and provincial levels, identifying which powers belonged at what level of government.

According to a lengthy "administrative, not political" document on the proposed allocation of functions, only four — local government, traditional authorities, works and environmental conservation — were earmarked exclusively for the provinces.

The rest had to be shared, according to the proposals. Some of the concurrent powers listed were agriculture, constitutional development, culture, education, finance and health.

Powers to be administered exclusively at national level included defence, energy affairs and foreign affairs.

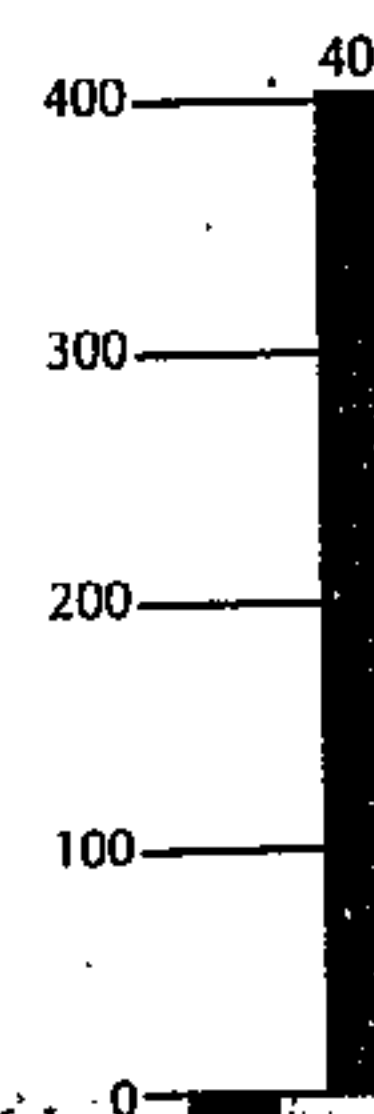
Robson conceded the proposals were politically sensitive and could lead to clashes between stakeholders, which was why political consensus was necessary. He urged stakeholders to begin a consensus-seeking process, as without it the Public Service Commission's work was "very difficult".

Provincial government commission chairman Thozamile Botha said central government allocated funds to provinces only after functions had been agreed on and assigned to them.

However, some provinces had not even passed an Exchequer Act and were therefore not eligible for funds.

Net cash flow

(Rm)



Floor-crossers face expulsion

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

MPs who try to cross the floor will be shown the door — at least for the duration of the interim constitution.

Clause 43 of the constitution bars MPs from changing party allegiance.

Anyone who does will be expelled from parliament.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the national assembly yesterday that the rule, entrenched in the constitution, was a result of the proportional representation electoral system.

Replying to an interpellation debate requested by Colin Eglin (DP), Mr Meyer said no legislation to change the clause was planned.

The constitutional assembly would decide whether the rule should continue, he said.

Mr Eglin said the clause required MPs to toe the party line and to submit to party bosses.

(304A) ARG 1/9/94

save Afrikaans

BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

National Party members of the PWV parliament last night did a shame-faced about-turn and voted with the Freedom Front on the protection of Afrikaans — just minutes after branding the FF motion as "political opportunism" and a "vote of no confidence in the constitution".

The motion required the House to "declare its approval of the status of Afrikaans as constituted in the constitution and condemn any attempt to weaken it".

It was defeated by 35 votes to 20 in a division. The ANC, the DP and the PAC sided against the motion and the IFP joined the NP and FF in supporting it.

The NP found itself outmanoeuvred when all attempts to amend the motion to include other languages failed, the FF's Daniel Bisschoff refused to withdraw it and then pushed for a division.

In a surprise conclusion, the NP found themselves aligned with the FF after two hours of debate in which the ANC and the NP were hard to distinguish in criticism of the motion because:

■ It was wrong to elevate Afrikaans above the

other official languages and the principle of protecting all languages should be promoted.

■ The Interim Constitution already guaranteed speakers of all major languages their rights.

Several ANC members delivered parts of their speeches in Afrikaans to emphasise that they had no objection to the language as such.

Steward Ngwenya of the ANC, displaying some variations of dialect, insisted "it (Afrikaans) is our language", spoken in Alexandra and "Western" and Meadowlands. He concluded his maiden speech with "Viva our language".

MEC for Education Mary Metcalfe urged Bisschoff to withdraw the motion. She argued that by isolating Afrikaans from the struggle to defend all language rights, the FF was doing a disservice to those who treasured Afrikaans.

The ANC would not support the motion, Metcalfe said, as it was "inappropriate to treat our languages separately and therefore differently".

Faced with the FF's refusal to withdraw, NP leader Olaus van Zyl said that his party would support it.

Hospital strike gripes probe

The Departments of Justice and National Health are to investigate the complaints of striking hospital workers, National Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma said yesterday. — Reuter.

Deadline for nominations

Nominations for the posts of Public Protector and 11 Human Rights Commissioners should be sent by September 9 to: The Secretary to Parliament, Box 15, Cape Town 8000, fax (021) 461-7969. — Sapa.

SA set to join four bodies

SA would sign or accede to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; and the Hague Convention on Civil Aspects of International Child Abortion, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said yesterday. — Sapa.

'No Govt interference in arts'

BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

State funding for the arts in the PWV province will be taken out of the hands of politicians and be entrusted to a non-governmental council chosen by the arts community, says MEC for sport, arts and culture Peter Skosana.

Outlining the concept to the PWV house standing committee on sport, arts and culture yesterday, Skosana said: "We want a situation where the Government does not interfere in the arts."

The standing committee also began to seriously grapple with policy relating to the future of the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (PACT).

While Skosana's earlier pronouncement made it clear that PACT could

certainly not aspire to be an "arts council" for the PWV, this first round of talks between members of the standing committee and a team led by PACT chief executive Louis Bezuidenhout was largely exploratory.

Bezuidenhout's pitch to the committee was that the new Government, through its funding policies, should effect change where necessary but it should not close down PACT, especially its ballet and opera companies.

For decades PACT has been virtually the sole beneficiary of central government arts funding for the former Transvaal area.

Currently, it receives something like R40 million a year.

DP committee member

Peter Leon said he had some difficulty justifying PACT's consumption of the entire funding allocation for the Transvaal while other companies — like the Market Theatre — were collapsing for want of any subsidy.

ANC member Oupa Monareng said a balance had to be struck in financing the arts.

Committee chairman Jan Bredenkamp put it to Bezuidenhout that there was talk of preserving top quality ballet and opera through the establishment of a single national company in each discipline.

Bezuidenhout acknowledged that PACT had investigated this possibility and had put forward proposals to the central Government's Minister of Science, Arts and Culture.

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IEC will not take part in elections

WILSON ZWANE

GOVERNMENT wants voters' rolls for the forthcoming local government elections to be used in future provincial and national elections, sources said.

They said while the elections, scheduled for October next year, would be managed by provincial governments, they would be co-ordinated by central government to ensure uniformity. B1001

However, they ruled out the possibility of the involvement of the Independent Electoral Commission in the local government elections. 219194

It is understood that election regulations, drawn up by a special committee appointed by Cabinet in July to look into the logistics of local government elections, would serve as guidelines.

The regulations were contained in the committee's report which was discussed this week with role players, including provincial government ministers and civic organisations. Sources said the report was expected to be submitted to Cabinet today.

Provincial Commission chairman Thozamile Botha would not divulge the contents of the report, saying it was "Cabinet property". (3047)

However, it was understood it contained recommendations on the registration of voters.

Govt 'willing to work with ET'

EVATON. — The government was prepared to work with Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche to build a united South Africa, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said yesterday.

He made a call for unity at the funeral of uMkhonto weSizwe co-founder Mr Levayi Mbatha,

who died here last week after a long illness.

Mr Terre-Blanche said on Saturday he would meet Safety and Security Minister Mr Sidney Mufamadi this week.

Speaking at the AWB's 21st anniversary celebration at Heidelberg he threatened "a racist war more terrible than the

French Revolution" if calls for a homeland were rejected.

Addressing MK cadres at the funeral service, Mr Modise said the time had passed for liberation songs like "Kill the Boer", which was sung shortly before he spoke.

"We promised a better life and we must deliver. If we fail to

transform the country we have no one ... to blame because there is no apartheid," he said.

In a personal tribute, Mr Modise said Mr Mbatha had been responsible for ferrying thousands of people out of South Africa for training. He had been nicknamed "Minister of Transport" because of this. — Sapa

Writing the constitution begins this month

304A
ARL 6/9/94

Political Correspondent

WRITING a new constitution will begin in earnest when special committees to debate key themes meet for the first time this month.

These committees will have technical advisers, will be expected to draw in the views of the wider community and will report to the constitutional committee.

Among themes to be discussed are relationships between levels of government, fundamental rights, legal systems, the structure of government and the nature of the democratic state.

The constitutional assembly, made up of members of the national assembly and the senate, met yesterday to debate plans for the constitutional process.

Speakers from various parties underlined the need for the process to be open to all, and to learn from the experience of the tortuous Kempton Park constitutional talks.

But there were signs of turbulence ahead, with Inkatha Freedom Party speakers calling for the African National Congress and National Party to honour the pre-election agreement for international mediation about unresolved constitutional issues.

Constitutional assembly deputy chairman Leon Wessels said it was hoped theme committees would be operational by September 19.

Pravin Gordhan (ANC), chairman of the select committee on constitutional affairs, said the theme committees were vehicles for public participation and negotiations between parties.

Technical experts should not take over the process, he said.

Andre Fourie (NP) said his party planned a particularly active role in the theme committee to discuss relations between tiers of government.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said self-determination was a fundamental right and should be included in theme committee talks.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin said the two-year deadline to finalise the new constitution should not be inflexible.

Dirk du Toit (ANC) said the financial implications of future constitutional arrangements should be considered carefully.

Blueprint for SA-Europe ties

CT 7/9/94 304A

From LINDA ENSOR

BERLIN. — Europe and Southern Africa yesterday drew up a blueprint for political and economic co-operation and vowed to strengthen the ties between the two regions.

The Berlin Declaration — which follows a two-day meeting of the regions' foreign ministers — set out principles for supporting democracy, human rights and good government, disarmament and integrated economic development.

Ministers from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) — which SA joined last month — and the European Union said the declaration would bolster relations using "peace

'Partners in peace, prosperity'

and prosperity through partnership".

SA representatives — led by Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo — pushed strongly for follow-up action to ensure practical results flowed from the conference. They said the offer of EU assistance could not be allowed to slip, otherwise the region faced the danger of marginalisation.

Mr Nzo called for an ad hoc steering committee, but the con-

ference decided to set up a two-tiered structure of working committees to implement the objectives.

The first meeting of senior EU and SADC officials will be held in Malawi early next year and the SADC will call a high-level ministerial meeting later.

In his closing speech, German Foreign Minister Mr Klaus Kinkel said the conference had sent out a clear signal that Southern Africa could rely on Europe.

The conference undertook to promote trade and economic development within Southern Africa, focusing particularly on small and medium-sized enterprises. The development of market economies and cutting red tape were vital to boosting investment.

Public holiday changes welcomed by business

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and EUNICE RIDER

SOUTH AFRICA's revamped public holiday calendar is expected to save the economy billions of rand each year.

The cabinet yesterday agreed to a major reshuffle of public holidays, to take effect next year, but pegged the number of paid vacation days at 11.

Thirteen public holidays in the former homelands will fall away.

The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) estimates that each national public holiday costs the country R500 million in lost production.

Legislation will be tabled during the current session of Parliament making provision for four new official public holidays: Con-

stitution Day (April 27), Youth Day (June 16), National Women's Day (August 9), and Heritage Day (September 24).

Founder's Day, Ascension Day, Republic Day and Kruger Day will be dropped.

The seven days that will remain are: New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Workers' Day, the Day of Reconciliation (December 16), Christmas Day and Goodwill Day (December 26).

A surprise omission from the new line-up was March 21, Sharpeville Day, which will in future become a "commemorative day" instead of a paid holiday.

Where public holidays fall over a weekend, they will take effect on a Monday.

Mr Alan Lighton, executive director of the Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industries, said he welcomed the fact that the proposed holidays achieved a better spread over the year than existed at present.

"The way holidays were bunched into the first half of the year disrupted work flow," said Mr Lighton.

Sacob estimated that the eight paid holidays—some granted at short notice—in April and May this year cost the South African economy R4 billion.

Church leaders last night said it was a pity to lose Ascension Day, but welcomed the decision to retain both Good Friday and Easter Monday.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

Return to Codesa

The first signs of the major obstacles facing the drafters of the final constitution emerged this week, when the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Front indicated their intention to revisit the key issues that forced them to abandon the World Trade Centre talks last year.

Their insistence on renegotiating some of the principles on which the interim constitution is based, and possibly adding to them, could severely threaten the already tight two-year time limit within which the Constitutional Assembly is supposed to complete its work.

The most serious potential problem is the IFP's demand that the ANC honour its pre-election pledge to invite international mediators to help resolve the disputes over provincial powers and the status of the Zulu king. These issues almost resulted in the party boycotting the April poll.

At a plenary session of the Constitutional Assembly in Cape Town this week IFP MP Lionel Mtshali said President Nelson Mandela had failed to respond to two letters from IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi requesting the appointment of mediators. And IFP senator Ruth Rabinowitz said failure to appoint mediators would be a "flagrant breach of trust." She said the Zulu monarchy and the powers of provinces remained sensitive issues in KwaZulu/Natal. The negotiations at the World Trade Centre had not been final.

Agreement on mediation was reached between the IFP, ANC and NP on April 19, barely a week before the election. The accord provided for international mediators to be called in after the election to help resolve constitutional disputes that were not finalised to the IFP's satisfaction before the poll. But it now seems that mediation is an issue both the ANC and the NP had hoped would be swept aside by the election.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer effectively distanced himself from what could become his biggest headache by suggesting that the dispute should be resolved in talks between Mandela, Buthelezi and Deputy-President F W de Klerk.

However, Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa told journalists after the session that, while there would have to be talks with the IFP on the issue, in his view the post-election situation was different to that before April 27. Ramaphosa said the mediation proposal was aimed at clearing a logjam in the process towards the election. But there were now no logjams and the IFP should raise any problems it had in the Constitutional Assembly.

The Front plans to focus on winning agreement on a clear definition of self-determination to underpin efforts to establish a *volkstaat*. Front leader Constand

Viljoen appealed this week for unity among Afrikaners — including members of the CP and the NP — on the issue.

The NP's Andre Fourie reflected the general view of the party when he urged members of the Constitutional Assembly not to spend their time "rediscovering the wheel." He said the best approach would be to build on the good work that had been done in pre-election negotiations.

But some ANC MPs are intent on a major rewrite of the constitution within the constitutional principles that must form the framework of the new document. This view, together with the IFP's intention of reviving many of the issues it missed out on due to its boycott, means time is almost sure to run out for the constitution makers.

Sensing this, the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin warned against making the time frame "a holy cow." He said the substance of the new constitution was more important than meeting a deadline. Instead of rushing its work the Constitutional Assembly should take the time to learn from the practical implementation of the interim constitution. Eglin believes it is important to see how the various new institutions have affected government.

This week the Constitutional Assembly approved the establishment of six "theme committees" of up to 30 members each to examine various aspects of the constitution. They should be functional by September 19 according to the CA's deputy chairman Leon Wessels. The theme committees will be guided by technical committees of constitutional experts.

Meanwhile, the head of the HSRC's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, Bertus de Villiers, says issues the CA needs to examine include:

- ☐ A clearer definition of the allocation of powers between the various tiers of government and new provisions for the financial competency of the provinces;
- ☐ The possibility of combining proportional representation and a constituency system for future elections at national and provincial level;
- ☐ Scrapping the provision that forces MPs and Senators to quit if they change parties;
- ☐ Ways of making the Senate more independent, possibly through the direct election of senators; and
- ☐ Ways to encourage rather than compel a coalition government.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

PARTY CAUCUSES

A question of style

There is serious concern in the National Party that the growing influence of the ANC's 312-member parliamentary caucus will undermine the effectiveness of the government of national unity. But ANC MPs dismiss the criticism, saying it reflects a total misunderstanding of how the party's caucus operates.

Nat MPs believe the fear of negative caucus reaction is delaying important policy decisions by ANC Ministers. They claim that SA Communist Party members in the caucus — believed to number about 50 — are particularly active in trying to influence GNU policy. A senior Nat MP says it is clear that the caucus sees the NP as "enemy number one" rather than a partner in government. He says this was illustrated last month, when the caucus rejected President Nelson Mandela's appeal to share proportionally the chairmanship of 25 portfolio committees.

After the row, some Nats said the rejection of Mandela's lead could result in a lame-duck President unable to make decisions without caucus backing.

But an ANC MP, who also served in the previous parliament, says it's simply a

FW 9/9/94

question of different styles. The rejection by a Nat caucus of a lead by the party leader would amount to a vote of no confidence. The MP claims the ANC's open style allows for debate and acceptance of democratic decisions without undermining the stature of the group or person whose proposal is defeated — even if it is the President. (8049) (HWP)

He denies that the caucus is unduly influencing government policy or threatening the stability of the GNU. He points out that the ANC's domination of the Cabinet means legislation and policy decisions will inevitably be acceptable in principle to the caucus.

If changes are deemed necessary, they can be debated in the portfolio committees which are open to the media and the public, and are representative of other parties in parliament. The MP accepts that there are groupings within the caucus that represent the coalition partners, but argues that their different points of view and criticism of one another result in healthy debate rather than unstable division.

The ANC's style of caucusing is certainly new to parliament. Even the DP adopts the traditional highly confidential approach to caucus meetings. But the ANC, while restricting attendance to MPs and senators, has a regular press briefing after its weekly caucus meetings at which details of key

decisions are usually released. All very nice, but the style may change if Cabinet Ministers find that proposals based on long preparation and specialist technical advice are repeatedly blocked by a relatively ignorant caucus.

There comes a point when leaders must stop consulting and start leading. ■

South Africa makes new diplomatic links

SOUTH AFRICA extended its diplomatic ties yesterday when President Nelson Mandela received the credentials of ambassadors from India, Botswana, Tanzania, Belgium and the Vatican. (30419)

In a ceremony at Tuynhuys, he extended a warm welcome to the countries and lauded them for their contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle.

India severed diplomatic ties with South Africa in 1954 because of apartheid. CT 9/9/94

Archbishop Ambrose De Paoli is the first ambassador of the Holy See in South Africa.

Mr Mandela singled out Tanzania as the centre of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa when he welcomed Mr Ami Ramadhani Mpungwe as high commissioner. — Sapa

Libertas residence to be renamed Mahlamb'andlovu

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Staff

LIBERTAS, the president's official residence, will soon be renamed Mahlamb'andlovu, says President Mandela.

He said this yesterday aboard his presidential Falcon 900 aircraft on a flight from Pretoria's Waterkloof air force base to Cape Town.

He had decided to rename Libertas, still occupied by Deputy Presi-

dent F.W. de Klerk, Mahlamb'andlovu. The new name, which means "the dawn of a new era" in Shangaan, will be formally announced soon, Mr. Mandela said he had decided on that name because "Shangans have been ignored in the past, and we must now uplift all communities".

His official residence in Cape Town, Westbrooke, would also be renamed. A new name, which would

have to "represent the aspirations of the coloured community", had yet to be decided. *Soq44*

The Union Buildings in Pretoria may also be renamed, but Tuynhuys in Cape Town will retain its name.

"The changing of place names is a question we will examine carefully. It may be necessary to change the name of the Union Buildings, but places like Tuynhuys and Groote

Schuur have a history and should not be changed," Mr. Mandela said.

● The National Party government gave many British or royal symbols the chop soon after it came to power in 1948.

● Mr. Mandela said that Anglo-American had given an old Vryheid building to the President's Trust Fund. The building would be used as a centre for children awaiting trial.

See page 4.

Lively history of a university

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN 1918-1948 — The Formative Years, by Howard Phillips (UCT Press, R150)

IN WRITING this instructive and highly entertaining book, the author built on the researches of the late Prof HM Robertson. Traces of his kindly humour adorn it.

The mere presence on campus of coloured students exposed the young university to criticism, some of it from people prominent in the United Party. But it was barely ahead of white public opinion. UCT's few coloured students were not welcome even at Rag and InterVarsity, which united all other students.

This state of affairs lost UCT the services of Lancelot Hogben, briefly head of the zoology department. Hogben's creativity earns this tribute: "During his four years at UCT, he showed himself to be a dynamic innovator and research worker who single-handedly transformed the department of zoology into a powerhouse of experimental biology, attracting bright postgraduate students from all over the university and inspiring them to undertake pioneering research in genetics and the physiology of lower animals."

Many of UCT's staff, who had taught at its predecessor, the South African College, seemed cast in the mould of secondary school teachers. Like SACS, UCT was said to be "akin to a Scottish mission to the Jews". But, by the 1930s, talented Jews had begun to eclipse the missionaries. Of these Jews, the most distinguished was Isaac Schapera. He became a world figure in social anthropology and left to take up a chair at the London School of Economics.

RADFORD JORDAN

WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN A-Z OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS — The Essential Handbook (Penguin, R47,99)

THE Weekly Mail & Guardian has compiled a 350-page guide, also available on disk, to the bewildering array of personalities, organisations, institutions and forums that have sprung up since 1990.

Aimed at specialists and lay people alike, the carefully edited text gives an informal feel of SA's personalities and other useful information. The concept was introduced in

Refreshingly frank appraisal of Africa

B/DAY 18/4/94

SEASON OF MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTH, by Kole Omotoso (Tafelberg, R39,95)

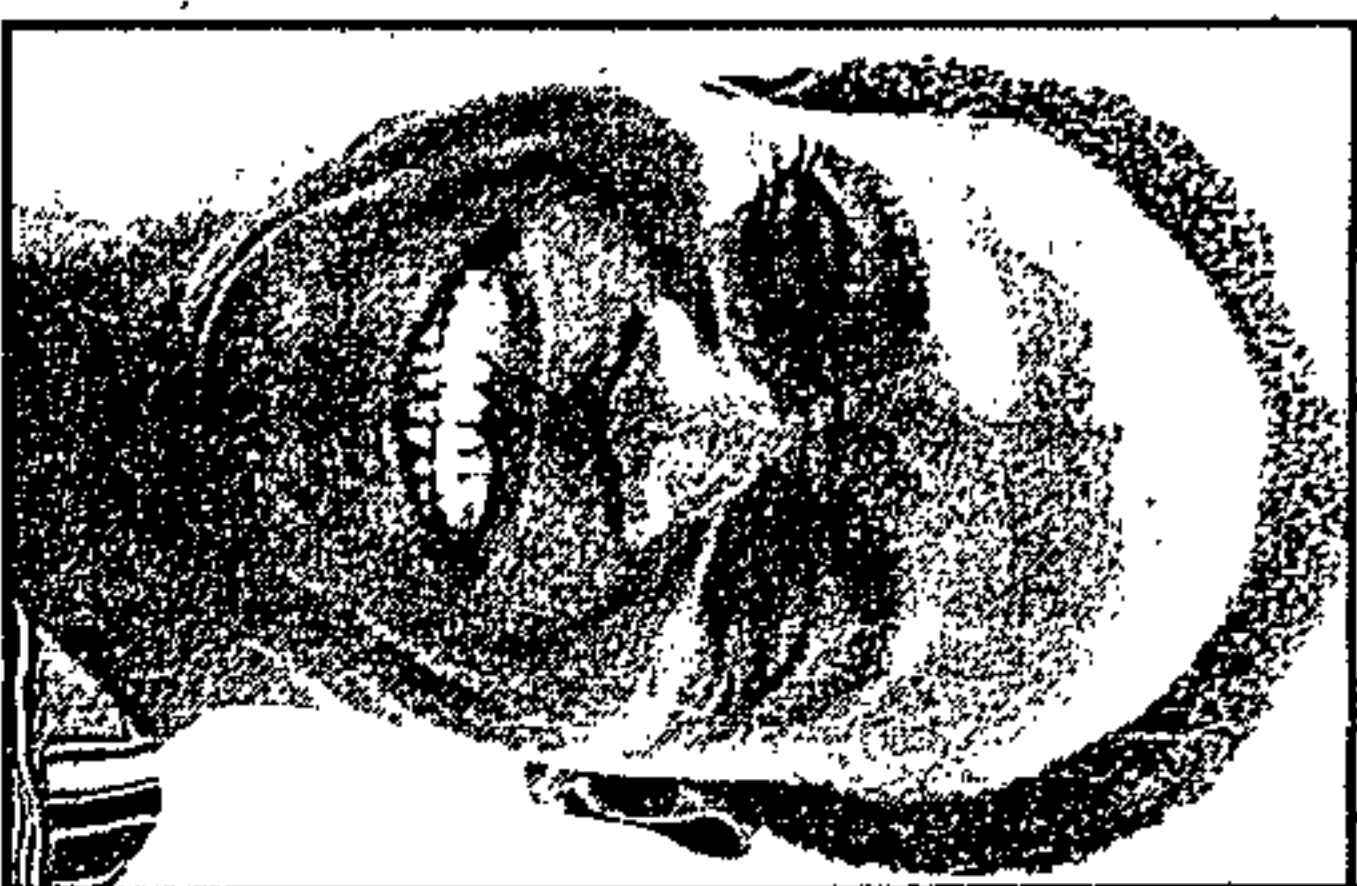
"AFRICA desperately needs a strong middle class." This isn't a Thatcherite speaking but one of Nigeria's most prolific younger writers and scholars, Kole Omotoso, unlike the disaffected African thinkers found in northern countries, recently migrated south, to the University of the Western Cape. This book explains his move, reconsiders the causes of some of the continent's crises and challenges in polemical style, orthodox Afrocentric thinking.

Omotoso says that whites in SA cannot say without being thought racist, and what blacks cannot say without being branded sell-outs. About government in Nigeria, for example, he writes: "Nothing was ever done on time, nothing was done for nothing, nothing was ever done without the intervention of some high-ranking official."

This determination to tell the bigger truth does not spare Eurocentric expectations of a co-operation between Europe and Africa did not materialise, it was because European greed in time required the reduction of the African to less than human status.

An emphasis on cross-cultural co-operation runs through the book. Omotoso is forthright about the practical implications of the death of the Marxist ideal and the failure of socialist states in Africa: "Africans should get involved in all the areas of capitalist endeavour — industry, manufacturing, services and finance."

Omotoso told me he had come to SA as a refugee from corruption. The



□ NKUMAH

"unpunished corruption among the ruling elite" that he describes in Nigeria is held responsible for the destruction of its middle class within 10 years of independence. It has led to an ultra-rich few, who provide their own electricity and water in their compounds, and the masses dissolving back into ethnic groups and subsistence production.

The relative size of the middle class in this country gives him hope for its future, so long as the whites who currently make up its majority accept their role in building a modern democratic state — and stay.

Language remains the key issue in decolonisation and, being a scholar of Yoruba, French, Arabic and Eng-

lish, Omotoso's insights are valuable. He maintains that the failure to translate Western knowledge into indigenous language has been crucial in Africa's crisis, contrasting the systematic translation of such knowledge into Japanese and Afrikaans.

Africa's spoken, or oral, culture is often subject to romanticism. While believing that aspects of it can and should be retained, Omotoso says: "The single most crucial cause of underdevelopment in Africa is the failure of the elite and the leadership to inculcate the mental attitudes consequent on literacy."

Since most South Africans are not literate, this oral culture affects daily life more than is realised. "To move from orality to writing is... to shift from magic to science, from illogicality to a rational state of consciousness, and from a state of mental chaos to a domesticated thought process."

Afrocentric scholars land the values of traditional culture and feel a sense of moral superiority over their former colonial masters. While urging the adaptation and continuance of such culture, Omotoso quotes Hadjor in an attack on African romanticism: "The African intellectual has learned to avoid the present and has his eyes fixed on the past. It is now quite fashionable to argue that socialism and capitalism are alien imports and that Africa has its own model of development. When pressed to explain, the answers become incoherent, almost mystical. Inevitably the arguments... turn on retrieving some distant golden age."

Omotoso is refreshingly frank about pan-Africanism, the political movement that ushered in independence and whose proponents still

have influence. On the one hand he acknowledges its role in liberating Africa from colonial rule and restoring a measure of self-esteem. On the other, he criticises its lack of economic understanding, its negation of traditional culture and ethnic leadership and its failure to build nation states. Nkrumah's statement — "we prefer self-government with poverty to colonial status with prosperity" — echoes hollowly down the years.

A visit to Haiti prompted Omotoso to re-evaluate his views about Africa. Haiti was the first country where black inhabitants threw off white minority rule, 200 years ago. Toussaint l'Ouverture, a plantation slave, led the revolt against the French colonialists, proclaiming their own slogans of liberty, equality and fraternity against them.

Omotoso, noting the failure of the slave leaders to extend education to the masses and the subsequent accumulation of wealth by an increasingly corrupt and violent elite, quotes the dismal statistics of Haiti's poverty and violence today. He wonders how African countries can avoid the same nightmare: "An epic struggle against oppression followed by post-independence stasis, mounting foreign debt... finally succumbing to the inability to create a base for the development of their people."

South Africans probably experience a greater range and depth of emotions than their Western peers. This book extends such emotions further. It increases both dread and hope about our future.

CHRIS MANN
Mann, a former director of The Valley Trust, is working with the National Economic Forum public works programme.

The who's who of a changing SA

pre-independent Namibia, where foreign journalists, non-governmental organisations, foreign observers and others needed a handy reference to the organisations and groups operating in the country.

The A-Z is probably best suited to the same kind of readership and its release is well timed for the massive contingent of foreign journalists and observers arriving in the country.

A section on key organisations and office bearers is particularly useful. Unlike some other personality guides, this one attempts to get under the skin of the personalities, writing of their weaknesses, foibles, reputations and strengths. The sketches are brief and simple, and will be particularly helpful to foreign journalists writing for audiences unfamiliar with SA.

The section on the many forums that have blossomed and the issues they deal with is very useful.

Another section on statistics is vital and well presented. It includes an easy to read chronology of political events.

The disk version, in Windows or DOS, is probably the better bet. It is far more useful than the book as it can be updated as the fluid SA scene changes.

BILLY PADDOCK

Removal of parliament portraits under fire

Political Correspondent

THE full history of South Africa should be reflected in parliament and removing portraits goes against the spirit of national unity, Abraham Williams (NP) told the senate today.

He was speaking in the policy debate on arts, culture, science and technology. He said exhibits in parliament should be expanded rather than be removed.

He would like to be able to walk into parliament with his grandchildren and show them the portrait of Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid. With it should be a picture of the former African National Congress president, Oliver Tambo, and there should be a portrait of F W de Klerk, who contributed to the end of apartheid, Mr. Williams said.

In a press statement, Democratic Party arts and culture spokesman Dene Smuts said it would be unwise to censor parliamentary history by removing portraits and busts.

"In the case of some of the more recent portraits, the art is as authoritarian as the politicians depicted. But iconoclasm and reconciliation cannot co-exist."

Ms Smuts said the inclusive example of dual national anthems and new public holidays should be followed.

The portrait of former president P W Botha in the old house of assembly dining room was "particularly redolent of an authoritarian age, with every brush stroke breathing Broederbond". (304A)

She added: "But one person's rogues' gallery is another's roll of honour."

ARG 1/9/94

Squatter plan

CT 9/9/94

Control unit

'to stem tide'

By CHRIS BATEMAN
A SPECIALLY-TRAINED squatter control unit to help "stem the tide" of illegal land invasion and to manage Peninsula urbanisation is under consideration in a White Paper being prepared for provincial Housing Minister Mr Gerald Mor-
kel.

This emerged yesterday when Mr Morkel enlarged on comments in a speech by Premier Mr Hennrich Kriel that squatters would have to be "co-responsible" for preventing illegal squatting.

"We have a lot of complaints from black people who feel threatened by the newcomers but unfortunately we're hamstrung by the current freeze on the development of state land by central government," Mr Morkel said.

Asked how he intended "stemming the tide", he replied: "One has to be cruel to be kind."

"I think you've got to find out where they come from and help them back."

ANC provincial leader and fellow minister in the legisla-

ture Dr Allan Boesak strongly rejected Mr Morkel's plans. "Whichever way he puts it, it smacks of influx control and needs to be firmly rejected," he said.

Dr Boesak said the squatter control units "sound like some sort of home-grown vigilante groups," and expressed fear that they could "exacerbate the problem."

"There's a marked difference between what the central government has in mind in preventing land invasion and this kind of idea — the only real solution is long-term and that's adequate housing... we'll have to be creative," he said.

He urged Mr Morkel to await Mr Slovo's direction for what is a national problem.

"There are an estimated 400 000 people squatting or in 'dire need of improved living conditions' in the Western Cape."

Mr Morkel said he had a moral and legal responsibility to maintain orderliness in informal housing and both President Nelson Mandela and Mr Slovo had taken a "firm stand on land invasion."

An expert on black housing said "some sanction" needed to be applied sensitively... "otherwise we can have any old squatter warlord with his eye on some piece of territory just invading it."

● Plans to stop shanty towns — Page 4



Health services in crisis

By CLAUDIA CAVANAGH

HEALTH SERVICES in the Western Cape are crumbling with patient numbers rocketing due to new government policy, stringent budget cuts and untenable staff problems.

A Cape Times investigation has revealed that:

● Next year's budget for the region has been cut to R1,6 billion — 13,6% less than the projected expenditure for the current year.

● New government policy on free care for children under six and pregnant women has led to overcrowding, long waits and angry patients.

● Staff morale in hospitals and clinics is at an all-time low.

● Many skilled people are leaving for the private sector.

● Western Cape hospitals and clinics are understaffed by 12,3%.

● Twenty-six medical officers' posts at day hospitals in city townships are vacant due to lack of applicants.

● A plan to address the crisis has been put in motion by the province. Red Cross Children's Hospital medical superintendent Dr Rod Marshall said the number of patients seen at the trauma unit each month had increased 60%.

He said staff could not cope.

Western Cape Health and Social Services Minister Mr Ebrahim Rasool said yesterday the problem was exacerbated by bureaucratic procedures that slowed down the filling of posts.

Mr Rasool said an appeal will be made to the national Minister of Health, Dr Nkosazana Zuma, to maintain previous funding levels.

Mandela to attend Shaka Day

Weekend Argus Reporters

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has left no doubt that he will attend the controversy-riddled Shaka Day celebrations, in spite of warnings that his life might be at risk.

Yesterday, a spokesman for Mr Mandela said: "There is no question of him not going," in spite of Home Affairs Minister and IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi's protestations this week that it would be "below his dignity" to attend.

As the disclosure that Mr Mandela would attend Shaka Day celebrations was made, the VIP National Protection Unit prepared to receive a request for security from the President's office.

The unit's commanding officer, Peter Payne, said an advance unit would work with local police

in Stanger to assess the security threat and decide on how tight security needed to be.

"The venue, the President's car and any overnight stop will be checked beforehand and sharpshooters will be on rooftops along the route," said Brigadier Payne.

Meanwhile, confusion reigns about a threatened IFP victory rally in Nongoma today, with rumours that armed impis will march on the king's residence in the Zululand town to protest against Mr Mandela's invitation to Shaka Day celebrations.

Should the march go ahead — and pamphlets being circulated around Nongoma indicate that it will — tensions already surrounding the September 24 celebrations will be heightened.

■ In a wide-ranging attack on the government's policies and style yesterday, economist Eu-

gene Nyati called for the immediate declaration of an "economic state of emergency".

Dr Nyati, director of the Centre for African Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and a prominent political analyst, was addressing a conference on small business at the University of the Western Cape.

Dr Nyati said many government officials "have no integrity" and "their loyalty can be bought".

He added: "There's nothing I've seen from the government that demonstrates a will to cut the gravy train."

"If South Africa mismanages its economy now, we will end up like the rest of Africa and will be forced to go to the International Monetary Fund in three or four years' time, begging bowl in hand," he said.

ARG 10/9/94 (304A)

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The divisive row over the removal of political symbols of the past and name-changing is set to be thrashed out in the Cabinet.

This follows deep concern in some Afrikaner and right-wing circles over a spate of developments that have seen:

■ Apartheid architect Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's statue being removed by a crane from the front of the OFS Provincial Administration building. The statue, left lying in the building's grounds, was jumped on by passers-by after it had been removed.

■ Moves within the ANC to remove from Parliament paintings and busts associated with unpalatable aspects of the old order. No decision has been taken on this call by the ANC's Natal caucus.

■ President Mandela's intention to call his official Pretoria residence Mahlab'andlovu — Shangaan for "the dawn of a new era" — instead of Libertas. He also signalled that the name of his official Cape Town residence, Westbrooke, might change.

The Star has learnt that a set of guidelines on the name-changing issue has been submitted to the Cabinet by Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane.

However, the National Party Cabinet component felt these fell short of its require-

CONCERN in some Afrikaner and right- wing circles as names change and statues and paintings are mothballed

ments. According to a statement by Deputy President and NP leader F W de Klerk, the "matter will be discussed further in the Cabinet within the next few weeks".

De Klerk argued for the seeking of a "consensus policy" and acknowledged that there might be reasonable arguments for changes. However, he warned against arbitrarily trying to "obliterate history".

Senior NP sources said the issue would be raised in the Cabinet at the earliest opportunity.

The debate has gathered additional momentum with the incidents outside the OFS Provincial Administration building — also named after Verwoerd — which gave rise to NP and Freedom Front warnings that they wanted an end to ad hoc action.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said at the weekend: "The breaking down of statues and the removal of paintings is an emo-

► To Page 3

Row over political symbols

◀ From Page 1

tional issue which is going to cause great friction between groups in South Africa."

He warned that the ANC should not ignore the Afrikaner's history.

Marthinus van Schalkwyk, NP MP and media director, bluntly charged last night that the source of the problem was internal divisions within the ANC, and the majority party had resorted to a "shortsighted, emotional approach"

to paper over (their own) cracks.

Van Schalkwyk was adamant that the names of past politicians must not be replaced by those of today's leaders.

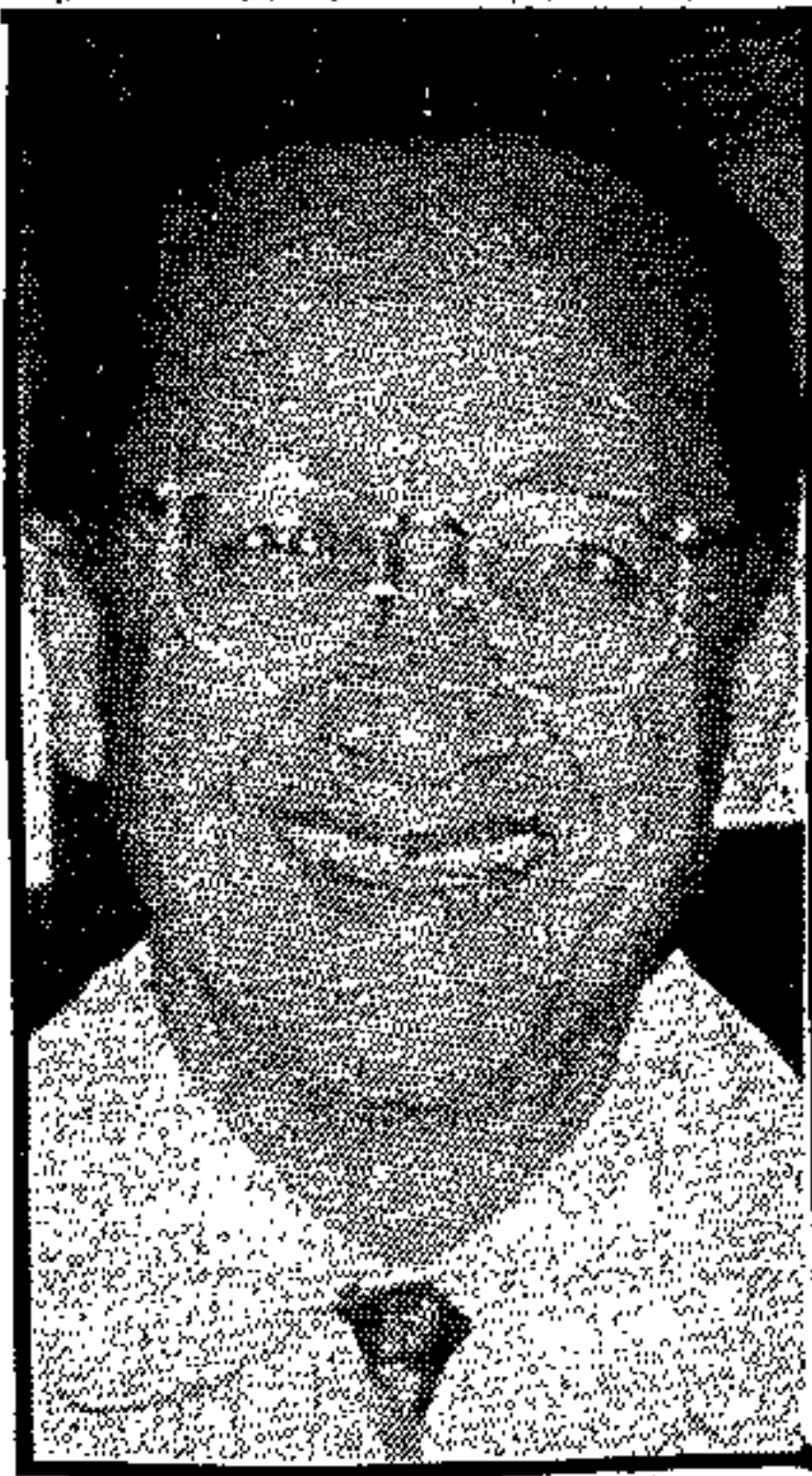
ANC sources have signalled that they believe symbols that are offensive to the majority of South Africans should be removed from venues that were central to the new administration, but stressed that they did not intend a wholesale scrapping of such symbols. (304A)

Row over political symbols hots up

Divisive issue to be thrashed out by Cabinet

Star 12/9/94

(304A)



STATESIDER: Franklin Sonn

Sonn to be SA's new man in US

(304A) ARL 12/9/94

TOS WENTZEL

Diplomatic Correspondent

PENINSULA Technikon rector Franklin Sonn is to be South Africa's new ambassador in Washington.

Mr Sonn, who will assume his post on November 1, succeeds Harry Schwarz, who had been ambassador since March 1991.

Mr Sonn's appointment was confirmed today by members of his family and his personal assistant, Lionel Harper.

Mr Sonn was out of town.

Mr Harper said Mr Sonn regarded the appointment as an honour and a challenge.

An official announcement of his appointment is expected after it has been cleared with the US State Department.

Mr Sonn, 55, is a prominent educationist who campaigned for the African National Congress in the Western Cape in the election. To do this he took leave from his job and resigned from the SABC board.

He recently turned down an appointment to the new Public Service Commission.

An announcement on other ambassadorial appointments, especially in European capitals where the incumbents are political appointments of the previous government, is expected soon.

Restore our statues — CP

AN INSULT *Sowetan 12/9/94* Afrikaners vow to fight for the preservation of their heritage and culture:

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

A FRIKANERS WERE PREPARED to die fighting for the preservation of their heritage and culture, Conservative Party delegates said at the party's Transvaal congress in Verwoerdburg at the weekend.

The delegates were reacting to the Government's decision to bring down the statue of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in Bloemfontein last week.

One delegate was heard saying: "If there's one thing that angers the Afrikaner, it is

the desecration of the statues of our past leaders.

"If this is the way the so-called Government of reconciliation is treating the Afrikaner, then they should not be surprised if in future the Afrikaner reacts in the same way when statues in honour of people like President Nelson Mandela are erected." (30 40A)

CP spokesman on culture Mr Daan van der Merwe said this was obviously not the party's official policy. He said it should, however, be seen in the light of how the Afrikaner viewed the Government's insensitive approach to "things dear to his people".

He said the taking down Verwoerd's statue, and the people toying around it on Friday, was a disgrace and an insult to the Afrikaner.

"In fact this behaviour contrasts with the Government's stated policy of reconciliation. We demand that the Government reconsiders its decision and restore the statue," he said.

Kriel against the removal of historic statues

(304A) CT 12/9/94
Staff Reporter

WESTERN CAPE Premier Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday he was not in favour of statues being taken down in the Western Cape.

Reacting to the furore surrounding the removal of a life-size statue of Dr H F Verwoerd in Bloemfontein by the Free State legislature this week, Mr Kriel said any such decision in the Western Cape would have to be reached by consensus.

"Why can't we say we are starting a new chapter? Paul Kruger, Queen Victoria, Jan Smuts, Verwoerd are all part of history, as is our present president."

● The National Party yesterday accused the ANC of trying to placate disillusioned sections within its own ranks through its "short-sighted emotional approach" to the removal of sculptures and paintings from Parliament. NP information director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the issue of place names, monuments, and exhibits in Parliament ought to be handled with the greatest circumspection, to ensure national reconciliation.

● Mr Arthur Wienburg, executive committee chairman of the Cape Town City Council, recently postponed the appointment of a "changing of names" committee which was to be established on Mr Clive Keegan's initiative.

"I believe there are more pressing and important matters facing the city," said Mr Wienburg.

Sonn SA's new envoy to US

MR Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon, is to be South Africa's next ambassador to Washington.

His assistant, Mr Lionel Harper, said yesterday Mr Sonn had been approached and had accepted the offer. He was looking forward to the challenge and regarded it as an honour.

Mr Sonn will replace Mr Harry Schwarz. (3047)

● Mr Schwarz said yesterday from Washington he resigned his post to allow the new government to appoint an envoy.

He said his decision did not reflect any lack of confidence in President Nelson Mandela and his government but rather "was

morally the correct action to take".

Mr Schwarz, who served in Washington for 3½ years, will leave his post at the end of next month after Mr Mandela's state visit to the US earlier in the month.

He has expressed an interest in resuming a business/political role in South Africa. — Sapa-AFP.

Furore over removal of Verwoerd statue

304A CT 13/9/94

JOHANNESBURG. — The Freedom Front, Conservative Party and AWB yesterday condemned the removal of former prime minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's statue in Bloemfontein on Friday.

And the NP and DP warned that South Africa should avoid ad hoc and unilateral decisions about the removal of monuments, statues and paintings.

Also yesterday, Free State premier Mr Patrick Lekota said that although the ANC had stated that certain changes had to be made for the sake of communities formerly excluded from govern-

ment, it would not indiscriminately remove statues and other cultural heritage items.

Not all statues depicting the country's history would be removed, he said.

FF Free State leader Mr Arrie Oosthuizen said Mr Lekota would be "playing a dangerous game" if he continued "dealing contemptuously with the cultural inheritance of peace-loving people".

The CP said its head office in Pretoria had been inundated by telephone calls from angry supporters. Party spokesman Brigadier Cyrus Smith said some call-

ers had threatened to destroy statues or monuments erected in honour of any member of the new government.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche said the removal of Dr Verwoerd's statue "clearly demonstrates the intolerance of international communists".

DP art and culture spokeswoman Ms Dene Smuts said the last thing South Africa needed was "a retrospective truth commission run by arts commissars".

Deputy President F W de Klerk has said the cabinet would propose "guidelines"

Wheels turning slowly

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's new machine for making a constitution is slowly building up pressure — and its differences from the Kempton Park model are starting to show.

Meetings of the constitutional assembly management committee and constitutional committee this week showed a clear commitment to getting the process exactly correct.

And there were signs that, while minority parties would be given a fair chance to put their views, it would not be out of proportion to their size.

A proposal by Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen to allow minority parties to draft non-MPs as reinforcements into these committees was rejected.

And amendments proposed by the Inkatha Freedom Party to a draft document on procedures for theme committees were held over for further debate.

The technical amendments could be interpreted as shifting the crux of constitutional negotiations to the technical level, possibly to the advantage of smaller parties.

And there was the seemingly inevitable reference to the gravy train, when salaries for special advisers to the constitutional assembly were disclosed.

The proposed pay scales are exactly the same as the controversial fees paid to ministerial special advisers.

Those on the permanent payroll and regarded as top-grade will get R28 800 a month, with those on lower notches being paid R24 000 or R19 200 a month.

Advisers not retained permanently will be paid R120, R150 or R180 an hour.

The constitutional assembly management committee met on Monday before its larger cousin.

The management committee, under constitutional assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa, includes representatives of each parliamentary party.

This is the forum where the IFP's Walter Felgate first tabled his party's amendment to the briefing document for theme committees, the bodies which will meet next week to begin debating specific constitutional issues.

The amendments were passed to the much larger constitutional committee, with the note that it was not the function of the management committee to decide policy.

It was Kenneth Meshoe of the African Christian Democratic Party who, noting the proposed pay for special advisers, asked if it were only MPs who were expected to get off the gravy train.

Constitutional assembly deputy chairman Leon Wessels said the salary scales were lower than fees charged by legal professionals.

Later, at the constitutional committee, members got down to the hard grind of refining the process.

Some are veterans of the gru-

elling World Trade Centre talks and show it both in their jargon and their wealth of experience.

Members noted a press statement, released last week, asking for ordinary people to get involved in the constitution-making process.

There was some debate on a proposal for an "open time" informal discussion at the end of each day's proceedings in the constitutional assembly.

Based on parliamentary practice in Australia and Canada, this would give members about 60 to 90 seconds each to vent their thoughts on issues.

General Viljoen favoured mechanisms to give minority parties opportunities to put their cases.

But ANC members spoke in favour of allocating time to parties proportionately.

Bulelani Ngcuka (ANC) said the smaller parties had better resources because they controlled the Press. The minority parties "get all this coverage which we do not get from their papers," he said.

There was a delay in naming members of theme committees.

Each of the six theme committees will have up to 30 members, and a core group of about seven to run it.

The hold-up was caused by the ANC and DP not having submitted nominations.

Mr Ramaphosa gently chided the two parties, maintaining his impartiality as chairman.

The failure to submit names would hold up the work of the constitutional assembly, he said, noting that the delay was caused by two parties which "kept harping on" about the need to do things timeously.

James Selfe (DP) told Mr Ramaphosa "speaking as one chief executive to another" that invitations to submit names had arrived only that morning.

Later there was thorough debate on the proposal to admit non-MPs to theme committee discussions.

General Viljoen said he was not advocating these representatives should have the vote.

Other members objected that it was wrong in principle, voters having expressed their proportional preferences, and an official pointed out it was against the constitution.

Andre Fourie (NP) said allowing the concession would set a precedent which could lead to a repeat of an old World Trade Centre problem — allowing parties without any support base to take part.

The question of the IFP amendment to the draft briefing document to theme committees was referred to the management committee.

To the casual observer the proceedings might have seemed tedious and all concerned obsessed by procedure. But what was at work was the beginning of a process which must at least

repeat the achievement of its predecessor — averting civil war — and go on to produce an even finer product than the interim constitution, a fundamental law ensuring true democracy.

30497 ADG 14/9/94

focus on Home Affairs

Sowetan 15/9/94

THROWING OPEN THE DOORS of the new South Africa has also meant an increase in drug smuggling, arms smuggling and illegal immigration.

"They are difficult problems that the Government in its entirety has to deal with," says the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Penuell Maduna.

"We only handle the immigration aspects, but we are a component of government. A drug smuggler becomes a problem for customs, a problem for policing, a problem for the economy.

"So the Government is taking a holistic view. Government departments have to act together to combat this."

An inter-departmental committee, co-ordinated by the Ministry of Home Affairs, has been set up to work out a comprehensive response.

"We are worried as Government about the flood of drugs into the country, the flood of weapons and the emergence of Mafia-style criminal operations," says Maduna.

"They even threatened to kill some of our leaders who are making an effort to deal with these crimes."

But, he cautions, South Africa has to bear in mind its international commitments: "For instance, we have to distinguish between an illegal immigrant and a refugee.

"We have an obligation to protect refugees. But at the same time we have to deal effectively with the deluge of illegal immigrants to this country, which they regard as a honeypot."

The Government estimates that there are two million illegal immigrants in South Africa. "They are competing with our own people for jobs, amenities and resources," says Maduna.

"We will have to take some of the money we have budgeted for Reconstruction and Development Programme-related projects and use it to stem the tide of illegal immigrants."

The department has a lot of other issues on its plate as well. It is drafting a law to replace the Publications Act passed in 1974.

This has been widely welcomed, as the Act was a blunt instrument wielded ruthlessly under apartheid to restrict the publication of a wide range of material.

"In many respects, it is in conflict with the constitution, particularly the chapter on fundamental rights," says Maduna.

But, he added, the rights of the individual were not absolute. It was necessary to balance the rights of the individual and the interests of the general population.

"The same constitution has a limitations clause which will help us — as a country, not just as a Government — to create and maintain the necessary balance," says Maduna.

"We feel that while as adults we are entitled to see, read and hear what we want, we also have a social responsibility to protect vulnerable components of society, especially children."

Finding such a balance is where drafting a

The new Ministry of Home Affairs, perhaps more than any other department in the Government, has gone through a baptism of fire since it took office. Features writer **Tyrone August** reports:



Penuell Maduna

new publications law comes in. "Our research tells us there is nothing amiss about limiting the exercise of some of these rights," says Maduna.

"There isn't a society where these rights are exercised absolutely, and therefore recklessly. All societies where there are bills of rights limit these rights to the extent necessary."

He describes these as "the confines of a democratic order". "So we too are moving in that direction," Maduna says.

Drawing up a new calendar of public holidays was also high up on the department's agenda. "The process was a slow one," says Maduna.

"We set up an inter-departmental committee at Cabinet level. We also set up a technical committee that sifted through the representations."

Not surprisingly, a lot of representations were made about June 16. "There was surprising consensus about the need to observe June 16 in a fitting manner," says Maduna.

"In other words, it's accepted that June 16 is a national symbol of the good we could have attained ages ago in this country."

So far, it seems, the department is coping well with the wide range of challenges it faces. This is in no small measure due to Maduna and Home



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "The Minister and I work as a partnership," says Maduna. "We do not shy away from problems. We confront them, we solve them.

"He has my complete support as Minister and I have his complete acceptance as his deputy. And the two of us are doing our best.

"My greatest wish is that what we are trying to do at the top must filter down to lower levels so that the people we represent as politicians also begin to function this way."

Maduna says the GNU works together well: "We function as a family.

We have our own perspective of things but at the end of the day we come out united on positions we've taken."

He stresses that the commitment of the individuals and their parties to the GNU was vital to its success.

"The parties themselves have to support the effort, have to own it, have to see it as their own property," says Maduna. "But it also takes the individual's commitment because parties are nothing without individuals. And I think we have seen that commitment."

The Department of Home Affairs has certainly demonstrated this.

NP and ANC clash over chairmanship of committees

First major rift for Gov

Star 19/8/94

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

DE KLERK lashes ANC after smaller parties are given control of key parliamentary bodies

Cape Town — Red lights are flashing for the Government of National Unity (GNU), Deputy President and National Party leader F.W. de Klerk has warned.

An angry De Klerk announced yesterday that the NP would reject what he described as "insulting" ANC offers to share chairmanships of "innocuous, but important, internal" parlia-

mentary standing committees. He revealed that the National Party caucus had considered the possibility of withdrawing from the GNU as a result of the offers. On his re-

commendation, it had decided to continue to play a role in the coalition government. But he added: "We are not prepared to be pushed around."

The NP expected the ANC leadership to take appropriate steps to prevent a situation of "irresponsible actions" by elements of the ANC caucus putting strain on co-operation within the GNU.

The ANC caucus recommended yesterday that the NP would be offered the deputy chairmanship of the public accounts committee and would chair the internal arrangements, discipline, pensions and private members' Bills committees — all minor committees.

By contrast, the IFP was offered the chairmanship of the public enterprises committee, the PAC the transport committee and the Democratic Party the public accounts committee.

And, in a step that clearly angered the NP, the right-wing Freedom Front was offered the chairmanship of the powerful committee on defence.

ANC chief whip the Rev Arnold Stofile said yesterday evening that President Mandela had accepted the caucus's recommendation and it would be negotiated with De Klerk.

De Klerk said he had discussed the issue with Mandela but their talks were confidential. But he added: "I am disappointed in the way the ANC leadership has handled this."

"The red lights are flashing," he added.

If senior parties in the GNU

could not carry their caucus on agreements it could create a "serious situation for South Africa."

De Klerk stressed, however, that there were no serious tensions within the GNU at executive level.

He said it had clearly been established that proportional representation — securing the NP six seats in the 27-member Cabinet — would also apply to standing committee chairmanships.

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Time to sit down and draft a real constitution

MANY negotiators of the interim constitution believe the new version will take the full five years until the 1999 elections to write, because major sections have to be totally renegotiated.

They say completing the job in the next 20 months as planned will only result in a repeat of the pressure-cooker backroom deals cut at the World Trade Centre, which political parties say they want to avoid. The PAC, though, warns of the costs of such a drawn-out process.

But ANC, PAC, Inkatha Freedom Party and DP negotiators agree with NP chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer that the interim constitution is basically a record of an agreement to settle past conflicts.

"Now we can sit down and draft a real constitution," Meyer said at the first plenary session of the Constitutional Assembly this week.

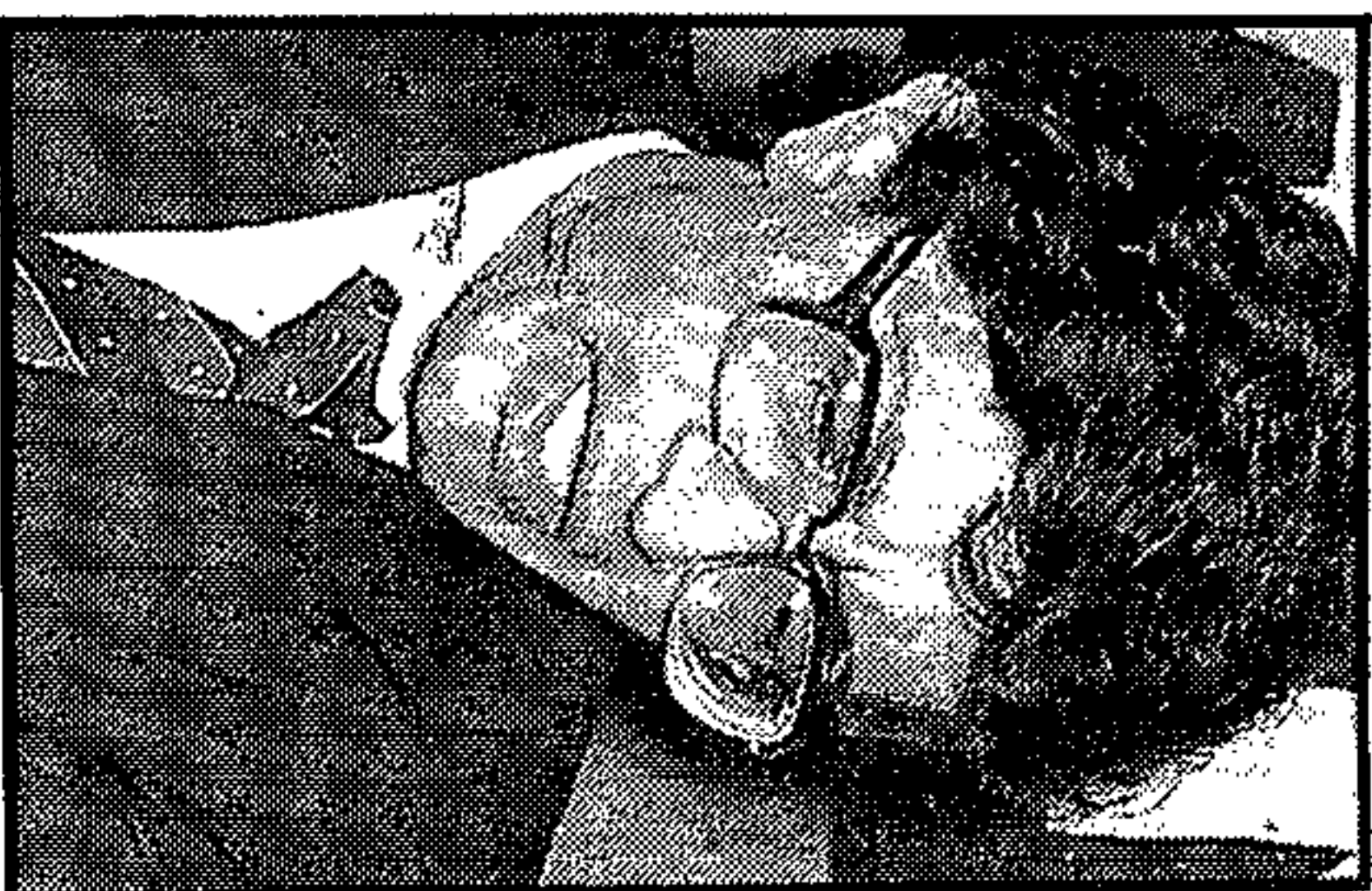
Negotiators believe the World Trade Centre negotiations succeeded in producing the 34 constitutional principles which will underpin the new constitution. However, they failed to bring "the people" on board. The Constitutional Assembly intends to correct this.

It has adopted an elaborate constitution-making roadshow of theme committees and commissions which will spend more than a year travelling around SA collecting people's views. A sort of revamped Freedom Charter, quipped an ANC MP.

However, World Trade Centre negotiators warn the role of constitutional experts such as academics, lawyers and MPs in contributing to the success of the process must not be underestimated.

Negotiators have already identified seven areas for substantial re-writing: government structures, fundamental rights, provinces, local government, traditional leaders, fiscal responsibility, and the electoral system.

Deputy President FW de Klerk has indicated the NP will pursue an entrenched form of power-sharing in



DAVID GREYBE
in Cape Town

provide an effective executive system which does not override the other arms of the state's authority. He says it will be useful to evaluate the diverse US, UK, French and Swiss systems.

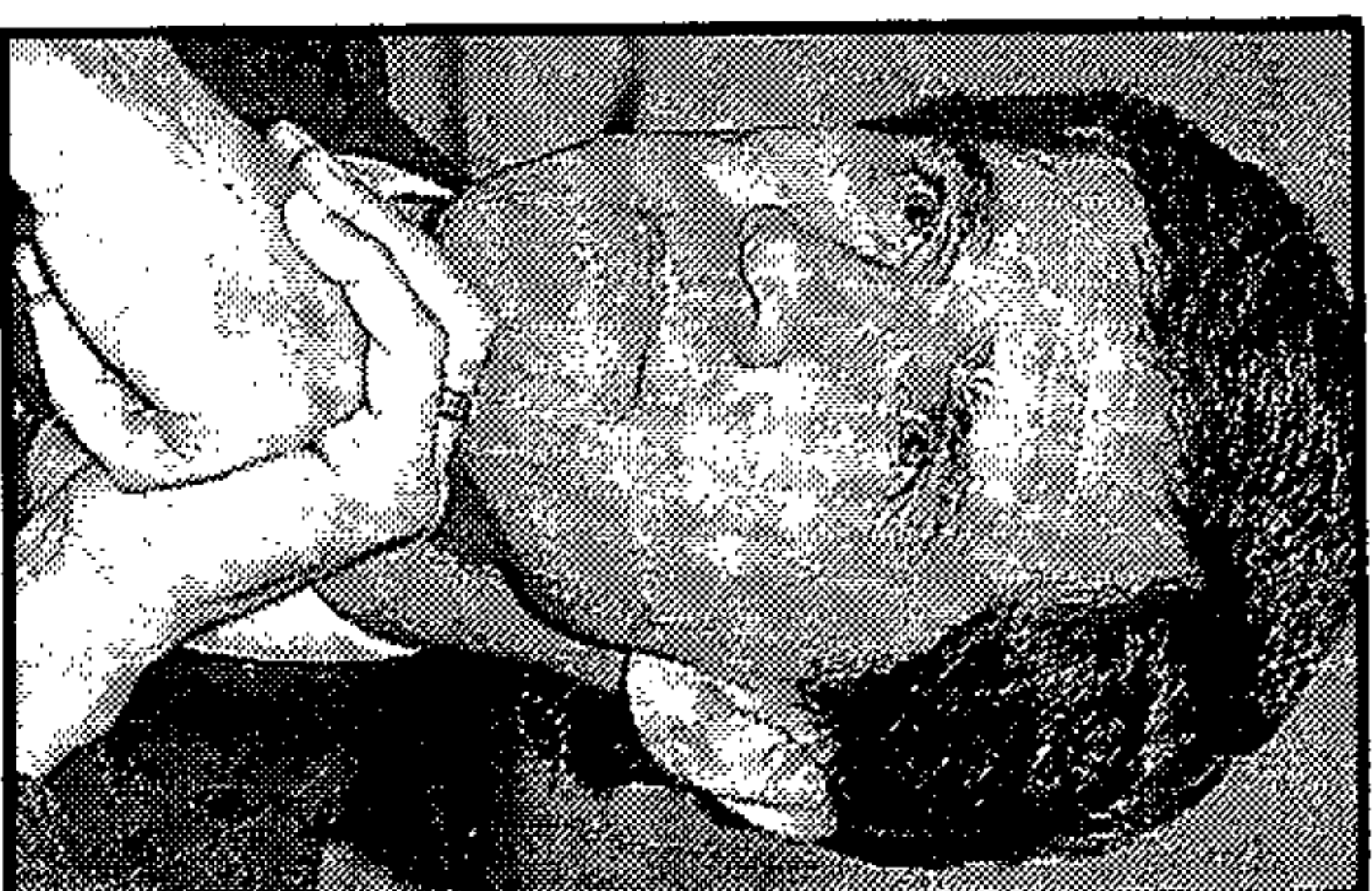
The composition of the Cabinet will also have to be discussed. Meyer recently returned from a fact-finding trip to Canada where, he says, it is convention for each province to have at least one representative in Cabinet. "Provincial diversities are thus entrenched in the highest decision-making body."

ANC negotiator and chairman of the constitutional and provincial affairs select committee Pravin Gordhan says a lot of tough bargaining lies ahead on the Bill of Rights. World Trade Centre negotiators postponed debate on a number of its most controversial aspects, including the question of second- and third-generation rights — so-called socio-economic rights.

However, they say, there would then have to be a greater separation of powers between the executive and legislative arms of government. The adversarial US political system provides an example. Legislators and the executive would then both be able to initiate their own and, in certain circumstances, veto the other's legislation. The multiparty executive would also focus on the important task of nation-building. The result would be a shift of power to the legislature.

ANC negotiator and Deputy Provincial Affairs Minister Valli Moosa says he is "not convinced" there is an adequate separation of powers. He warns against Cabinet Ministers being so in touch with Parliament that "they control it".

Meyer says the bottom line is to



MEYER
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makes national ministers and their provincial counterparts co-responsible for identifying the problems and how to resolve them, including timetables.

Gordhan says constitution-making will therefore be further delayed while negotiators "wait to learn the lessons" from the implementation of the interim constitution at provincial and local level.

Inkatha negotiators will also be in the thick of it. Walter Felgate and Mario Ambrosini say they intend to confront the ANC over an apparent shift in their interpretation of the provincial powers listed in the interim constitution. Significantly, they will oppose entrenched executive power-sharing as favoured by the ANC and NP.

Local government issues were hardly touched at the World Trade Centre. Gordhan says the main issue is to what extent local government should be covered by the constitution. He says this is not the case in other countries. Moosa wants local

government structures to have a say in the finalisation of the constitution, but his department still has to announce an election date.

The issue of traditional leaders was one of the toughest at the World Trade Centre and, as a result, was the last deal cut. The interim constitution provides for a national council of traditional leaders, after the establishment of provincial houses of traditional leaders.

However, traditional leaders remain divided on the matter. The dominant Council of Traditional Leaders of SA group has reservations about the national council. It opposes the fact that the council only plays an advisory role on issues of traditional authorities, indigenous law or the traditions and customs of communities. The Council of Traditional Leaders of SA wants full member status in the Senate. It also wants provincial houses to have a veto right over provincial legislation, as in the Senate.

Gordhan says the important issue of the financial and fiscal commission will have to be renegotiated. The Finance Ministry's delay in getting the commission off the ground has been blamed for hampering the empowerment process.

Provinces complain they have not been given financial resources to administer powers already allocated to them.

Moosa says the proportional representation electoral system used in April was specifically designed for the election of the Constitutional Assembly (National Assembly and Senate sitting together) and other government organs. "It was never intended to be a permanent electoral system. It was designed in that particular way because it was not possible to register voters."

Moosa says negotiators will have to agree to introduce some sort of constituency-based system, without doing away with proportionality. "Even in the future we may want to allow for small parties to have a way of getting into Parliament."

Rumbles as ANC dominates committees

CAPE TOWN — The ANC caucus yesterday refused to share powerful parliamentary standing committee chairmanships with the NP, plunging the government of national unity into its worst crisis to date, Deputy President FW de Klerk said.

He said the NP caucus had rejected an ANC proposal giving the NP chairmanships of only four minor "housekeeping" committees. The NP had decided to remain in the government of national unity, but "the red lights are flashing".

De Klerk blamed an "irresponsible" faction within the ANC caucus for threatening the future of the new government.

He described the ANC's action as "a

DAVID GREYBE

flagrant breach of an important understanding" with the ANC leadership, including President Nelson Mandela, that committee chairmanships would be shared proportionally and, where possible, smaller parties would be accommodated.

"We are not prepared to be pushed around," De Klerk said. However MPs would not boycott the committees. He called on the ANC leadership "to do something". Mechanisms had to be worked out to anticipate "stresses and strains" because they would flare up again.

An angry NP MP accused Mandela of

reneging on an agreement that the chairmanships would be shared proportionally. Mandela had undertaken not to use the huge ANC majority to squeeze out other parties. "Suddenly he has difficulty getting his proposals through his caucus. He seems powerless to do anything about it."

ANC National Assembly chief whip Arnold Stofile said Mandela had "not found fault" with the caucus decision to deal with the election of chairmen on merit. The ANC was not prepared to extend the unity government concept to the standing committees. Such a step would penalise the smaller parties, he said. The issue would

□ To Page 2

Rumbles

have to be resolved by the party leaders.

The ANC list gives the NP deputy chairmanship of the public accounts committee, and chairmanship of the committees on internal arrangements, discipline, pensions and private members' Bills.

The Inkatha Freedom Party gets the chairmanship of the public enterprise committee. The catering chairmanship goes to either Inkatha or the African Chris-

tian Democratic Party.

The PAC gets transport, the Freedom Front defence (but the ANC retains the joint steering committee on defence), and the DP public accounts and the library. The ANC takes the chairmanship of 23 of the 27 Cabinet-linked committees.

De Klerk said the NP wanted standing committees to be chaired by MPs from a different party to that of the Minister.

□ From Page 1

GNU in danger — FW

Sowetan Correspondents

DANGER signs are flashing for the Government of National Unity. Deputy President and National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk has warned.

An angry De Klerk announced yesterday that the NP would reject what he described as insulting ANC offers of chairmanships of "innocuous, unimportant, internal" parliamentary standing committees.

He revealed that the NP caucus had considered the possibility of withdrawing from the GNU as a result of the offers but, on his recommendation, decided to continue to play a role in the coalition government.

‘We are not prepared to be pushed around’

But he added: "We are not prepared to be pushed around." The NP expected the ANC leadership to take appropriate steps to prevent a situation where "irresponsible actions" by elements of the ANC caucus put a strain on co-operation within the GNU.

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internal arrangements, discipline, pensions and private members' bills committees — all minor committees.

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ANC chief whip, the Rev Arnold Stofile, said President Nelson Mandela had accepted the caucus's recommendation and it would be negotiated with De Klerk.

LOOKING BACK: The people are no longer players in a moral drama, the Government no longer a polecat

100 days of quietude

Star 20/8/94

304A



PRESSING ISSUE: Lack of proper housing generates untold misery, fuels anger and creates massive headaches for the Government.

NELSON MANDELA has a standing most world leaders would envy: he has outflanked the lunatic Right and if elections were held now the ANC would most probably increase its majority. But the next 100 days could provide an even bigger challenge, writes **JOHN CARLIN**.

HERE is a sample of headlines from the front pages of this month's South African newspapers: "Snatched baby found", "War on criminals", "TV licence fees go up", "Mine union holds strike ballot", "Nelson: We must tighten our belts".

By contrast, here are some of the headlines four months ago, before the April election: "Buthelesi warns of civil war", "Far Right threatens terror campaign", "Army will back us, says Right", "Last-ditch mediation bid collapses", "Nine die, 92 hurt in car bomb blast".

Since Nelson Mandela became president 100 days ago, South Africa has lost its epic uniqueness. The country's 40 million people are no longer players in a universal moral drama, no longer is their government the world's scapegoat for humanity's inability to resolve racial conflict.

Before the election, politics was a matter of life or death. Today the preoccupations of the man who was once the world's most famous political prisoner are altogether more commonplace: fighting crime and spurring economic growth.

These are also the main concerns of the man and woman on the street, although, judging from the calls in the last week to Johannesburg's popular radio phone-in programmes, the nation is only marginally less anxious about a recent spate

of baby-snatchings, the drama surrounding the Springbok rugby coach and the probable incapacity of the national soccer team to make any impact on the 1998 World Cup.

President Mandela and his multi-racial, multiparty Government of National Unity have delivered a measure of political stability not seen in half a century.

A few scores are still being settled after eight years of Zulu-on-Zulu, Inkatha-African National Congress war in KwaZulu/Natal, but otherwise political violence, the most pressing issue of the last four years, no longer exists.

Mangosuthu Buthelesi, the Inkatha leader, is Home Affairs Minister and is busy drafting legislation on censorship, passports and immigration.

The bombing campaign during election week proved to be the last hurrah of the lunatic white Right. After the police, as loyally on board now as the army, had briskly rounded up 40 suspected terrorists linked to Eugene Terre-Blanche's AWB, President Mandela set it as his priority to defuse the emotions of those remaining rightwingers who had boycotted the election and still clung to the belief that an Afrikaner homeland offered the only refuge from godless

black communism.

He has had numerous meetings with the leader of the recalcitrant Conservative Party, Ferdinand Hartzenberg, the upshot of which has been that the lone voice still calling the Afrikaner folk to arms is Terre-Blanche. "ET", now diminished from Boer freedom fighter to Boer buffoon, was reduced last week to denouncing Hartzenberg, his last ally, as a traitor.

The three great terrors of those ordinary Afrikaners who sought a Boerstaat were that under an ANC-led government they would lose their language, their religion and their land. Since the Government has failed to live up to expectations on all counts, the right wing has lost its political platform.

As for General Constand Viljoen, of the Freedom Front, his main intervention in his new capacity as a member of Parliament has concerned his "fear of a porn explosion" following Chief Buthelesi's announcement of initiatives to end censorship.

A warrior Moses turned Mary Whitehouse (Britain's famous anti-pornography campaigner), the general has also declared his support in Parliament — to loud cheers from ANC backbenchers — for President Mandela's New Deal, the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

THE articles of faith of the RDP are contained in a document drawn up by the ANC before the election and incorporated now as the philosophical pillar of government policy. The main focus is the economy, with the emphasis on providing improved housing, education, health, water and electricity for the most needy. Every party supports it.

What this flowering of national consensus around the RDP helps to demonstrate is that the Mandela Government enjoys a measure of political legitimacy, and a degree of active support, which the leaders of other democracies must envy.

Mandela's Cabinet consists, in proportion to the general election results, of 18 ANC Ministers, six from the National Party and three from Inkatha. The only tensions have emerged from the anxiety the NP and Inkatha feel at the prospect of losing their identity by the time the next election comes around in 1999.

Both the NP leader, Deputy President F W de Klerk, and Inkatha's Chief Buthelesi have indicated that they will pull out of the Government of National Unity before then, in sufficient time to put some political distance between themselves and the ANC.

In Parliament the biggest problem is boredom. Save for the minor controversies generated by Winnie Mandela's occasional operatic flurries, the 400 MPs have found they have precious little to do. Debate in the manner of the British parliament simply does not exist, so general is agreement on all the essen-



MORE MONEY PLEASE: A rash of strikes from impatient workers looking for an early slice of the promised cake could present problems.

tials of policy. Already there are calls from within Parliament and beyond to reduce the number of MPs, so that the talents available might be put to better use in the civil service or local government.

As for Mandela himself, his stature continues to grow at such a pace among the population that if an election were to be held today the ANC would probably increase its majority. At the opening of an Anne Frank exhibition in Johannesburg on Monday, the invited audience, overwhelmingly white and well-heeled, gushed with approval as speaker after speaker sang the president's praises.

There are rumblings, however. One of Mandela's aides at the same function remarked, in an aside, that perhaps the reason why the white people in the audience had fallen in love with their first black president was that he had done nothing to undermine their privileges.

In contrast with the early liberation regimes in Africa, Mandela has deliberately avoided imposing an ideological stamp on his presidency. Determined to offset any possibility of a military rebellion and a drain on human and capital resources, he has promised the civil servants (the generals included) that they will not be dismissed, he has not increased income tax and he has committed himself to the free market.

His dilemma is that he has also promised the black majority he will improve their standards of living. So far the only evidence of his change in economic priorities has been the extension of free health care to children and pregnant mothers. There are no signs yet of the promised housing boom, and the Ministry of Education, which faces a Herculean task in black schools, has acquired the tag "Ministry of Paralysis" on account of the Minister, Sibusiso Bengu, having been confined to bed through ill

health for much of his tenure.

Confusion and frustration have also attended the twin tasks of redirecting the old civil service and establishing a whole new set of power structures in provincial and local government. Hernus Kriel, the National Party's new regional premier of the Western Cape, told one of his colleagues recently that he would love to finance a certain project, "but I haven't got my chequebook yet".

Getting the infrastructure of government up and running remains Mandela's challenge, and while the prevailing view among blacks in particular is "no overnight miracles", patience might wear thin if the RDP does not yield fruit within the next 100 days.

Impatience might manifest itself, for example, in the form of strikes. Already in the last six weeks more than 100 000 workers have downed tools.

Also threatening to undermine the RDP's best-laid plans is the extraordinarily high incidence of crime. "Affirmative shopping", as Soweto wags call it.

POVERTY, however, does not explain a per capita murder rate seven times as high as that of the United States. The Minister of Law and Order, Sydney Mufamadi, is said by friends to have become an insomniac, so beset by worry is he at the prospect of having to transform the police force from an instrument of political repression into an effective crime-fighting institution.

All in all, Mandela probably accepts that the Government has made a sluggish start. But start it has, pragmatically and on solid political foundations.

The predominant view among black people, possessed of an immeasurable new sense of dignity, is that at last there is reason to hope life might materially improve. — The Independent, London.



SYDNEY MUFAMADI: Sleepless nights for Police Minister, say friends.

Red lights flashing — De Klerk

ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — The National Party yesterday stood firm on its rejection of an ANC offer of chairmanships of minor parliamentary committees saying the ball was now in the ANC's court.

The row erupted on Thursday — the day marking the first 100 days in office for the Government of National Unity — with NP leader and Deputy President F W de Klerk warning that his party would not be pushed around.

The ANC offered the deputy chairmanship of the public accounts standing committee as well as the internal arrangement, discipline, pensions and private members bills committees.

The Inkatha Freedom Party was offered the chairmanship of the public enterprises committee, the PAC the transport committee and the Democratic Party the public accounts committee.

In a step that angered the NP, the Freedom Front was offered the chairmanship of the defence committee.

But De Klerk indicated yesterday that the row was not over. "It will no doubt come up again from time to time, but unfortunately it is going to lead to some more acrimony. It remains a situation which is totally unsatisfactory."

"I expect the ANC leadership at various levels to look at the situation and ensure that what is happening in Parliament won't impact negatively on the so necessary co-operation in the Government of National Unity," De Klerk said yesterday.

He told a press conference this week: "The red lights are flashing. If elements in the ANC caucus achieve so much power that they don't follow their leadership then I think it holds serious consequences for the GNU."



DE KLERK: Warns on NP pullout.

He revealed that his party caucus had considered the possibility of withdrawing from the GNU as a result of the offer, but on his recommendation decided to continue playing a role in the Government.

Top NP sources said yesterday that ANC and NP negotiators had agreed — before the finalisation of the Interim Constitution in November last year — that the chairmanships of these standing committees would be shared out proportionally to the number of votes each party got in the April election.

Negotiations around these chairmanships began when Parliament convened in May.

One source insisted that initially the ANC had applied the principle of extending the Government of National Unity to the legislature with the appointment of Koble Coetsee as President of the Senate.

He argued that other examples of this were the appointment of Leon Wessels as the deputy chairman of the Constitutional Assembly and Dr Bhadra Ranchod as the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly.

Hypocrisy

In a stinging attack on the NP, acting Democratic Party leader Tony Leon yesterday accused the NP of "hypocrisy" over its "peevishness and petulance" for securing the chairmanship of any committee.

He noted that the NP never awarded any chairmanships to other parties when it was in power.

"What is more revealing about the National Party's attitude is that it is only when an issue of jobs and remuneration arises do they declare a serious dispute with the ANC. It is extraordinary that in 100 days of the new government they should choose an issue of remuneration, rather than principle, to jeopardise the Government of National Unity," he said.

Committees to canvas public

BiDay 22/8/94
DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — Constitution-making theme committees are expected to be established and ready to start canvassing public opinion in about two weeks, Constitutional Assembly deputy chairman Leon Wessels said yesterday.

A proposal to establish up to seven theme committees is scheduled to be discussed at today's first meeting of the 46-MP constitutional committee.

Negotiators said an indication of the formidable task ahead to draw up a new constitution was reflected in the high calibre of the negotiators political parties had nominated to the committee.

Negotiators said theme committees were expected to deal with fundamental rights, the judiciary, government structures, the security forces, finances, provinces, and national symbols.

Another priority issue were calls by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the DP for minority views not to be ignored again, as in the case of the World Trade Centre negotiations.

Inkatha chief negotiator Walter Felgate has already tabled a proposal allowing for minority Bills to make their way back to the Constitutional Assembly — National Assembly and Senate sitting together — the country's highest constitution-making body.

The constitutional committee is also expected to appoint a management committee of about a dozen members, to facilitate negotiations. Negotiators are also likely to adopt a proposal allowing spontaneous questions in Constitutional Assembly sessions.

The constitutional committee comprises 44 MPs,

plus chairman Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Wessels. The ANC dominates with 26 members.

However, the ANC only nominated 25 MPs: Water and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala, Deputy Provincial Affairs Minister Valli Moosa, the chairman of the constitutional and provincial-affairs select committee Pravin Gordhan, ANC Senate chief whip Butelani Ngcuka, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Blade Nzimande, Selby Ripinga, Baleka Kgositsile, Chief Patekile Holomisa, Johnny de Lange, Desmond Lockey, Essop Pahad, Ndaweni Mahlangu, Thebe Sifora, Ohm Chabane, Zoliswa Kota, Lindiwe Ngwane, Mbungeni Ligage, Ernest Mchunu, Mohammed Bhabha, Joyce Kgoali, Dirk du Toit, Brigitte Mabandla and Yvette Myakayaka-Manzini.

The nine NP nominees are: Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, Danie Schutte, Andre Fourie, Tersia King, Jac Rabie, Alex van Breda, Dan Makanya, Neels Ackermann and Frik van Deventer.

Inkatha's nominees are Felgate, Ruth Rabinowitz, Peter Smith and Lionel Mtshali. The Freedom Front has nominated party leader Constand Viljoen and Corne Mulder, the DP Colin Eglin, the PAC Richard Sizani and the ACDP Kenneth Meshoe.

(30/11/94)

FW predicts Nat increase

CT22/8/94 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH. — The National Party was confident of performing better in next year's nationwide municipal elections than they did in the April election, NP leader Mr FW de Klerk said at the weekend.

Speaking here after an extraordinary NP caucus meeting which included all the party's representatives in Parliament and the nine provincial legislatures, Mr De Klerk said the NP was devising strategies to make it the strongest party in South Africa. He believed this would happen in the 1999 election.

Mr De Klerk told a press conference that the 200-strong extended caucus had had "a very productive meeting" which in-

'We will rule after 1999 poll'

cluded planning for next year's local government poll.

Mr De Klerk also disclosed that the NP planned to hold a federal congress in January to help launch the local government campaign.

He said that the NP's attitude to the government could be viewed as a forced marriage.

"We (the parties) don't sleep in the same bedroom but because of the children we stay in the same house."

However, he likened the increasingly cosy relationship between the ANC and the Freedom Front (not participating in the government) as something approaching an extra-marital affair.

"We (the NP) are not in the government for the sake of expediency or jobs but because the party wants to put South Africa first," he said.

Questioned about his relationship with President Nelson Mandela, he said: "It's an open relationship in that both of us feel free to say what we believe."

But he added pointedly: "I cannot say the same for members of the ANC caucus."

Mr De Klerk said the NP would in future hold extended caucus meetings at least three times a year.

FW hits back

3049

CT22/8/94

Coloureds 'not stupid'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DEPUTY President F W de Klerk last night said he totally rejected interpretations of cabinet tapes which characterised his view of coloured people as "stupid".

The denial follows reports that the NP leader had censored the official biography of his predecessor, Mr P W Botha. He had allegedly suppressed politically embarrassing statements contained in the recording of cabinet meetings that served as a basis for the book.

A Sunday newspaper reported that tapes of cabinet meetings from the Botha era had been destroyed following a cabinet decision immediately after Mr De Klerk took over from Mr Botha.

It was also reported that interventions by Mr De Klerk and the state law adviser had resulted in potentially damaging statements being excluded or watered-down in the authorised version of the biography.

Responding last night, Mr De Klerk acknowledged that the excerpts published by the newspaper "are in some cases interesting — but of very little relevance to the current situation in South Africa".

Earlier Mr De Klerk charged that most of the excerpts were presented out of context.

"A good example is the excerpt concerning coloured South Africans in which I am reported to have made a derogatory reference to them."

Rejected

"In essence, my view was that if the then Labour Party, with its emphasis on non-racialism, opted for a multi-racial chamber in which they would have less influence than in their own chamber, we should not stand in their way, even though it could be regarded as a politically stupid decision."

Mr De Klerk said he "totally rejected" any interpretation of that debate as an imputation against the coloured community as a whole.

He also rejected what he called the perception that had been created "that I was in some way trying to manipulate facts and suppress the truth".

In practice, the usage had developed that any

cise classified material first had to submit this material for clearance.

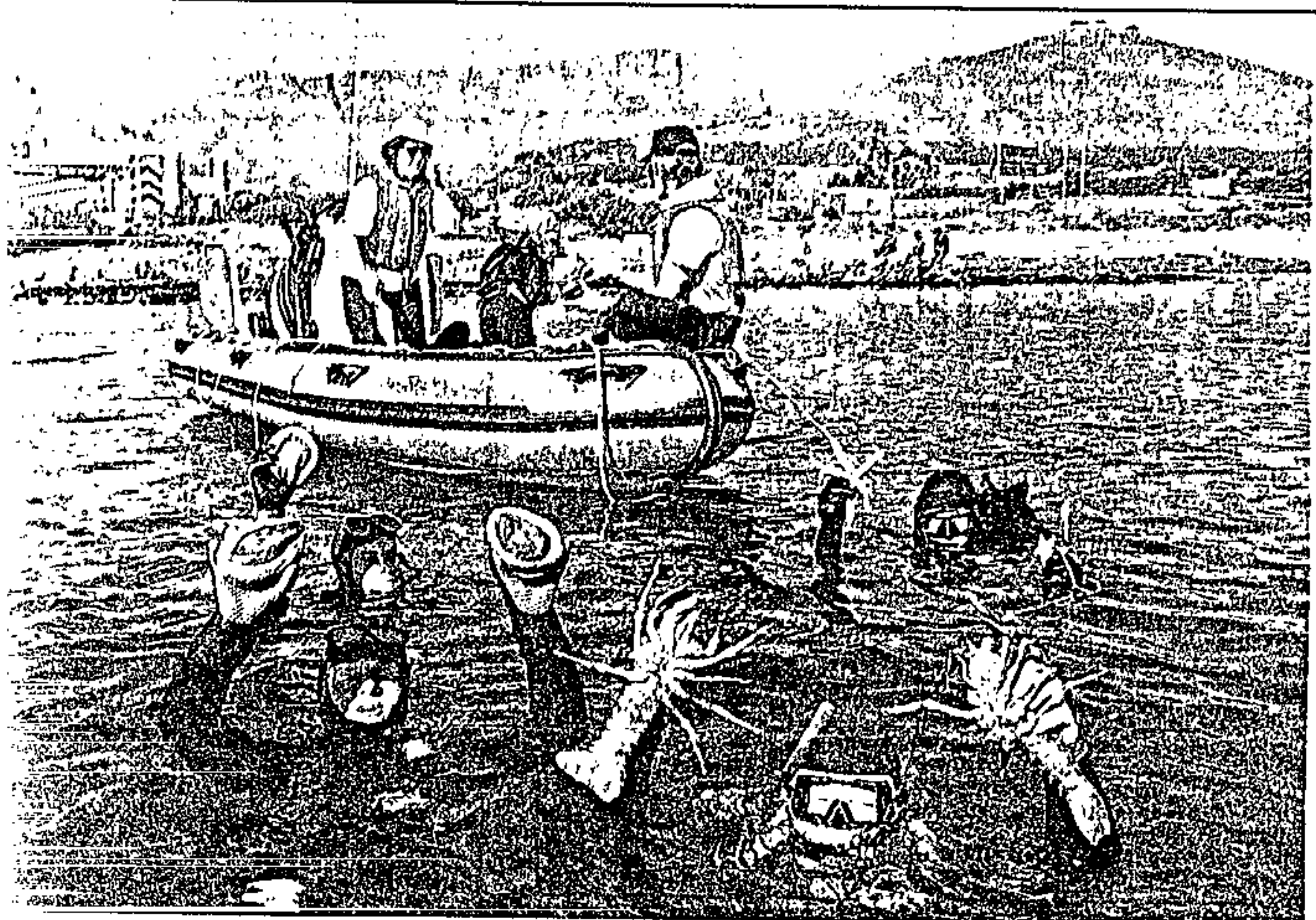
In his statement Mr De Klerk conceded that after he as President had been appraised of the situation, "suggestions were made for a number of amendments to the manuscript".

He said cabinet proceedings should be confidential to promote open debate.

● WILLEM STEENKAMP reports that former Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, now a senator, said last night Mr De Klerk's statement in the original draft that coloureds should be allowed to accept constitutional proposals if they were "stupid" (dom) enough to do so, rang true.

"It is obvious it fits in with Mr De Klerk's philosophy of separatism," Mr Hendrickse said.

He said Mr De Klerk's statement would be "an eye-opener" for the many coloured people in the Western Cape who had voted for him earlier this year.



SEA LIFE RESCUE MISSION ... Recreational divers and volunteers hold up some of the large perlemoen, crayfish and sea creatures that were removed from Granger Bay and deposited in inflatable boats before being relocated along the Point coast in a massive sea life rescue operation yesterday. ● Report Page 3.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Initiations: Maties fined

ines imposed on them from R250 to R800 and suspension from the residence, parts of the sentences were suspended.

University spokesman Mr Davis was unable to say last night whether any of students had been excluded from the residence.

Davis was unable to say last night what the initiation involved or whether the students had been forced to crawl in water and fish for food as originally alleged.

In six cases, those involved have been forbidden from being elected to any position of authority within the residence — specifically as house committee members — for a year.

The residence itself, was found guilty, and banned from taking part in inter-residence sports activities, "in particular the residence rugby league Sauer Cup competition". But this punishment was suspended for 18 months.

CT22/8/94

Prof Viljoen sharply criticised Die Matie student magazine, which broke the story of the initiation practices. He said its reporting was "sensational and inaccurate".

Allegations that students had to crawl around in vomit were devoid of all truth, Prof Viljoen said.

According to the original reports, new students were forced to slide out of a dining room face-down through a mixture of dishwater, fish leftovers and some of their own vomit.

They had had to wear jackets and ties to the house meeting in the dining room. The "meeting" had lasted three hours.

"Much of the time was spent sitting on bricks while seniors tried to push them over to achieve a domino effect."

They were forced to pass crayfish shells, cigarette butts and chewing gum from mouth to mouth. Water was thrown over them. Some were slapped, some had scratches and bruises.

xi driver shot dead er 'protection' bid

Reporter

's River taxi fatally shot after he refused to pay R10 in "protection" to two men who demanded from him at a taxi station. spokesman Ben Theron said Gregory was 27, and his Basil Carelse, was in their taxi when two men reached them for money. Carelse said that Gregory was shot in the chest. Mr Gregory died while being taken to hospital.



GUNNED DOWN ...
Gregory Groenewald

shot him in the chest. Mr Gregory died while being taken to hospital.

Mr Carelse said yesterday the shooting occurred when Mr Groenewald refused to hand over R10 in protection money.

He added that the gunman, whom he had seen threaten other taxi drivers on a number of occasions, was trying to enforce a money protection system among taxi drivers on the rank at Parow station.

No arrests have been made in connection with the shooting. Anyone with information can contact Detective-Sergeant Johan Theron at 930 3335 or 9800 11 12 13.

Woman killed in old-age home fire

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

AN elderly woman burnt to death in a Bonteheuwel old-age home last night, when a fire broke out in the frail-care section shortly before 11pm.

Two other women were rescued from the blazing room, escaping with only minor injuries.

Staff at the Cape Peninsula Organisation for the Aged-run Lily Haven Place, assisted by Bonteheuwel residents, rushed to evacuate many of the 130 residents.

CPOA operations manager Mr Peter Beets said the cause of the fire was unknown.

Mr Beets said 15 residents were taken to Groote Schuur Hospital for treatment for smoke inhalation.

Accommodation had also to be hastily arranged at other CPOA homes for another 20 residents.

CPOA projects manager Mr John Langman praised the Bonteheuwel community for their "fantastic gesture".

Mr Beets said the dead woman, who was about 75, could not be named as her next-of-kin had not yet been informed.



Buthelezi backs FW in chairmanships row

B1 Day 23/8/94

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday threw his weight solidly behind NP leader FW de Klerk in demanding that the chairmen of parliamentary select committees be appointed on a proportional basis according to party strengths.

Buthelezi's remarks, during debate on the President's budget, came as the row over the chairmanships continued to fester. On Thursday, De Klerk rejected the chairs of four "household" committees given to the NP. Inkatha, the PAC, Freedom Front and DP all received chairmanships of portfolio committees.

In an attack on the ANC caucus's role in the distribution of the chairmanships of the committees, Buthelezi said party caucuses should play their role in such a way that "national unity is fostered and the unity of the government remains intact."

"The letter and spirit of the government of national unity, which permeates the whole constitution, must be taken right down to first-tier governmental arrangements and practices."

The ANC's caucus also came under attack from the NP's GC Oosthuizen, who said President Nelson Mandela had acced-

ed to the wishes of "wild elements" in the caucus in overturning the decision to appoint chairmen on a proportional basis.

Sapa reports that the ANC's Ebrahim Salojee said De Klerk was misdirecting the public and provoking an unjustified sense of grievance among his own members over the question of parliamentary standing committee chairmanships.

There was no reference in the interim constitution to proportionate sharing of standing committee chairmanships.

"Mr De Klerk has no basis for the position which he takes."

Salojee said the NP's arrogant insistence on an inflated role in the structures of Parliament had already caused delays in finalising the standing committees.

The ANC supported the need for national unity, but national unity should never subvert the will of the people as expressed through their elected representatives.

Yesterday saw the election of the first chairman since the impasse more than three weeks ago, with the ANC's Carl Niehaus being elected chairman of the select committee on correctional services.

Commonwealth gives local election tips to SA

ADRIAN HADLAND

WHILE SA's election was a remarkable achievement, several crucial issues needed to be considered to avoid serious problems re-emerging in next year's local elections, according to the Commonwealth observer team.

In a report submitted to government earlier this year, the team said one of the most pressing needs was to decide on the type of electoral system that would be used in future.

Although the April general election used a proportional representation system, the Transitional Local Authority Act envisaged the establishment of a ward-based system using a weighted mixture of first-past-the-post and proportional representation.

The creation of a fully functioning ward and/or constituency based system would be an "extremely time-consuming operation," according to the report.

"It might be advisable, given the need to mount local elections within the next 18 months, to consider what transitional arrangements could be employed to establish interim local democratic structures" (304A)

An early decision on a new electoral system was vital if the necessary management systems, demarcation procedures and electoral roll requirements were to be completed on time, the report said.

The lack of time to prepare for the April election was identified as the major problem "and most shortcomings can be traced to this," the report added.

A new electoral Act was required as the

existing legislation did not provide an "adequate legal framework".

It recommended the establishment of a parliamentary standing committee to encourage public debate on electoral issues and to begin framing the new Act.

"Such a process could culminate in a thorough and fully informed debate in Parliament, prior to finalisation of legislation".

The new Act should include a refashioned electoral commission in which all commissioners were from SA and the body's administration and monitoring directorates were merged to avoid duplication.

In the last elections, the monitoring directorate of the Independent Electoral Commission established itself so quickly it absorbed most of the resources needed for the successful management of the election.

The team argued that while a special electoral court could be established to deal with disputes, consideration should be given to leaving such matters — excluding electoral petitions — to the ordinary courts.

Further recommendations included the development of an experienced cadre of electoral officials, more effective voting control and counting processes, better administration of election materials, the establishment of an electoral roll and urgent work on the demarcation of boundaries.

focus on De Klerk

SOME WOULD call it an attempt to rule from the grave. In fact, in law, those who die and leave assets behind are only allowed to dictate the terms of disbursements up to a certain time.

The idea being that the living should not be unduly affected in their lives by those who are no longer alive.

This seems to be the lesson that National Party leader and Second Deputy President Mr FW de Klerk needs to learn, and learn very soon.

Last week, as the country revelled in the fact that the transition had gone smoothly for the first three months of the black-dominated Government that replaced his, De Klerk chose that moment to complain about committees in Parliament.

In essence, De Klerk's argument is as follows: Although his party lost the election and has about 20 percent of the seats in Parliament, it should be given chairmanship of Parliamentary Standing Committees equal to the portfolios it holds in the Cabinet.

In fact, if it was up to the NP, the chairmanship of standing committees whose portfolios were held by the NP would automatically go to its representatives.

Proportionate distribution

This would be in the spirit of the Government of National Unity in terms of which Cabinet posts are distributed proportionately.

President Nelson Mandela, the conciliator if ever there was one, said he had no problem with the NP argument and would go along with it.

But not his party caucus, who have put their foot down and are arguing that democracy should be allowed to dictate the terms of appointments.

The caucus argument is that the NP lost the election or, to put it another way, the ANC won the election. Consequently, the appointments to lead committees should be dictated by the majority party, the ANC.

Discussions with many back-benchers of the ANC have revealed growing anger at the influence parties that lost the elections have in Government.

Much is made of the fact that the all-important Finance Ministry is in NP hands, and if the NP argument on committees was followed, it would also mean the chairmanship of that committee would go to the NP.

The NP had also wanted one of the key security portfolios, either the police or defence to go to them, and again it took strong opposition from within the ANC to ensure that this did not happen.

As one MP put it: "If we left the police or the army in their hands, what would we have changed? How could we ever hope to unravel third-force elements within the two forces?"

In a situation where agreements reached at the negotiations in Kempton Park last year ensured that the *status quo* remained virtually un-

Sweeten 23/8/94
FW de Klerk's latest bid to extend his party's power has unsettled the market and seems likely to exhaust the conciliatory attitude of the ANC, writes Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu:**

(304A)

changed, leaving the ANC to run De Klerk's government, pressure from ANC members is rising that the organisation is not doing much to change the country.

The opposition within the ANC caucus does not only deal with denying the NP chairmanship of important committees, but goes further to challenging even ANC appointments to such committees.

Said one MP: "There is growing dissatisfaction at the amount of influence and power wielded by the small white bloc within the ANC."

"Chairmanship of committees is given to whites and you find Africans playing second fiddle. When will African empowerment be implemented within

the ANC and ensure that we are also leading committees?"

Some black MP's have even questioned why Derek Hanekom, a white ANC member, was given the all-important portfolio of land affairs, and the high profile role of people of Indian extraction.

Given this scenario, De Klerk enters the fray, insisting that Mandela should override the caucus and ensure the appointment of NP people to lead important committees.

This, as DP leader Tony Leon said, coming from a man whose party never appointed opposition members to lead any committee in their days of power and glory.

That De Klerk chose the day of the 100 days, and the State visit to this country of Zimbabwe leader Dr Robert Mugabe to make his noise about wrecking the GNU, introduces an element of malice in his intention, an element of sour

grapes that things have gone on so right so far under an ANC-led Government.

As ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said, it also reveals an inability by De Klerk to come to terms

with the reality that his party is no longer in power, that he is an opposition party leader who should be grateful for small mercies, and not look gift horses in the mouth.

But De Klerk is not going to shut up about this, and will insist that his men and women be given these committees to head. This chiefly because both the South African and international markets respond to NP utterances and discomforts in a particularly racist way.

If there is a threat of an NP withdrawal from the GNU — an eventuality which is unlikely as the party has been generously treated — the Johannesburg Stock Exchange shivers and the shares dip.

And Mandela, who bears the ultimate responsibility for the success or failure of the GNU, may still try again to get the ANC caucus to give De Klerk a few chairmanships, in the interests of the stability of the markets and the growth of the economy and success of the RDP.

Should that happen, it would signal the rule from the political grave by De Klerk, helped by his racist white business compatriots, who have so far unashamedly displayed a gross lack of appreciation and gratitude for Mandela's efforts to balance the aspirations of his supporters and stem the restlessness within his party structures — and as such, appease the majority of the electorate.



FW de Klerk

NEWS Number of controversial issues tackled

Mandela moves to silence critics

Sowetan 23/8/94

(304A)

Sowetan Correspondent

■ PAY CUTS LOOM Indications

that MPs' salaries may be slashed:

PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA has moved to address a set of controversies involving his Government, promising action in each case and hinting that MPs' salaries could be cut.

Closing debate on his budget vote yesterday, Mandela turned to a string of issues which have been the subject of debate recently. They included:

- The salaries of Ministers, MPs and other public officials. The Department of State Expenditure would be preparing new guidelines and "recommendations will soon be tabled for discussion".

- The reported R10 million renovation of residences for the President and deputy presidents, "even if these decisions were taken before our time, and whatever the motivation then was, it is of utmost importance that this Government takes firm control of all these matters".

- The SABC's policy on language, particularly Afrikaans.

- South Africa's arms production and sales policies.

Mandela said a "perception is taking root that the Government is less than frugal in handling public finances".

While this did not take into account programmes that were being implemented, "we would be failing in our duty if we were to allow these perceptions to take root".

"We have stated over and over again that the recommendations of the Melamet Commission — on which present pay scales are based — were meant to address a transitional situation."

He had also asked the Department

of Public Works to provide reports on "the work being undertaken to renovate and furnish buildings earmarked for leading officials".

Mandela added that a comprehensive policy position needed to be thrashed out to ensure that South Africa "fulfils its obligations within the regime of arms productions and sales".

Turning to the row over the use of Afrikaans on SABC television, sparked by reports that it would be reduced, Mandela said the Interim Constitution provided for equal status for all languages.

"This, however, should be understood against the backdrop of the fact that two languages have, during the years of apartheid, been promoted over others."

Protector answers to Parliament

304A

CT 23/8/94

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE public protector, formerly known as the ombudsman, was to be made directly accountable to Parliament and not to the cabinet, the select committee of Parliament on justice had decided, its chairperson, Mr Johny de Lange, said yesterday.

This means that the public protector and his deputy will have much more independence than other government departments.

It will place them on the same level as the auditor-general, who is also answerable to Parliament.

Mr De Lange said in a statement that the Public Protector Bill would be finalised next week. The legislation would protect the public against maladministration, corruption and other forms of abuse by state officials.

The select committee had decided that secondment of officials from the public service would be limited to ensure the independence of the public protector.

Mechanisms had been provided for results of investigations to be published regularly to ensure maximum transparency.

Another provision would allow more vigorous public criticism of the public protector, Mr De Lange said.

Niehaus elected — despite NP

MR Carl Niehaus (ANC) was elected chairman of the National Assembly's Correctional Services select committee yesterday, despite the National Party's abstention.

It was the first chairmanship election since last week's row between the NP and the ANC over the appointment of select committee chairmen.

Mr Hennie Smit (NP) said the NP objected to the nomination and the manner in which the committee chairmanship issue was dealt with by the ANC caucus.

This did not augur well for the spirit of the government, he added.

Mr Smit nevertheless went to shake Mr Niehaus' hand, congratulating him on his new position.

The stand-off between the ANC cau-

(304A)
cus and the NP had delayed the election of committee chairmen.

Mr Niehaus said he hoped the committee would be able to work together as a team, despite the NP statement.

CT 23/8/94
● Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday threw his weight behind National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk in demanding that the chairmen of parliamentary select committees be appointed on a proportional basis according to party strengths.

The ANC's Mr Ebrahim Saloojee denied there was any reference in the 1993 Constitution to "proportionate sharing of the chairmanships and Mr De Klerk had no basis for the position which he takes".

Volkstaat Council to seek statutory powers

CAPE TOWN — Legislation to give statutory effect to the Volkstaat Council would be presented to Parliament before the end of September, council chairman Johann Wingard said at a news conference yesterday.

The 20 council members expected to receive salaries equivalent to provincial parliamentarians' once the council's budget had been approved, he said.

At present, full-time members worked without remuneration but received legal and administrative support from the Constitutional Development Department.

The Volkstaat Council was evaluating constitutional options for Afrikaner self-determination, ranging from a separate, sovereign state with fixed boundaries to the status quo, he said. *BIDAY 26/8/94*

Fifty organisations and role players had been invited to make submissions to the council on a proposed Afrikaner volkstaat.

No definite location for a volkstaat had yet been determined, although potential areas in the nine provinces had been identified. *(30/8/94)*

Discussions were being held with regional premiers and political parties to explain the council's operations and proposals.

Negotiations are still under way with CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg after recent indications that the CP might be prepared to join the Volkstaat Council. — Sapa.

Water plan in the pipeline

CAPE TOWN — Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal yesterday announced two new projects to supply water to rural areas in the Eastern and Northern Transvaal and KwaZulu/Natal.

The projects, which would cost R535m, would include the R275m Injaka Dam and a Bosbokrand transfer pipeline to improve water supplies to domestic users in the Sabie and Sand River basins.

A pumping station, water works and a tunnel would be built on the Tugela River at Middeldrift at a cost of about R260m.

Asmal said more than 12-million people had no access to clean drinking water and 21-million people did not have adequate sanitation and refuse removal services. — Renter.

lateral ons

ics of entrepreneurial
ness.

minar will take place in Johannesburg
of September, 1994, at the
"room" of the Carlton Hotel, starting

wing day, the 13th of September,
me place, a Contacts Pool will be
0h00 to 17h00, period during which
ese entrepreneurial mission will be
direct personal contacts with the
entrepreneurs interested in

'Only 1,5-million paid tax'

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Only about 1,5-million of SA's population of roughly 38-million paid tax during the 1992/93 financial year, with the top 29% of taxpayers footing 67% of the bill.

Replying to a parliamentary question by DP MP Ken Andrew, the Finance Department said for the 1992/93 tax year, the bottom 37% of taxpayers contributed 5% of total revenue. *(26/8/94)*

The middle 34% of taxpayers contributed 27% of the total tax pool derived from individual taxpayers.

The figures indicate that taxpayers earning above R5 833 a month — the top 29% — contributed 67% of

the total pool or a total of about R11,8bn. *BIDAY*

Of the particular income categories, the one that produced the largest income for the fiscus consisted of those who earned between R100 000 and R200 000 a year. They contributed R3,2bn or 18% of the total pool. *26/8/94*

The next lucrative category for the fiscus was the R60 000-R70 000 category which contributed R2,1bn or 12% of the total pool.

The top category, earning more than R500 000 a year, contributed 3,86% of the total revenue. There were only 2 157 of them.

GOVERNMENT

Stung into action

It was always going to be impossible for government to achieve much in its first 100 days. The task it faced was enormous and its resources severely limited.

Careful planning and sensitive implementation of new policy is a long and difficult process. A year will be a far better yardstick by which to judge progress.

But it was President Nelson Mandela himself who set the 100-day period within which, he said, meaningful steps would be taken towards addressing the most basic needs of the very poor.

Coupled to this was the expectation, not denied by the ANC, that the national unity Cabinet would be able to tackle pressing problems such as the education and health crises with more urgency than is apparent. Further pressure came from outside government. During the general election campaign the ANC created a crisis of expectation with promises that had no hope of being met.

All parties in democratic countries tend to make such promises — but in the ANC's case the promises were more extravagant because it had never been in office before; and the consumers — the voters — are arguably more credulous and more deprived than their cynical and relatively prosperous counterparts in advanced democracies.

It was against this background that the first 100 days were measured — and government was found to be sadly lacking. In general the assessments by experts and media commentators were realistic: nobody expected miracles in the first three months, and government was not judged according to such a criterion.

Tough decisions

Where observers were sharply critical was in pointing out areas where little policy formulation had taken place, let alone execution of policy, and in lamenting the impression (whether accurate or not) of a lack of urgency and a tendency to defer tough decisions.

Clearly, the critical assessments have served a purpose even if Cabinet feathers have been ruffled and egos bruised. The ANC in particular now knows how closely

it is being watched and how well it is expected to perform — based on its own criteria — and the response was almost immediate.

In the past week, a definite change seems to have come over some Ministers and there is a perception that they are approaching their jobs with renewed urgency.

For example, Minister without Portfolio

Jay Naidoo this week detailed the framework within which major infrastructural projects for the RDP will be developed.

And Mandela, speaking in parliament, effectively acknowledged mounting criticism — the latest from Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu — of MPs' remuneration, and pledged a detailed reassessment of their salaries and benefits. He said he would be failing in his duty if he allowed perceptions to take root that

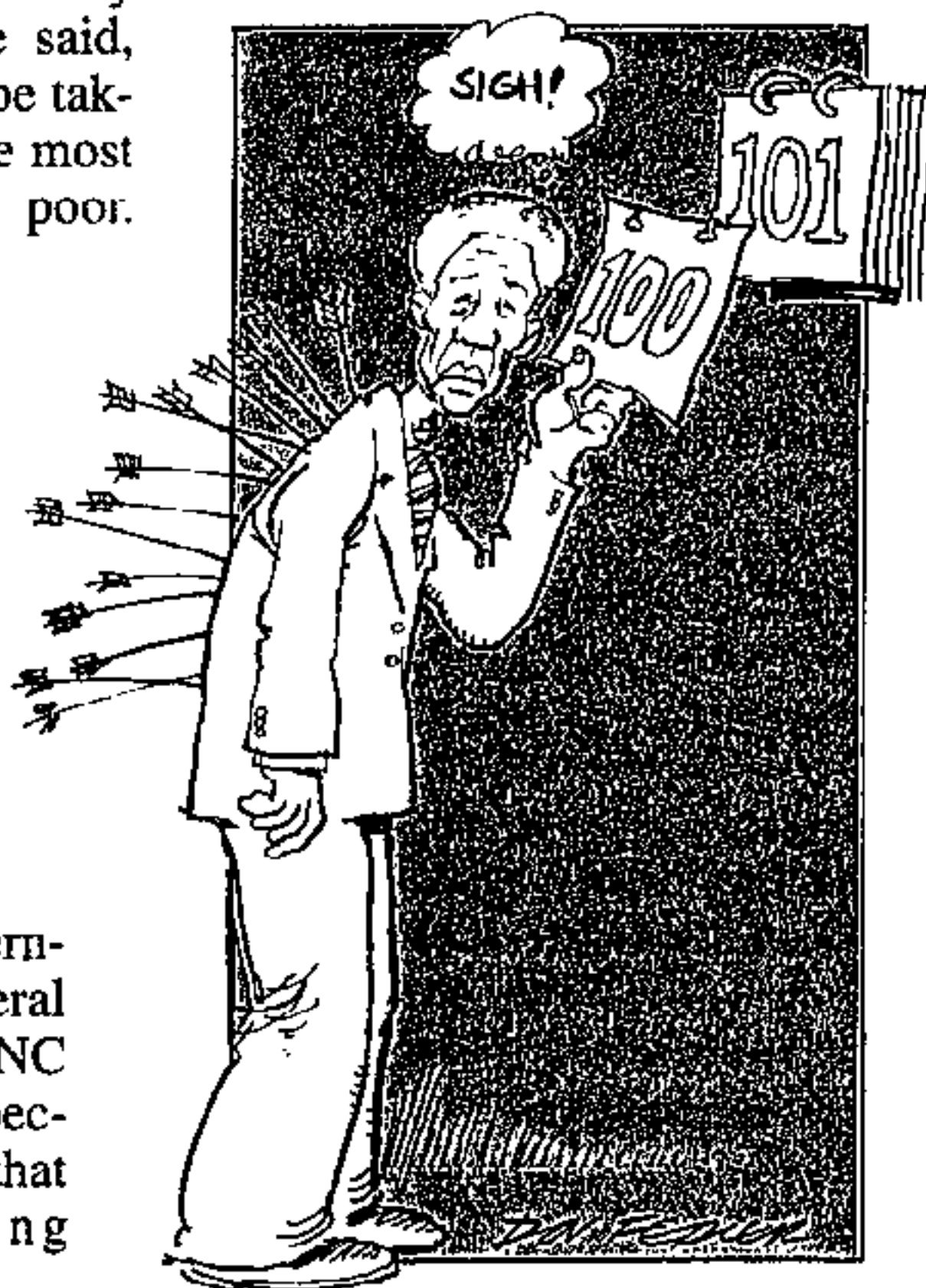
government was "less than frugal" in handling public finances.

Mandela also conceded that progress within the first 100 days may have been tentative and its impact "quite humble," but he believes it is the start of a journey from which there is no turning back.

Naidoo believes government can justifiably claim to have made good progress in the first 100 days in the implementation of the RDP. During the period the focus had been on the "key goal" which, he says, is the efficient delivery of goods and services to the people. He says the RDP represents a common vision around which the nation has been united.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki also believes the successes of the first 100 days are not appreciated enough. Speaking at the Cape Town Press Club last week he said they included:

- The role played by the police in securing the elections, particularly in the face of a perceived threat from the right wing;
- The acceptance by the civil service of the new government. Before taking office the ANC was concerned it might face bureaucratic resistance particularly from the police and intelligence service.



But "by and large" the public service had co-operated and supported the process of change; (30/4A)

□ The successful composition of the Cabinet, which worked well and in which no members were inhibited from stating their views;

□ The speed with which the Cabinet had agreed on a "broad policy framework" within which it would work; and

□ The international credibility of the transition.

Mbeki said these achievements created the capacity to "take the next step." He acknowledged that there had been problems, such as establishing the departments of Defence and Safety & Security which were "governing themselves." However, the issue of reorientating established structures was a challenge.

Mbeki said government departments were currently preparing 95 pieces of legislation but they faced the problem of needing to reflect a new policy which was still being formulated.

Nevertheless, he forecast a flood of legislation within the next three or four months which would have "serious policy implications for the reconstruction and development of the country."

He added: "We will see the implementation of the sort of policy that Nelson Mandela has been talking about."

The question that arises is why government did not make more of an effort before the 100-day deadline to detail the progress it believed had been made. The answer could be that it did not realise just how critically it would be assessed on its initial performance. Transparency has also been lacking, despite the ANC's ideals.

If that is so, then it has hopefully learnt the valuable lesson of communicating its achievements as well as its failures far more clearly and timeously than it did in the first 100 days. ■

POLICE KILLINGS

Tough forensic work

Part of the problem in finding ways to stop the spiral of police killings is identifying the real cause of the carnage and dealing with it. So far this year 164 policemen (and women) have been murdered compared with 271 last year. (25/4)

The unprecedented crime wave obviously plays a significant role. It in turn is coupled to the virtual collapse of social order in some parts of the country due to the ravages of apartheid on the one hand and, on the

THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS

Fri 19/8/94

A confused honeymoon

Mandela did not take enough tough decisions at the beginning



When the general election in April proceeded peacefully and then produced a government, people spoke of a miracle. Events since then have been rather less inspiring.

"What matters is how Nelson Mandela will run the country" — that was the *FM*'s view amid the euphoria of inauguration week in May. In the President's first 100 days, we argued, "he will, by omission and commission, be setting important precedents that could influence the way things are done long after he is gone. It is in his hands to set in motion the government of national unity; to establish its conventions; and to make sure that it survives early crises. Above all, he must make sure that government can govern."

Well, the 100 days are up and it is to Mandela's credit that the uneasy coalition has survived.

Personally, he has been statesmanlike and conciliatory. But in the crucial matter of the business of government, we sense a disturbing lack of grip at the top.

It was never going to be easy, of course. Mandela came to the job without any experience of political office and he was weighed down with the expectations of the masses who gave him that landslide election victory.

But what he needed to do right at the start was to impose his authority clearly and decisively. In practice, this would have entailed insisting on certain well-tested

conventions of Cabinet government:

- ☐ The need for confidentiality;
- ☐ Free discussion within Cabinet, followed by decisions binding on all;
- ☐ Joint responsibility for decisions; and
- ☐ No Minister to interfere in another's portfolio.

Obviously, it was never going to be possible to impose all those conditions strictly on his Nat and Inkatha partners, but Mandela certainly had the opportunity to do so with his ANC colleagues. It is not being unduly deferential to Western democratic institutions to say that good government depends on efficient Cabinet management. There are other mechanisms to air internal

Defence spending. And every Minister who feels like it is allowed to contribute his tickety's worth on the Reconstruction & Development Programme.

Such a policy babble creates the impression that nothing has been decided in advance by Cabinet. It also leads to confusion. Whom should people believe if so many Ministers are pronouncing on issues? Which of them, if any, has Mandela's support? To some, it all may seem like healthy debate, a welcome change from the granite policy profiles of successive Nat governments. But the Cabinet is there to take the decisions without which government is paralysed.

NON-PERFORMERS



Mbeki



Omar



Zuma



Bengu



Sexwale

party grievances and disputes but a loose Cabinet will lead to loose administration. And this is what seems to have happened in the first 100 days of the Mandela government.

Too many Ministers have been allowed to pronounce on whatever issue of State interests them. Defence's Joe Modise moved in crudely on Foreign Affairs territory with inflammatory remarks about Israel. So did Justice's Dullah Omar with his views on the virtues of Cuban socialism. Omar also trespassed on Labour's patch with unhelpful statements on the Pick 'n Pay strike. Housing's Joe Slovo saw fit to question in detail the estimates for required

The ANC's more thoughtful leaders should consider examples from other countries. Clement Attlee, prime minister of Britain from 1945 to 1951, was a renowned manager of his Cabinet.

"The Cabinet is there primarily to act," he wrote. "It is essential for the Cabinet to move on, leaving in its wake a trail of crisp, uncompromising decisions. This is what government is about. And the challenge to democracy is how to get it done quickly and smoothly."

There are instructive similarities between Attlee and Mandela. At the time of taking office, each of them was:

- ☐ The beneficiary of a landslide election victory;
- ☐ The leader of a socialist-leaning party;
- ☐ Intent on making radical changes in the way the country was run;
- ☐ Expecting vigorous opposition to change from an entrenched civil service; and
- ☐ Inheriting a country whose finances were exhausted and

SUCCESSORS



Phosa



Slovo



Lekota



Mufamadi



Erwin

→ cont

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whose economy was fragile.

Attlee's socialist policies may have been misguided, but his administration's efficiency was so great that an unprecedented amount of legislation was enacted between 1945 and 1951, with the entire socialist programme of the Labour Party placed on the statute book.

Socialism may have been party policy but there was nothing egalitarian about Attlee's management style, which can charitably be described as ruthless. He believed in appointing Ministers and letting them get on with it — or sacking them, which he always did swiftly. Ministers who were ill-informed at Cabinet meetings were expelled and told not to come back until they had mastered the facts.

One garrulous Minister was told: "A period of silence from you would be welcome." Harold Wilson said: "You'd think twice before you asked to see Attlee."

Of course, that is not Madiba's style and it never will be. Indeed, he is perhaps too accommodating; not many party leaders would have allowed a senior man to refuse a Cabinet posting, as Cyril Ramaphosa did, and retain a major position in the party. And the way he allowed Chris Liebenberg to enter the Cabinet on his own terms — he refused to join a party — would never have been countenanced by a British prime minister.

And how many crisp, uncompromising decisions has Mandela's Cabinet made? Very few, it would seem. There has been exagger-

ated respect for complaints from the ANC caucus, while Ministers are apparently left to their own devices. The few capable ones have sensibly taken the gap, staking out territory that will be difficult to repossess, while the weaker ones are making fools of themselves or floundering. (304A)

One man that has not taken an obvious gap is Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. He could have made his role effectively that of prime minister, taking some of the load off Mandela and being seen to get the business done. Instead, he appears to have been more interested in travel, including a mysterious three-week absence from the country. There is a perception that he is lazy — the cardinal sin of the politician — and he made a poor impression when, standing in for Mandela (during the latter's visit to Namibia) at the first question time of the new parliament, he simply didn't know the answers to some MPs' questions. He also has a reputation for not turning up for engagements. Mbeki's start in high office has not been auspicious.

F W de Klerk is the other Deputy President. Having had the top job, his role was always going to be awkward. But he retained his dignity and generously allowed Mandela a honeymoon from Nat carping. Questions have been asked about the Nats' dual role as partner in government and a force for opposition — and whether De Klerk actually has any work to do.

The third party leader in government, Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, certainly has the ability to be a good Home Affairs Minister, as demonstrated by his impressive address on the illegal immigration problem. He has hardly been extended by the port-

folio and he is easily distracted by affairs in his KwaZulu-Natal base.

Leaving aside for a moment the ideological aspects, some Ministers have been far more impressive as leaders than others. If they have not achieved much in practical terms, they have at least approached their work with energy, commonsense and circumspection.

Perhaps the most impressive Minister has been Slovo. By immediately installing his own man as director-general, Slovo made it clear at the outset that he was a man in a hurry.

He occupied the moral high ground ahead of Cabinet colleagues and managed to get broad support for his vision. A tough streak was revealed when he regained the initiative on housing from PWV premier Tokyo Sexwale.

A young dark horse who has come through relatively well is Sydney Mufamadi at Safety & Security. Unlike Joe Modise, he has nothing in common with his senior generals — yet he has taken care to back them firmly where he can and to disagree discreetly when he cannot.

There are doubtless tensions beneath the surface but it has been Mufamadi's achievement to conceal them and give an impression of progress.

Another impressive new boy has been Deputy Finance Minister Alec Irwin. A former unionist, he managed to bring some instant gravitas to the part and sensibly avoided trying to upstage Finance Minister Derek Keys. In parliament, he has tried to lead rather than react; his scolding of backbenchers for trivialising vital issues took political courage. As he grows in

MANDELA'S FIRST 100 DAYS

Mandela's colourful and emotional inauguration at the Union Buildings, culminating in an SAAF flypast and a 21-gun salute. The 400 new MPs are sworn in and party leaders embrace in the National Assembly. Both security portfolios go to ANC Ministers, but the NP's Derek Keys retains Finance. It becomes clear that opposition in Parliament will come essentially from the DP and Freedom Front.



Mandela

1st week



Ramaphosa

Speculation continues over the position of Cyril Ramaphosa, who refused a cabinet position. The FM warns of a debt trap; financial markets show weakness in reaction to election euphoria. Consolidation of the National Defence Force is expected to push up the Defence budget by R2bn to R11bn.

2nd week

Mandela tells Parliament he is committed to fiscal restraint and cooperation with the private sector. He announces free medical care for young children and pregnant women, and a primary school feeding scheme. R2,5bn is to be allocated to the RDP. Tension rises in KwaZulu/Natal over Premier Frank Mdlalose's allocation of provincial executive positions.



Mdlalose

3rd week



Slovo

Latest figures show GDP shrank by 3,7% in the first quarter. Housing Minister Joe Slovo announces that 1m houses will be built in five years. Mandela agrees with CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg to set up a volkstaat forum. Armscor chairman Tielman de Waal hopes to double export arms sales this year. Three men charged with murdering American Amy Biehl are released on bail of R250 each.

4th week

Rates on capital and money markets are driven up by the drain on foreign reserves and fears of an inflationary Budget. Justice Minister Dullah Omar announces a "commission of truth and reconciliation" and appoints Arthur Chaskalson SC to head the Constitutional Court. Labour Minister Tito Mboweni advocates a "golden triangle" of labour, business and government.



Omar

5th week



Sexwale

Evictions of squatters who invaded land earmarked for housing provoke a row between Johannesburg council's Ian Davidson and PWV premier Tokyo Sexwale. Tacit support for Davidson comes from Slovo's Housing Ministry but a moratorium is placed on evictions. Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya says at least 1 000 new posts will be created and 11 000 vacant posts will be filled.

6th week

The first Budget under a democratically elected government is presented and generally welcomed with relief for its apparent moderation. But the FM deplores the lack of an unambiguous message to investors on growth, exchange controls and privatisation. Provincial administration in KwaZulu/Natal remains stalled. Anglo American net earnings show a surge of 23% on the bottom line.



Keys

7th week

confidence, so will his stature.

Steve Tshwete was handling the Sport portfolio long before the election, which is partly why he is so good at it. His quiet but firm diplomatic skills have been especially valuable in cricket, athletics, tennis and rugby. He goes out of his way to identify potential problems and has the gift of being able to offer his services without seeming to interfere. When the reshuffle comes, Foreign Affairs might suit him.

Others who have made reasonable starts include Derek Hanekom (Agriculture), Modise and his deputy at Defence, Ronnie Kasrils.

In a sense, the new administration includes the provinces and here two premiers have been especially impressive: Patrick Lekota in the Free State and Matthews Phosa in the Eastern Transvaal. Both men have been admirably pragmatic, consulting widely and refusing to use their massive majorities to steamroller opposition.

By contrast, it is sad and even dangerous that two of the most important portfolios are in uninspired hands. At Education, Sibusiso Bengu has even been criticised openly by the ANC-aligned National Education Crisis Committee for his lack of progress. Admittedly, his health has not been good — but if his stroke has incapacitated him, he should resign. Nkosazana Zuma at Health seems obsessed with peripheral issues such as anti-smoking campaigns while giving the impression of being unable or unwilling to address the basic structural problems in health care. She appears to have little understanding of how private health care works. Again, nobody expected the Ministers in these

19/8/94
tough portfolios to work miracles but they could at least have given an impression of competence.

Another liability is Dullah Omar — at Justice. He has a tendency to jump the gun and — as De Klerk has pointed out — makes policy announcements which have not been considered by Cabinet. He has, therefore, painted himself into a corner with his proposed Truth & Reconciliation Commission, which is so badly thought out as to be an embarrassment.

Others who appear to be battling include Zola Skweyiya (Public Service & Administration), Winnie Mandela (Arts, Culture, Science & Technology Deputy) and Trade & Industry's Trevor Manuel, whose inaction on a range of policy issues has frustrated potential investors.

Sexwale must be judged to have slipped somewhat after a good start. Like the other provincial premiers, he has been frustrated by the delay in the transfer of powers; unlike them, he tends to make promises which he cannot keep. His undoubted charisma and courage — he entered a prison alone and unarmed, negotiated with dangerous criminals and secured the release of a warder being held hostage — have looked less impressive as his naivete and lack of experience became evident.

KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose has also not made the most of a golden opportunity to show the ANC-controlled provinces how it's done. He has been unable to dispel the perception that he is Buthelezi's puppet and his handling of the provincial capital issue has defied all attempts at logical explanation.

One Minister who is difficult to evaluate

after 100 days is Jay Naidoo. With no specific portfolio but charged with ensuring that the RDP is implemented, it is not clear what he actually does, if anything.

If the ANC Ministers have anything in common with one another as well as with their Nat predecessors, it is a tendency to appoint committees to deal with problems which should be addressed now. There is also the old compulsion to throw money at difficulties. Civil servants are beginning to realise that if they make enough noise they will get the increases they want, while the civil service is certain to grow. Most Ministers are asking for more money. When Keys retires this year, there may be nobody with the clout to keep spending down.

It is in this area in particular that Mandela has been found wanting. He tends to announce projects without considering what they will cost, while seeing no contradiction between such spending and his stated commitment to fiscal discipline. If that continues, he will no longer be taken seriously. He also appears unaware of the need to enforce a united policy front.

Like Jan Smuts, Mandela is a politician of the spirit rather than a nuts-and-bolts man in the Attlee mould. He would rather be on the world stage or chatting to children than worrying about which budget will pay for his feeding scheme. Unlike Smuts, he does not have the support of a brilliant administrator such as Jan Hofmeyr.

"Sooner or later," we said in our cover story of May 6, "Mandela will have to tell unpalatable truths to his supporters; let him do it sooner." After 100 days, he has still not done so and it is this failure that lies behind his lack of grip. ■

Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals expresses concern at rumours that exchange control is about to be abolished. There is talk among ANC Ministers that banks will be forced to classify loans by race. Randgold announces the end of underground mining at Durban Deep, costing over 4 000 jobs. More than 1m people, mainly blacks, apply for the 11 000 affirmative action posts in the civil service.



Liebenberg

The rand plummets and the country goes into political shock when Derek Keys resigns as Finance Minister. Mandela moves quickly to prevent further damage and replaces him with former Nedbank chief Chris Liebenberg. MK's Siphwe Nyanda is named acting Chief of Staff of the National Defence Force, with the rank of lieutenant-general but he will have to pass the necessary courses.

Violence boils up again on the East Rand; SDU members may be incorporated in to the police as reservists. Former FNB MD Chris Ball is to return from the UK to head a regional community housing bank. Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela, attending a funeral on the East Rand, leads a toyi-toyi and shouts of "viva SDUs viva" when nearby police try to catch a fleeing criminal.



Modise

President Mandela visits Mozambique. Defence Minister Joe Modise rejects a special relationship with Israel, which he suggests is guilty of apartheid policies. Mandela and Mboweni get involved in the Pick 'n Pay dispute. Cabinet Ministers decide that they will be able to hire staff at inflated salaries from outside the Public Service.

A bitter strike breaks out at Pick 'n Pay. Cosatu chief Sam Shilowa says it is untrue that strikes are killing the economy. A World Bank report says high wage demands have cost SA hundreds of thousands of jobs since the Eighties. SABC old guard members Wynand Harmse and Johan Pretorius are to take early retirement.



Shilowa



De Klerk

Deputy President FW De Klerk denies that he has lost interest in politics and that the National Party has become irrelevant. British Minister Michael Heseltine announces a R7bn two-way aid package for SA. The Pick 'n Pay strike continues, fresh strikes break out at Sun City, Telkom and Eastern Platinum mines; workers in the motor industry vote to strike.

Economists revise forecasts of a 3% growth in GDP in 1994. The civil service salary bill continues to rise as a percentage of government expenditure. As ANC backbenchers grow increasingly restive, Deputy Finance Minister Alec Irwin warns against petty bickering on critical issues. Squatters invade land at Cato Manor. Government launches a labour-intensive public works programme.



Irwin



Stals

8th week

9th week

10th week

11th week

12th week

13th week

14th week

Cabinet okays powerful new advisory body

BIDAY 18/8/94
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet yesterday approved the integration of the National Manpower Commission and the National Economic Forum into a new statutory body, effectively establishing a powerful advisory forum on economic, labour and social matters. (304A)

The merger was mooted by Cosatu several months ago.

The new National Economic, Development and Labour Council would "facilitate the co-ordination and integration of economic, labour and social policies".

The council — fulfilling government's desire for strategy to be developed by a "goldian triad" of business, labour and government — will have four chambers. It will cover issues concerning monetary and fiscal, trade and industry, labour market and development policy.

The Cabinet said it had also approved a number of projects for funding under the reconstruction and development programme and had approved procedures for programme and project management and control of RDP funds.

President Nelson Mandela would make some announcements on these projects during debate on his Budget vote today and further details would be announced by Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo.

It is understood that Mandela will call for more direct public participation in the RDP to shift the programme up a gear.

His call was discussed by the Cabinet, which noted and re-emphasised the unanimous support for the RDP within the government of national unity.

Meanwhile, the Cabinet formally endorsed the formation of the intergovernmental forum of members of regional and provincial government. It noted that meetings aimed at reaching consensus on allocating functions between national govern-

□ To Page 2

Cabinet

BIDAY 18/8/94

□ From Page 1

ment and provincial premiers had been taking place monthly. Substantial progress had been made preparing proclamations to assign powers to the provinces. (304A)

A presentation was made to the Cabinet on the public service's entry requirements and remuneration packages for public servants. The Public Service Commission was asked to review regulations and its conditions of service to ensure that they complied with constitutional prohibitions on gender discrimination.

The Cabinet also approved a Bill on the Restitution of Land Rights, which would

seek to establish an independent commission on land rights and a land claims court.

It also approved the Educators' Employment Bill which provides for establishing uniform norms and standards in the conditions of service for educators.

It approved a Bill amending the constitution for the fourth time to enable the President to appoint an outsider as a Minister. This was needed for Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg's appointment.

The Cabinet also decided to develop ways of ensuring closer co-operation between the executive and the legislature.

We like each other more

◀ From Page 1

would protect them from violence.

The Star/MMR survey asked people in the Greater Johannesburg area to compare their pre-election fears with the post-election reality.

■ 60 percent feared uncontrolled violence before the election; this has dropped to 24 percent.

■ 23 percent feared spiralling crime; the percentage has now dropped to 9.

■ 9 percent believed there would be war — none of the respondents now fear this will come about.

■ Before the election 14 percent of respondents were worried about jobs; this has risen sharply to 21 percent.

■ 13 percent were concerned about the prospects of the economy before the April poll; this figure has ballooned to 22 percent.

■ Those concerned about housing in the pre-election phase accounted for 6 percent; 13 percent now cite it as a worry.

Asked whether "the new South Africa is better, worse, or the same as you expected," 49 percent said it was better, 41 percent said the same, and 9 percent believed it was worse.

Fully 65 percent of respondents said they had not noticed any material changes in their own lives or lifestyles as a result of the installation of the GNU, while 31 percent disagreed. Some 4 percent were not sure.

Asked whether "all South Africans should have the right to strike", 70 percent of respondents said yes. Of these, 78 percent were supporters of the ANC. But an overwhelming 94 percent of those interviewed agreed that "strikers should allow more time for negotiations before going on strike".

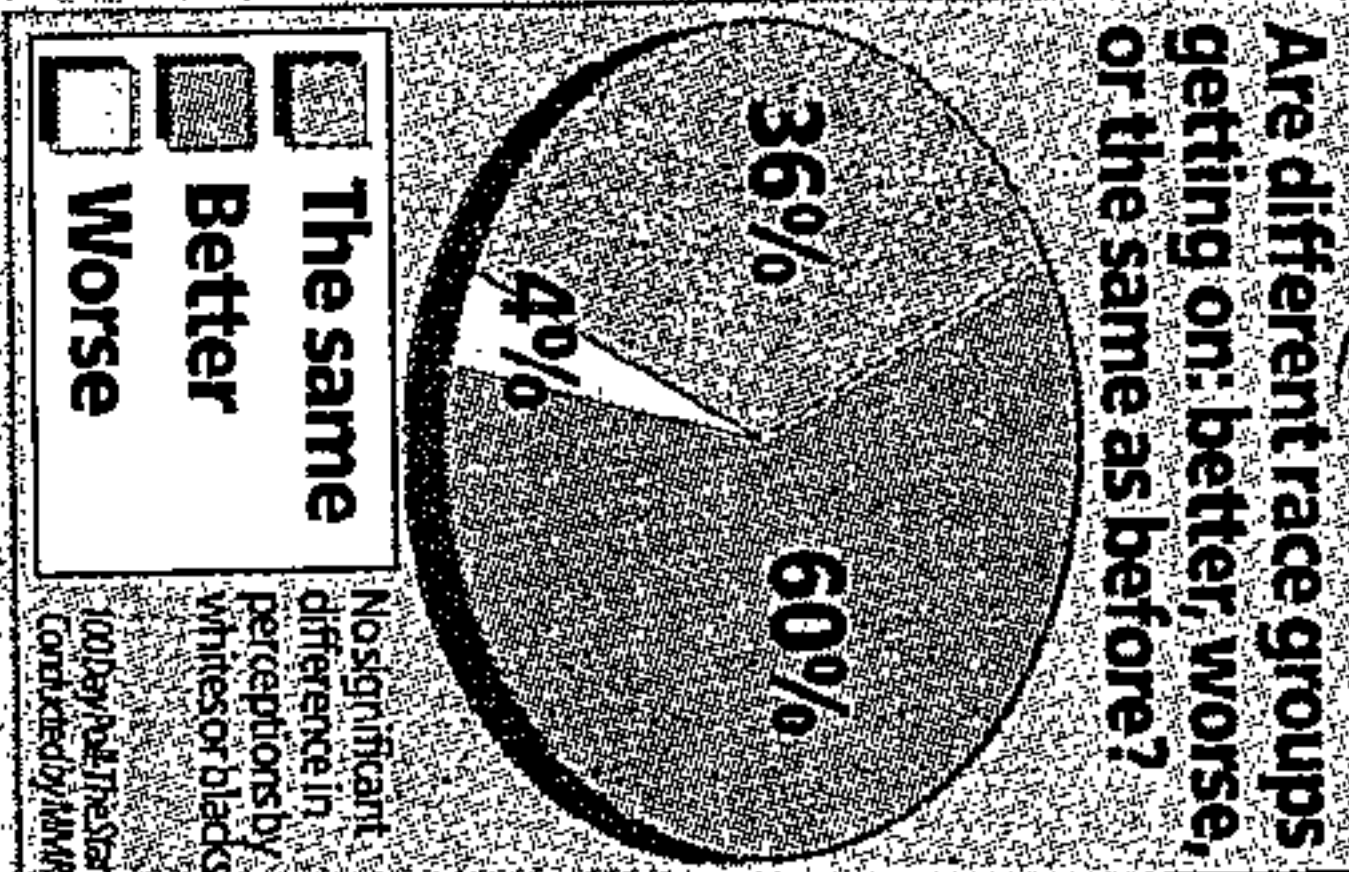
■ Black South Africans made up 69 percent of the sample and whites 31 percent. There was a wide spread of age, education level and political affiliation.

We all like one another more now!

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON
POLITICAL EDITOR

The houses are not yet built, the jobs haven't been created, the crime graph is still sky-high, the poor are still poor... but most people who live in and around Johannesburg believe relations among the races have improved in the new South Africa's first 100 days. The psychological easing of the racial tensions of the old South Africa — actual and potential — appears to be the clearest benefit that has flowed from April's

miracle transition. A special "100-day" survey commissioned by The Star and conducted by MMR shows that fully 60 percent of respondents — black and white — believe the various race groups are getting on better than before. Some 36 percent think things are much the same, while only 4 percent say the situation has worsened since the onset of democracy. President Mandela's coalition Government has clearly passed the three-month mark with a great deal of goodwill in the bank.



Most of those surveyed are still optimistic about the Government of National Unity's (GNU) capacity to improve the lives of ordinary South Africans. Asked whether the GNU, with its first 100 days behind it, would be able to create more jobs, 60 percent said yes and only 23 percent said no. A total of 55 percent said the GNU would succeed in raising living standards — 27 percent thought the opposite — and 43 percent believed the new authorities

▶ To Page 3

It's working, say top trio

■ POLITICAL STAFF

South Africa's top three politicians — the president and his deputies — have had their ups and downs in the new South Africa's first 100 days, but all insist the triumvirate is working well.

To mark the 100-day point, The Star asked President Mandela and Deputy Presidents de Klerk and Mbeki how each one felt about the first phase of "project new South Africa".

It is evident that the relationship between Mandela and the man he replaced, De Klerk, has made the transition from the World Trade Centre to the Union Buildings. The Government of National Unity — subject of speculation about possible splits — is holding firm at this stage.

From the point of view of the Cabinet, Mr de Klerk has done very well. He has given us all the co-operation we ex-

pect, and has also allowed his experience to be used by us," Mandela said.

"I am still able to call him and Mbeki, and say: How do we handle this matter? The same applies to Chief Buthezi, by the way." (30/4/94)

Co-operation did not mean the NP leader would refrain from criticising the ANC, he stressed. "Our own people criticise us and he is perfectly within his rights to do so."

For his part De Klerk reaffirmed his party's commitment to the GNU and praised Mandela for his performance so far. De Klerk added that he had adjusted to his new, less powerful position.

He told The Star: "I have a very good working relationship with President Mandela and it has grown since we started working together in the GNU. He has proved himself to be able to delegate, which, I think, is important because of the

tremendous demands.

"I think his international appearances have been successful. I have high appreciation specifically for the way in which he stands firm on his conviction with regard to economic policy, notwithstanding what one perceives to be some strong criticism from within (his organisation)."

For Mbeki, the highlight of his first 100 days in office was the enthusiasm he witnessed in Britain for the new South Africa. He said the infectious happiness was evident not only from Prime Minister John Major and Queen Elizabeth, but also from ordinary people on the streets of London.

The deputy president said transforming policies into practice would take time, especially because the April election did not involve a succession of governments in the same system, but a new dispensation.

Some star performers, some good supporting acts, some who haven't made the big time... It's Cabinet '94

NELSON MANDELA

President: A remarkable performance. Appears to have been born for the job, and charmed the nation since May 10 inauguration. Has disarmed the doubters but will have to take his own constituency into account if it is not to become restless. Exceptionally hard worker.

THABO MBEKI

Deputy President: Retains his urbane charm and diplomatic capacity but has faced charges of tardiness. Also involved at the sharp end of thrashing out desperately needed new policy frameworks.

FW DE KLERK

Deputy President: From hero to zero? Not really, but finding it difficult to make quite the same impact as before. Spending a lot of time defending the National Party's interests in the Government of National Unity. He still has a great taste for politics.

KADER ASMAL

Water Affairs and Forestry: Not given to brevity. Has signalled that he will be at the forefront of change in spite of somewhat obscure portfolio - appointment of team to probe change of dam names a case in point. Signalled in no uncertain terms that he will not be constrained by the tradition that Ministers stick to their own portfolios when making public comment.

SIBUSISO BENGU

Education: Generally low profile, partly due to illness. Will be expected to come with serious initiatives to reform this critical field. Already indications that interest groups are getting impatient, and he has responded with a promise of 'major announcements' soon. That had better be very soon.

PIK BOTHA

Mineral and Energy Affairs: Appears to have taken the move away from his beloved Foreign Affairs well. Showing a refreshing openness on changing petrol pricing structure but must be finding the diminished media interest tough.

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Home Affairs: What happened to the scowling Chief Minister? The picture of charm in Parliament, even has some in the ANC eating out of his hand. Hopefully he will take the mood beyond parliament and it will rub off on the people of KwaZulu/Natal. Is tackling his portfolio with vigour and obviously enjoying it.

DAWIE DE VILLIERS

Environment Affairs and Tourism: Missed an opportunity to make his mark during early days of Western Cape oil spill disaster by staying on overseas holiday. Has since failed to raise his profile, but said to be beavering away at his important portfolios.

DEREK HAMEKOM

Land Affairs: Calm, rational approach to the emotive issue of land just might help resolve the issue without too many tears. Has earned respect from even those on the right wing who are particularly wary of the ANC's intentions on land. Hard worker.

PALLO JORDAN

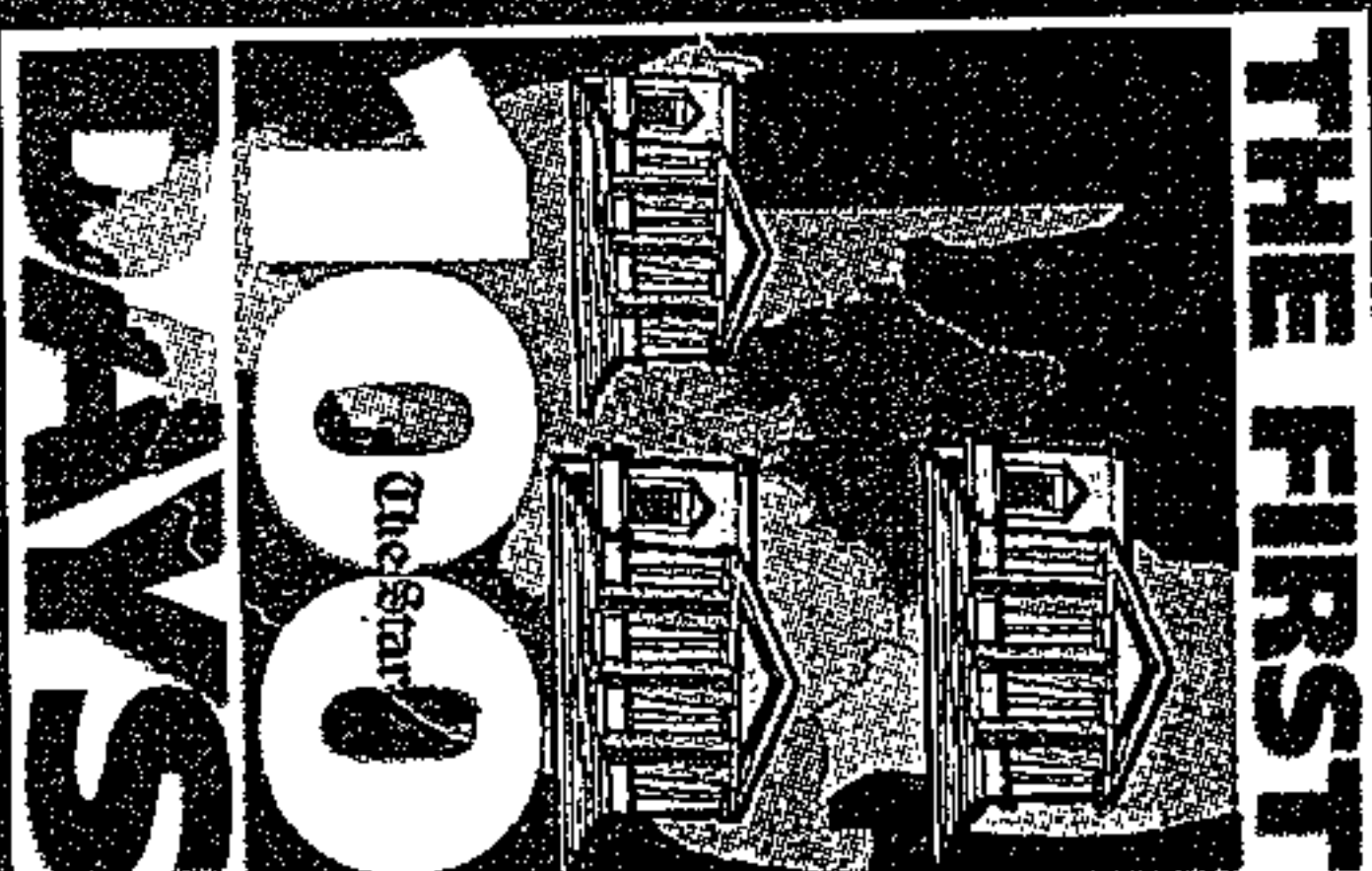
Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting: Has packed away the somewhat sarcastic demeanour that characterised his years as ANC information chief. His balanced approach to the SABC - where he has resisted any temptation to interfere - makes a refreshing change from years gone by. Handled difficult announcement of licence fee increases with aplomb.

DEREK KEYS

Finance: A pity that he is on his way out. His remarkable success as Finance Minister has been greeted with widespread acceptance - of the individual and his policies - by other parties, including the ANC. The Budget was once again a solid performance in spite of extraordinary pressures.

MAC MAHARAJ

Transport: Has brought his shrewd ways to the new job with considerable success so far. Another Minister who has signalled that he intends to be at the forefront of change. He will, however, have his hands full with the taxi industry.



How have the members of the new Cabinet done? After observing the Ministers at close quarters at Parliament, CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH offer a subjective scorecard

TREVOR MANUEL

Trade and Industry: By definition the job has required that he direct his attentions overseas. Beavering away busily and showing a good grasp of the issues. Hopefully he will not lose the early style that made him so popular in pre-power years.

TITO MBOWENI

Labour: Quiet but busy. Indications are that the new labour legislation being prepared under his guidance just might strike the elusive balance that has been missing in years gone by.

ROELF MEYER

Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development: Sees less of the limelight than during negotiations, but the new job is hardly less stressful as he juggles with demands from the provinces for new powers.

JOE MODISE

Defence: Blotted his copybook with court order against the Weekly Mail. Has since found himself in conflict with some in his own caucus over the defence budget. Might be tending towards a hawkish approach.

SYDNEY MUFAMADI

Safety and Security: The nice guy of the Cabinet has shown that he can be tough. Will need to be as he seeks to transform probably the most unpopular arm of government. Has chosen advisers well, but the continued presence of some of the old guard in his ministry is baffling.

SIPHISO MZINELA

Corrections Services: Some critics have accused him of continuing the tradition of freeing criminals with abandon. He was simply carrying out executive orders. Seems to be on top of his job, though.

JAY MABDOO

Minister without Portfolio: The villain of the previous establishment may become the darling of the present if the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) succeeds. Old antagonists appear to have been won over by his determined driving of the process, but the time is arriving for him to press down on the accelerator.

BEN NGUBANE

Arts, Culture, Science and Technology: May have the feeling that he was tossed into a shark tank. One of the more relaxed portfolios has proved to be testing thanks to Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela. Thabo Mbeki's intervention appears to have cooled tensions.

ALFRED NZO

Foreign Affairs: The Cabinet appointee who attracted the most criticism, but he can review the past 100 days with some satisfaction. The Department's plans for expansion are well advanced and it has taken great strides towards thrashing out new policy. Excellent deputy in Aziz Pahad.

DULLAH OMAR

Justice: Astute and determined, Omar looks the part, but his big test is yet to come: steering his plans for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission through the Government of National Unity. His pronouncements on the issue to date appear to have stiffened the resolve of those - most particularly in the National Party - who have reservations.

JEFF RADEBE

Public Works: An unglamorous portfolio - effectively the Government's estate agent - but Radebe has shown that he intends to raise its profile by launching an ambitious National Public Works Programme as part of the RDP.

STELLA SIGCAU

Public Enterprises: Another whose profile has been low. However, colleagues and diplomats are united in praising her initial efforts.

ZOLA SKWEYIYA

Public Service and Administration: Got himself into something of a mud-dile over the issue of contract staff for

Ministers. In attempting to answer questions on the issue in Parliament he sounded like some of his NP predecessors, some thought.

JOE SLOVO

Housing: Has swung rapidly into action and will probably complete the transformation of his department before many of his colleagues are out of the starting blocks. Plans for new housing projects pretty well advanced.

STEVE TSHWETE

Sport and Recreation: Who would ever have imagined that Tshwete would have had to step into cool tempers among the country's top rugby administrators? Pleasant man in a what should prove to be a pleasant job... once the rugby men have stopped their mauling.

KRAAI VAN NIEKERK

Agriculture: His amiable manner may prove invaluable as he deals with some belligerent farmers' groups. Conscious of the need to broaden agricultural interests.

ABE WILLIAMS

Welfare and Population Development: Has kept an extraordinarily low profile.

NIKOSAZANA ZUMIA

Health: Has waded into the smoking lobby and launched programmes for free child health care and Aids prevention. Appears set to be a success in an important job.

New challenges for Pahad's department

Star 17/18/94

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — There have been the international peacekeeping initiatives and the drug smuggling scourge. Not to mention the illegal immigration problem, and the AIDS situation on the subcontinent.

Just 100 days into its new mutation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has attracted headlines as it grapples with a range of problems.

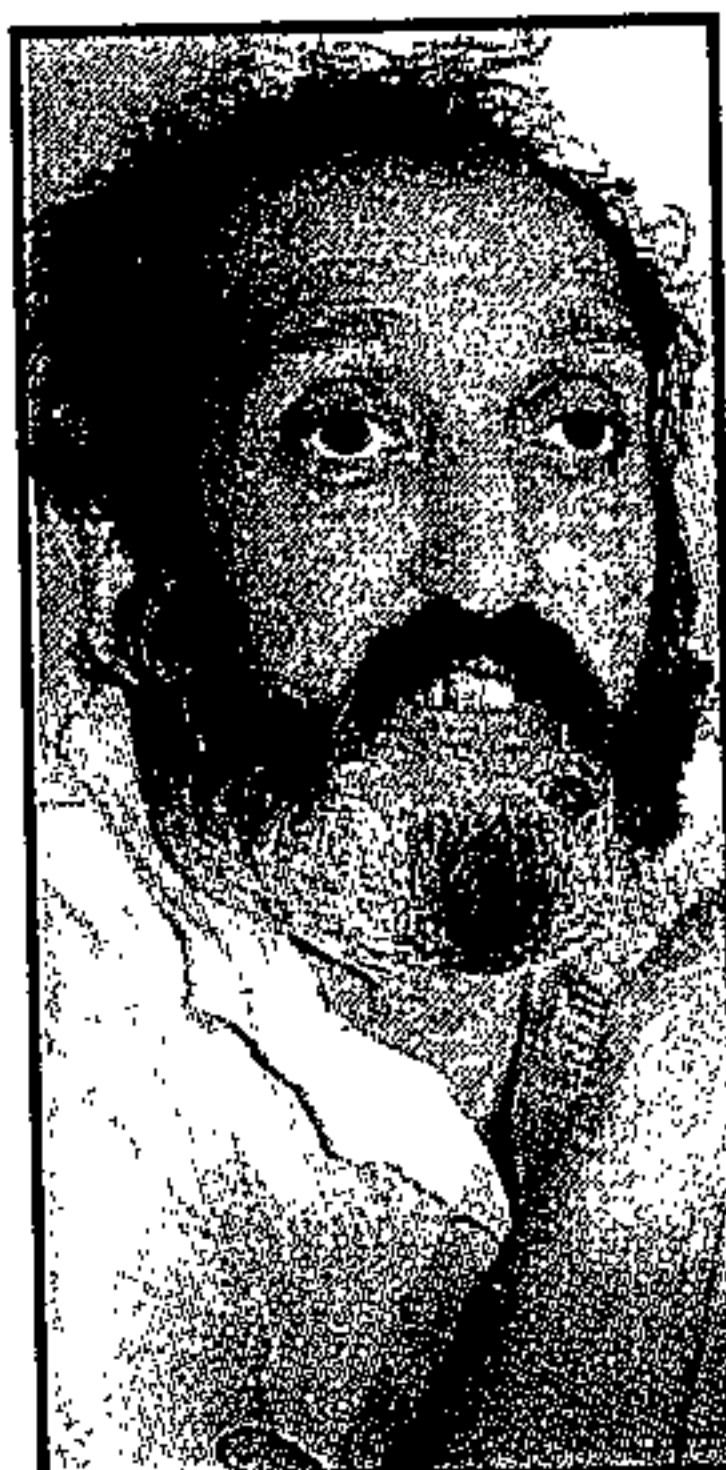
Now it is poised to turn its attention from a process of shaping policy towards one of carrying it out.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aziz Pahad acknowledges that the new department started on a favourable footing.

The Transitional Executive Council's subcouncil on foreign affairs helped pave the way by becoming "fully involved", he says.

Contacts with the European Union, the United States and Japan will be consolidated for trade advantages in spite of reservations from some within the liberation movements.

At the same time, however, the department is determined to tap whatever benefits can be obtained from those that applied sanctions on South Africa, such as the



Aziz Pahad . . . expanding objectives.

Scandinavian countries. The rest of the African continent will also be a priority. (30/11/94)
Pahad says the min-

istry has to confront five issues in attempting to make the new department something of a mirror image of the broader South Africa:

■ Accommodating the members of the ANC's international affairs department in its ranks.

■ Members of the liberation movements who were trained in diplomacy by foreign governments.

■ Thousands of new applications for jobs.

■ The members of the foreign services of the former TBVC states have — in terms of the constitution — to be accommodated in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

■ The so-called "political appointments". Pahad has indicated recently that the ministry is reluctant to change the balance between political appointees and career diplomats.

He is adamant the ANC will not propose appointments on a "jobs for pals" basis or as a thank you for services rendered. The "political appointees" would be required to make the service their career.

"We must restructure to meet our objectives," says Pahad. The change from almost total isolation to darling of the world has created new — not to mention expanding — objectives.

100 brave new days for South Africa

◀ From Page 1

crime, social conditions and the prospects of the economy remain the country's biggest worries, the GNU has, to its credit, unity behind the RDP, orderly transition in the armed forces and civil service, the effective neutralisation of the far right wing, consensus around new symbols, and a series of highly successful international forays.

Observers say the fundamental test is progress on the RDP, under the guidance of Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo.

Most departments are already preparing policy White Papers which will be expected to dovetail with the RDP programme.

The GNU Cabinet is, according to its participants, running smoothly and to date there have been no major crises in spite of hiccups.

President Mandela himself is adamant that the 100 days have gone extremely well. In an interview with *The Star* on the eve of his first 100 days in office, Mandela said: "There is no basis for saying the honeymoon is over. It has hardly begun. If there is anything that is required today, it is the continuation of the honeymoon."

Those who say the honeymoon is over do not understand the situation at all. They do not understand what is going on inside and outside the Cabinet."

The president conceded, however, that although he still enjoyed "maximum support" of the ANC's parliamentary caucus, there was a growing hostility among ANC parliamentarians towards the NP.

This, he said, explained his MPs' opposition to the sharing of the chairmanships of parliamentary standing committees with the NP.

Commenting on the first 100 days in office, Constitutional Assembly chairman and ANC party boss Cyril Ramaphosa said the three months had "gone extremely well" and "a lot had been achieved".

A key achievement was the deepening of the reconciliation process, he said.

Deputy President F W de Klerk endorsed Mandela's views on co-operation in the GNU, saying there was "a solution-oriented approach and a commitment to seeking consensus".

Constitution of the people

CT 16/8/94 (304A)

Political Staff

THE Constitutional Assembly yesterday unanimously adopted an ambitious plan to take the final constitution-making phase to the people and, in the process, assist with nation-building.

Parties, saying they wanted to avoid a repeat of the exclusive World Trade Centre negotiations, vowed not to allow a small band of politicians assisted by lawyers to dominate the constitutional process again.

Constitutional Assembly deputy chairman Mr Leon Wessels (NP) called on MPs to discard the confrontational nature of parliamentary debate, and, using compromise, draw up "a truly inclusive and homegrown constitution".

Some MPs warned, however, that by adopting a more inclusive

Ambitious plan for the nation

process, the 21-month deadline to draw up the final constitution would come under severe pressure.

DP senator Mr James Selfe cautioned against a repeat of the "pressure cooker atmosphere of the World Trade Centre" caused by deadlines.

Chairman of the 490-member Constitutional Assembly (National Assembly and Senate sitting together), ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, con-

ceded at the end of the four-hour debate "we may have to come back to the deadline issue".

The theme committees will report directly to the constitutional committee, or "engine room" as ANC MP Pravin Gordhan described it, which will comprise up to 50 MPs on a proportional basis.

Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the interim constitution turned out to be a report which resolved South Africa's problems of the past. "Now we can sit down and draft a real constitution," he said.

Mr Gordhan indicated that the most crucial issue facing parties at this early stage was whether the committee decide to redraft the interim constitution, or write a new one. However, parties, and even MPs within the parties, differed on the issue.

People questioning size of new government, says Moosa

VUYO BAVUMA, Political Staff

THE Constitutional Assembly should consider the size of the government as an urgent issue, says Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs Valli Moosa.

Speaking during the first sitting of the assembly yesterday, he said people had begun to question whether South Africa needed a 27-member cabinet and 90 senators.

"The public is questioning the costs of running the government."

The assembly should also address the role of parliament, especially the separation of the legislature from the executive.

The current interim constitution did not provide for a direct role of the provincial legislatures in drafting the final constitution, and the assembly should find a direct role for the provinces and local authorities, he said.

Local authorities had had no representation during the multi-party negotiations and their interests could have been overlooked.

Mr Moosa said the assembly should involve ordinary people in writing the

ARL 16/8/94 (304A)
constitution to ensure this process was not the preserve of lawyers and law barons.

Referring to the proportional representation electoral system, he said this was designed to elect an inclusive constitutional assembly to make it possible for the participation of smaller parties.

Freedom Front MP Corné Mulder said the constitution had to be a product of what was in the hearts and minds of all South Africans — not just the majority.

A balance had to be struck between effectiveness and involvement of the broader public.

Pan Africanist Congress MP Richard Sizani said the PAC would ensure the new constitution facilitated the change to a "truly non-racial, democratic and egalitarian" society.

NP MP Andre Fourie pleaded with the "vociferous" ANC not force any major changes in the constitution purely because it was the majority party.

ANC MP Yvette Myakayaka-Man-

zini said she hoped the parties which had boycotted the constitutional negotiations and elections would contribute during the constitution-making process.

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Walter Felgate said it would be foolish to reject the entire interim constitution because some of its aspects could be incorporated into the new one.

NP MP Boy Geldenhuys said the interim constitution was not ideal, but at least the majority of South Africans could live with it.

The assembly's task was to amend and improve it.

The Constitutional Assembly, chaired by Cyril Ramaphosa, passed resolutions approving new structures, procedures and rules.

Other motions related to the establishment of a Constitutional Committee to co-ordinate the process; drafting a framework for the new constitution; and appointing theme committees, technical committees and commissions.

Corruption watchdog 'must be independent'

(304A)

ARG 16/8/94

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress MPs want the Public Protector Bill amended to remove control of the powerful watchdog from the executive.

The select committee on justice today debated amendments to the bill.

Within ANC ranks there is concern that the public protector, who will have to root out corruption in public life, will have to investigate the executive branch of government and should remain independent of it.

The ANC was expected to oppose clauses of the bill which would allow staff to be appointed to the public

protector's office from the civil service.

The committee today agreed that the public protector will be paid at least the salary of a judge.

This is meant to enhance his status, and to forestall parliament acting against a public protector it dislikes by lowering his salary.

Committee members agreed the public protector should report to parliament at least once a year.

The provision allows the protector to report to parliament as soon as possible should an urgent matter arise or if officials or others refuse to co-operate in his investigation.

Constituent Assembly plans to take the constitution to the people

CAPE TOWN — The Constitutional Assembly yesterday unanimously adopted an ambitious plan to take the final constitution-making phase to the people and, in the process, assist with nation-building.

Parties, saying they wanted to avoid a repeat of the exclusive World Trade Centre negotiations, vowed not to allow a small band of politicians and lawyers to again dominate the constitutional process.

Constitutional Assembly deputy chairman Leon Wessels (NP) called on MPs to discard the confrontational nature of parliamentary debate and use compromise to draw up "a truly inclusive constitution". However, some MPs warned a more in-

DAVID GREYBE

clusive process would put severe pressure on the 21-month deadline to draw up the final constitution. DP senator James Selfe cautioned against a repeat of the "pressure cooker atmosphere of the World Trade Centre" caused by deadlines.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who is chairman of the 490-member Constitutional Assembly — the National Assembly and Senate sitting together — conceded at the end of the four-hour debate that "we may have to come back to the deadline issue".

Theme committees, consisting of about 30 MPs assisted by technical experts, will conduct countrywide public hearing on issues such as the Bill of Rights, government structures, the judiciary and security.

The committees will report to the constitutional committee which will be made up of up to 50 MPs on a proportional basis.

A tiny management committee will facilitate proceedings in the constitutional committee which will report to the Constitutional Assembly. The Assembly will sit on Mondays and refer matters to the constitutional committee for detailed negotiation. The committee will, "under the control and guidance of the Assembly", co-

ordinate the drafting of the new text and the work of all committees.

Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the interim constitution effectively turned out to be a report that resolved SA's problems of the past. "Now we can sit down and draft a real constitution." He singled out the Bill of Rights, provinces, government structures and proportional representation as the front runners for negotiations.

However the committee has first to decide how to address minority views. Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Felgate called for minority reports, cutting across party lines, to be accorded

the same consideration as majority reports — unlike at the World Trade Centre. If the committee could not agree on a common position on an issue, he said minority bills should be tabled in the Constitutional Assembly for final consideration.

Meanwhile, the Assembly has instructed the committee to draw up and submit "an outline of the envisaged constitution-making process", including principles and guidelines that emerged from the debate.

Pravin Gordan (ANC) said the almost crucial issue facing parties now was whether the committee would redraft the interim constitution or write a new one.

Process will also be transparent

'All to help write new constitution'

CONSTITUTIONAL
Assembly gets down to the nitty-gritty of constitution-writing, and decides to make it an inclusive process

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Constitutional Assembly (CA), getting down to its business of drawing up a new constitution for the country, agreed yesterday to broaden participation in drafting the final constitution beyond the parties represented in Parliament.

Parties were also unanimous in their support for a transparent constitution-making process.

The CA — comprising 90 senators and 400 MPs — is to write South Africa's final constitution before May 1996.

ANC MP Pravin Gordhan told the CA that the constitution-making process should involve all South Africans and "not just the powerful".

He said the smaller constitutional committee would be the "engine room" of the new structure.

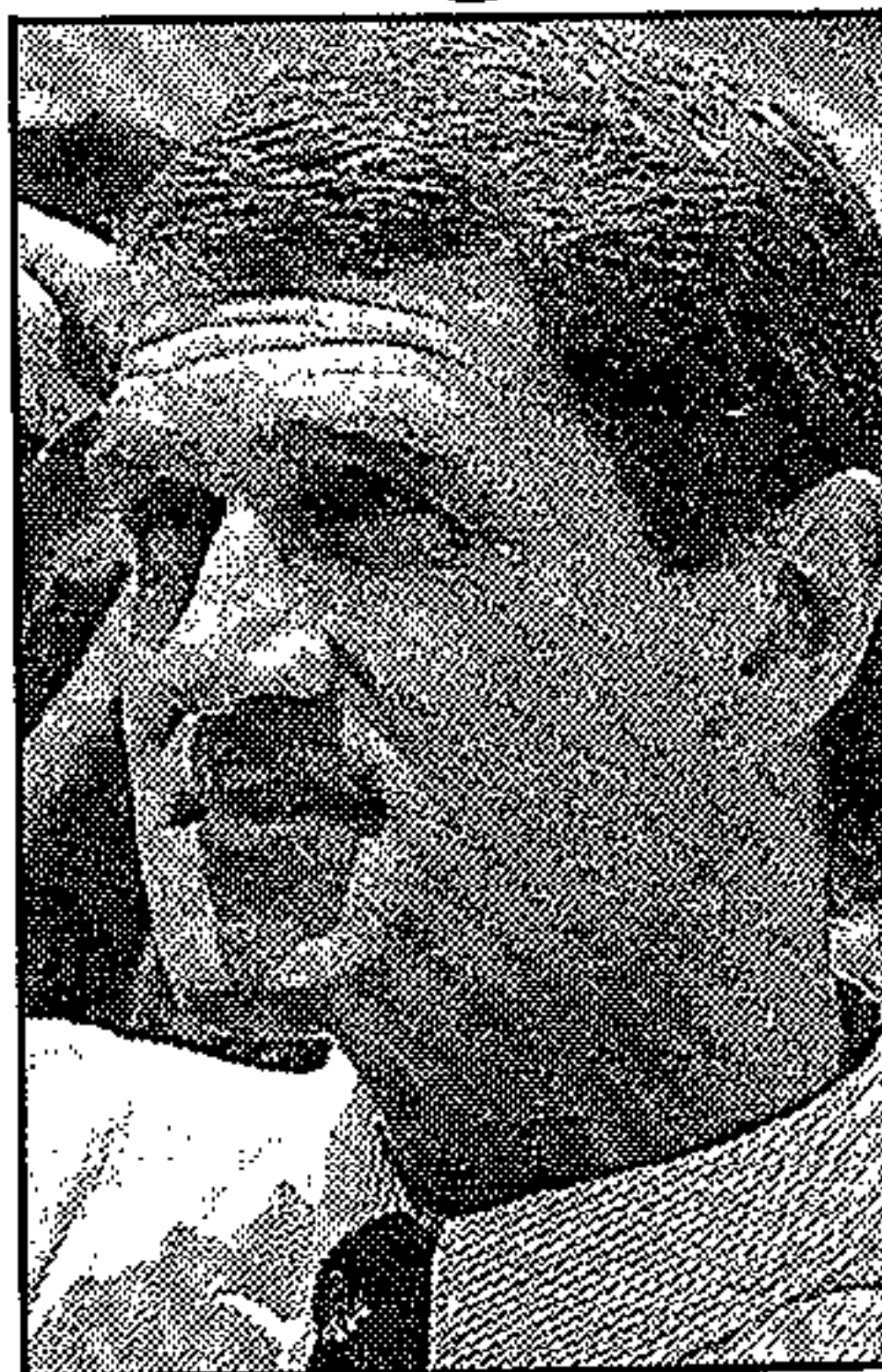
Cautioned

The various theme committees should also hear evidence nationally.

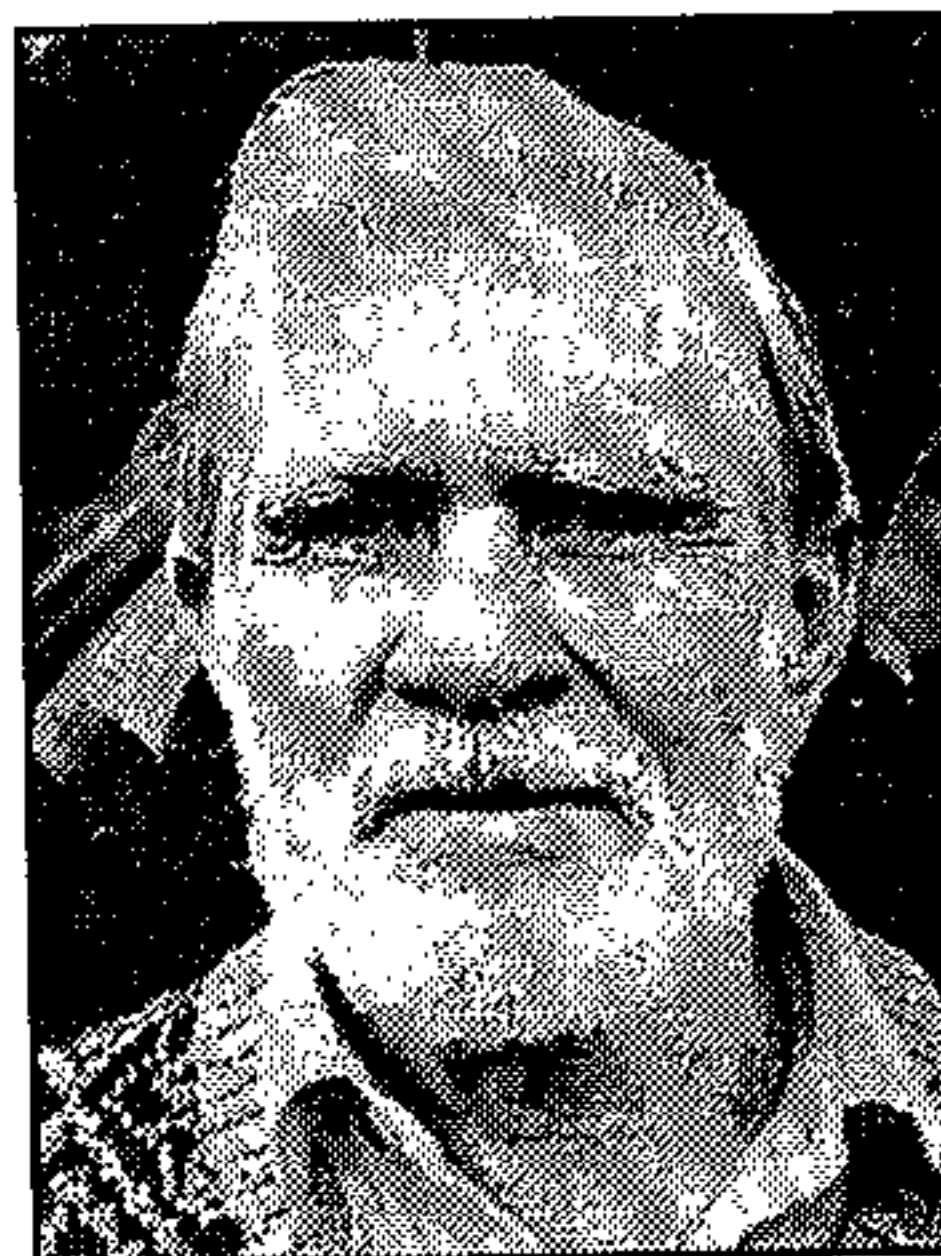
ANC MP Janet Love cautioned that these committees should facilitate debate and not be bogged down with details.

The final decisions, she said, should be taken by the CA.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer outlined several areas of the Interim Constitution which should be re-



Meyer ... need for constituency-based electoral system.



Felgate ... Interim Constitution must be replaced.

opened for discussion.

These included the absence of second and third generation human rights, the composition of the executive and the electoral system.

His deputy, Valli Moosa, said

the present electoral system of proportional representation was specifically designed for the election of the CA and was never intended to be a permanent system.

He and Meyer said there was a need for a constituency-based system.

Moosa also told the CA that rural communities and local government structures had been neglected in drafting the Interim Constitution, and should be included in the constitution-making process.

Arguing for an inclusive process of drafting the constitution, Democratic Party MP Colin Eglin said the final constitution should not be drawn up to satisfy the whims of any particular party but should meet the needs of the nation as a whole.

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Walter Felgate warned that the CA should avoid only "touching up" the Interim Constitution.

Best thing

The best thing about the Interim Constitution was that it had been made to be replaced, he said.

Felgate argued that minority reports should be allowed in the CA.

National Party MP Piet Coetzer also argued in favour of submitting minority reports on issues if it would avoid confrontational debates in the CA.

Water and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal said a total revision of the Interim Constitution was unnecessary.

He said the ANC would not dominate the CA and that agreements should be reached through consensus.

But, he said, the CA should also guard against "the tyranny of the minority".

Provincial premiers in Volkstaat meetings

STEPHANE BETHMA

PRETORIA — The Volkstaat Council yesterday embarked on a series of meetings with the provincial premiers to discuss the establishment of a volkstaat. The council met Free State premier Patrick Lekota in Bloemfontein yesterday and had scheduled meetings in the Northern Cape and Northwest for later this week, council spokesman JP van Rensburg said. No dates for the meetings in the other provinces had yet been confirmed.

Sapa reports Free State premier Patrick Lekota said it was clear that the Volkstaat Council had done thorough research.

The ANC now had to study the council's proposals, Lekota said after discussions with representatives of the council.

Volkstaat Council chairman Johann Wingard said that he was satisfied with the talks, and the council would have to continue its research and prepare proposals for the next meeting.

Meanwhile, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche lashed out at a proposal by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg that the Volkstaat Council be expanded to accommodate 20 Afrikaner Volksfront/CP members.

Hartzenberg also indicated the CP's preparedness to participate in the activities of the council.

His proposals followed a meeting with President Nelson Mandela last week.

Terre'Blanche accused Hartzenberg of political treason and said the AWB distanced itself from the proposals.

"These proposals are in contrast with the position Hartzenberg had to date maintained in public and also with the mandate he had received from CP and AVF members," Terre'Blanche said in a statement.

As the biggest active right-wing organisation in SA, the AWB demanded that Hartzenberg and the CP/AVF leadership tell the "volk" of their true intentions, Terre'Blanche said.

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CP asks to join Volkstaatraad

304A

CT 15/8/94

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Conservative Party — divided and marginalised by its decision to boycott the election — has decided to return to mainstream politics by joining the Volkstaatraad.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg has submitted a memorandum to President Nelson Mandela proposing the Volkstaatraad be expanded by 20 CP representatives.

The CP initially proposed a forum of government and CP representatives be established.

But when they met on June 13 Deputy President Thabo Mbeki urged Dr Hartzenberg to join the Volkstaatraad, as it had been established in

terms of the constitution to negotiate about an Afrikaner homeland.

The CP's right-wing is certainly to oppose Dr Hartzenberg's proposal.

During the April election the Freedom Front, formed after a split in the CP, drew 465 000 votes.

Last week Freedom Front chairman Dr Pieter Mulder said the FF estimated the CP still had between 200 000 to 400 000 supporters.

FF leader General Constand Viljoen welcomed the CP move yesterday, but questioned expanding the Volkstaatraad, pointing out that there were already CP members in the council.

Gen Viljoen also said he favoured National Party participation in the Volkstaatraad.

CP will stay in political realm — Hartzenberg

Star 15/8/94

Kimberley — The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, has reiterated that the organisation will remain a political party and never become a revolutionary body. (304A)

Hartzenberg was speaking in Kimberley during the Cape congress of the party at the weekend.

He said the party's decision not to take part in the April election was the correct one.

"By taking part in the

elections we would have given approval to a constitution that denies us self-determination in our own republic," he said.

Hartzenberg said the Afrikaner nation had gone through an enormous crisis during the election in which it had lost its fatherland.

"We have reached the turning point now and our people are starting to stand up."

South Africans had not yet witnessed the new South Africa.

"The new South Africa is one of poverty, hunger and unemployment."

"It is a country where factories are closing, crime is unprecedented and strikes are the order of the day."

Hartzenberg said the Afrikaner nation had another vision — "one where we are a free nation living in our own sovereign land, a technologically modern republic living in harmony with other countries". — Own Correspondent.

THE FIRST 100 DAYS

Nelson: We must tighten our belts



MUCH TO DO ... but Nelson Mandela has his
aims in focus Picture: DAVID SANDISON

STimes 14/8/94
By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela says his government's priority is to achieve a doubling of the economic growth rate and is discussing plans to "tighten our belts" to achieve this.

In an interview to mark his first 100 days as president, a lean Mr Mandela emphasised that addressing problems in the economy was the biggest challenge facing his government. His chief concerns were:

- The less than three percent economic growth rate predicted for this year;
- High levels of taxation which made South Africa uncompetitive;
- The huge public debt and continued high levels of government borrowing; and
- Sluggish local investment.

"We are looking at strategies to deal with these questions because even the Reconstruction and Development Programme will not be able to address the basic needs of the people unless these problems are addressed."

Mr Mandela said he was discussing these matters with Finance Minister Derek Keys and his successor, Chris Liebenberg.

"They are putting ideas to me which are going to require us to tighten our belts. I think we can convince our people to do so in order to ensure our economy grows."

Mr Mandela said that, despite assurances that the economic growth rate was catching up with population growth, he was not satisfied with the predicted rate of under three percent.

"I think it is lagging behind the growth of the population. What we require is a growth rate of about six percent. I will be satisfied with that."

Mr Mandela said while he was pleased with the R13-billion aid and investment packages

MANDELA'S BALANCING ACT: OPINION PAGES

announced by Japan, Britain and France, the low level of domestic investment was of concern.

"The critical issue is not the investment from outside, although we need it. It is the investment from inside the country."

"We have to reverse the process where R10-billion was sent out because our investors have no confidence in their own economy," he said.

This would only change, and had started to change, because people were beginning to have confidence in the government's new policies.

"We have to ensure our economy grows and, in this, we need the co-operation of various stakeholders," he said.

This would require addressing the "almost unacceptable" level of taxation and the over-borrowing by government.

"As long as the (level of taxation) remains so high, it is not going to be easy for us to compete with areas with a lower tax rate. It is also highly undesirable that we have such an enormous public debt," he said.

But grappling with economic problems has not been Mr Mandela's only concern during his first 100 days in office.

Periodically dabbing his eyes, which have not yet stabilised after his operation, Mr Mandela expressed his satisfaction with the progress made with the projects he promised to implement to kickstart the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

● The free medical health care for children under six and for pregnant mothers started on June 1. Teething problems were being addressed,

□ To Page 2

Nelson warns of tougher times

grammes and laying the groundwork to ensure free compulsory education;

● Resuscitating the National Economic Forum to enable business, government and labour to solve problems amicably;

● A revision of the excessive number of national holidays;

While his future priorities would be determined by further resources, Mr Mandela said the government would give urgent attention to:

● A strategy to reverse the brain drain;

● Adult literacy pro-

available to kick-start the programme, but we have added R1.7-billion to that amount."

Expressing his satisfaction with the successful working relationship he has with his colleagues — he calls them "allies" — in the government of national unity, Mr Mandela voiced his pleasure with the posi-

□ From Page 1

he said;

● The schools feeding scheme in primary schools would start on September 1 and plans to meet this deadline were in place;

● About 100 000 new connections had been made by Eskom in June;

● Plans for urban and rural renewal had been completed.

"We said originally that we had R2.5-billion funds

● A strategy to deal with illegal immigrants;

● Upgrading the hostels and the housing programme.

But, apart from being president, Mr Mandela is also the leader of a volatile and enthusiastic organisation. He will be spending every Monday at the ANC's Shell House offices to attend to organisational concerns.

Politicians who lost touch with their organisations were making a grave mistake, he said.

Vote-hungry DP looking for credible black leaders

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party has embarked on a search for credible black leaders, and has listed five potential candidates that its members believe could help it win votes in a future election among the majority of South Africans.

A report to the party's PWV Strategic Planning Committee meeting, which was attended by leader Tony Leon last weekend, included the names of:

- Former Inkatha secretary general Oscar Dhlomo;
- Economist Eugene Nyati;

- Former homeland leader Enos Mabuza;
- Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste, and;
- Former Sowetan editor Joe Latak-gomo.

DP provincial MP Jack Bloom, who attended the workshop, said the names were merely suggestions, and no approaches had been made.

Former British Conservative Party chairman Norman Tebbit was described in the report as having the sort of "common touch" the party was seeking. Mr Tebbit established a reputation as a rabid

anti-Europe Thatcherite and a political streetfighter in the 1980s.

Provincial MP Peter Leon, who chaired the weekend meeting, said: "Just as Norman Tebbit represented a strand of the Conservative Party not prominent previously, we need someone who can improve our image."

The report contained a frank admission of the party's election problems, including: "Tactical voting by whites, coloureds and Indians; non-existent support in the black community; confused and poor leadership at a national level."

The 1999 election battle would be fought between liberal democracy and social democracy. "In layman's terms, this means small government versus big government," the report said.

The ANC's supporters would become increasingly disillusioned and the NP — "a pseudo-liberal party with a record of profligate government" — would never attract a significant portion of black voters, the report said.

The DP needed to establish itself as South Africa's only liberal democratic party, the report said.

Back in the fold

CT 11694 (3047)

LONDON. — South Africa rejoined the Commonwealth as its 51st member today, mending a 33-year-old rift and opening the way to a rich interchange at all levels with its fellow member states.

Parties across the spectrum yesterday welcomed South Africa's return, with President Nelson Mandela saying his country was looking forward to making a positive contribution to the body.

"The decision taken by the Commonwealth secretariat yesterday was a tribute to the momentous changes that have taken place in South Africa to which the body had contributed," he said.

Members will enable South Africa to establish close contacts with 30 countries in all parts of the world, not only at government level but with NGOs and sport, professional and cultural associations. Most immediately, South Africa will be able to participate in the Commonwealth Games in Victoria, Canada, later this year.

A 33rd anniversary of the 1960-1993 period will be held at Westminster Abbey on July 20 in the presence of the Queen Mother to mark South Africa's return to the association. Archbishop Desmond Tutu will participate in the service.

Queen Elizabeth, Prince Charles and members of the South African government and other Commonwealth countries will afterwards attend a reception hosted by Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

Chief Anyaoku said at a press conference yesterday it was "with a special sense of joy" he announced the country's return to the Commonwealth and committed the organisation to immediate participation in South Africa's reconstruction and development programme, particularly in human resource development.

"The end of apartheid and the dawn of freedom in South Africa has been a climatic moment, and one which the Commonwealth has been proud to play its part in bringing about.

"The return of a non-racial democratic South

Africa, working alongside the other 50 members of the Commonwealth, is a boost for the association, not least in the task of making the world safer for diversity. The people of South Africa can also count on the support of their fellow Commonwealth members in the great task of reconciliation and reconstruction which lie ahead."

SA ambassador Mr Kent Durr — whose title changes from today to High Commissioner — was delighted, saying it marked a new beginning in South Africa's relations with the Commonwealth.

HOW SOUTH AFRICANS GAIN

SA IN NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

— Page 2

It ends our isolation, and when taken together with our full acceptance into the United Nations and our accession to the Organisation of African States, it means South Africa is fully restored to the international community. It will allow us to project our influence through the Commonwealth and allow us to meet our international responsibilities."

Inkatha, the NP and DP last night welcomed South Africa's readmission to the Commonwealth.

But Freedom Front Natal deputy leader Mr Duncan du Bois said there was little symbolic significance in the move. The Commonwealth had ceased to be a body of stature a long time ago.

"It's a collection of heaving bowl states casting around their former mother (Britain)."

DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said there would be economic and emotional benefits from re-entry. "It will remove the barriers of isolation which have determined our thinking for decades."

The economic interchange between a wide diversity of nations at varying degrees of development would make us more aware of trade opportunities "helping us to become internationally competitive".

— Own Correspondents, Sapa-Reuter



FORTY WINKS . . . Mr Ben Ruppington drove to Newlands rugby grounds from Upington on Monday night to get tickets to the SA-England Test match next Saturday. He and his dog bedded down for the night in the back of his truck — where he was found early yesterday. Mr Ruppington was one of about 70 fans who waited from about midnight for the ticket office to open.

Picture: ANNE LAING

leader pleased with negotiations

Hartzenberg

Sowetan 11/6/94

'very satisfied'

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela and some of his colleagues are positive that the Afrikaner nation should be accommodated, Afrikaner Volksfront leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday. (SAPA)

He told a news conference at Donkerhoek, near Pretoria, the AVF's aim was to come to a settlement on an Afrikanervolkstaat within the next two years while the new constitution was being finalised.

He was very satisfied with negotiations with the Government so far, he said.

The forum created for negotiations on a *volkstaat* between the AVF, Freedom Front and Government was a peaceful route to attain the *volkstaat* goal.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was not taking part in the

activities of the AVF, he said.

Very few people attended the Republic Day festivities at the Radio Pretoria premises at Donkerhoek, but Hartzenberg ascribed this to poor publicity.

● Ds Mossie van den Bergh, Radio Pretoria management committee chairman, told *Sapa* at the gathering that the station would consider undisclosed "alternative methods" if the broadcaster had not been granted a licence by the end of June.

The station was in the process of applying for a licence to the Independent Broadcast Authority.

"We decided to obey the rules and play the game until the end of June. If it seems our efforts to obtain a licence are unsuccessful we will consider alternative methods," he said. — *Sapa*.

SA set to rejoin the C'wealth

South Africa 11/6/94

■ FREEDOM DAWNS Boost for

Commonwealth and South Africa:

LONDON — South Africa will rejoin the Commonwealth today after a 33-year absence resulting from the racist apartheid regime that was wiped out with last month's first free elections, Secretary-General Mr Emeka Anyaoku said yesterday.

He told a Press conference at Commonwealth headquarters here that the return followed "the end of apartheid and the dawn of freedom in South Africa."

"The return of a non-racial democratic South Africa, working alongside the other 50 members of the Commonwealth, is a boost for the association, not least in the task of making the world safer for diversity," said Anyaoku.

South Africa dropped out of the Commonwealth by default in 1961, the year it ended its constitutional monarchy headed by Britain's Queen Elizabeth, and became a republic.

At that stage, according to Commonwealth rules, it would have had to reapply for admission as a republic and, faced with clear reports that such an

application would be rejected because of apartheid, it chose not to apply.

After yesterday's announcement, Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Mr John Major sent congratulatory messages to South African President Nelson Mandela, and the British Foreign Office said it was "a gold letter day for the Commonwealth and for South Africa".

Completeness

Anyaoku said the return of South Africa to the fold had brought the Commonwealth "a very long way toward completeness," but said it was not yet complete.

"I won't rule out the possibility of one or two other countries joining," he said, referring to Fiji and Cameroon, whose applications are pending.

Fiji, a member until 1987, was forced out because of a change of government and constitution "which ran counter to the basic ethos of the Commonwealth," said Anyaoku. "I hope and expect that in due course ... Fiji will find its way back." — *AFP-Sapa*.

focus on Mandela

Sowetan 11/6/94

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela so badly wants a peaceful and united country that he has declared himself prepared to go down on his knees and beg rightwing extremist leader Eugene Terre'Blanche to help further the peace process.

Mandela has since his inauguration met with the leaders of all political parties, his chief aim seemingly being to convince each that they had something to gain by throwing in their lot with him and his Government.

These groups vary from the Azanian People's Organisation, which made a contribution to into the struggle against white domination but boycotted the elections, to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, who as a liberation movement fought alongside the ANC but did so badly in the elections that it was not entitled to a Cabinet seat.

Mandela has also met Democratic Party leaders, Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen and Conservative Party boss Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Cabinet posts were mooted for the PAC and Azapo, while the FF now has its *volksraad* or council, a body to be given the job of producing a coherent plan that will show the feasibility of the concept of a separate *volkstaat* for Afrikaners.

But Hartzenberg and Viljoen do not necessarily have armed men bombing targets all over the country. This seems to be Terre'Blanche's domain — hence his spurning of the approach to him, saying amnesty for his alleged bombers should come first.

The Mandela plan has been paying dividends. Azapo has said it will support Mandela's Government where State policies benefit the historically disadvantaged black people. No formal offer has been made for a Cabinet post but it is clear the organisation will not be able to take that up without contradicting itself in the process.

Exiled comrades

But the organisation will still be able to make use of its interaction with Mandela to ensure a safe return of its exiled comrades of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, and the possible inclusion of its soldiers in the new army of the country.

The PAC has said it is willing to take up a Cabinet post but nothing has been offered as yet. They have, however, been given 6 000 army positions for their fighters, an important issue in these tough times in the job market.

Possibilities are also being mooted for diplomatic postings as well as senior jobs in the civil service for PAC members.

Mandela has gone even further and offered to amend the constitution in order to broaden the Cabinet, "(to) bring about unity in our country".

Speaking soon after meeting PAC president Clarence Makwetu in Cape Town last Thursday, Mandela said: "We are busy on an initiative intended to bring about a unified approach in dealing with questions that are of concern to the

President Mandela's efforts to involve everyone in the running of the new South Africa even includes talking to leaders on the far right. Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** takes a closer look at Mandela's strategy:



President Nelson Mandela meets with Ferdi Hartzenberg at the Union Buildings.

people of South Africa. (3044)

Referring to his talks with Conservative Party boss Ferdi Hartzenberg, Mandela said he had made "a great deal of progress".

This progress relates to the inclusion of the CP in the discussions on the feasibility of a *volkstaat*. Mandela, it has to be said, has won over the CP in so far as they have at least been willing to sit down and talk.

He still has to do the same with the AWB. And that, it seems, will be the major test, for while Mandela can argue that he is willing to go on his knees to attain national reconciliation, the demands by the AWB could leave the president open to accusations by his own people of selling out.

Already, there are accusations that he is more concerned with white fears and how to assuage these than with the concerns and aspirations of the people who elected him to office.

Whether this accusation is justifiable or not is not the issue, as Mandela's plan seems to hinge on his belief that reason will ultimately prevail.

In this connection, the agreement with the FF and the CP to look into the feasibility of a *volkstaat* is based on Mandela's belief that the geographic entity of such a concept is impossible to achieve.

If the *volksraad* and the CP were also to come to that conclusion, it would be the end of that concept, and the two would find themselves suddenly fully behind a centrist government.

It is this belief by Mandela that made him boldly state on Monday that if the two organisations were to come with a good argument for a *volkstaat*, his Government would be prepared to change its policy to accommodate the concept.

Mandela seems to have taken this position only because he thinks it will never be necessary for him to satisfy the conditions. For if it were possible and an area had to be declared a *volkstaat*, it would go against his previous undertaking that no *volkstaat* will ever be created in this country.

The big question, therefore, might actually be what the Government should do with the AWB. Would it be right, in the interests of national reconciliation, to grant the recent bombers amnesty or release Janus Walusz and Clive Derby Lewis after the murder of Chris Hani?

These are the vexing questions that evoke emotions that may be too difficult for Mandela to deal with — even if he might personally be willing to go on his knees in front of Terre'Blanche.

SA returns to the Commonwealth

BIDAY 11/6/94

LONDON — SA rejoined the Commonwealth as its 51st member today, mending a 33-year old rift.

SA was also admitted to the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) at a conference of foreign ministers in Cairo yesterday.

SA's membership of the Commonwealth will enable it to establish close contacts with 50 countries in all parts of the world, not only at government level but also at the level of non-governmental organisations and sports, professional and cultural associations.

Most immediately, SA will be able to participate in the Commonwealth Games in Victoria, Canada, in August. (304A)

President Nelson Mandela said SA's readmission was a tribute to the momentous changes that had taken place, as well as a challenge for SA to play its part in the worldwide quest for a peaceful, harmonious and caring world.

"The SA government is looking forward to making a positive contribution in the various fields of endeavour pursued by the Commonwealth," he added.

A multifaith service of thanksgiving and dedication will be held at Westminster Abbey on July 20 in the presence of the Queen Mother to mark SA's return to the associ-

LINDA ENSOR

ation. Archbishop Desmond Tutu will participate in conducting the service.

Queen Elizabeth, Prince Charles and members of the SA government and other Commonwealth countries will attend a reception after the service hosted by Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Eme-ka Anyaoku in the grounds of Marlborough House, the headquarters of the Commonwealth secretariat.

Anyaoku said at a news conference yesterday that it was "with a special sense of joy" that he announced SA's return to the Commonwealth. He committed the organisation to immediate participation in SA's reconstruction and development programme, particularly in the area of human resource development.

He said SA's return was a boost for Commonwealth members who were struggling with different forms of pluralism. SA would also bring a great potential for participating in technical assistance and co-operation programmes.

SA ambassador Kent Durr — whose title changes from today to High Commissioner — was delighted by the development, say-

□ To Page 2

Hartzenberg pleased by talks

BIDAY 11/6/94

PRETORIA — President Nelson Mandela and some of his colleagues were positive that the Afrikaner nation should be accommodated, Afrikaner Volksfront leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday.

Sapa reports he told a news conference at Donkerhoek the Volksfront's aim was to reach a settlement on an Afrikaner volkstaat within the next two years while the new Constitution was being finalised.

He was very satisfied with negotiations with government so far, he said.

The forum created for negotiations on a volkstaat between the Volksfront, Freedom Front and government was a peaceful route to attain the volkstaat goal.

Ethnic violence was the most important source of violence and it was necessary

that this be addressed to secure investments, Hartzenberg added.

At least two-thirds of Afrikaners and a "substantial number" of NP supporters wanted self-determination, he claimed.

If the Afrikaner nation was free it would put everything into developing the nation and the country as a whole. (304A)

There were many practical problems in the way of attaining a volkstaat but those should be solved through negotiations.

The AWB was not taking part in the activities of the Volksfront, he said.

After a report-back to his constituency, he would contact Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen about the tripartite negotiating forum for a volkstaat.

□ To Page 2

CP leader hopeful about volkstaat

Star 11/6/94

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday he hoped for a settlement on a volkstaat within two years.

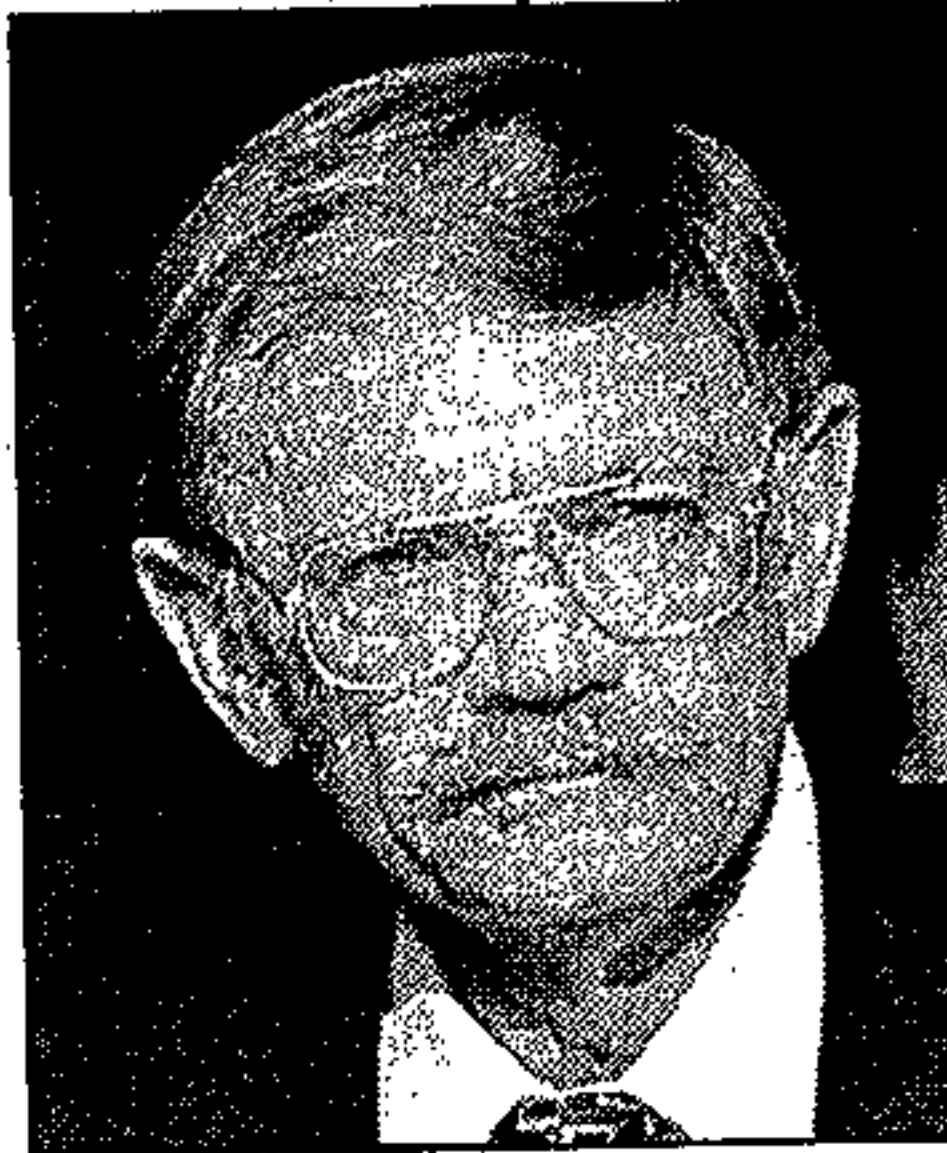
Speaking at a poorly attended Republic Day rally at Radio Pretoria at Donkerhoek near Pretoria, Hartzenberg said the establishment of a volkstaat would advance peace.

South Africa was experiencing an "unnatural peace" in the wake of the country's first all-race polls, he told the crowd of about 70 rightwingers.

"The reality is in terms of the Interim Constitution, the new constitution must be written in two years... I think it is necessary that we aim to come to a settlement in that time frame," Hartzenberg said, adding that he was "very satisfied" with negotiations towards a white homeland. (304A)

"We have always said we prefer the peaceful option. The Afrikaner nation is not violent, it is not aggressive..."

"I think President Mandela and his other colleagues are positive that the Afrikaner nation



Satisfied... Hartzenberg prefers the peaceful option.

must be accommodated," Hartzenberg said.

Mandela and Hartzenberg told a news conference on Monday they had agreed to talks which would include Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen on the issue of a volkstaat.

Mandela said during his election campaign there would be no separate white state in South Africa during his lifetime. — Reuter.

■ BY ALAN ROBINSON
MICHAEL SPARKS
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

South Africa's return to the Commonwealth, announced simultaneously in London and Pretoria yesterday, has been hailed as a "boost and a blessing" for both the 51-nation organisation and the Republic.

It would lead, said Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku in London, to immediate involvement by member nations in the new government's Reconstruction and Development Programme.

An international donor conference arising from Commonwealth interaction with the Republic is already scheduled for September.

In Pretoria, a delighted President Mandela said membership of the Commonwealth was "both a tribute to the momentous changes that have taken place in our country, as well as a challenge for South Africa to play its part in the worldwide quest for a peaceful, harmonious and caring world".

Benefits

South Africa's membership takes effect today. Immediate benefits include the facilitating of trade with and travel to other member nations, participation in the powerful Commonwealth heads-of-government meeting (CHOGM) held every two years and in the Commonwealth Games.

South Africa is almost certain to take part in this year's Games, to be held in Canada.

South Africa will also become eligible to host future Games and the CHOGM.

Speaking at a press conference at Commonwealth headquarters in London's Marlborough House, Anyaoku said discussions about assistance over a wide area were already under way with Pretoria. These would build up to the major international donor conference at an as yet unspecified venue.

He hoped that the return of the Republic to the fold would encourage other countries like Fiji and Cameroon to join.

Anyaoku said South Africa would be expected to contribute 350 000 sterling (about R1.8 million) a year to the budget of the Secretariat.

Other financial assistance would be on a voluntary basis.

MANDELA delighted as once-prodigious Republic is welcomed back to the 51-nation fold after 33 years

He declined to spell out all the practical benefits membership would have for South Africans, but said it would give them far more freedom to travel. They would be able to visit many countries without being "looked on with suspicion" when they produced their passports. (304A)

He concluded: "South Africa has gone through a historic transformation. Great tribute is due to its people. It has been a lesson to the world. It was incumbent upon the Commonwealth to welcome it back. It was the least we could do."

Mandela thanked other member states and Anyaoku for the "expeditious manner in which our application was processed".

"The South African Government is looking forward to making a positive contribution in the various fields of endeavour pursued by the Commonwealth," said Mandela.

Another benefit of membership is the relaxing of work permit conditions for people aged under 26 when they are in other member countries.

The Commonwealth is a collection of independent countries that were once British colonies. There are a further 25 political units such as territories and dependencies which also belong to the organisation. The Commonwealth covers about one-quarter of the earth's surface.

While most of the member countries are politically independent, all recognise the British monarch as head of the Commonwealth, while Britain and about 15 other countries also regard the Queen as their head-of-state.

Decisions taken at the CHOGM are non-binding on member countries.

The Commonwealth Games are held every four years and are only open to teams and individuals from the Commonwealth.

There are athletics and swimming competitions at each Games but the other eight sports vary each time.

SA is back in the

Commonwealth to help convene donor conference

Star 11/6/94

Club

Pretoria to take UN seat in spite of R363m debt

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — South Africa now seems certain to resume its seat in the United Nations General Assembly on June 23, even if the problem of its contribution arrears remains unresolved.

Assembly President Samuel Insanally said the UN charter included a provision that a member in debt could vote if the world body was satisfied that the failure to pay was due to conditions beyond the control of the member.

In an interview, he termed South Africa's exclusion for the past 20 years a special case, but he questioned whether a majority of members would want to support a proposal being floated by

Finland that would entirely write off the debt of a Rost \$100 million (R363 m).

“(30/10) 11/11/77/1944
“Even South Africa has not proposed that,” said Mr Insanally.

Before he assumed the presidency, Nelson Mandela told a television interviewer in New York that he believed the new government should pay whatever the UN asked of it.

Mr Insanally said that as a result of talks last week during Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's UN visit, there might be phased payment of arrears.

Bertram Collins, the Assembly president's chief of staff, said that all that was needed for South Africa's return

was a positive report by the credentials committee, which is taken for granted, and a report by the committee against apartheid that all objections had been overcome.

The committee is to submit its report after visiting South Africa under the chairmanship of Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria.

Although it had been thought that Mr Mandela might head the delegation for a big ceremonial occasion or at least install a black delegation leader, diplomats said a lower key event seemed more likely.

Ambassador Jim Steward, who was a

member of the delegation led by Carl von Hirschberg that was ejected on a credentials challenge in 1974, may head the returning delegation.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is among those who have envisaged a major role for South Africa in Africa and also at world level.

Indications are that the South African government has its own priorities which may not include such ambitions.

A suggestion that South Africa would be a natural choice for election to the Security Council for a two-year term beginning on January 1 is reported to have found little favour in Pretoria.

Goldstone calls for transparency

STEPS were needed to prevent police abuses of the past being continued under a new government, Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday. **21/6/94**

The full truth about the police and army's dirty war against black liberation groups had to be disclosed.

"There's a question of analysing a system that allowed those things to happen," he told foreign correspondents at a lunch.

"The system is changing, it hasn't yet changed. The same system is still in place. I don't believe one can replace a bad system with a good system if one doesn't know why the previous system was bad." This could not be analysed fully "if one doesn't have the truth coming out. If that happens, then one can really talk about having proper checks and balances with regard ... to the security forces."

Widespread indemnity from prosecution should be offered to persuade people

to testify to a truth commission about past abuses, he said. **BIDAY**

The ANC has proposed setting up a truth commission to investigate human rights abuses by security forces and ANC members alleged to have tortured their comrades in military camps in exile.

Goldstone said he would not be prepared to serve on such a commission as many people would see him as biased because of his third force probe.

He said there was little need for his own commission of inquiry into political violence to continue beyond the end of its three-year term in October. The commission was essentially a transitional institution and political violence had declined considerably since the election.

"One of the aspects I think was important was that the peace process wasn't limited to the leadership ... there were institutions that brought people together at grassroots level." — Sapa-Reuter.

Commonwealth status 'essentially symbolic'

CAPE TOWN — SA's membership of the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement was more symbolic than anything else, government and diplomatic sources said yesterday.

A diplomat said it was "essentially part of the normalisation of SA's international position, and therefore desirable". It would not become a financial burden, he said.

A Foreign Affairs source said SA's membership of the two world bodies "has political importance, but not a lot of economic gain". **(BOKA)**

Another diplomat said SA's readmittance to the Commonwealth after 33 years' absence and its admission to the Non-Aligned Movement was "symbolic — but nothing more. It is significant only in that it confirms SA's full readmittance to the international community".

While the Commonwealth was really nothing more than a club, membership of the Non-Aligned Movement did not mean much in the post-Cold War era, he said.

SA's obligatory contribution to the Commonwealth Secretariat budget — estimated at about R30m a year — would be R1.8m annually. "The financial costs are really only peanuts," political affairs head at the Secretariat office in London, Max Gaylard, said yesterday.

However, he said SA would eventually be expected to "voluntarily" contribute between R10m and R15m a year to Commonwealth assistance programmes.

Britain contributed about half of the annual Commonwealth budget, while Can-

DAVID GREYBE

ada, Australia and New Zealand made up the bulk of the other half, a diplomat said.

Gaylard insisted SA would get "much more" out of the Commonwealth than it put in. For instance, R2.5m of Commonwealth funds were used during the recent elections to provide "electoral experts".

Commonwealth Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku, announcing SA's readmittance this week, said it would lead to immediate involvement by other member nations in SA's reconstruction.

An international donor conference, to be hosted jointly by the UN and the Commonwealth, was scheduled to be held in SA in September, a diplomat said.

SA was expected to send a "compact team" of between 60 to 80 athletes to take part in the Commonwealth Games in Victoria, Canada, from August 18 to 28.

Our Durban correspondent reports that SA's new Commonwealth status does not entitle South Africans with British grandparents to automatic citizenship, as reported yesterday.

However, a spokesman for the British consulate in Johannesburg said Commonwealth status would allow South Africans with British grandparents to enter the UK for four years without a work permit. After four years they could apply for an extension of their temporary residence, and thereafter, citizenship through naturalisation after five years.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

VOLKSTAAT COUNCIL

Road to Gaza

President Nelson Mandela remains committed to accommodating the political aspirations of the white Right within broadly acceptable constitutional parameters but the creation of a fully fledged *volkstaat* remains extremely unlikely.

An agreement this week between Mandela and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, however, to set up a forum to negotiate issues still worrying the rightwing points to a possible compromise.

It was also announced that indemnity for rightwingers, including those involved in bomb attacks on the eve of the general election, will be discussed between the CP and Justice Minister Dullah Omar.

The CP will participate in a tripartite forum with government and the Freedom Front to discuss the possible creation of a *volkstaat*.

Hartzenberg says his meeting with Mandela at the Union Buildings in Pretoria was successful. "Procedures have been put in place to make progress and I'm optimistic there is no need for violence to achieve results."

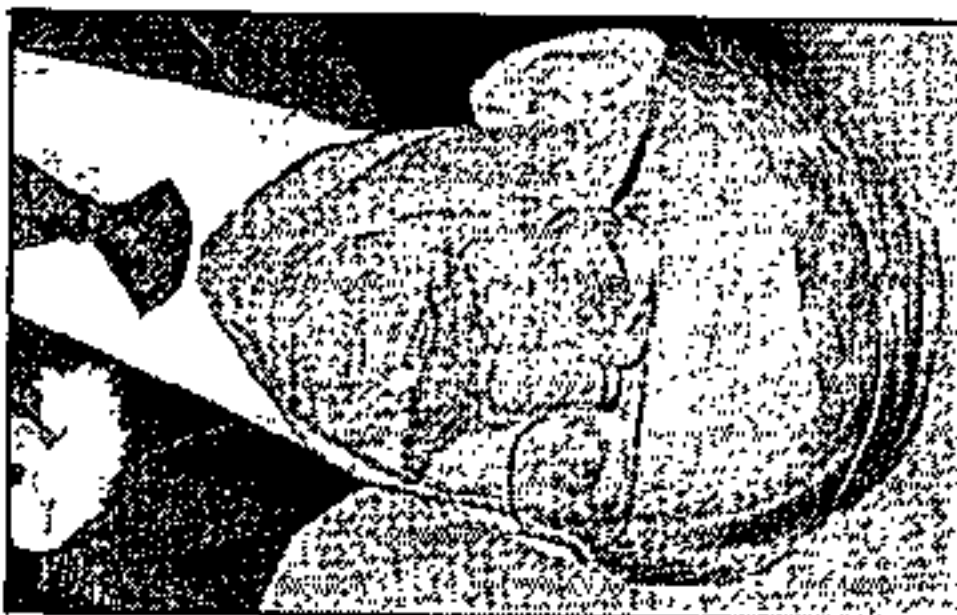
Last week Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen announced the names of a 20-member Volkstaat Council set up in terms of

the interim constitution.

The council will investigate the feasibility of a *volkstaat* and its powers. It is expected to present its report to parliament within nine months.

Members of the council represent various rightwing organisations but it is being boycotted by the CP which wants direct talks with government.

Viljoen says the 650 000 votes won by the Front at provincial level in the April election, plus the estimated 500 000 CP supporters who boycotted the poll, constitute solid backing for the *volkstaat* idea.



Hartzenberg

He says in spite of the peaceful transition to democracy and the new government's commitment to build a nonracial and nondiscriminatory nation, the issue of self-determination for Afrikaners needs to be resolved. If it is not dealt with as soon as possible it could develop into a crisis that may result in conflict.

There is no indication of how the Volkstaat Council will tackle its task but the challenge of establishing an economically

viable geographical area in which Afrikaners are in the majority seems impossible. There is no chance of blacks being moved out of an area to engineer a white majority.

Volkstaat campaigner and Front member of the Northern Cape provincial legislature Carel Boshoff acknowledges the dilemma but says it must be resolved. He says Afrikaners must insist without compromise on the creation of a *volkstaat*. He believes Afrikaners are in a similar position to Jews at the beginning of the century. They achieved recognition of their state by negotiation but the only way in which they could make it their own was through occupation.

Boshoff says the first phase after the identification of the *volkstaat* must be the establishment of agriculturally based Boere kibbutzim.

Capital for the purchase of land and development of infrastructure is being accumulated in a *volkstaat* investment fund established by supporters of the idea.

It is ironic that, while Boshoff compares Afrikaners wanting a homeland to Israelis, Hartzenberg sees more similarities in the plight of Palestinians.

Speaking after a meeting of the Afrikaner Volksfront at the weekend, he said Afrikaners were in a similar position to Palestinians before their recent settlement with Israel.

Rightwing times they are a-changing

The rightwing is adapting: Commandant Ratte has left town, the HNP has deracialised its constitution, and the CP is divided over the Volksstaat Council, reports **Jan Tajaard**

THE rightwing is adapting to the new South Africa — but in some weird and wonderful ways.

Some former radicals are on their way to sell doughnuts on Graecian beaches; others have left for the bomb-strewn pastures of yore (Angola). One has been deported to stand trial for rightwing crimes; still others are confident of getting a *volksstaat* within two years; and the "whiter than white" Herstigte Nasionale Party has "opened" up its ranks to other races.

Well, as for the last, not quite. In keeping with the structures of the new constitution and the Bill of Rights, the HNP has struck all references to exclusive white membership from its own constitution. But prospective members will still have to be true to all the HNP has stood for during the last 25 years.

Inside the Afrikaner Volksfront/Conservative Party grouping, an internal storm is raging on whether to participate in the government-sanctioned Volksstaat Council or whether to continue the *volksstaat* struggle outside these structures.

Well-placed rightwing sources tell of a recent meeting of the CP's executive council where feelings ran particularly high between the two opposing groups. While CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg was reportedly in favour of allowing individual CP members to participate in the Representative Volksstaat Council (RVCC), he was vehemently opposed by hardliners such as former MPs Schalk Pienaar and Jurg Prinsloo.

A motion supported by Hartzenberg, that members be allowed to participate in the RVC in their individual capacity, was eventually defeated at the meeting.

With several members of the AVF's executive already participating in the RVC, this has caused further disarray within the AVF/CP. According to a source sympathetic to the CP, this has led to a "trickling away of supporters from the AVF/CP to Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front."

But while circumstances may at the moment favour Viljoen, his acid test will come when supporters become impatient for the RVC to deliver. Viljoen may still have a real task ahead of him in trying to prove the RVC is not just a body established to soothe the rightwing.

For the truly militant, the times they are a-changing as well. The Pretoria Boerekommando Group (PBKG), regarded as one of the most militant movements of the transitional period, has for all practical purposes fallen apart.

Commandant Willem Ratte, leader of the

PBKG, has apparently opted out and left for Angola, where he is allegedly involved in UNITA's ongoing fight against the MPLA government.

The still defunct Radio Pretoria has also contributed to the demise of the PBKG. Protection of the rightwing station has, for more than a year, been the driving force behind the PBKG.

After a failed attempt by the militants to take control of the station, even the caravan park on the terrain — once the stronghold of the PBKG — has virtually emptied.

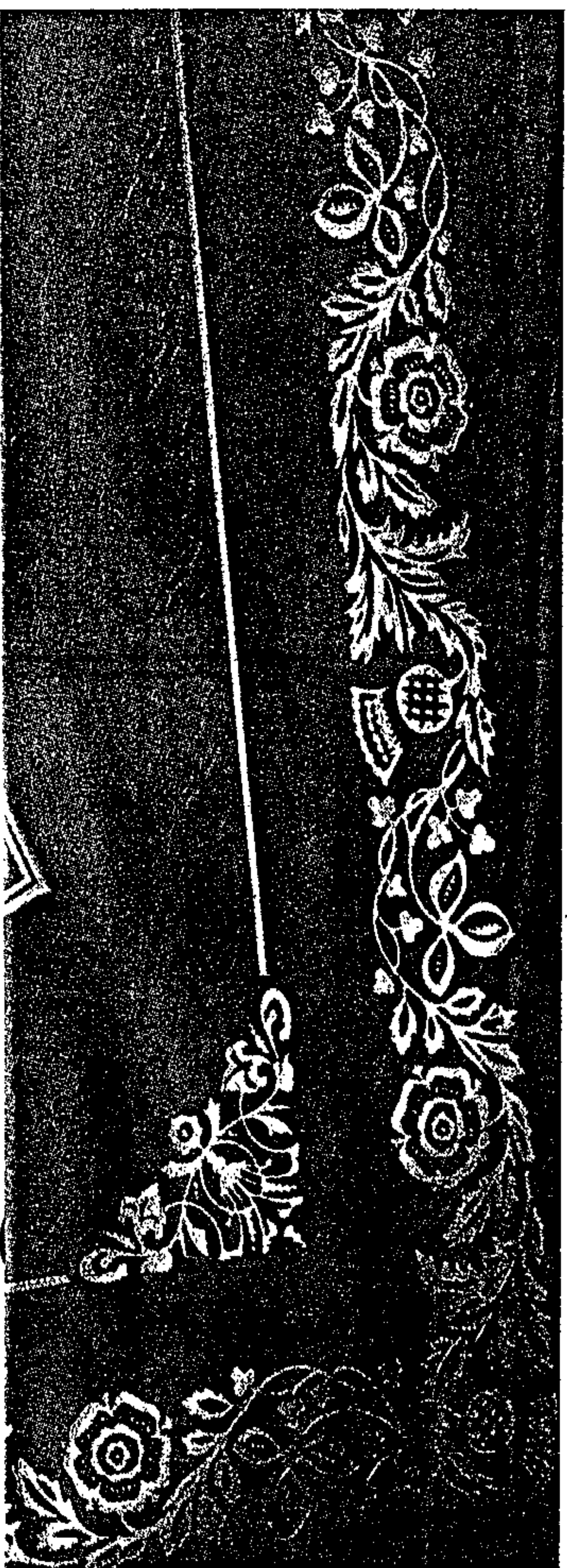
Some of Ratte's former commandos in arms — at least one of whom had participated in the ignominious occupations of Fort Schanskop and Fort Wonderboom — have decided to take the fight to the beaches.

This time around, though, the struggle is not for a *volksstaat* but for the rather more prosaic goal of economic survival: they will be selling doughnuts to tourists. Remarkable one: "The rightwing will be dead for another year or so... I'll rather go and sell doughnuts in the meantime."

Since the elections, those other militants, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, have also been keeping a low profile. Apart from brief court appearances by some of its members, the movement and its usually volatile leader are quiet. Rumours of discontent inside its ranks, if true, have also not yet bubbled to the surface.

For the moment, the future does not bode well for its short-term resurgence. Apart from the disappearance of its political raison d'être with the advent of the new South Africa, the AWB may also be looking at looming economical troubles. Over the past few years membership fees and collections have kept the AWB afloat as a kind of self-generating cottage industry. With its active membership seriously dented by political events, the money may not be flowing into the AWB coffers that readily any more.

As one way remarked when he surveyed a molley gathering of AWB supporters listening to Terre-Blanche shortly after the elections: "These people can't sign debt orders..."



FF to consider referendum

■ BY DUNCAN GUY

Freedom Front MP Piet Mulder said today that President Nelson Mandela's reported willingness to hold a referendum for white Afrikaners seeking a volkstaat would be considered by his party.

In an interview with Reuter news agency, Mandela mentioned the possibility of an all-white referendum.

"We want to allow Afrikaners to express themselves on this issue," Mandela said.

However, he added: "We have made no commitment on this question."

Asked if a whites-only referendum would be needed to test Afrikaner desires, Mandela said: "The whites, the Afrikaners will have to vote, because if we throw the matter to the country as a whole, they will have an excuse and say no, this is a matter that has been decided by communities other than ourselves."

"If the Afrikaner community as a whole, or the majority, is in favour of a volkstaat, our view will take one form. (304A)

"But if the majority of the Afrikaners say they do not want a volkstaat, then we will take a different view," said Mandela.

Mulder said the election had

already shown there was "sufficient" support for a volkstaat which, according to the constitution, meant that the issue could not be ignored.

"But we are not negative about a referendum," he stressed.

Mulder said 640 000 people had voted for the concept at a provincial level in the election.

"The election was also polluted by many National Party votes by people who chose to vote against the ANC," he said, adding that possible volkstaat supporters also included 200 000 to 300 000 people who never voted at all.

The high cost of acceptance

WM 3-9/6/94 (304A)

Mduduzi ka Harvey

SOUTH AFRICA'S newly found international status in the United Nations and other bodies could cost the taxpayer over R400-million for this year.

The country's acceptance to the UN will be the most damaging to our coffers as South Africa owes the organisation \$100-million after it's credentials were withdrawn by the General Assembly in 1974. The debt has accumulated over 20 years after the government decided not to pay its annual fee in retaliation for the UN's decision.

Besides the outstanding payment, as a full member of the organisation the country will be expected to pay over R50-million

annually to the budget of the UN.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Jacques Malan explains the purpose of the fee: "This money will be split in two. Part of it will go into the UN's regular budget, while the rest will be for peacekeeping purposes".

The country's acceptance into the Organisation of African Unity was received with joy country-wide, but the cost for membership will vary between \$12 and \$15-million. "The amount will depend on the OAU's scale of assessment. They will find out our per capita income and Gross Domestic Product to determine how much we have to pay. It will depend on how rich the country is," said Malan.

As from Tuesday the country also returned to the Common-

wealth after 33 years and, as part of the 51 nation organisation, South Africa will have to pay R1,9-million. This money will go towards the organisations Secretariate.

Least of the country's membership fees will be participation in the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) and the South African Development Conference.

Explaining why, South African Institute of International Affairs spokesman Anthoni Van Niekerk said: "We won't have to pay a membership fee in the NAM. There will be no money involved because the NAM does not have an administrative structure, it only consists of a series of meetings. If the SADC does require a fee it will be very minimal".

Govt to pursue right-wing talks

CT 8/6/94

3049

JOHANNESBURG. — President Nelson Mandela yesterday said his government would pursue negotiations with right-wing whites in spite of criticism from his supporters.

"In negotiations with representatives of the far-right parties we have found a new determination to resolve problems by peaceful means," he told a gathering organised by the National Peace Secretariat.

"We do differ and differ sharply. But it is our obligation to ensure that these differences are thrashed out in rational discussions."

Many of his supporters believed

that by talking to the right-wing the ANC was conceding too much.

"They (our supporters) forget that when we launched the peace process the National Party was in the same position as the right-wing today. Today the NP is part of the government," he said.

"Our obligation is to draw their attention to those issues that bind us... the government will continue to pursue this course with a patient determination. We recognise the moral and historical obligation to ensure the wounds of the past are healed." — Sapa

We want to be force for good, says Nzo

GERALD L'ANGE
The Argus Foreign Service

TUNIS. — South Africa will seek to become part of a movement to create a new form of economic and political interaction in Southern Africa, based on the principles of mutual benefit and interdependence, says Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo.

He was addressing the Organisation of African Unity for the first time since South Africa became a member last month.

"Small as we are, we want to be a force for good," Mr Nzo said. "We will join hands with all nations who seek peace, freedom

□ South Africa's vision for future explained at OAU summit

and prosperity and whose primary motivation is respect for the dignity of the human person.

"We are painfully aware that in pursuit of those noble objectives we have much to do within our own borders.

"That is why we regard it as of critical importance that a culture of human rights be established and promoted in South Africa and throughout our continent."

Mr Nzo was given a warm welcome when he took the podium on the opening day of the foreign ministers' meeting that precedes the OAU heads of state summit.

After saluting those who had fallen in the struggle for freedom in South Africa, Mr Nzo posed the question of what the government of national unity was going to do with this freedom.

"The primary point of departure is a commitment to a better life for our people," he said.

This was why the reconstruction and development of the country "will occupy the centre stage of my government's attention".

"We simply have to create the conditions and provide the resources and opportunities to dramatically improve the quality of

life of tens of millions of our disadvantaged people who are looking expectantly at the new government for leadership. We cannot fail them.

"We have not come through years of sacrifice and struggle to see our efforts end in failure."

Mr Nzo added: "For us in South Africa it is a wonderful feeling to know that we are at last part of Africa."

Opening the conference, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim noted that in spite of great efforts by Africans, the socio-economic situation of the continent

had continued to decline.

He called on Africans to pool their efforts and resources to put into action programmes that had already been formulated and especially to build an African economic community.

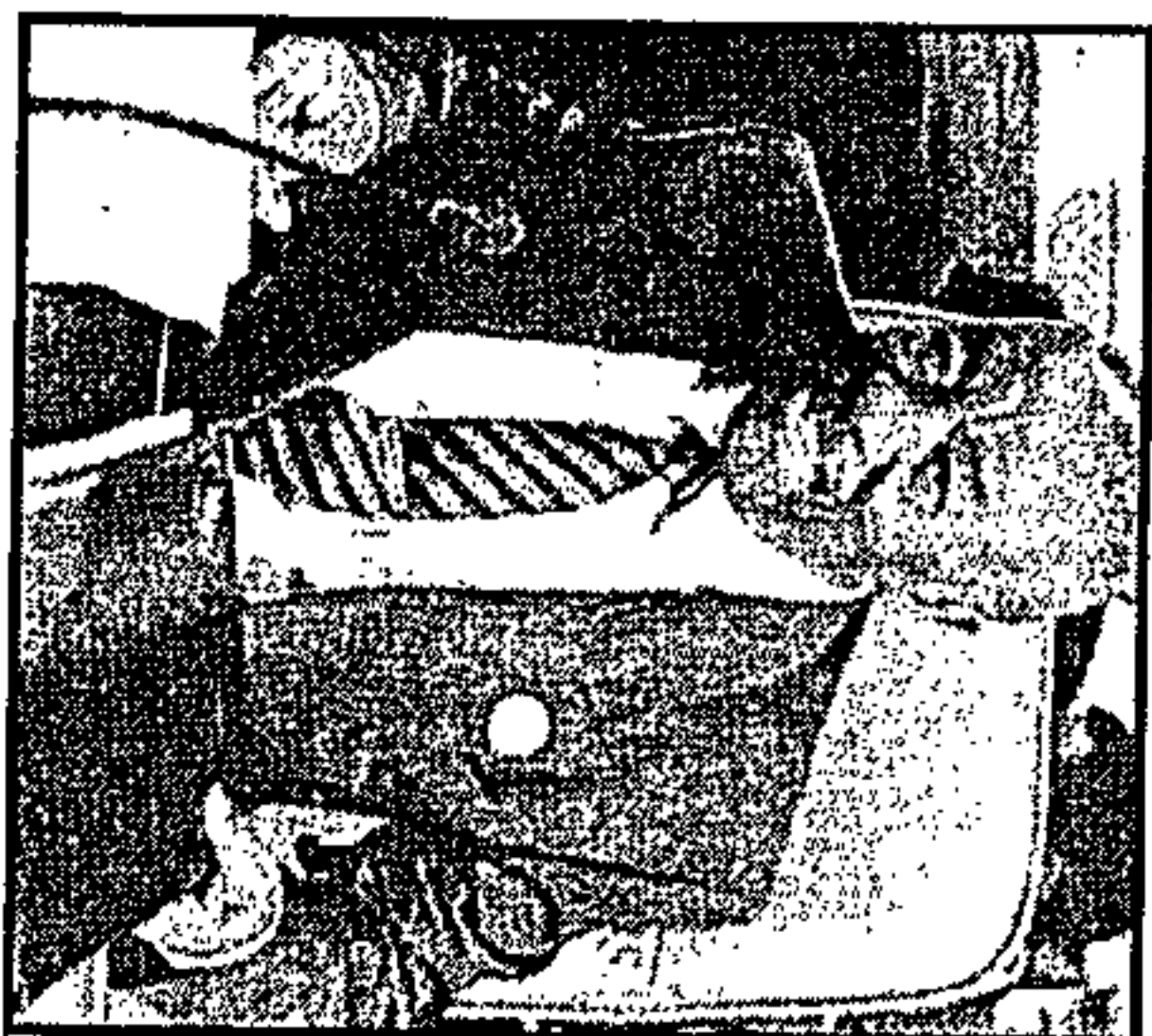
On the issue of implementing the mechanisms for conflict prevention that was agreed to at the previous OAU summit in Cairo, Mr Salim appealed to the international community as well as to OAU members to contribute generously to the OAU Peace Fund to enable it to respond swiftly to conflict situations.

He said, however, that the OAU must continue to insist that the UN, the body entrusted with maintaining international peace, should shoulder its responsibilities "and in doing so it should not make exceptions when it comes to situations of conflict in Africa".

Mr Salim described the situation in Rwanda as "a challenge to the conscience of humanity".

"It is again brought to the fore the limitations on the ability of the international community, and of course Africa, to respond decisively to a crisis of such a magnitude and intensity."

"It also raised the need for Africa to work harder internationally to ensure that its concerns were addressed."



'SEEKING PEACE: Alfred Nzo in Tunis.

Volkstaat committee named

The Volkstaat Council, which will make recommendations to the Government on an Afrikaner homeland, held its first meeting at the Freedom Front office in Pretoria yesterday.

The 20-member council opted for a pilot steering committee rather than a chairman to head its structures, said Constand Viljoen, son of FF leader General Constand Viljoen.

The steering committee comprises Kobus Visser, a member

of the committee of generals who led the Afrikaner Volksfront; Koos Reyneke, a demographer who drew up several maps of the proposed volkstaat; and Johan Wingard, a Transvaal farmer. (304A)

Viljoen said two representatives of the Ministry of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs had attended.

The Conservative Party, which boycotted the April election, had rejected an offer to join the

council, said council member Joseph Chiole.

Many council members had abstained from voting.

"Many of the council members didn't vote in the election, but realise that if they want a volkstaat, this is going to be the only way," Chiole said.

The council was formed to investigate borders for a possible Afrikaner homeland and to make recommendations to the Government. — Reuter.

focus on far right

Sowetan 16/6/94

A FIGHT FOR THE heart of the Afrikaner has broken out within the ranks of the extreme rightwing movement. And at the centre of the battle is who should represent the aspirations of the extreme rightwing in the deliberations over the possible existence of a *volkstaat*.

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, whose party boycotted the elections and called for war against the new political system, has eaten humble pie and now wants to become a part of a legal process led by President Nelson Mandela.

In doing this, however, Hartzenberg insists on muscling out Freedom Front boss General Constand Viljoen and relegating him to second place.

Hartzenberg preconditioned his participation in discussions about a *volkstaat* by insisting that those discussions should not be within the ambit of a *volkstaat raad* or council initiated in terms of the new constitution by Viljoen.

Consequently, Mandela, in an attempt to get things going, agreed to the creation of a tripartite forum to include his Government, Hartzenberg, and Viljoen's *volkstaat raad*.

So far so good, until Viljoen, a shrewd military strategist who saw through the plan, rejected the forum and insisted that any plan relating to a *volkstaat* should be discussed and approved by his council.

Effectively Viljoen was saying the CP should come out openly and denounce its previous stand and join his body. He was prepared to accommodate them in the council, he said.

One of his MPs was however more blunt, and was quoted as saying: "They (CP) have felt the cold of the desert and are now trying tricks to come in from the cold." And the CP have indeed been undergoing a metamorphosis over the past few weeks. From the hard-line positions of war against the "communistic" new constitution to a situation where Hartzenberg refers to Mandela as the President is nothing short of St Paul's Damascus Road experience. Hartzenberg, leader of the "volk", and president of the "Boer republic", has in the past few months been saying nasty things about the new order:

- March 18 in Bloemfontein: Every attempt must be made to make the constitution unworkable.

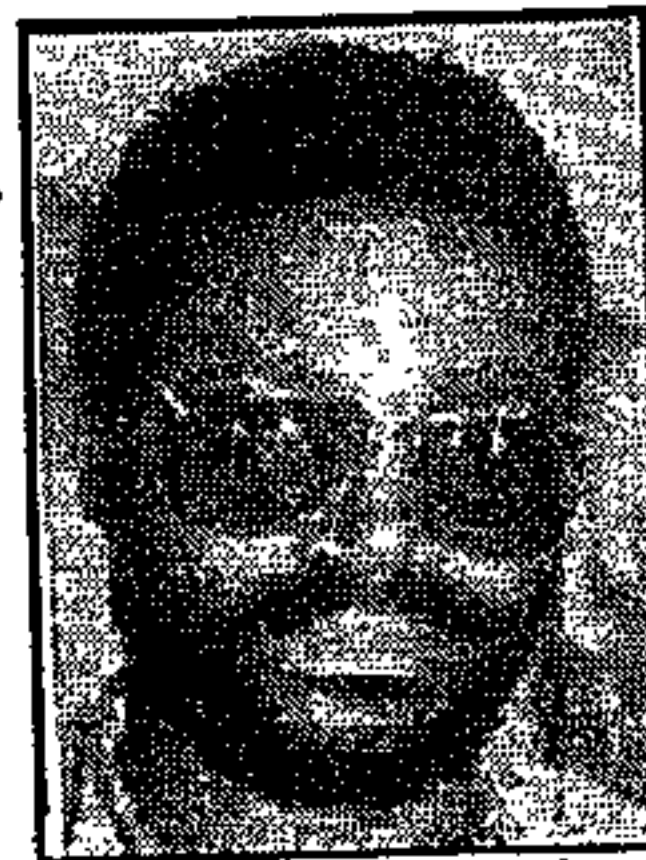
- March 22 in Pietersburg: We and the Zulus must stand together to render unworkable the constitution of South Africa's new communistic Government.

Last week he told *Rapport* that his meetings with Mandela were because peace had descended on the country and the CP could not now say it wanted to create problems.

Rapport also reported yesterday that Hartzenberg had initially tabled a motion in his executive committee calling for permission for CP members to take part in Viljoen's council "in their personal capacities". The motion was rejected by 60 votes to 10, *Rapport* said.

This attempt by Hartzenberg, had it suc-

A battle for the right to lead Afrikaners into their 'promised land' has erupted. Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg is eating humble pie and General Constand Viljoen has seen through his plans. **Mathatha Tsedu**, Political Editor, reports:



General Constand Viljoen and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg ... together again?

ceeded, would have solved the CP's problems of isolation, but would also effectively have meant the death of the party in favour of Viljoen's FF.

For the caucus to reject the idea on the one hand but agree to sitting with the FF in the tripartite forum on the other, can only make sense in the context of the preservation of the party's name — effectively, being seen as not joining Viljoen, but working with him as equals.

Toning down (30/4)

Questions are being asked about what led to this toning down of the CP opposition to the new system. A toning down that has now seen it was moving away from the *Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging* (AWB). Many see it as a result of the utter failure of the rightwing resistance plan that had been mooted, and were to have begun with the town and city councils aligning themselves with the CP-led rebel republic.

The promised war, that was to rock South Africa to its foundations, fizzled out after a few bombs and the arrest of about 35 alleged bombers. Meetings of the CP and other rightwing organisations have attracted smaller and smaller crowds while many erstwhile supporters voted for the FF. The AWB meeting in Rustenburg to rededicate the "volk" to continue fighting for the preservation of the white man in late April drew a small crowd, while Hartzenberg's Republic Day meeting at Radio Pretoria drew about 70 people.

Concern for the detained and sentenced rightwing prisoners is also seen as one motivation for the thawing of the CP attitudes. Hence the amnesty talks dominating the negotiations.

But above all, observers say, the white far right has now realised what the National Party foresaw long ago, namely that, handled well, the new order would not affect white interests detrimentally. Since the advent of Mandela as President, white opulence has continued as has black poverty. White-owned land, which constitutes 100 percent of arable prime agricultural land, is safely ensconced and guarded by the Bill of Rights.

Farmers still pay their illiterate and over-worked employees the slave wages they were paying in the days of a white-led Government. And there is no mechanism in sight to alter this. Put simply, there is no compelling reason for any white person to fight this new order. What is needed is a strengthening of the white lobby for the protection of present rights, and such lobbying can best be done through institutions such as the *volkstaat raad* or the tripartite forum.

While this may be good for the Government because it defuses the white rightwing problem, creating even mini-wars within their ranks as they battle for support, the latter consideration bears the seeds of a larger problem: A problem where black people may also see the new order as the old order dressed differently, with Mandela no more than just the new captain.

ELECTION COSTS SOAR OVER INKATHA'S LATE ENTRY

By CYRIL MADLALA

THE cost of the April election has ballooned from R700-million to more than R1-billion, largely because of Inkatha's belated decision to take part.

It was confirmed this week that the Department of State Expenditure had allocated a further R301-million to the Independent Electoral Commission.

IEC spokesman Paul Bell said the organisation was busy reconciling its financial expenditure, and records

would be submitted to the Auditor-General for a final audit before the end of the month.

The IEC was originally allocated R700-million to run South Africa's first democratic election in April, but costs spiralled when IFP stickers had to be printed and distributed, and more polling stations had to be established at the last minute.

Although the IEC had not yet settled all its bills, Mr Bell said there was no

need for panic as the organisation was in the process of completing all payments. These included advertising costs and salaries. (304A)

Mr Bell said much of the equipment used during the election was obtained on a "buy-back" scheme or hired.

It would not be possible to indicate what the exact total election bill would be before the report to the Auditor-General had been finalised, Mr Bell said.

South Africa must not beggar her neighbours

NEVER has foreign policy been so important. Now, more than ever before, foreign policy must be an extension of domestic policy.

The new international order is dangerous and complex and is no longer controlled by the structures of the bi-polar Cold War. In many ways, Africa is a microcosm of this "postmodernism". Authoritarian regimes, failed economies, civil war and now genocide all have conspired against the creation of stable, multiparty democracies.

With crime and poverty on the rise everywhere, countries are less able to guard against the spread of vice and malice across their own borders, while the instability of one country is increasingly a problem for those countries that surround it.

This is particularly so in southern Africa, where cultural, historical and linguistic bonds tie people across borders and where, through decades of internal wars and strife, populations have become increasingly fluid.

That workers from as far afield as Malawi and Zaire, as well as refugees from Angola and Mozambique, continue to flock to South Africa, is a prime indicator that South Africa has a vested interest in the stability and well-being of these countries.

The postmodernist motif of fluid borders and interconnected domestic circumstances reflects in many ways the current malaise of the region.

In short, richer countries ignore poorer countries at their own peril.

There is a risk that the enormity of South Africa's domestic reconstruction may cloud out a larger vision of regional upliftment. If policymakers were to say "let us get our own house in order first", not only would the effect be to exclude the region, but South Africa in many senses would be working against what it hoped to achieve at home in the name of peace, stability and reconstruction.

3049 ARB 4/6/94
■ As South Africa seeks to rebuild, its reconstruction programme could be imperilled by a lack of vision on the part of foreign policymakers. This is the warning from two international analysts doing research in Cape Town.

RICHARD CALLAND and DAVID WELD

Indeed, there might be a lurking danger that South Africa might embark on a new type of isolation, born of exclusive self-focus and manifested in a safe and nondescript approach to foreign policy.

The RDP is an exciting and ambitious plan to close the gap between the haves and have-nots. It was born of South Africa's first democratic elections and is built on the foundations of a functioning, effective democracy.

Peace and stability is required if there is to be the economic growth needed to sustain this programme of social change.

This domestic policy provides, then, the template for the regional policy: For the region, too, functioning and effective democracies are the prerequisites for peace and stability, which are, in turn, the conditions necessary to achieve the real economic growth necessary to implement dramatic social change.

It is in the "vital interest" of South Africa, therefore, that it follows a regional policy that protects, rather than threatens, the RDP, to invoke Henry Kissinger's principle of what should guide foreign policymaking.

The adage "foreign policy begins at home" is usually applied in order to check a more expansionary and visionary foreign policy, rather than to sustain one. The underlying assumption is that foreign policy is fundamentally different from domestic policy and the two must be kept separate.

This approach, however, does not account fully for a world and a region in which "your neighbours' problems are your own; your problems are your neighbours'".

At the very moment of need and opportunity, a visionary policy may be overwhelmed by a causation and pragmatism giving rise to a new isolationism.

Indeed, the central characteristics of the post-modern world render an isolationist policy both futile and self-defeating.

The tyranny and lawlessness of the post-modern world does not stop politely at the border post. On the contrary, the forces unleashed by social division, poverty, health and environmental degradation will flood towards those remaining places where there is some prospect of work and peace.

Given the significant positive changes occurring simultaneously in the region, from democratic elections in Malawi, to rebuilding in Mozambique and negotiations in Angola, there is undoubtedly scope for greater and more substantive regional co-operation.

The transformation of South Africa's foreign policy away from the strictures and confines of apartheid in many ways is a microcosm of the global transition from the bi-polar world.

In this sense, South Africa has every advantage in aligning afresh its foreign policy outlook with the demands of a new world order, for which, given its own experience and apparent transcendence of racial and ethnic conflict, it is well-placed to understand.

■ **TOMORROW: Richard Calland and David Weld will look at what South Africa has to offer the world and Africa: Leadership, for one thing ...**

CP chief upbeat about hint of referendum

CHRIS WHITEFIELD

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CONSERVATIVE Party leader

Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg has welcomed suggestions that a volksstaat referendum may be on the cards — but is upset at developments in negotiations on amnesty for right-wingers.

Yesterday Hartzenberg told WeekendStar he was delighted at reports that President Mandela might be contemplating a referendum to test support for a volksstaat.

"It is just what we have been advocating for a long time," he said.

But in a statement issued yesterday he expressed dismay at what he believed was the breaking of an agreement by Justice Minister Dullah Omar on the amnesty issue.

Cut-off date

Omar issued a statement on Thursday — on the same day he met Hartzenberg — saying the cut-off date for crimes that may qualify for

amnesty would not be extended beyond December 5, the date provided for in the Interim Constitution.

Hartzenberg claimed in his statement that the Minister had undertaken not to take a final decision on amnesty and to hold further discussions with the CP, which insists that the date should be extended.

However, Justice Department sources said Omar's statement had been issued in response to various press reports and was not directly related to the discussions with Hartzenberg.

The CP leader was upbeat about the referendum suggestion, saying it was the only way that support for a volksstaat could be determined.

He said he believed a referendum should be held among all whites and estimated that about 1.8 million of those available to cast their ballots were Afrikaners. Of these, he predicted,

about two-thirds would support the formation of a volksstaat.

Hartzenberg said it was important that the referendum should reflect districts from which support for the volksstaat had come.

Although he did not elaborate on how the results could be used to determine the shape of a volksstaat, Hartzenberg said they would at least form the basis for negotiation.

He said Mandela had not

referred directly to the referendum in recent talks with the CP, but the issue of "accommodation of the Afrikaner nation" had been discussed.

Respect

The feisty CP leader appeared to have gained some respect for Mandela, describing him as a "comfortable personality" to hold talks with.

Reuters reports that the Government yesterday

moved to play down the possibility of a referendum.

In an interview, spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe acknowledged that Mandela had mentioned a referendum as one of the mechanisms that could be used to unite the people of South Africa.

"He went further to say the issue of mechanisms still needs to be discussed. This shows that he was just giving an example," Netshitenzhe said.

Government plays down possibility of vote on volkstaat

(5044) 3/6/94 ARG
JOHANNESBURG. — The government has played down the possibility of a referendum for Afrikaners seeking a homeland.

Government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said today that President Mandela mentioned a referendum as one of the mechanisms which could be used to unite the people of South Africa.

"He went further to say the issue of mechanisms still needs to be discussed. This shows that he was just giving an example — nothing else but an example," Mr Netshitenzhe told Radio 702.

He did not give other examples of possible mechanisms and could not be reached for comment as he was travelling with Mr Mandela to Harare.

In the interview, Mr Mandela said: "We want to allow Afrikaners themselves to express themselves on this issue."

But he added: "We have made no commitment on this question."

Asked if a whites-only vote or referendum would be needed to test Afrikaner desires, Mr Mandela said:

"The whites, the Afrikaners, will have to vote, because if we throw the matter to the country as a whole they will have an excuse and

say: 'No, this is a matter that has been decided by communities other than ourselves'.

"We want everyone to have no doubt in his or her mind that we will do what the community wants us to do.

"If the Afrikaner community as a whole, or the majority, is in favour of a volkstaat, our view will take one form. But if the majority of the Afrikaners say they do not want a volkstaat, then we will take a different view," he said.

Rightwing parties boycotted the April elections, demanding a separate homeland for Afrikaners.

Hoping a peaceful solution would be found to assuage right-wing fears about black majority rule, Mr Mandela met several white separatist leaders.

Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg had been trying to arrange a meeting between Mr Mandela and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche to discuss demands for a separate homeland and amnesty for jailed rightists.

South Africa's interim constitution provides for a volksraad to investigate the feasibility of an Afrikaner homeland. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela in first foreign date

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — President Nelson Mandela arrives here today for democratic South Africa's debut at an international forum — a meeting of the Global Coalition for Africa (GCA) that will run into one of the seven-nation Frontline States. *CT 3/6/94*

Diplomatic observers note that it is significant Mr Mandela has chosen an African rather than an

overseas venue for his first appearance abroad.

Private fears have already been voiced here that the "new" South Africa might "throw its weight about" in sub-equatorial Africa as Nigeria does in West Africa, as a diversion from its internal problems. *(SO4A)*

The chairman of the Frontline States, President Robert Mugabe

of Zimbabwe, is expected to put proposals to Mr Mandela today for a new Southern African "club" to replace the grouping.

A programme that linked economic liberalisation, political reform and regional integration would provide a "vision of a new Africa which will no longer be synonymous with economic mismanagement, civil strife or human rights abuses", he said.

NATIONAL PARTY
Fm 3/6/94
Not so new

The restructuring of National Party leadership at the weekend, to cater for the creation of nine provinces, fails to reflect the new non-racial image portrayed by the party in its election propaganda.

In the seven regions where new leaders have been elected, the top posts go to white males who served in the previous government. The new leaders in Natal and the Free State will be elected this weekend, but the trend is expected to be maintained.

Under the old constitution, the NP was structured on federal lines with a federal leader, FW de Klerk, and four provincial leaders: Pik Botha (Transvaal), Dawie de Villiers (Cape), George Bartlett (Natal) and Kobie Coetsee (Free State). The division of the country into nine provinces meant the structure had to change — but attitudes have not. (304A)

In the Western Cape in particular, where the Nats have the coloured majority to thank for their provincial election victory, the chance to choose a leader who reflects their support base was not taken. Instead, Dawie de Villiers was re-elected leader with MP Maretha Badenhorst, regional Premier Hernus Kriel and regional Minister Gerald Morkel as vice-chairmen (effectively deputy leaders).

In the PWV, Pik Botha was elected leader. He soundly defeated Roelf Meyer in a contest that is said to have severely tarnished the

image of the man regarded as the party's crown prince. Meyer is believed to have received only 10% of the vote. Fm

A committee of vice-chairmen was also elected, comprising Leon Wessels, Jac Rabie, Roelf Meyer, Olaus van Zyl, Nana Masanga and Denise Mooloo. 3/6/94

Other provincial leaders elected at the weekend are: former Minister Ami Venter (North West); Justice Deputy Minister Chris Fisser (Eastern Transvaal); former Minister Andre Fourie (Northern Transvaal); former Minister Tertius Delpont (Eastern Cape); and Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk (Northern Cape).

The new Natal leader is expected to be former Minister Danie Schutte and the contest in the Free State will be between former Deputy Minister Wynand Breytenbach and MP Inus Aucamp. (304A)

Meanwhile, in Cape Town at the weekend, the national executive of the Labour Party (LP) agreed to propose that the party disband at its congress later this year. Allan Hendrickse resigned as leader. Deputy leader Miley Richards will act as leader until the congress.

The LP was founded 29 years ago and was once a leading opponent of the NP government. However, the party was unable to maintain cohesion during the reform years after 1990 and crumbled as members flocked to De Klerk's party. The LP was part of the ANC alliance in the election but failed to deliver the coloured vote as had been hoped. Nevertheless, Hendrickse was elected to the Senate as an ANC candidate.

A faction within the LP, headed by former MP Ken Lategan, hopes to keep part of the organisation going by forming a Western Cape Labour Party. ■

**Durr to remain
in London post**

(204A)
CT 8/6/74
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa's High Commissioner in London, Mr Kent Durr, is to remain in his post at least until his contract expires in April.

Sources close to Pretoria said Mr Durr had been officially told his contract would be honoured and that the SA government had the "fullest confidence" in him.

Mandela meets 4 African leaders

APR 9/6/94

TOS WENTZEL
Diplomatic Correspondent

SOUTH African co-operation with the rest of Africa, in economic development and the maintenance of stability, featured in talks today between President Mandela and four frontline presidents.

The bilateral talks took place at Westbrooke.

He met Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sam Nujoma of Namibia, Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania and Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.

The leaders are in Cape Town to attend the two-day summit of the Swiss-based World Economic Forum.

Mr Mandela said that, in addition to joint meetings he had with the leaders in Harare recently and in Cape Town yesterday, it was also necessary to have bilateral talks on issues of common interest.

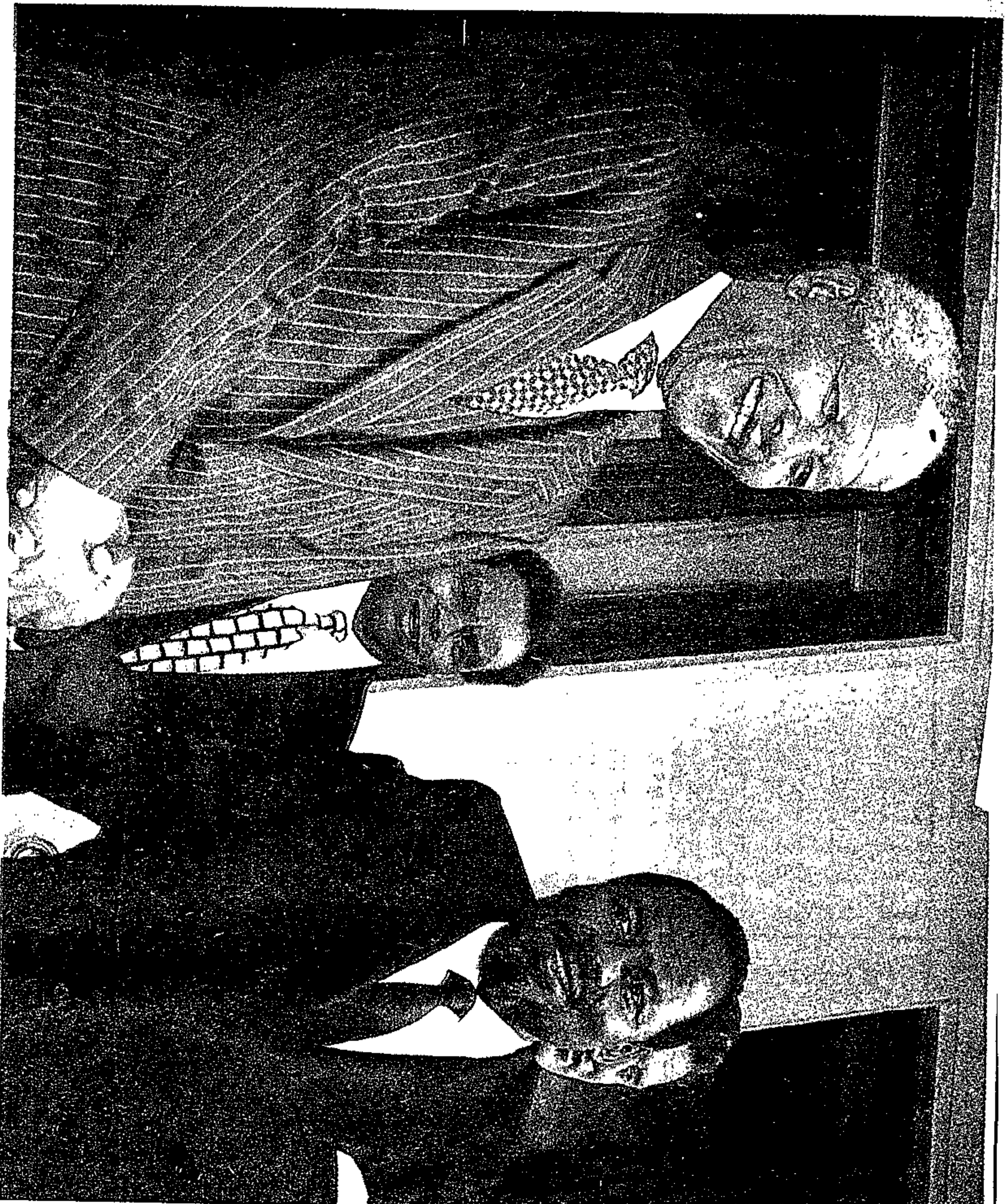
Mr Mwinji said his country was looking forward to the role South Africa could play as the "locomotive" for development in the rest of Africa.

A growing number of South African businessmen were showing an interest in trade with Tanzania or in joint ventures.

Tanzania was especially looking for joint ventures in production with South African expertise that could create more employment opportunities.

Last night the leaders decided on a regional peacekeeping force to deal with trouble in Lesotho. This plan was further discussed by the leaders today.

Mr Mandela said a dissident military group could not be al-



PRESIDENTS MEET: President Mandela meets Mozambique president Joaquim Chissano, one of the four leaders of the frontline states who had talks with him at Westbrooke today.

Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus

lowed to overthrow a democratically elected government.

The frontline states would discuss plans for restoring stability in Lesotho with Commonwealth, Organisation of African Unity and United Nations leaders.

Mr Mugabe said matters of

common concern in economic, cultural and other areas were discussed.

Mr Nujoma said the situations in Angola, Mozambique and Rwanda had been discussed.

He said: "We want peace and stability in these areas because

without this there cannot be development."

He said trade featured prominently in the talks.

"Some 70 percent of our trade is with South Africa. We are therefore good neighbours."

He said Namibia hoped to

export more fish to South Africa while importing more fruit.

Mr Chissano said the future of the frontline states and their major task — to safeguard peace and security — were two of the issues raised at today's talks.

Defections and unhappiness within its ranks have added to the Democratic Party's woes, report **Farouk Chotia, Chris Louw** and **Mondli waka Makhananya**

WM 10-16/6/94

(3049)

Defections and unhappiness within its ranks have added to the Democratic Party's woes, report **Farouk Chotia, Chris Louw** and **Mondli waka Makhananya**

THE Democratic Party, still reeling from its April election disaster, is facing a fresh wave of ructions and defections in its ranks that threaten the party's survival.

In the past week:

● It has had to disband its caucus in the Cape Town city council, it lost a key member to the ANC and will have to face a challenge from a new coalition being formed to fight the upcoming local authority elections.

● In Natal, five Durban city councillors resigned from the DP's regional executive committee in protest against the nomination of Eastern Cape farmer Etrol Moorcroft as senator for KwaZulu/Natal.

● And in Johannesburg, DP management committee chairman Ian Davidson was caught in a bruising fight with premier Tokyo Sexwale over the destruction of squatter shacks on a cold winter day.

The incident was enough for party stalwart Helen Suzman to criticise the DP-controlled city council harshly. (See story Page 2).

These setbacks in three of the DP's strongest regions follow a bruising in the April election. The DP had hoped to hold the balance of power in the 42 member Western Cape provincial legislature but in the end only managed to get three seats. This led to the resignation of party leader Zach de Beer and the election of the controversial Tony Leon as interim leader.

It now risks being obliterated in Cape Town and Durban when municipal elections take place in a year's time. "Its white support base is eroding and they haven't even started making inroads into areas where most people live," notes one observer.

In KwaZulu/Natal the unhappiness about the election of Moorcroft as the single DP senator for the province has led to rumours that the "old boys club" was in action again. It is suggested that Moorcroft has suffered financial losses through investments in the Lloyds insurance company and that he had the active help of DP federal chairman Ken Andrew — who lost money in the same way — to be elected into his position in order to bail him out. Andrew and Moorcroft are known to be close friends.

Andrew denied he took part in any "concerted

effort" to get Moorcroft elected. He insisted Moorcroft was chosen on merit, but admitted that it was he who had suggested to Moorcroft that he made himself available as Natal senator. He said though it was true that both Moorcroft and he had lost money in Lloyds — and that there may be a "fair" overlap in the agencies handling their affairs — neither was in financial trouble.

"Both of us have the necessary qualifications if we were not in parliament to find gainful employment elsewhere." The five Durban city councillors who resigned in protest are Peter Corbett, Lorna Emmanuel, Yvonne Hart, Libby Goddall and Margaret Ambler-Moore. Corbett has also been suspended from the party for the "leakage of confidential party discussions to the media" and he has now threatened to take legal action to be reinstated as a member.

The biggest blow to the DP in the Western Cape was the resignation this week of former mayor Frank van der Velde who joined the ANC saying

he wanted "to be part of the reconstruction and not be in opposition to something that I am not opposed to".

The party also announced the dissolution of its caucus on the city council, which it controls. Since Cape Town's municipal elections are fought on non-party platforms, the formation of the caucus 18 months ago was a dress rehearsal for the introduction of party politics when non-racial municipal elections take place. But the experiment went awry.

Caucus members continuously savaged each other and lunged the council from one debacle to another. It never quite operated like a caucus and there were often more divisions between the members themselves than between them and the National Party aligned councillors and independent opponents. Ratepayers were incensed by the council's bungling and its bad public image is believed to have contributed to the NP's success in wooing DP voters in the April election.

The disbanding of the caucus was presented as a strategic move by the DP ahead of the all race municipal elections in roughly a year's time. But it is likely the party will receive an even worse bruising in those elections and the existence of a blundering caucus in the Cape Town city council would cause it more damage.

One of the DP's foremost critics is management committee chairman Clive Keegan — himself a party member — who has had many a run-in with his colleagues. Keegan is now spearheading the formation of a grand coalition of political and civic groupings to fight the elections in the western Cape and thus keep out what he calls the "monolithic ANC/NP coalition".

DP western Cape leader Hennie Bester, who is one of only three DP members in the provincial legislature, admits the sobering election result has forced the party to navel-gaze. "We're looking at what our role should be and whether we have any role at all. The jury is still out on that."

Mbeki hints at Cabinet changes

Star

10/6/94

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

There could be important Cabinet changes as the Government of National Unity finds its feet, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki hinted strongly in an interview this week.

The deployment of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — who opted to stay out of the Cabinet — is one of those that "has not been resolved in the ANC", Mbeki said.

"I think we have to continue looking at the question of that deployment, and might have indeed to redeploy people as we see what is happening."

Ramaphosa was recently appointed to head the Constitutional Assembly which will oversee the writing of a final constitution, but this is not a Cabinet position.

Mbeki said while he had no role in deciding which ANC leaders entered Government, the public service, and the party, the unfolding situation on the ground meant that "people could be redeployed ... I would imagine personally that there will still be a shifting around of people".

He cited the examples of Thozamile Botha, who recently resigned his seat as an MP to join the Commission on Provin-

cial Government, and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Siphiwe Nyanda's decision to withdraw from the ANC's parliamentary list of candidates in order to play a role in the army. (304A)

In an interview with The Star at the Union Buildings — his first since becoming deputy president of South Africa — Mbeki said the multiparty Cabinet was functioning remarkably well, and predicted that the post-election "honeymoon period" could last for a long time if the co-operative mood persisted.

"This is not to say there are

► To Page 3

Mbeki hints at Cabinet changes

Star

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◀ From Page 1

not going to be hiccups ... but the potential for changing things for the better is so big that we ourselves have not quite understood the potential energy that resides among our people, which will be set free by these changes. I don't think we are in for a short honeymoon period — unless the Government doesn't do its work."

Mbeki expressed confidence in the Cabinet chosen by President Mandela, and said he did not agree with criticism levelled at the appointment of

some Ministers.

He said Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo, one target of criticism, was well qualified for the job.

Mbeki said the multiparty Cabinet was getting on well, based on agreement around the basic need for reconstruction and development.

Also, contentious issues such as the Kwa-Zulu land transfer had been dealt with in a "co-operative spirit ... it's not a case of one party getting advantaged".

He said fellow Deputy President F W de Klerk was adjusting to the fact

that he was no longer leader of the country. Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had easily made the transition to his new position. (304A)

In the interview, Mbeki also spoke about the Government's priorities, and praised General Constand Viljoen.

He said it would have been "very good" to have had Viljoen in Cabinet if the Freedom Front had secured sufficient support.

► For the full interview see Page 9.

FW 10/6/94

Durban city councillor Peter Corbett is threatening legal action unless his suspension from the party is rescinded.

The issue erupted because the KwaZulu/Natal DP faithful were angered by what they saw as shabby treatment by the DP's national executive, when it nominated Adelaide farmer Errol Moorcroft as one of the DP's three national Senators.

The thinking behind Moorcroft's nomination — which is unlikely to be reversed because it would fracture the party still further — was to create a DP team to service all nine regions in the provincial legislatures, national assembly and Senate.

The executive's rationale was that the DP has two representatives in the KwaZulu/Natal legislature, whereas it is not represented in the Eastern Cape.

It decided, therefore, to create that representation by allocating one of its three Senate seats to Moorcroft. But the decision prompted a string of resignations from the DP in KwaZulu/Natal.

The most significant resignation is that of northern Natal chairman Graham McIntosh from the DP federal council and all provincial party structures.

He was thought to be a strong contender for a Senate seat. But the resignation by six Durban city councillors, including Corbett, could be equally destructive, as the party and the country prepare for the next political hurdle — the democratisation of local and metropolitan authorities.

Corbett is alleged to have exacerbated the problem by leaking the disquiet over the Moorcroft appointment to the press, on the day after it was discussed at a confidential DP executive meeting. After Corbett refused to apologise in writing, Natal leader Mike Ellis last week suspended him from the party. Though Corbett threatens legal action unless the suspension is lifted, DP provincial vice-chairman Mamoo Rajab says Corbett must now take it up with the federal executive.

When the issue blew up, DP Natal Midlands regional director Radley Keys explained that the discontent stemmed from the fact that KwaZulu/Natal has candidates of calibre who would be effective senators capable of servicing other provinces as well as Natal. (257) (304A)

He pointed out that those who resigned had not terminated their party membership, but rather their positions in the party structures.

In spite of the furore, the party's Natal provincial executive decided just over a week ago to accept Moorcroft's appointment. At the same time, however, the party's national Federal Council has accepted that the rules for the selection of candidates and senators need revision to take cognisance of the party's federal nature.

Ellis explained that the provincial executive had three choices: to put pressure on the national executive to rescind its decision; to call on Moorcroft to resign; or to bite the bullet. "We chose the last option." ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY
FW 10/6/94
Nothing going right (257) (304A)

The row over the DP's controversial decision to appoint an Eastern Cape farmer to the national Senate, at the expense of a KwaZulu/Natal nomination, won't go away. In the latest development, DP dissident and Dur-

US stay on to back human rights

PRETORIA. — The United States would continue its support for human rights and non-governmental organisations alongside its "normal relationship" with South Africa, US ambassador Princeton Lyman said in Pretoria yesterday. (304A)

"In the past 10 years, we have concentrated our entire assistance program on the non-governmental sector. Prominent in our assistance were grants to legal organisations fighting against the apartheid system.

"We contributed to the defence of those charged with political crimes,

we helped start the first legal assistance programme, we supported rural advice centres.

"Now, with a democratic government, we will undertake a normal relationship with South Africa, channeling much of our assistance to government development programmes. ARL 11/6/94

"But the cause of human rights and the role of non-governmental organisations will also remain a prominent part of our programme. We plan to continue working in the field of legal assistance, democratisation and the defence of human rights." — Sapa.

Election promises put on the backburner

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THERE is growing concern among political analysts that members of the government of national unity are more concerned with their own interests than with those of the electorate.

304A ARG 11/6/94
This follows several key government decisions in its first month in office including:

- Substantial increases in pay-scales for politicians, even taking taxation and perks into account.

- A cabinet decision to set up a committee to examine moving parliament from Cape Town to Pretoria, a move which would convenience politicians and their bureaucracy, but cost the country as much as R2 billion as a new parliament would have to built.

- A government announcement this week that the bloated civil service which includes the 10 former homeland administrations, would be further increased by 1 000 new posts "to ensure a more representative civil service". But, this has been criticised as amounting to a "jobs-for-pals" approach.

A leading political analyst who asked not to be identified as he was closely involved with government, said South Africa's new politicians were "looking after their own interests which is the trend all over the world".

He said that with the next election five years away, there was a tendency for politicians to look after themselves first, placing their election promises on the backburner.

The African National Congress-majority government was beginning to make some of the mistakes the Nationalists made after 1948 when it placed its own supporters in influential positions whether the appointees were suitably qualified or not.

"If that is going to be the trend then we are just replacing one set of self-seeking politicians with another another set."

Examples of a tendency towards wasteful government included the PWV decision to move the provincial parliament to Johannesburg at great expense while existing provincial office space in Pretoria remained empty.

Public airing of 'potential problems' exposes cracks in unity gov't

CAPE TOWN — The political honeymoon between the ANC, the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party is over, opposition leaders F.W. de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi have indicated.

Second Deputy President De Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Buthelezi used the influential audience at the World Economic Forum on Friday to make public their view that all was not well in the government of national unity despite public perceptions to the contrary.

De Klerk raised a number of "potential problems" such as a lopsided truth com-

mission, a bloated public service, overspending on the reconstruction and development programme and insensitive implementation of land claims.

Buthelezi, in an address behind closed doors to leading international politicians, businessmen and Ministers, warned that the success of the new government could be in jeopardy if the constitutional deadlock with Inkatha over provincial powers was not resolved soon.

"I know that if I wreck the prospects of the government of national unity I would wreck any prospects of there finally being

a truly multiparty constitutional settlement in this country," Buthelezi said.

He also indicated Inkatha was determined that Uthandi would become the capital of KwaZulu/Natal, despite ANC or any other opposition.

"It would increase administrative efficiency, decrease the cost of government and very importantly, in practice and in idiom, bring the government of the province closer to the people."

Buthelezi said that despite having to

DAVID GREYBE

Govt cracks

Klerk said.

Earlier on Friday, De Klerk told reporters he had not been "consulted" on Justice Minister Dullah Omar's announcement of a truth commission.

However, De Klerk attempted to play down the significance, saying it was part of government's "growing pains."

However, Omar's plan could not be considered agreed government policy, he said. The NP would use the June 30 deadline for recommendations and suggestions to put its position.

Mbeki publicly took De Klerk to task for suggesting a truth commission could undermine SA's sense of national unity.

Mbeki gave an emotional account of the disappearance of a trade unionist cousin in Durban about seven years ago.

He said it was hoped the truth of the disappearance would come to light so his wife and children could at last say he was dead.

Mbeki then turned to De Klerk and said: "It's that kind of truth, (Deputy) President De Klerk, we are looking for."

De Klerk raised the issue of affirmative action and warned that government would

contend with "early difficulties," such as

President Nelson Mandela at times misjudging situations or taking a line of action because of pressure from ANC colleagues and rank and file members, Buthelezi said he was still committed to "weathering as many storms as possible" in government.

De Klerk and First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki clashed publicly when the NP leader used his closing speech to the forum to launch a veiled attack on the ANC.

De Klerk — in a prepared speech, despite instructions that delegates use only notes — warned that the truth commission

have to be "very careful" about the manner in which it was implemented.

"We dare not throw merit out of the window," he said.

"We dare not return to state supported racial discrimination, to quotas, job reservation and race classification."

Buthelezi said Inkatha's cautious approval of the FIDP was contingent on the autonomous implementation and development of all chapters of the programme which fell within its jurisdiction.

Buthelezi said one of the fundamental constitutional conflicts between Inkatha and the ANC was over the question of provincial powers. "There is now every indication that the ruling ANC party will thwart the rapid transfer of powers to KwaZulu/Natal," he said.

He said Mandela knew of Inkatha's impatience about delay of the transfer of power, but despite this he had two weeks ago promulgated a proclamation which in effect empowered central government to claim jurisdiction over laws to which the Inkatha-dominated province was entitled. He said such actions could lead to a crisis in the government of national unity.

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13/16/94

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13/16/94

Volkstaat views differ from earlier agreement, says CP

Star 14/6/94

Yesterday's meeting to discuss the Afrikaner volkstaat issue had "digressed completely" from the spirit and agreement reached two weeks ago with President Mandela, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said in a statement.

Hartzenberg and Freedom Front (FF) leader General Constand Viljoen met Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at the Union Buildings to discuss a volkstaat.

A joint statement issued afterwards said the CP was to make direct representation to the Constitutional Assembly regarding the formation of a volkstaat.

The CP would also pursue the matter with the various parties represented in the Government

of National Unity.

But in a separate statement, Hartzenberg said the discussions had "digressed completely" from the agreement reached two weeks ago.

During those discussions, direct negotiation between the CP/Afrikaner Volksfront and the Government had been agreed to.

"Today the standpoint was taken that all negotiations must be done through the Volkstaat Council. This is unacceptable ... because the VC has been appointed only by the FF ..."

To ensure a permanent solution and lasting peace it was essential that the agreement with Mandela be honoured and executed, he said. — Sapa.

SA Long Distance Taxi Association spokesman yesterday to outline the need for an umbrella group to represent SA's 480 taxi associations.

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

Afrikaner unity body mooted

DEBORAH FINE

THE Freedom Front (FF) has proposed the establishment of a plenary committee with the CP to unite Afrikaners in their attempts to achieve a political solution in seeking the survival of Afrikaners.

Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen was expected to discuss the proposals with CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

Viljoen said yesterday there were two political parties representing Afrikaners hoping to establish a volkstaat through negotiation and the constitutional process.

The establishment of a plenary committee would enable the Freedom Front and the CP to debate the issue before proposals were put to government.

Viljoen suggested that Afrikaners who did not vote in the elections show support for a volkstaat by signing petitions at magistrates' courts. Those who supported the front during the election would not need to sign the petition as their votes would be taken as support for a volkstaat.

Viljoen said the council was set up to investigate the feasibility of a volkstaat. He invited interest groups to put proposals to the council.

Some prisons 'calm' as violence rocks others

Business Day Reporter

UNREST continued at several prisons around the country yesterday and plans were made to transfer prisoners from Victor Verster Prison near Paarl to other Western Cape prisons after Sunday's torching of cells by inmates.

Violence broke out again at Upington Prison in the Northern Cape yesterday when about 120 inmates plundered three cells. Sapa reports damage of R30 000 was caused when prisoners rioted on Friday.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports about 500 Bethal prisoners yesterday rejected a six-month remission offer by Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mzimela and refused to leave the prison to work, demanding full amnesty instead.

Correctional Services spokesman Lt Rudi Potgieter said prisoners had torched cells at JC Steyn prison in the Eastern Cape. However, the situation was calm but tense in other prisons.

Violence erupted at Victor Verster on Sunday when more than 650 inmates refused to return to their cells. One prisoner died and about 50 were injured. Four were admitted to Tygerberg Hospital.

About 270 prisoners are to be

moved to other prisons including Helderstroom, according to Victor Verster head Big Koos van Staden.

Meanwhile, police were yesterday still searching for the 87 prisoners who escaped during last week's uprising at Modderbee Prison, situated on the East Rand.

A spokesman said 104 prisoners escaped. One was shot dead and 16 had been recaptured.

Yesterday the SA Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights (SA-POHR) called on government to establish an amnesty resolution committee for prisoners to brief President Nelson Mandela.

"We don't want to determine the specifics of the amnesty and remissions unilaterally. It is for an informed committee to determine, but we would be arguing that a commission should begin with the possibility of full amnesties for non-violent, first offenders and deductions of half the sentences," said SAPOHR spokesman Golden Miles Bhudu.

He added that those awaiting trial spent months and years in prison before being tried.

Shortlist

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

THE cabinet of national unity faced its first real challenges today on a range of foreign and domestic policy issues.

Acting-President Thabo Mbeki was to chair the meeting in the absence of President Mandela, who is attending the Organisation of African Unity summit in Tunisia.

On the agenda today were:

- Whether June 16 should be a paid public holiday.

- A decision on postponing the first post-apartheid budget, due to be delivered next week.

- A top level probe into the transfer of land in KwaZulu just before the election to a trust headed by Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini.

- A decision on an 8c a litre fuel price increase.

- South Africa's involvement in Rwanda.

Minister of Labour Tito Mboweni said before the cabinet meeting that it was an employer's decision whether to give staff the day off tomorrow.

Some employers and trade unions had agreed that tomorrow should be a paid holiday.

"The granting of June 16 as a paid holiday is therefore a well-considered, mutually acceptable and negotiated practice which has by now become built into the operational plans of the industries and companies concerned."

In sectors where no agreements existed, Mr Mboweni appealed to employers and workers to negotiate mutually-acceptable arrangements "so as to avoid any penalties or loss of production, which should be recouped later".

A announcement on whether

the government would proceed with the budget as planned on June 22 or postpone it was expected after the meeting.

Those arguing for a delay in the budget say most MPs would have nothing to do should be the budget be delivered as planned on June 22.

This is because, while the budget would be referred to the 55-member joint committee on finance in the seven days following the opening of parliament, there will be no legislation for the other parliamentarians to consider.

Some legislation has not yet cleared the hurdle of joint committees.

A cabinet committee appointed on May 23 was to report today on the KwaZulu land transfer.

About 3 070 000 hectares of former SA Development Trust land was transferred to the Ingonyama Trust in the last days of the life of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Inkatha Freedom Party members have insisted there was nothing sinister about the transfer, put through by the legislative assembly.

Also on the cabinet agenda today is a recommendation by the liquid fuel task group to increase the price of petrol, probably by about 8c a litre.

The recommendation is based on the increase in the oil price and a deterioration in the rand-dollar exchange rate.

A military spokesman said senior officers were visiting African countries to evaluate sending humanitarian aid to Rwanda.

Mr Mandela has ruled out sending troops to join a UN peacekeeping force in the Central African country, where hundreds of thousands have been slaughtered in fighting since April.

But he has pledged to provide humanitarian assistance.

Tough challenges for cabinet today

ACC 15/6/94

(3047)

Schools to hold mass meetings

CT 15/6/94 (304A)

Staff Reporters

ANOTHER day of lost production was "a major concern" for business, coming so soon after the "devastating" month of April in which there were six public holidays, Cape Town Chamber of Commerce spokesman Mr Charl Adams said yesterday.

Commenting on the growing call for June 16 to be declared a public holiday, Mr Adams said although it was disruptive not knowing until the last minute, industry and commerce were bound by existing in-house agreements with unions regarding June 16.

The government of national unity is considering a new schedule of public holidays and there seems little doubt that from next year, June 16 will be an official holiday.

But it was not gazetted for this year and the cabinet has not yet considered the matter although the issue may be raised at today's cabinet meeting.

The universities of the Western Cape and Cape Town will observe June 16 as a university holiday.

Education Minister Professor Sibusiso Bengu wrote to education department heads, university and technikon principals as well as teacher and pupil organisations asking that the day be dedicated to reviving the culture of learning, a principle endorsed by the cabinet and President Nelson Mandela.

A broad front of ANC-aligned teacher and student organisations had

called for the declaration of June 16 as a public holiday but stopped short of urging a nationwide school and work stayaway.

Western Cape Minister of Education Mrs Martha Olckers has urged school principals, teachers and pupils to commemorate the day in a spirit of "dedication, sound discipline and hard work".

"Now that our first democratic election has heralded a new future, we must tackle the challenging task of re-establishing a constructive attitude to education," she said.

Mass meetings will take place in many black and coloured schools tomorrow to consider ways of rebuilding the eroded culture of learning and teaching in South Africa.

Pupils have also been urged by youth organisations to attend a mid-morning commemorative rally at the University of the Western Cape tomorrow.

Meanwhile, the local National Party Youth Action group has argued that "festive days born from conflict are not conducive to nation-building and unity in South Africa".

Mr Mandela will address thousands of pupils at a rally at Orlando Stadium in Soweto at 12.30pm.

Regional ANC leader Dr Allan Boesak will speak in Paarl East at 10am and Education and Health Minister Mr Ebrahim Rasool will address the UWC rally which starts at 11.30am.

Schools empty as thousands remember 1976

Political Staff

304A
AR 5/6/94 2

TOWNSHIP schools were deserted today, June 16, as thousands of pupils stayed away to commemorate the Soweto uprisings of 1976.

Earlier the government ignored calls from several community organisations to declare June 16 a national holiday.

In Nyanga, Oscar Mpetha High School and its neighbouring primaries were empty. In Crossroads, Khayelitsha and Guguletu, there were no pupils at school.

Thousands of pupils were expected at a commemorative rally organised by the youth alliance of the Western Cape branches of the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Students, the South African Students' Congress and National Children's Rights Committee.

Today's rally, at the University of the Western Cape, will be addressed by the provincial health minister Ebrahim Rasool.

In Athlone, speakers from various organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation and Qibla, will address a commemorative rally tonight.

A Cape Chamber of Industries spokesman said workers in the region's two biggest industries — clothing and engineering — traditionally had the day off.

Other workers at individual companies which had recognition agreements with unions could have negotiated to have June 16 as a paid public holiday.

Volkstaat council urged: Seek ways to foster peace

PRETORIA. — Deputy President Thabo Mbeki addressed the opening of the Volkstaat Council today, telling members they had the heavy responsibility of pursuing the volkstaat ideal "in a manner that encourages peace."

"It is symbolic that we meet on June 16, a day that means many different things to different South Africans," Mr Mbeki said.

"Many people died on this day in 1976 because they objected to being forced to use Afrikaans."

"There's a common message; we want to move beyond that past of conflict."

Mr Mbeki said the Volkstaat Council was in the forefront of the Afrikaner struggle for self-determination.

"It would seem to us that responsibility you have is not only to the Afrikaner people but the people of all South Africa," he said. "That makes it a heavy responsibility."

He paid tribute to General Constand Viljoen for having led his followers away from conflict and on to the path of consultation.

The 20-member council elected engineer Johan Wingard as its chairman.

"The inauguration of the council is one of the most important milestones in the history of the Afrikaner people," Mr Wingard said.

"Its key function will be to remove the uncertainties that exist," he added, listing key issues as the boundaries of a volkstaat and whether an Afrikaner homeland could be viable.

General Viljoen told the council that Afrikaners could not live in isolation from the rest of South Africa.

"Economically, we cannot separate ourselves from South Africa. You must find a solution that will work," he said.

The council met in the old "Raadsaal", where Paul Kruger's Transvaal Boer republic parliament sat in the late 1800s. — Reuter.

Mbeki to speak at Volkstaatraad opening

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki will deliver the inaugural address at the swearing in ceremony of the 20-member Volkstaatraad in the On Radaal in Pretoria today.

The CP, in a further indication that it was moving away from its strong pre-election opposition to a government of national unity dominated by the ANC, confirmed yesterday it had accepted an invitation to attend the inauguration.

A spokesman at the party's head office in Pretoria said CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg would attend.

Hartzenberg will join Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen, who will also deliver a speech.

A Volkstaatraad source said Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was "moving heaven and earth to be there" after receiving short notice of the inauguration.

Volkstaatraad spokesman Johann Wingard said the statutory body did not comprise high-profile politicians, but a wide-range of professional people.

Wingard said Mbeki would "point out that the Volkstaatraad is a statutory body, put into place constitutionally, to reconcile the self-determination aspira-

tions of the Afrikaner with the political, economic and social realities of the sub-continent today".

Wingard, the top contender for the election today of the post of chairman, said the Volkstaatraad would begin work immediately. He said the forum would finalise its policy and strategy at a meeting tomorrow.

Seven or eight task groups would be established to deal with specific subjects, and members would work fulltime.

Wingard said the policy adopted by the Volkstaatraad would have to be a balance between "ideological" issues and "technical" ones.

He said the "quest for ethnicity" had become one of the hottest topics internationally, and had to be dealt with in SA.

"This nationalism force is a destructive force which has the capacity to destroy nations."

Wingard said the Volkstaatraad would try to resolve the issue of political viability. Economic viability was no longer an issue, because of the existence of regional economic integration.

New twist over capital for KwaZulu/Natal

JOHANNES NGCOBO

THE KwaZulu/Natal impasse on the siting of the provincial capital took a dramatic turn yesterday when the NP and DP joined the ANC in demanding that the seat of government be Maritzburg and not Ulundi.

This followed a statement by a spokesman for Provincial Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer that the region should resolve the issue itself without involving national government.

Izak Retief said the request made earlier by KwaZulu/Natal premier Frank Mdlalose for deputy ministers in his cabinet could be discussed only at a full session of Parliament.

On Tuesday three ANC Cabinet Ministers, Economics and Tourism Minister Jacob Zuma, Roads and Traffic Control Minister S'hu Ndebele and Health Minister Zweli Mkhize boycotted the first cabinet meeting in Ulundi.

The boycott followed a meeting last week between Mdlalose and Zuma, at which Zuma told the premier that ANC representatives were opposed to Ulundi as the regional seat.

The NP and DP in the province said yesterday the capital city impasse was

not only affecting the ANC but the entire regional government of unity and had brought the provincial government to a halt.

The NP and DP said they supported the ANC's choice of Maritzburg because of its infrastructure and its economic viability.

KwaZulu/Natal NP leader Danie Schutte said Inkatha was being inflexible and had indicated sectional ethnicity by wanting to force Ulundi on other people.

However, Schutte said his party was opposed to boycott tactics, and the NP would argue its position in Ulundi if legislature meetings were held there.

He said the NP knew that if the matter was put to the vote in a legislature meeting even Inkatha members would vote for Maritzburg.

DP spokesman Wessel Nel said his party agreed that the nature conservation ministry should be based in Ulundi, but the rest of government should be seated in Maritzburg.

If legislature members were allowed to vote as individuals on the matter, Maritzburg would receive the most support.

*CP will
join us
eventually'

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The CP would eventually be persuaded to get involved with the Volksstaat Council, Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday. (Sapa)

Speaking after the inauguration of the council, Gen Viljoen said although CP leader Dr Ferdi Hatzenberg had distanced himself from the council, he foresaw a time when all parties would be involved. CT 17/6/94

Gen Viljoen told the council it would have to find an internationally acceptable principle of self-determination.

"The Afrikaner can not stand totally alone, we are too integrated, especially economically. But there is a way.

"You will have to produce a tailor-made constitutional solution without affecting the rights of other groups," Gen Viljoen said.

Mbeki praises Freedom Front

PRETORIA. — Deputy President Mr Thabo Mbeki yesterday paid tribute to the Volksstaat Council and Freedom Front "because they saved the country from conflict that could have been destructive".

Mr Mbeki said at the inauguration of the council at the Raadsaal here that the council had a responsibility not only to the Afrikaner people but also to the people of South Africa.

"We have confidence in the council in that it will carry its responsibilities properly," he said.

Referring to talks with Gen Constand Viljoen last year, he

Volksstaat Council launched

said: "During the hours spent together the impression I got was that here were South Africans who have a different background and culture and probably are better South Africans than I am."

He noted that the Freedom Front had withstood a number of outside pressures in the run-up

to the elections, but had still succeeded in reaching its goal.

"Given that aspirations for self-determination were expressed, it was important that they be addressed," Mr Mbeki said.

He said responsibility now rested with the Volksstaat Council to address those aspirations.

He said it was symbolic that the council was being inaugurated on June 16, Soweto Day, a day with different meanings for all.

"The common message today is that we want to move... past the conflict... We are proud to be called South Africans."

Mr Mbeki left the ceremony early to attend a Soweto Day engagement in Soweto. — Sapa

Verwoerd bust, name removed

(304A) CT17/6/94

THE architect of apartheid, Dr H F Verwoerd, has been thrown out of the precincts of Parliament.

An empty plinth was the only reminder yesterday of the brooding marble bust of Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, who refined the country's complex network of racial segregation laws during his eight years as prime minister.

A brass plaque notes that the

bust, which guarded the main auditorium of the H F Verwoerd Building, was donated by his widow in 1972.

Dr Verwoerd's name had also been stripped from the facade of the towerblock opposite Parliament which houses the offices of cabinet ministers and Deputy President F W de Klerk.

Dr Verwoerd's grandson Wil-

helm, an ANC member, lecturer in political philosophy at Stellenbosch University and the husband of ANC MP Melanie Verwoerd, said last night he "would not like to make a public comment about this".

His estranged father, the son of the architect of apartheid, Professor Wilhelm Verwoerd, said he was "sorry" about the removal of the bust and the name.

Regional director of public works Mr Johan van Wyk said he had followed orders in removing the name of the building, but declined to say what had happened to the bust.

An ANC source said the decision to remove Dr Verwoerd's name from the building had been taken at the first meeting of President Nelson Mandela's cabinet.

'Milestone' in Afrikaner history

PRETORIA. — The inauguration of the Volkstaat Council was one of the most important milestones in the history of the Afrikaner people, its chairman, Mr Johan Wingard, said yesterday.

A statutory body has been constitutionally created by law to reconcile the Afrikaner's quest for freedom and self-determination with the realities of the so-

cial, economic and political environment of Southern Africa," he said in his inauguration speech.

He told the 20-member council that the constitutional development and democratisation of the sub-continent would not be complete until the Afrikaner's aspirations for self-determination had been resolved acceptably.

The council had to deliver recommendations for new legislation "so the Afrikaner can reach its full potential in Africa" in defence, agriculture, medical services, mining, engineering, law, finance, education, and science.

Mr Wingard said the whole community would benefit by an "acceptable political solution for

the problem of the Afrikaner's claim to self-determination".

The council — which would be independent of party-political organisations — requested all parties, societies, bodies and individuals to make written or oral submissions to it.

"The process will be open and transparent," he said. — Sapa

Viljoen believes CP will consult council

PRETORIA — Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen said yesterday he believed the CP would make representations to the Volksstaat Council despite CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg having distanced himself from the council.

Hartzenberg has complained that the body was set up by the Freedom Front alone and was limited by the constitution and agreements reached by Viljoen and the ANC.

"I foresee that they (the CP) will make contact with this body and that eventually we will succeed in getting all the parties involved," Viljoen said.

He was speaking after the formal inauguration of the Volksstaat Council.

The council, charged with delivering meaningful recommendations for new legislation regarding Boer sovereignty, received the blessing of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who said government was confident that this duty would be performed responsibly.

The inauguration took place at the old ZAR Raadsaal on Church Square where members were sworn in. Johan Wingard was elected chairman.

Mbeki said the ANC had said during early negotiations and still believed that they did not have the power or desire to prescribe to the Afrikaner.

"It is clearly important that Afrikaner aspirations be addressed," he said, but added that recommendations by the council should not create hostilities in or alienate

other groups in the country.

Viljoen told the council its members would have to find a worldwide and nationally acceptable principle of self-determination, not only for the Afrikaner, but also for other minority groups in SA.

"The Afrikaner cannot stand totally alone, we are too integrated, especially economically. But there is a way.

"The solution has to be negotiated with everyone in the country. You will have to produce a tailor-made constitutional solution without affecting the rights of other groups," Viljoen said.

He said the ideal would have been to have settled the Volksstaat issue before the elections, but several obstacles had prevented this.

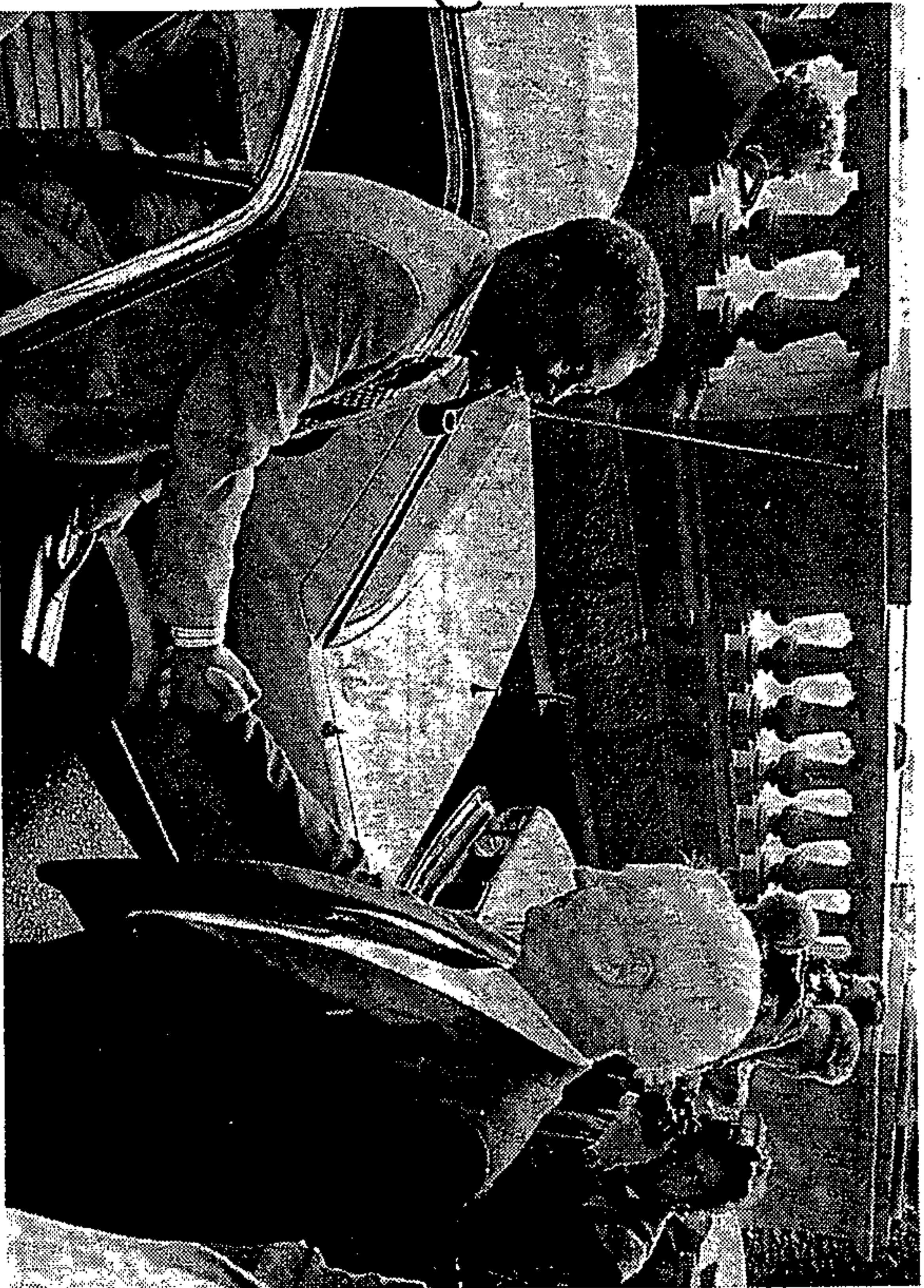
Wingard told the council the Volksstaat should not be seen as opposition to a democratic SA.

He said the Afrikaner had constantly demonstrated that the quest for self-determination had been the main driving force determining war or peace in the region. This yearning had been recognised by the state and provided for in the constitution.

Wingard said the council was not an organisation aimed at upsetting peace in the country. Its aim was to remove the uncertainties of Afrikaners, political parties and the state.

The council will operate independently of party political organisations.

● Comment Page 10



Twenty members of the Volksstaat Council were sworn into office at the old ZAR Raadsaal in Pretoria yesterday. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was welcomed to the ceremony by Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Revamp of police forces is delayed

CAPE TOWN — Restructuring of the SA Police Service (SAPS) has been put back at least four months because of a delay in passing a new Police Services Act.

As a result, the amalgamation of

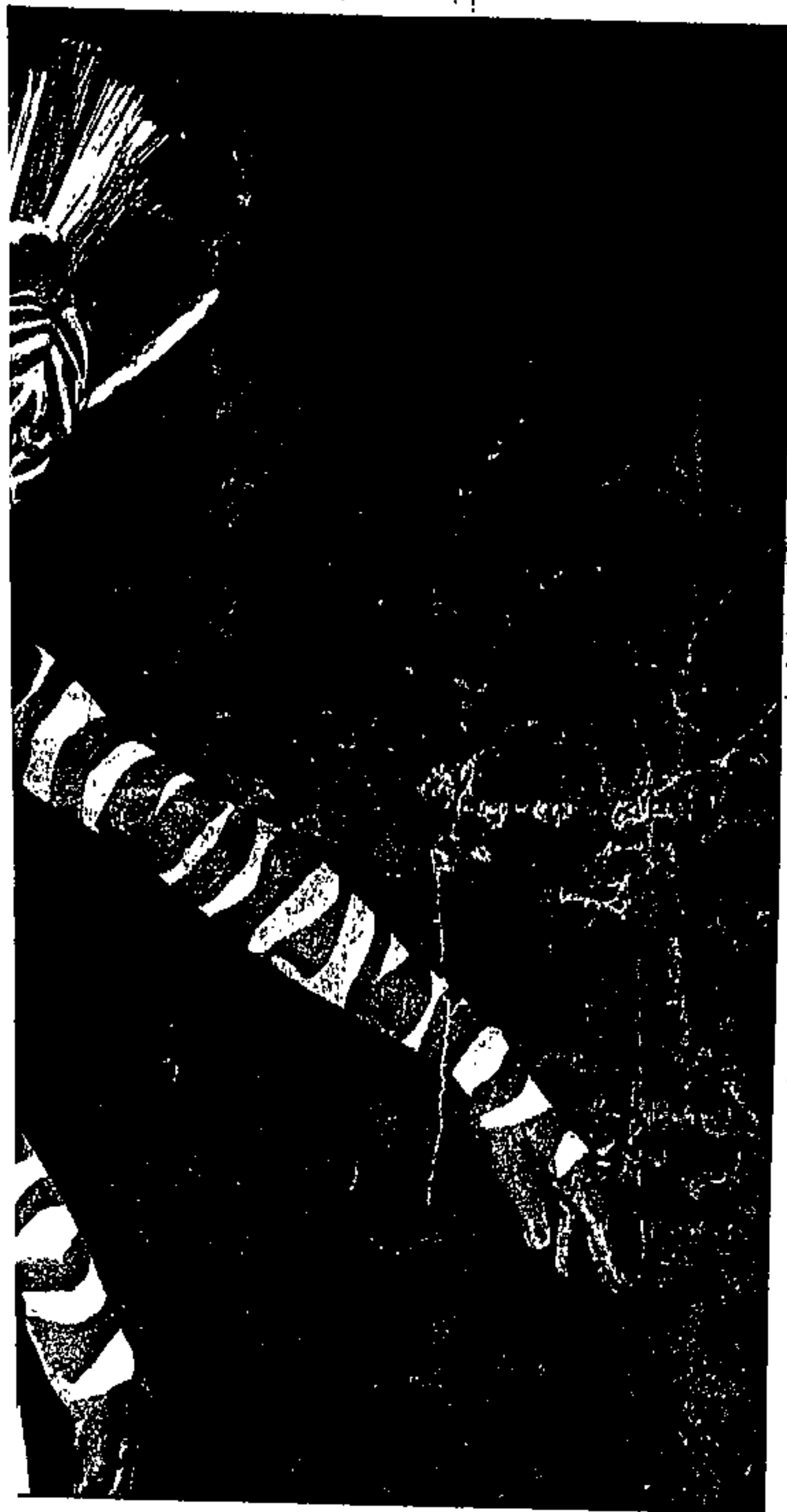
DAVID GREYBE

of uncertainty among the estimated 146 000 members of the various police forces.

He said the SAP and the 10 police forces of the former FPDV and

Gastrow said it had been "naïvely hoped" that the Police Services Act would be passed during next week's short parliamentary session and for the restructuring to begin soon after. "The optimistic scenario now is

18/6/94 e: big t back



ent from the South African Beauty School were part of an opening centre in Midrand yesterday. It was intended as a opened on circuit yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: ANTON HAMMERL

proof to prosecute

18/6/94
is that members of the security forces responsible for the murders. The finding at military officers, including former intelligence chief Lieutenant-General der Westhuizen, had been ordered to find or received the top-secret "death

court could not place any blame on any branch of the security forces responsible though Judge Neville Zietsman said a strong case of suspicion against army and two security police officers. He was not enough evidence to link it

TO PAGE 2



IMPLICATED: Joffel van der Westhuizen.

Attempt to load more Star work on 18/6/94 idle MPs

DAVID BREIER

CAPE TOWN — The ANC wants to increase the number of parliamentary select committees amid accusations that it is creating the illusion that hundreds of bored backbenchers are gainfully occupied.

Parliamentary sources confirm the ANC wants to set up 26 select committees in the National Assembly — one for each portfolio in the Cabinet.

But National Party chief whip Fanus Schoeman says the NP believes 19 select committees will be sufficient as various portfolios can be grouped — such as water affairs, forestry and agriculture.

He says experience has shown that some portfolios produce only one or two Bills a year and do not justify a select committee of their own.

Parliamentary officials confirm that the number of select committees has not yet been finalised.

Some MPs say the ANC's move to increase the number of select committees is to ensure that all the members of its massive caucus belong to a committee to give them some work to do.

The ANC has 252 National Assembly members and 60 senators.

Cut out

By comparison the NP, which has the next biggest caucus, has far fewer MPs — meaning that they will be relatively busier with committee work. The NP has 82 MPs and 17 senators.

The smaller parties will have their work cut out keeping up with committee work, with MPs having to sit on several committees. (18/6/94)

The Inkatha Freedom Party has 43 Assembly seats and five senators, the Democratic Party has seven Assembly members and three senators while the Pan Africanist Congress has just five Assembly MPs and the African Christian Democratic Party two MPs.

Taking into account the growing backlash against the huge salaries being paid to politicians — backbenchers are to earn R193 000 a year — any sign that MPs are idle is bound to increase public anger.

Since the abolition of the constituency system in favour of proportional representation, MPs are no longer directly responsible for a specific seat. This has created concern that many ANC backbenchers in particular are going to be grossly over-

TO PAGE 2

Star 18/6/94 Idle MPs

paid and underworked.

However, both the Nats and the ANC are setting up structures to make MPs responsible for specific areas to increase their workload.

Schoeman says Nat MPs will be even busier than in the past as the party structure will keep a watch on the amount of work they do, whereas in the past MPs could "bury themselves" in their constituencies without anyone really knowing how much work they did.

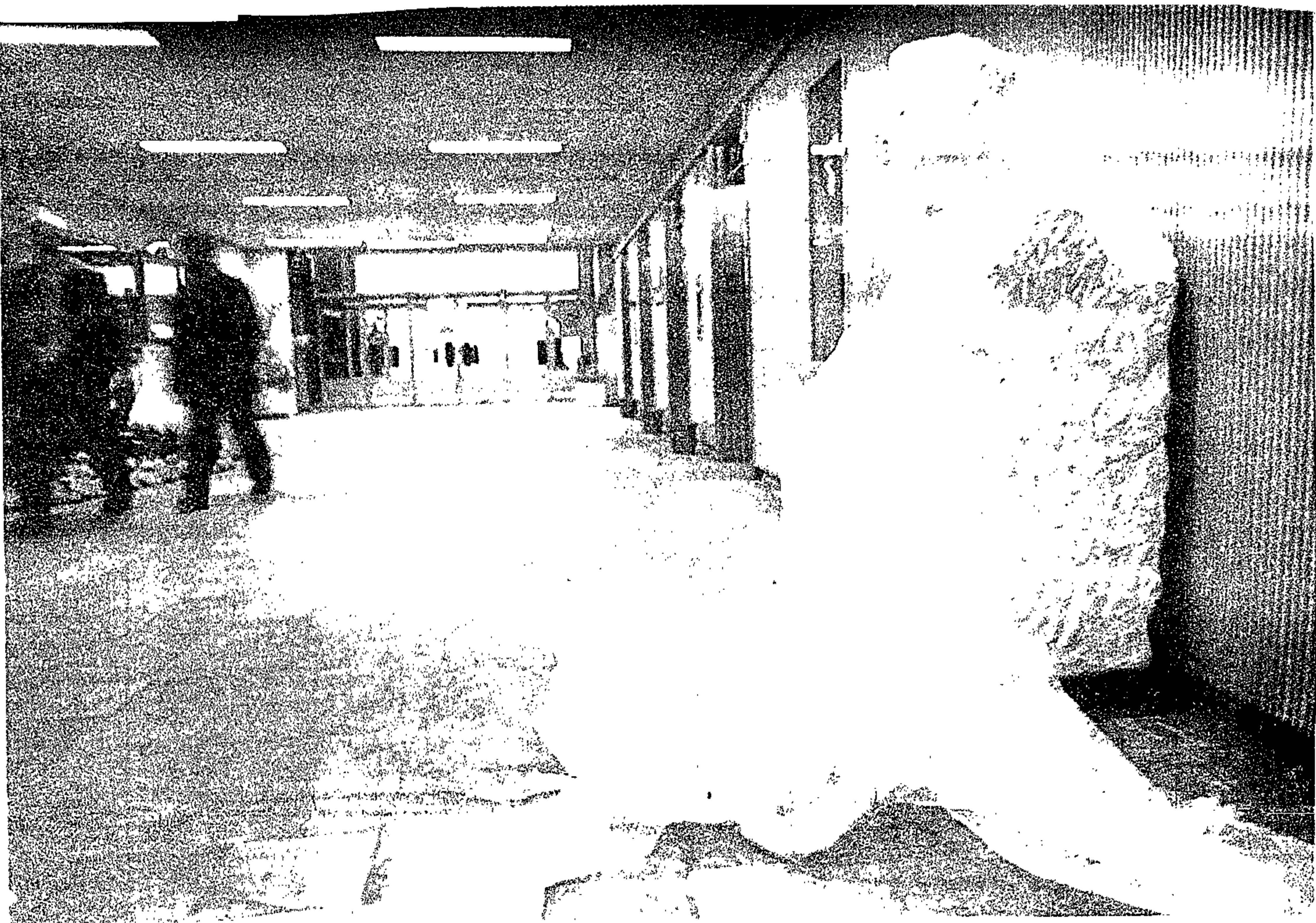
There have been calls on Cabinet Ministers to use under-employed MPs more constructively instead of employing outsiders at taxpayers' expense. In one case, former Cape Times editor Tony Heard is to be appointed senior adviser to Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal. An MP could do the job without further pay.

DP Natal senator Errol

Moorcroft predicts that many backbenchers from the biggest parties will be "bored with life" as they will have little to do. On the other hand, MPs from smaller parties such as the DP will be inundated with work, he says. (30/4)

MPs now have to pay for their own expenses — even stamps — which will cut the effective pay of the busier MPs from the smaller parties, while those from the bigger parties with a smaller workload will increase their "profit" margins. (18/6/94)

Up-country MPs complain that their salaries are justified by the expense of running a second household in Cape Town. As long as Parliament remains in Cape Town, the best-off MPs will be the Cape ones who have no need for a second home. Should Parliament move to Pretoria, it will be the PWV MPs who will coin it.



Picture: MIKE HUTCHINGS, Reuters.

ORANIA BOUND? The bust of apartheid architect Hendrik Verwoerd, removed from the Plein Street building which used to bear his name, stands almost forgotten in a bleak corridor in Customs House on the Foreshore.

Verwoerd's lonely bust

Weekend Argus Reporter **304A**

ONE of the first decisions President Nelson Mandela's Cabinet made was to remove the name of Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd from the parliamentary complex.

Gone this week were the large letters proclaiming the parliamentary office block in Plein Street as the H F Verwoerd Building. It is now simply 120 Plein Street.

Gone, too, is the large marble bust of the late prime minister and grand architect of apartheid.

Mr Verwoerd's widow, Betsie, donated the bust in 1972 and it stood for more than 20 years outside the building's main auditorium.

This week, it was discovered, wrapped in plastic, in an anonymous hallway at Customs House on the Foreshore.

Don't ignore groundswell, Yengeni warns government

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Political Staff

CAPE African National Congress MP Tony Yengeni joins a chorus of criticism of the government's failure to declare June 16 a national holiday — and also opposes attempts to move parliament to Pretoria.

He has warned the government of national unity that it is bound to hit a brick wall if it continues to ignore the wishes of the people.

Condemning the June 16 decision, the former ANC regional secretary said the people knew they had to be their own agents for change if the rulers ignored their views.

The government has meanwhile appointed a committee to examine the future of public holidays.

Mr Yengeni said President Nelson Mandela's commitment to the spirit of national unity and reconciliation should not

sacrifice the principles of the resistance that many people held dear.

June 16 stood out as the most important date in the "revolutionary calendar" of the struggle, not because of the number of people who died, but through its political impact.

Mr Yengeni said: "We all accept this in the light of new political developments, our nation should be guided by a vision of reconciliation and national unity, but this commitment should not obliterate the people's history of resistance to apartheid."

"By disregarding June 16, we get the impression that tradition and culture of resistance is being discarded."

"Great nations in the world fought revolutions and wars, but they don't forget their past. Yearly they observe their commemorations."

Mr Yengeni said the government's failure to honour the

Soweto day sent a bad signal to the youth who would think their heroic contributions to the struggle were being forgotten.

Referring to the investigation into the possible move of parliament to Pretoria, Mr Yengeni said he opposed this because it would reinforce the monopoly of the country's resources by the PWV.

The move would also ruin Cape Town's economy and tourism.

"There should be a broad consultation on the matter. And, if this doesn't happen, then the people will be left with no option, but to take to the streets."

"I think this is an emotional issue which should be tested in a referendum."

Concerned groups in Johannesburg had set up a committee to pressurise the government to make June 16 a national holiday.

304A

AR 18/6/94

Mandela to name new ambassadors

STimes

1916/94

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela is set to finalise scores of new diplomatic postings this week, including the crucial position of ambassador to Washington.

ANC Western Cape leader Allan Boesak and former Robben Islanders Ahmed Kathrada and Walter Sisulu have been mentioned as contenders for Harry Schwarz's post.

However, sources close to Mr Mandela said he had given the thumbs down to Mr Boesak, leaving Mr Kathrada as the strongest contender for the post.

● Some 30 former ANC overseas representatives, who returned home at the end of last month, are to become members of the Department of Foreign

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

Affairs and some will be sent abroad as ambassadors.

Sources said some of the ANC members were likely to be sent to represent South Africa's interests in United Nations agencies such as the World Health Organisation. Others were in line for ambassadorial postings to Cairo and Harare.

(304A)
Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans said this week South Africa would establish an office at the Organisation of African Unity's headquarters in Addis Ababa even if it meant making sacrifices elsewhere.

Going soft, but not on 'aliens'

SI Times

19/6/94

ON a hill above the whites-only town of Orania the paunches of two Telkom officials cast a shadow on black men digging a trench.

It was a sight Orania could have done without as it turned its eyes to the Volkstaadraad this week, the first step in the parliamentary battle for an Afrikaner homeland.

The movement is battling the suspicion that, even should the raad prepare enough charts, maps and demographics to convince the ANC-dominated government that a volkstaat is viable and justifiable, Afrikaners are not ready to hew their own wood and draw their own water.

"The number of Afrikaners who will make the sacrifices to settle in a volkstaat, even in the long term, will never be many — probably fewer than a million or even far fewer," Volkstaadraad member and town planner Dirk Viljoen wrote recently.

The immutable tenet of the volkstaat is "freedom from dependance on alien (meaning black) labour".

"This is our most unpopular principle.

Our ancestors tamed this land. Now we are soft," says veteran volkstater Ben van den Berg from his office in Morgen-zon.

He and his co-founders of the Association of Oranjewerkers were pioneers of the trek movement, a radical departure from the *lyntrek* (line drawing) volkstaters.

The latter group of armchair volkstaters were content to stay put and demand that the volkstaat come to them in the form of jigsaw maps that traced tortuous lines between predominantly black and white areas, or the old boundaries of Boer republics.

They gave rise to at least five homeland "proposals" now in the air; a dozen towns declaring themselves volkstate and the growing practice of labelling anything that doesn't move — and sometimes even bakkies and tractors — with stickers proclaiming "this is a volkstaat".

The former group identified sparsely inhabited land that no one else seemed to want, and moved there.

Volkstaters shake their heads at the irony that, after being ignored for more than a decade by the white government,

they are now theoretically closer than ever to their dream — under black rule.

But the Volkstaadraad — which amounts to official sanction to thoroughly investigate the idea — could only have come about after the end of minority rule, said a grandson of the late H F Verwoerd, Carel Boshoff.

"Sanitised by the 'end of apartheid' and taking part in relatively peaceful elections, the Afrikaner ethnic movement gained respectability both locally and internationally, illustrated by its recognition in the interim constitution," he said.

No one expects results from the Volkstaadraad this year. The 20 members — who chose June 16 for their first formal meeting — are tasked with preparing reports on all aspects of a homeland.

In the meantime, the struggle for the hearts, minds and sinews of the Afrikaner volk continues. (304A)

The volkstaters can write off the Telkom officials who visited Orania this week. Asked whether there was any problem using black labour in the village, one growled: "They know we work this way — or not at all."

Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad speaks to EDYTH BULBRING about South Africa's new interest-driven international affairs policy

New SA open for business

SiTimes

1916194

AZIZ PAHAD was running an hour late. He was tied up with representatives from the German government's development wing, and then another man, Mr Gopichand Hinduja, who also appeared to have lots of money, an aide explained.

The new deputy foreign minister's willingness to make time for wealthy and influential people like Mr Hinduja — said to be the 10th-richest man in the world — became clear as he explained the new government's pragmatic and interest-driven foreign policy.

Simply put, it entailed being very nice to the rich and powerful, nice to the potentially rich and powerful and kind to old friends who were neither.

Although Mr Pahad would blanch at such a crude assessment, he agreed that gone were the days of making friends for friends' sake to further partisan objectives.

It is a whole new game for a man who spent a good part of his ANC career trying to isolate South Africa, and a department which devoted itself to sanctions-busting and forming ties with everyone that would have it.

Like all the other ministries under the new government, South Africa's foreign-policy priorities are dictated by the need to ensure the Reconstruction and Development Programme's success.

"Our priority is making sure that the country has a sustainable, growing economy, otherwise the Reconstruction and Development Programme will remain an empty theoretical concept," Mr Pahad said.

The job of the Foreign Affairs department was to promote and sell this programme abroad to secure foreign resources as swiftly as possible.

Mr Pahad firmly ruled out the sale of grand embassies and art works as mooted by Minister Without Portfolio Jay Naidoo. The resources he speaks of are investment, favourable trading terms, development aid and soft loans.

Given South Africa's sanctions-battered past, the focus will be to increase favourable economic relations with its traditional trading partners — the United States and the European Union.

But, Mr Pahad said, South Africa would also be looking beyond traditional partners to expand economic relations with, among others, Canada,

Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, India, the People's Republic of China and Latin America.

Another area where links were unexplored was the Middle East, not only for trade, investment and tourism but for oil, he said.

There were also important new friends to consolidate politically in the context of being the new government. These would include China, which was sympathetic to the ANC as a liberation movement, and Russia, whose relationship with the ANC changed with the collapse of communism at the turn of the decade. Both these countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council.

As there were scores of other developing countries on the lookout for favourable relations with the most important economic and political blocs — the EU, Nafta and the Association of South East Asian Nations — SA had to capitalise on the enormous goodwill that existed since the successful elections, and keep it going, said Mr Pahad.

South Africa had two aces to play in this regard. The first was its moral status in the world. The second, its position in an increasingly marginalised continent.

Despite all gloomy predictions, South Africa became the example of the "best miracle of the century".

"We have captured the moral high ground in non-racialism, democracy and conflict resolution to become the world leader in this arena."

BUT, more importantly, it had become imperative for the rest of the world that this success story continued. For if South Africa were to fail — and its success depended on consolidating democracy with economic growth — there would be serious consequences for other countries' internal policies on democracy and racism.

"They see our success as a godsend to a more healthy approach to politics. They want us to succeed."

Another ace was South Africa's position in the continent of Africa.

"If we don't sink, they see the hope that the region won't sink, and if the region doesn't sink they see some hope of a breakthrough in the development of other parts of Africa."

This brings him to South Africa's second foreign-

NEW GAME... Aziz Pahad — 'Making sure the country has a sustainable, growing economy'

(304A)

policy priority — its relationship with the southern African region, which, he says, is fundamental to South Africa's broader interests.

President Nelson Mandela's reception at the OAU summit this week as the messiah of the continent highlighted the important role that South Africa could play in the continent. However, South Africa will have to be careful to straddle the demands and expectations of the rest of Africa with pragmatic policies.

Mr Pahad once again has a realistic attitude towards relations with Africa.

"Unless we can achieve mutually beneficial development in our region, we will not be able to tackle effectively our international or regional challenges," he said.

This translates into developing regional co-operation by joining the SADC and rationalising the many regional institutions like the SA Customs Union and the Preferential Trade Agreement.

He stops at integration. This was a long-term vision and would be dictated by the process of co-operation.

It would also be in South Africa's interests to ensure stability in both the region and the continent. A lot of time would be spent strengthening OAU mechanisms for conflict resolution.

Mr Pahad sees regional co-operation extending not only to areas of economic development but to basic issues like

gun-smuggling, drug-peddling, refugees and illegal immigrants.

He distinguishes between illegal immigrants and refugees, the latter which South Africa would deal with according to internationally accepted conventions.

"But we cannot turn a blind eye to illegal immigrants. We are going to have to deal with this in a way that protects the interests of our country. We must have an effective immigration policy and apply it justly and humanely."

It was in this context that regional development became a priority for SA.

"If you don't have mutually advantageous regional development, illegal immigrants will come to South Africa. And, given that our borders are so big, we will not be able to prevent it"

would not mean establishing diplomatic missions everywhere in the world, he said.

This would be dictated by the budget and the national interest and would entail downscaling some embassies, having one diplomatic representative serving several countries, upgrading priority areas and establishing links with countries with perceived potential.

One example under debate was the policy towards the People's Republic of China and Taiwan.

He pointed out that, should South Africa establish diplomatic ties with the PRC, it would have to forego long-established diplomatic ties with Taiwan. The PRC was

important for South Africa not only because of the enormous trade potential, but also because it was a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Taiwan was, however, one of South Africa's largest trading partners.

"In the final analysis, our decision will be determined by our own interests and international precedents."

Mr Pahad stressed that foreign policy would not be dictated only by South Africa's interests.

However, establishing friendships and coming to the rescue of friends did not necessitate establishing embassies in these countries. "There are other forms of interaction and co-operation."

Picture: ARISHAD SATTAR



BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, June 21 1994

NP now restructured into federal party, says FW (304A)

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — Restructuring of the NP from four autonomous provincial parties into a single federal NP had been completed, party leader and second Deputy President FW de Klerk announced yesterday.

He said while individual party political interests had to come second to the interests of the country and its people, the NP would nevertheless play a watchdog role in politics.

De Klerk told a news conference the NP's role would, as long as it was part of the government of national unity, be a dual one.

On the one hand, it would be a co-operative and dedicated partner in government, but on the other hand — as the country's second biggest party — it would "make itself clearly heard with regard to what it believes is best for SA".

He said while he was co-operating "fully" and constructively within government, he was also NP leader.

"I have not been appointed to the Cabinet by President Mandela. I have been elected by 4-million people," De Klerk said.

"Whether he (Mandela) likes me or not, he has to accept me, and so (must) the other ANC members.

"I am there because the constitution says I have the right to be there," he said. "I am not therefore, in the party political sense, part of Mr Mandela's team. I am the leader of the NP team."

De Klerk said he intended maintaining a political profile, but in a way which would "never" stand in the way of co-operating with the ANC and Inkatha in government, as well as the other parties in Parliament, in the best interests of SA.

He also gave notice that, as NP leader, he would not be attending "rallies of a party political nature of another party".

He announced that in future the

NP's federal congress would be the highest authority and policy-making body within the party.

However, whenever the congress was not sitting, the newly constituted federal council would fulfil the role.

Within the new nine provinces, provincial congresses would be autonomous regarding organisational, local and regional matters, but subject to the programme of principles and the general policy of the NP.

The federal council met for the first time in Cape Town yesterday, De Klerk said.

"A thorough evaluation of the past election was made, and a start was also made with constructing a strategy for the following five years, aimed at winning the next election," De Klerk said.

The federal council appointed former deputy constitutional development minister Fanus Schoeman the new executive director of the NP, with effect from next month.

Winnie's ...

FW: NP to play dual role

CF 21/6/94
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE NP would play a dual role in the next five years in the government, NP leader Mr F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Facing questions from the media on his and his party's new role at an NP briefing, Mr De Klerk said a top priority of his party would be to promote constructive co-operation to ensure the new government worked. (3049)

The NP would also play a watchdog role as was appropriate for any opposition party.
"My co-operation is fully constructive but I

am also leader of the NP and not invited into the government," he said.

"I am there because I was voted there by four million people and because the constitution says I have a right to be there."

He was comfortable with his new role. He had prepared himself psychologically before the election, "and besides it was our party's policy that there should be power-sharing".

He said he had sympathy for all new members of the cabinet and was impressed by their commitment to ensure the government was a success.

ack at ANC

Sowetan

304A

21/6/94

Mandela can't do without me — FW

DEPUTY president FW de Klerk has accused elements within the African National Congress of trying to undermine him.

This follows criticism that De Klerk had systematically turned down invitations to important events, including a June 16 service at which the theme of national unity and reconciliation was emphasised.

"As leader of the NP I do not think I should attend functions of a party political nature of other parties as a regular exercise," he said.

He emphasised his independence within the government of national unity.

De Klerk said the support of four million voters had made him deputy president.

"Whether he (President Mandela) likes me or not, he has to accept me and so do the other ANC members. I'm there because the constitution says I have the right to be there," Mr De Klerk said.

Sowetan Correspondent.

FW calls for voters' roll in next election to avoid irregularities

304A
ARLT 21/6/94

□ Nats probing changes to the constitution

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

A VOTERS' roll should be used in the next election to avoid irregularities, says Deputy President and National Party leader F W de Klerk.

The party, unhappy with the present constitution, is probing whether to call for a mixed electoral system of constituency and proportional representation.

Also under consideration are proposed changes to the constitution which would allow mass defections from parties, and the formation of new parties, without MPs losing their seats.

The interim constitution says MPs — elected by proportional representation on party lists — must resign if they change political allegiance.

Mr De Klerk said his party was "not happy" with the present constitution.

While the constitution would be in force for five years, some

changes could be implemented before 1999, he said.

Asked whether he favoured a constituency-based system of representation in the final constitution, Mr De Klerk said an NP committee was examining "refinement" of the constitution and changes to the electoral system.

Its investigation would include an examination of the German system of mixed proportional and geographically based representation.

"In principle our viewpoint is we should continue in the final constitution with proportional system."

But voters' rolls should be compiled.

"Great care should be taken only people who are entitled to vote get their names on the list."

Voting at polling booths closest to people's residences did not mean a return to constituency-based representation.

Mr De Klerk said the final constitution should make it

possible to form a new party by breaking away from an existing one.

The right to cross the floor had led to "unsavoury incidents" in the tricameral parliament, he said in apparent reference to political melodramas in the now-defunct house of delegates, which saw some MPs changing parties more than twice in a day.

Mr De Klerk said the NP's role in the government of national unity would be twofold, to be a co-operative and constructive partner, but also to be a "watchdog".

Asked whether he was satisfied his party had been sufficiently consulted in the preparation of tomorrow's budget, Mr De Klerk said drafting of the budget had begun in May last year.

The NP had had "major" input. There had been "strong interaction" with the National Economic Forum and Transitional Executive Committee sub-council on finance.

UN kills the fattened calf as Nzo leads South African return

PETER FABRICIUS (3047) **ANC** 22 Feb 74
The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — South Africa resumes its seat in the General Assembly of the United Nations tomorrow with some fanfare after 20 years in isolation.

The South African delegation to the UN, headed by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, will fill the long-vacant seats behind the South Africa sign about mid-morning after the 184-member General Assembly has considered — and almost certainly en-

dorsed the report of the nine-member committee recommending that the credentials that were taken away in 1974 be returned.

The committee casually approved South Africa's application at a meeting lasting a few minutes last week, without even mentioning the country by name.

But there will be more ceremony tomorrow. The South African delegation, including Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans and the ambassador to the UN, Jim Steward, will

wait at the side of the General Assembly chamber while it considers the credentials committee's recommendation.

Once it has endorsed the recommendation, it will ask the South African delegation to take its proper place in the body of the assembly, and is likely to receive a standing ovation.

The assembly will then consider — presumably for the last time — an agenda item on apartheid.

The Special Committee Against Apartheid will deliver its final report, Mr Nzo will address the assembly and

there will be a vote on a resolution to scrap the apartheid committee and re-admit South Africa.

About 30 speakers from other countries are expected to take part in the debate, including many foreign ministers who will be in New York for the annual meeting of the group of 77 nations — which Mr Nzo will address the next day.

There was some consideration inside the South African government about postponing the resumption of the UN seat until the start of the next General Assembly session in September,

when President Mandela could have headed the delegation.

But it was decided to do it now so that South Africa can start playing a part in all the UN's activities as soon as possible. It will resume its seat before the problem of its \$100 million arrears to the UN has been resolved.

The UN has agreed to shelve this matter for now.

South Africa's return to the assembly and its related bodies will mark the repeal of the last remaining UN penalty imposed on Pretoria in response to apartheid.

Parliamentarians to be given constituencies, say the major parties

ARG 22/6/94

304A

□ Move signals a return to the days of local MPs

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENTARIANS from major parties are to be allocated constituencies in a bid to restore links broken by proportional representation.

This signals a return to the days people could approach their local MP for help on parochial issues.

And it means MPs, particularly members of parties with large numbers in parliament, will not be able to sit idle between rare speaking duties.

Controversy has risen already about huge salaries to be paid to MPs, with concern that most will not have much to do.

The system of proportional representation by party lists, while it boosted democracy by ensuring smaller parties got seats in parliament, severed direct links between voters and their representatives.

The advantage of the new system is that MPs who defect from a party lose their seats, unlike the previous system of constituency representation where parliamentarians could switch parties without any legal obligation to resign.

But while MPs were elected partly from national and partly from provincial lists, there is no formal means of holding them accountable to constituencies.

Each National Party MP will be assigned a constituency, a party spokesman said.

The party was in the process of being restructured.

A new executive structure

headed by executive director Fanus Schoeman was announced this week.

Restructuring involves provinces being sub-divided into organisational districts.

Existing constituency will be used and new ones opened in territories new to the NP. MPs will be allocated to districts.

The Western Cape will be well represented, having garnered the most votes for the NP in the national assembly in the election.

Of its 82 members of the national assembly, 23 come from the Western Cape and 23 from the PWV.

There are six Western Cape representatives among the 17 NP senators.

There are four NP members of the national assembly from the sparsely-populated Northern Cape, 12 from Kwazulu-Natal, two from Northern Transvaal, four from North West province, four from the Eastern Transvaal, four from the Free State, and six from the Eastern Cape.

African National Congress Western Cape assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr said provisional arrangements were that "constituencies" would be based on ANC sub-regions.

"A complication is that there will be a ward system in local government elections and we may decide to follow similar boundaries," he said.

Mr Hofmeyr said the need for a constituency system was urgent: "There is a gap at the moment between the grassroots and parliament."

The ANC was still in the pro-

cess of allocating parliamentarians to constituencies, but it was hoped this would be done within the next few weeks.

The Democratic Party, sparsely represented in national and provincial parliaments, is to use its branches in place of members of legislatures to handle constituency issues.

Party sources pointed out the DP had argued strongly in the post-1990 constitutional talks for a mixed system of proportional and direct representation.

This argument had been based on the very problem now manifesting itself.

A Freedom Front spokesman said its nine members of the national assembly were each expected to represent a province. Communication between supporters and these MPs was through officials of regional offices.

While Natal had not returned anyone from the Freedom Front to the national assembly, senator Karl Werth was looking after the interests of supporters in that province, the spokesman said.

Inkatha Freedom Party's 43 members of the national assembly and five senators were being assigned constituency duties, said IFP MP Walter Felgate.

"Each MP will be given an area to cover, to keep in touch with the issues and inform us of public opinion."

The size of areas assigned to MPs would depend on the political conditions in each area, he said.

Mr Felgate did not want to predict what the IFP's position would be in negotiations.

ANC rebellion on Parliament issue

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A rebellious ANC parliamentary caucus yesterday resolved that the controversial secret cabinet committee on the siting of Parliament be disbanded in favour of a representative parliamentary committee operating in the open.

The resolution formed part of a growing opposition by MPs and Senators to being kept in the dark about major decisions, and sparked the formation of a special committee to re-examine the relationship between government, the cabinet and the ANC.

ANC MPs yesterday complained about being sidelined when it came to key planning initiatives — the siting of a legislative capital being a prime example.

MPs noted that President Nelson Mandela had only briefly attended one meeting of the 312-member caucus, while some ministers had also missed meetings.

This has created misgivings about the role of the caucus and how effective ordinary MPs would be in shaping government initiatives.

MPs from a number of parties have been up in arms about what they see as a cosy cabinet committee sitting behind closed doors to investigate a matter that holds far-reaching implications for all MPs and the country as a whole.

ANC caucus chairman Mendi Msimang said the caucus had resolved that the present four-person cabinet committee studying the seat of Parliament should be disbanded.

A final report would be the product of a reconstituted committee consisting of representatives of several parties.

Mandela will become directly involved in the controversy next week when he is set to answer questions in the Senate about the cabinet committee.

Meanwhile, the special ANC committee to look into the relationship between the party, the cabinet and the government of national unity will be headed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Other members will include Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel, Posts and Telecommunications Minister Pallo Jordan and MP Raymond Suttner, who has been outspoken about the dangers of ordinary MPs losing their influence and being forced to toe the party line.

Rebel ANC caucus wants transparency

CT 22/6/94 304A 43

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A REBELLIOUS ANC parliamentary caucus yesterday resolved that the controversial secret cabinet committee on the siting of Parliament be disbanded in favour of a representative parliamentary committee operating in the open.

The resolution forms part of growing opposition by MPs and Senators to being kept in the dark about major decisions and has sparked the formation of a special committee to re-examine the role between the government, the cabinet and the ANC. This committee will be headed by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

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a legislative capital being a prime example.

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● MPs call for party to remain in Cape

— Page 2

World wants to be in on public enterprises

□ Businesses seek partnership deals in SA

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

INTERNATIONAL businesses are approaching the government for partnership deals in public enterprises — in fields ranging from energy to aviation.

A huge deal involving energy supply to a neighbouring country was the subject of talks this week between public enterprises minister Stella Sigcau and United States business interests.

From elsewhere in Africa there has been an approach for joint ventures with South African Airways on aircraft maintenance.

Transnet is exploring a major contract with Libya and a possible air partnership with Tanzania.

The negotiations are in line with President Mandela's call

for international partnerships with domestic businesses as part of a drive for investment in post-apartheid South Africa.

Performance of public enterprises, whose activities range from forestry to diamond mining, were being closely monitored by potential investors.

And Mrs Sigcau said the government had not closed the door on privatisation of public enterprises.

"Our interaction with other people in the international community will also broaden our thinking and if we feel that perhaps our people can benefit because of a certain line of action then we have to consider our people more than ideology."

But the same principle applied to nationalisation — it could be used if it would benefit those disadvantaged by apartheid.

For the moment, emphasis was on commercialisation, but privatisation could be examined as a long-term option if it empowered people previously excluded from economic wealth.

Commercialisation was the better option for now because black people wanted to demonstrate that they were capable of running their own affairs.

Each of the public enterprises run by her department had an affirmative action programme.

Keeping parastatals in the state-owned fold was a guarantee that affirmative action would be guaranteed.

A monitoring mechanism will be set up soon by the public enterprises department to ensure affirmative action programmes of parastatals are implemented.

focus on volkstaat

Sowetan 24/6/94

LAST WEEK the newly established Volkstaat Council met for the first time in a process that some hope will result in an independent white state.

"We are absolutely convinced that we will end up with a *volkstaat*," says Freedom Front leader Dr Corné Mulder in an interview.

Their faith in a *volkstaat*, he says, was based on "the justice of our cause and the determination of our people".

Mulder adds that there has also been a number of discussions with the Government, and that these were characterised by honesty and integrity.

"Our priority is to secure self-determination within a geographical area," he says. But, he concedes, the need for such an area could disappear further down the road.

There is a new mood of peace and reconciliation in South Africa: "If things continue as they are — we are now in a honeymoon phase — the need for such an entity might disappear."

"But we are convinced that this honeymoon period will not continue. Reality will return to South Africa and these realities must be addressed."

Mr Pieter Aucamp, the general secretary of the Afrikaner Volksfront, agrees with the vision of a *volkstaat* but feels the council does not go far enough.

"At this stage, it is limited in its authority and application," he says.

"The constitution places a *volkstaat* within the framework of a unitary state."

"That means the maximum that can be obtained is the status of a provincial authority. It neglects the principle of the self-determination of nations, and rules out total sovereignty."

Aucamp feels another limitation of the Council is that its authority is limited to research and making recommendations.

The council also has to complete its work while the interim constitution is in place. "If no progress is made by then, the principle of a *volkstaat* falls away," he says.

And the AVF is determined that a *volkstaat* becomes a reality. "We will do everything possible to achieve it," says Aucamp.

Physical resistance

"We don't want to go into physical resistance. However, if your people's future is at stake, there may not be a choice. But we don't want terrorism."

He said there could only be lasting peace in South Africa if it is recognised that everybody was entitled to self-determination.

"Every nation on earth should have that right," said Aucamp. "And not only the right to live out your cultural heritage; that's not self-determination."

"We'll strive for full self-determination to the end. A nation without a country, without a piece of land, will disintegrate."

He pays tribute to the whites-only areas of Orania and Morgenon as being in line with the

While the ideal of a *volkstaat* is still very much alive, its realisation is being threatened by division among right-wing Afrikaners. Political Reporter **Tyrone August** takes a look at the issue:



The ideal of a volkstaat will disappear as a geo-political concept. Instead, it will become nothing more than a cultural concept

(30/4/94)

principle of self-determination.

But, says Aucamp, these areas are still part of a unitary state. "And if you don't have constitutional power, what do you have?" he asks. "There must be an all-inclusive solution."

He is confident that such a solution is possible: "If the principle of self-determination is recognised, then there will be ways and means to reach agreement through peaceful ways."

Afrikaners

But not all those he may regard as Afrikaners agree with the notion of a *volkstaat*. Among them are Mr Theo Bekker, a senior lecturer at the University of Pretoria.

"The problem with an independent homeland is that it is once again a division of South Africa," says Bekker.

"It also gives a certain group of people a way of continuing with apartheid. And the perpetuation of segregation is unacceptable."

He says South Africa is still trying to recover from its past: "Those wounds must still heal, and the idea of a *volkstaat* can bedevil that. It can jeopardise nation-building and unity."

Bekker also questions where such a *volkstaat* will be located. "Where is the geographical area for such a place?" he asks.

"We must continue the debate about a *volkstaat*, but we must not allow the perpetuation of apartheid."

However, he recognises the potential for violence if this ideal is thwarted. "The possibility is always there," he says. "It must not be underestimated."

Yet Bekker is adamant that other ways should be explored to accommodate the aspirations of conservative whites. He mentions federalism and decentralised decision-making as possibili-

ties. A concerted effort should be made as well to try to convince conservative whites that their rights are adequately protected by the Bill of Rights.

Political analyst Dr Wim Booysse shares Bekker's opposition to a *volkstaat*. But, unlike him, Booysse believes setting up the council was the right decision.

"The Government is addressing conservative white fears," says Booysse. "The Government has said to the right-wing: the door is open."

Right wing

He feels the right wing is being outmanoeuvred, and refers to President Nelson Mandela's hint of a possible referendum as evidence.

"That is what the rightwingers don't want," says Booysse. "That will blow them away from the face of the earth."

He believes setting up a council is not just a tactic to play for time: "It is throwing the ball back to the rightwingers, and allowing them to air and debate their views."

"It is for them now to play the game. And it involves far more than the *volkstaat*. The *volkstaat* is merely a manifestation of their fears."

Booyse feels the Government has the upper hand. "The rightwing has now seen how a truly democratic government operates. That already is breaking down a lot of white conservative fears."

He says a question mark is hanging over the future of the Conservative Party: "The CP *per se* is starting to disappear from the political environment."

"The largest dilemma of the AVF (of which the CP is part) is that they have isolated themselves by not participating in the election. Only 12 to 15 percent of conservative whites did not vote."

"So how big is CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg's constituency? It's fairly weak and fairly small."

Booyse says the AVF's attempt to get involved in discussions with the Government about a *volkstaat* is a positive sign. "It is not of their making," he says, "but Mandela's."

"The current process is creating enormous strain within the rightwing. They do not know how to deal with the situation. It's a further eradication of the unity base of the rightwing."

"There is no unity. The concept of a *volkstaat* will disappear as a geo-political and economic concept. Instead, it will become nothing more than a cultural concept."

Bid to make MPs more accountable

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

3049 CT 24/6/94

Constituency may return to SA politics

IN a major restructuring yesterday the African National Congress made a significant move towards constituency-based politics.

ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday announced that the ANC had decided that public representatives elected via the proportional representation system in April would be put to work in specific geographic areas.

Announcing far-reaching changes to the structure and operation of the ANC at a press conference yesterday, he said that MPs in the national and regional parliaments would, in addition to their legislative duties, be deployed throughout the country to work with people on the ground.

Deputy President FW de Klerk this week disclosed that the National Party favoured changing the interim constitu-

tion to allow for a mixture of the proportional representation and constituency systems as operated in Germany.

Under the current system, MPs do not formally represent a particular region or constituency.

Parliament is currently considering plans to give monthly constituency allowances to the MPs, as well as travel allowances to allow public representatives to stay in close touch with voters in their areas.

In an implicit criticism of the present

arrangement, Mr Ramaphosa said it was important that there should be "a clear link" between public representatives and the people who elected them.

A system of "effective accountability" was necessary to ensure that MPs in the national and regional parliaments remained in close touch with grassroots supporters.

He said that ANC structures on the ground were impatient for MPs to return to the community to brief them on developments and to serve as a conduit for local concerns and demands.

The ANC would hold its annual national conference from December 17-22, while the party had asked its nine provincial regions to hold their conferences before October.

The ANC has decided to extend its powerful 26-member national working committee to include all ministers, deputy ministers and provincial premiers or leaders.

Standing committees are barely sitting

3047
Wm 24-30/6/94

Chris Louw

THE country's parliamentarians are constructing the new system of government as they go along, with standing committees being erected this week just in time to handle new legislation as it is tabled.

Most of the standing committees for the 27 ministries have not yet been established. In the last week before parliament convened, seven were hastily put together, keeping one step ahead of the introduction of Bills.

According to parliamentary rules, all legislation must first be debated in the standing committees, representing all the parties in parliament, before the first reading can take place in the National Assembly.

In this session—which will end in the first week of July—three Justice Bills and a Constitution Amendment Bill will be tabled. A Human Rights Bill, a Publications Bill and a Home Affairs Bill, dealing with passports, are also expected to be tabled.

Justice Minister Dullah Omar on Tuesday tabled the Judicial Service Commission Bill to establish the commission which will make recommendations on the constitutional court.

This will submit a list of ten nominees to President Nelson Mandela, who will choose six of them to serve on the 11-member constitutional court.

The Senate will also soon see action. Bills approved by the National Assembly will be scheduled for consideration by the Senate between next Wednesday and July 1.

New parliamentarians this week settled into their new routine, with a programme of events being provided for the first time since the advent of democracy. Confusion reigned during the previous session, as few parliamentarians knew what to expect from day to day.

The subcommittee of the National Assembly's rules committee met on Monday and Tuesday to prepare for the parliamentary session.

New parliamentarians were this week taught the ropes during two special information seminars. Parliamentary staff informed them on procedural matters, including standing rules, committee procedure and the translation and interpretation services.

They were also shown the layout of the parliamentary complex and informed about library, catering and recreation facilities.

On Monday orientation meetings will be held for portfolio committees and heads of departments, explaining the aim of the various departments of state.

Meetings of National Assembly portfolio committees on legislation will also be held.

Debates on Bills will resume on Tuesday, after they have been discussed by the portfolio committees.

It is expected that there will be a joint sitting of the National Assembly and the Cabinet on Friday to discuss the Third Constitution Amendment Bill. Next Monday will see the start of the debate on the first reading of the budget in the National Assembly. The debate will probably continue until Thursday.

The National Assembly, according to parliamentary secretary Robin Douglas, will adjourn not later than Tuesday, July 5. It will reconvene on August 1.

CP unveils own version of council

(304A)

WIM 24-30/6/94

Jan Taljaard

NOW for a new ingredient in the far-rightwing's alphabet soup: the VWC. Days after deputy president Thabo Mbeki set the Volkstaat Council (VC) rolling with his qualified blessing, the Conservative Party unveiled its own version of the VC in the form of the Volksrepubliek Working Committee (VWC).

Most observers regard the VWC as a symbolic counter to the VC and another salvo in the battle for rightwing support between the Freedom Front (FF) and the CP/Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) formation.

Spokesmen for the latter grouping hotly deny this. Nor do they believe the VWC will be a powerless body without much influence alongside the statutorily sanctioned VC.

AVF chief secretary Pieter Aucamp this week defended the apparent duplication, saying the VWC would pursue a totally independent "Peo-

ple's Republic" without the constitutional constraints on the VC.

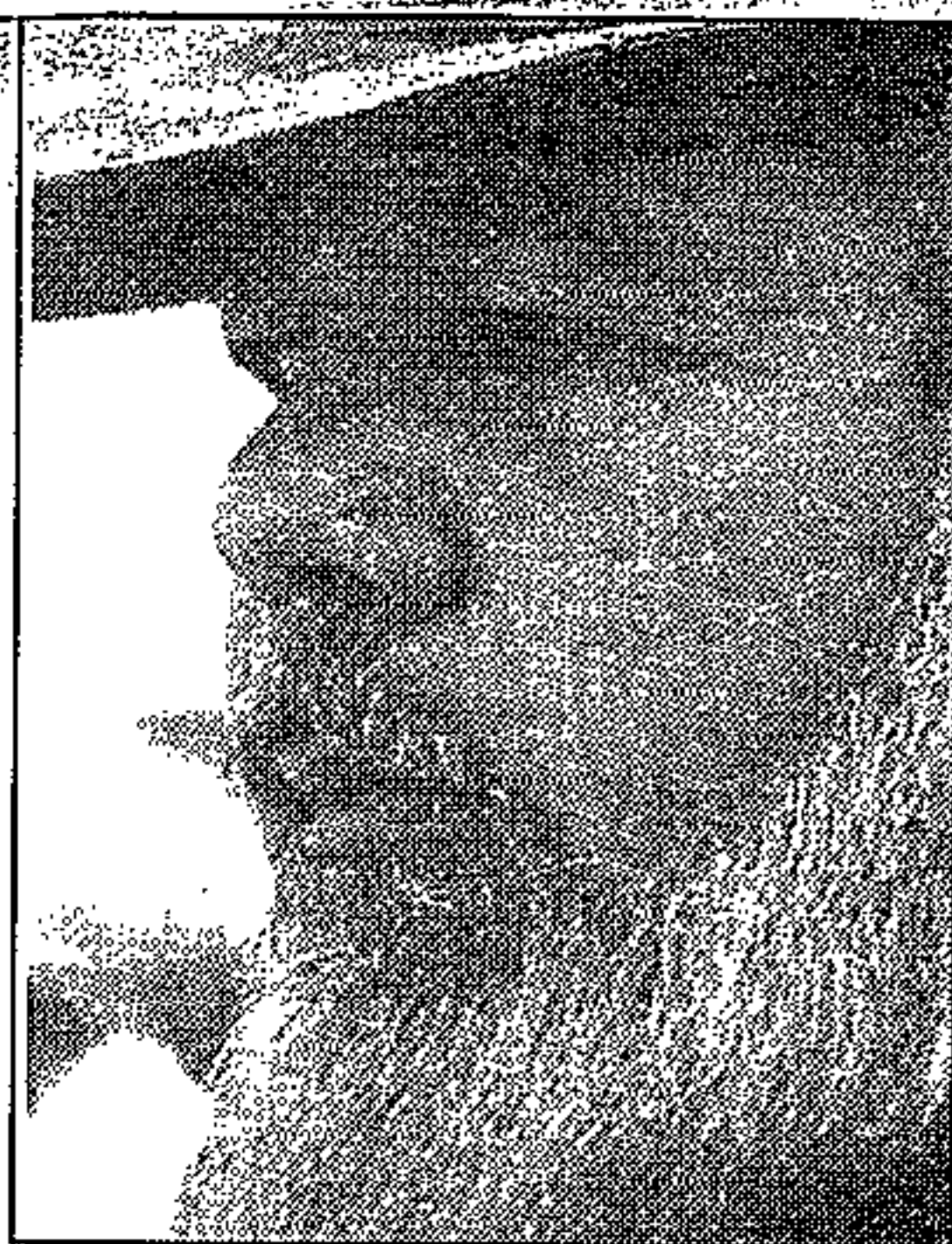
"The most the VC will ever attain is a 10th province. We see this only as an interim measure," Aucamp said.

He added that the VC's statutory status might "work against it, as it may lose legitimacy among its traditional supporters for being part of the government."

Aucamp pointed to Mbeki's speech during the opening of the VC's first official meeting in Pretoria last Thursday, in which he cautioned that the VC should reach solutions within the context of a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

"This is nothing more than telling the VC they should remain part of a unitary South Africa," Aucamp said. The VWC would not attempt to oppose the VC, and co-operation might emerge between the bodies.

Questioned after last Thursday's meeting, FF leader General Constand Viljoen appeared confident the majori-



Eugene Terre'Blanche ... Strangely subdued PHOTO: CLAUS STÄCKER

ty of *volkstaat* supporters would eventually back the VC.

He emphasised that work on future proposals should start immediately. It was also stressed that a proposal for a *volkstaat* had to be on the table within six months.

Despite the newfound rightwing romance with negotiation, the wild men of the right have not entirely disappeared. On Saturday a procession of about 100 camouflaged AWB members and other rightwingers came to a ragged halt a mere 50m from where the civilised proceedings of the VC had taken place two days earlier.

Led by the effusive "commandant" Jan du Toit of the Pretoria Burgerraad and AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, the group was there to hand over a memorandum to the Department of Justice asking for indemnity for jailed rightists.

Terre'Blanche was strangely subdued, showing only a flash of his fiery self when Du Toit asked for five marshals at the start of the procession. "I am the only marshall here, commandant!" he admonished a surprised Du Toit.

NP names shadow cabinet spokesmen

THE NP has named its team of official spokesmen who will play a crucial role in commenting on government policy now that the party is the effective official opposition. Deputy President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

The spokesmen are effectively shadow cabinet ministers.

Many of the party's former ministers and deputy ministers who failed to gain posts in the government, dominated by the ANC, now are now spokesmen on matters pertaining to their old departments.

Among them are Dr Piet Welgemoed (spokesman on transport) and Mr Andre Fourie (land affairs).

Rising party stars are former Randburg MP, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, who becomes broadcasting spokesman, former Conservative Party secretary general Mr Andries Beyers (regional affairs spokesman) and former Natal Klip River MP Mr Jacko Maree (local government spokesman). The former Natal MEC

Mr Dan Makhanya is spokesman on training. (SOUTH)

Natal NP leader Dr Danie Schutte is now justice spokesman and Dr Boy Geldenhuys is foreign affairs spokesman.

Former Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman is constitutional spokesman.

27 246 194

High price of local elections

NEXT year's nationwide local government elections would be very expensive, Mr Hannes Smit, director-general of State Expenditure, said yesterday. (3049)

He told the joint standing committee on finance he was not aware of any planning for expenditure for local government elections.

Mr Smit said he believed the government should not get involved in funding local government elections.

Earlier, Mr Smit said his department had also not budgeted for possible referendums on provincial boundaries. — Sapa

CT 2416194

NATIONAL PARTY

Looking ahead

fm 24/6/94
The National Party may have been eclipsed by the ANC's massive majority in the April election, but it is convinced it can grow sufficiently in the next five years to regain control of government.

The first steps on the comeback trail were taken this week when party leader and Deputy President FW de Klerk announced a major restructuring. It includes the appointment of five new deputy chairmen of the party's federal congress, in an apparent effort to reflect the NP's new support base.

Three of the five are not white: Western Cape provincial executive council member Gerald Morkel, MP David Chuenyane and former Natal MEC Ismail Omar. Two are women: former Deputy Minister Sheila Camerer and Northern Cape executive council member Peggy Hollander. (304A)

Earlier this month, the NP was sharply criticised for selecting people regarded as the old guard to lead the party in the nine newly created provinces. All nine were white men who had previously held senior posts in the party or in government (*Current Affairs* June 3).

De Klerk also announced that former Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman will be the NP's new executive director. He replaces Olaus van Zyl, who now serves on the PWV executive.

To further streamline the party, five directors have been appointed to assist Schoeman. They are MPs Marthinus van Schalkwyk (media, information and publications), Nic Koornhof (liaison, public relations and fund

fm 24/6/94
raising), Melt Hamman (research and information), Pieter Saaiman (organisation and development) and Kobus du Plessis (management services), who is not an MP.

The restructuring includes the designation of the NP's federal congress as its highest authority. Under the party's previous constitution it was structured on federal lines, with a federal leader and four autonomous provincial congresses. (304A)

Under the new structure, the nine provinces will have autonomy in issues such as organisation and local and regional matters, but will have to adhere to the party's national programme of principles and general policy.

The NP's new federal council, which governs the party when the congress is not in session, met for the first time in Cape Town this week. It includes seven members from each of the provinces. The first federal congress under the new structure will be held in the Western Cape in January.

De Klerk says all Nat MPs, senators and provincial legislators are currently being allocated specific districts in which they will look after the needs of voters.

He believes the restructuring will place the party in a position to win the next election. The NP's emphasis over the next few years will be on membership growth and the creation of new branches throughout the country.

In the five years during which the government of national unity will be in power, the NP will have to find a balance between serving the needs of the government and retaining its identity as a political party. ■

NEWS 23 vehicles hijacked in the PWV each day ● Impressive President's Fund

Mandela names *Sowetan* 27/6/94 29 trustees

BUSINESSMEN, Politicians and academics are among the 29 trustees of the President's Trust Fund which President Nelson Mandela set up on June 16 to help street children and marginalised youth. (30447)

Trustees include former Nafcoc chairman Mr Sam Motsuanyane; University of Cape Town vice-chancellor Dr Mamphela Ramphele; Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Dr Ben Ngubane; former Pan Africanist Congress deputy president and IEC commissioner Mr Dikgang Moseneke; former Kangwane chief minister Mr Enos Mabuza; businessman Mr Richard Maponya; De Beers deputy chairman Mr Nicky Oppenheimer; Liberty Life Foundation executive trustee Mr Hylton Applebaum; Rembrandt Group vice-chairman Mr Jan Rupert; Trade and Industry Minister Mr Trevor Manuel; Pan Africanist Congress National Assembly member Ms Patricia de Lille; Professor Fatima Meer, PWV MEC for Safety and Security Mrs Jessie Duarte; Mr Mandela's close friend Aminia Cachalia; and his daughter Zinzi Mandela-Hlongwane.

Mr Mandela pledged R150 000 from his salary to the fund for the next five years on June 16 at the Soweto Day rally at Orlando Stadium.

Donations from individuals and the business community have already been made. The fund will be administered by the African Bank in Johannesburg. —Sapa.

She's leading a revolution

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ARG 27/6/94 (304A)

A PARLIAMENTARY revolution, led by Speaker Frene Ginwala, is set to turn South Africa's democratic legislature into a powerful and accessible forum and a decisive counterpoint to the cabinet.

Parliament has already been stripped of some of the stuffy conventions of the Westminster era, but more far-reaching political innovations are in the pipeline.

This emerged in an interview with the forthright Dr Ginwala, whose influence has already led to a range of striking symbolic and material changes in and around the legislative chamber.

But she believes parliament "is still too set-piece".

Her vision of a powerful people's parliament, which is more accessible and user-friendly, coincides with the ANC caucus's muscle-flexing this week.

ANC MPs want a direct say in policy-making and are demanding closer consultation by ministers.

Dr Ginwala told The Argus she was determined to make parliament "a great democratic institution which moves and reflects the changes in society".

She would also like to see the balance of power "shifted away from the executive" and to make sure that the legislature is not "overshadowed, as it was in the past".

While committed to retaining the dignity of parliament, Dr Ginwala moved swiftly in pioneering changes that have

already altered the character of the institution.

Key changes so far include:

- Opening crucial standing committee debates to the press and public,

- Relaxing the formerly strict codes governing entrance to the public galleries, to ensure maximum accessibility,

- Relaxing dress codes, in part to allow for a fuller expression of the cultural heritage of MPs, and

- Using the old President's Council building as a crèche to enable women members in particular to play a full role in the life and work of parliament.

But more decisively political innovations are in the offing.

One of Dr Ginwala's ideas is to create a system through which special interest groups and non-government organisations register their interests with parliament and are then alerted to the dates and times of committee and National Assembly debates on these topics.

She is exploring the possibility of providing priority seating in the public gallery for such groups on these occasions.

"I think it would make a big impact if, when politicians, standing committees or ministers are talking about housing or water or food prices, the people most affected by these policy debates are sitting right there, watching.

"That interaction would be healthy, and make people feel this is their place and that they can come in and make a difference."

Dr Ginwala would also like to see a different "style" of government take shape, with ministries kicking-off policy-making by producing a "Green Paper" — geared to achieve maximum consultation — setting out the problems and the options on a particular issue.

This would be followed by a "White Paper" identifying the option favoured by the ministry, but still subject to consultation. Then the process would be completed by committee and parliamentary debates in full public view.

"It might mean ministers would not get what they wanted, but that is democracy," Dr Ginwala said.

She also wants a programme aimed at "going out into society and telling people what parliament is". There should be charts to show how laws are made "so that people understand the process".

Dr Ginwala believes, too, that parliament should "set a national example" in nurturing free speech.

If society was "gagged", she would encourage MPs "to speak out here".

Earlier this week, the ANC caucus — reflecting the sentiment of Dr Ginwala's thinking on the new legislature — declared that the cabinet committee investigating a possible change of location for parliament should be disbanded in favour of a representative committee of MPs.

It is evident that there is general disquiet among ANC backbenchers over cabinet decisions which do not take cognisance of parliament.

They can't gag Madam Speaker

ART 27/6/94

304A

"User-friendly, but no push-over" is a recent, and apt, headline writer's snappy assessment of one of South Africa's most powerful women, the Speaker of the National Assembly, Frene Ginwala. She spoke to Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS about her life and work, and her vision of a democratic parliament.

DR Frene Ginwala was deeply depressed at being made Speaker.

A sort of instinctual suspicion nagged at her.

"I felt somebody was trying to find a way to 'shut Frene up'," she said of her disappointment at the time. "I felt it was a conspiracy to keep me quiet."

And she felt that she would have to be "quiet", that the role would necessarily neutralise her politically, disarm her.

Arguably, some of her powerful colleagues might have wanted nothing less, knowing too well, perhaps, the discomfiting attention of her daunting (and feminist) intellect.

But it is far more likely her peers saw in her that essential amalgam of wisdom, wit, sense of justice, and resoluteness that best empowers the person who must referee the grand tournament of ideas that democratic debates should be.

And, having "wallowed for a while in self-pity", the unexpected challenge of turning parliament into a meaningful and powerful political instrument seized her.

The funny thing was that Frene Ginwala had had other ideas about coming to parliament.

"When I agreed to stand for parliament I thought it would be great. I used to tell friends that I wouldn't be on dozens of committees, I would sit and read and think and write ... in peace!"

That was not to be.

Luckily, unexpected challenges are not new to the 61-year-old barrister.

Born and schooled in Johannesburg, Dr Ginwala began her law studies at King's College in London, returning in 1959 to study at home.

Though she was politically active — "like all of us were" — she held no position in the ANC at that stage. "I was just a kid," she recalled.

Nevertheless, her acquaintance overseas with key East African political figures drew the attention of the ANC lead-



ership who, unbeknown to her, were already planning an international presence for the movement, an external wing.

What they needed were contacts, and they believed she might be the key. After some discussion, she wrote to a top-ranking friend in Tanganyika and assurances of support were received. It was then revealed to her that Oliver Tambo would be the man to "go out" and set up the ANC in exile.

But before any further planning could take place, Sharpeville shattered all political certainties.

FRENE GINWALA: "We have to find a way of building a relationship between parliament and people that goes beyond a connection once every five years at the ballot box."

On the night of the massacre, Frene Ginwala was interviewing Monty Naicker of the Indian Congress in Durban. (She began freelance work to earn a living while studying.)

"Walter Sisulu phoned to speak to him, and then asked to speak to me. In the course of the conversation he suggested I should visit my parents in Mozambique. My father was born there. We were oil millers.

"Without giving it much thought, I left for Mozambique the next morning ... and I didn't return to South Africa for the next 31 years."

Frene Ginwala, at 26, became the ANC's "travel agent" in Africa, helping Oliver Tambo — and scores of others — into exile.

"If I'd known what was involved in half the things I did, I would never have done them," she grinned.

Indeed, she did many things.

She worked for the ANC in Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Britain. While in East Africa, she worked as a journalist, editing the monthly political journal, *Spearhead*, and in the early 1970s, was managing editor of the Tanzanian *Standard* and Sunday News newspapers.

While in exile, she qualified as a barrister and completed a doctorate in philosophy. She was a researcher, consultant, lecturer, activist, spokesperson.

Looking back, she says the exiled community "always had hope, and we could not have continued if we did not. But it was vague in the early days. Then, in the 1980s, that hope became confidence. We never doubted negotiations were on the cards."

When talks did finally begin after 1990, she was back at the centre of things.

Dr Ginwala — who lashed

the ANC in 1989 for the "glaring" absence of women at decision-making and policy-making levels — played a central role in marshalling women's organisations into a powerful front.

Today, she acknowledges that one of the most gratifying things about being made Speaker has been the response of women "across the country, women of all ages and races and groups, who will stop and talk to me in the streets and say how much they feel about it. That makes me feel good".

She also feels good about a role in parliament which has neither neutralised nor silenced her.

She is determined to make parliament a critical element of democracy.

"If parliament, the National Assembly, is going to be democratic, to be the voice of the South African people, an institution in whose choosing every South African had a say — unlike the Cabinet or other institutions — then you can't lock it away somewhere. It means nothing.

"We have to find a way of building a relationship between parliament and people that goes beyond a connection once every five years at the ballot box.

"We have got to look at all possible ways to make this a place for freer exchange," she said.

There has already been much change in parliament, and more is on the way.

Significantly, she has found that the parliamentary staff "clearly wanted a lot of changes, but seem not to have been able to make them (in the past). So I have found I'm pushing at an open door. There has been no resistance. People are not just acquiescing, they're enthusiastic".

One thing that will not be changed is the "best tradition" of parliament that "people have the privilege to speak the truth without being gagged".

"We need to encourage this — that if society gets gagged, MPs will speak out here," she said, adding, as a rather forceful afterthought: "But one thing I will not tolerate is being called Mr Speaker!"

A new political *Who's Who* says of Dr Ginwala: "Of stern gait and even sterner countenance, she does not suffer fools gladly."

True in good measure, it is perhaps too much the picture of a Victorian parson than Dr Ginwala, who smiles easily, and at herself too.

Yet, while MPs know they have no starchy matriarch in Madam Speaker, she is indeed, as the headline writer so crisply declared, "no push-over".

Gore to have special role in links with SA

□ Vice-president wants to boost development

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — United States Vice-President Al Gore is to play a special role in streamlining dialogue between his government and South Africa and in helping to boost development.

Administration sources said a special commission was to be set up, similar to the Gore-Chernomyden commission which maintains links between the Clinton administration and the Russian government.

Mr Gore referred to the special role he will be playing on South Africa in an address yesterday to the White House conference on Africa.

The aim of the conference was to build up an American constituency for Africa and to create strategies for helping Africa.

"Within weeks I expect to announce the establishment of a mechanism to maintain high-level involvement in helping South Africa realise its dream of a democratic non-racial, prosperous and free nation," Mr Gore said.

Mr Gore said it was important to have success stories and that the US should do what it could to ensure they survived.

The vice-president, who headed the US delegation to President Mandela's inauguration, yesterday enthused about the experience.

Holding up a copy of a news-



GORE: 'I want to help South Africa to realise its dream'

paper from the day after the inauguration, he read a headline: "A day of music, flags, colour and joy".

"And so it was," said Mr Gore. "But if you read past the front page, you saw hints of the reality that lies ahead."

"A story about South Africa's growing number of street children. Little ads from American immigration lawyers promising help to those who want to migrate here or to New Zealand," said Mr Gore.

"It was the morning after. We had celebrated a triumph. Now the hard work of building a nation began. And in many ways, what is true of South Africa is true of the entire continent."

"A wave of optimism is sweeping through Africa," said Mr Gore. It was not entirely

generated by Mr Mandela's inauguration. He had seen other African success stories.

But democracy would evaporate if governments did not deliver the goods.

In Africa hope had to be balanced with realism. Africa now had eight established democracies, 12 new ones — some admittedly fragile — and real progress towards democracy in 17 others.

But Africa was worse off now than it was at the start of the 1980s, Mr Gore said.

Per capita income had dropped, debt had ballooned, country after country had sunk into civil war and seven of the UN's 17 peacekeeping missions were in Africa.

America wanted to help Africa, to promote democracy, prosperity and security, the three prongs of Clinton's foreign policy.

Mr Gore said the US had a special interest in Africa because the president and vice president spoke for 25 million Americans whose roots were in Africa.

In spite of rumblings of a boycott of the conference by members of the Congressional Black Caucus, it seems to have been successful.

Although some members of the caucus did not attend, complaining that they had not been consulted about it, others did.

Senator Carol Mosely-Braun, the only black in the Senate, described the conference as "visionary".

US 'must prevent disaster in Africa'

WASHINGTON. — President Clinton says his administration needs to develop an Africa policy to help avert the kind of tragedies witnessed recently on the continent.

In the wake of the famine, ethnic warfare and economic woes witnessed in Rwanda, Somalia and elsewhere, Mr Clinton said the United States must examine the underlying problems of Africa if it hoped to prevent catastrophe.

"I do know we need a new policy," he told a gathering of 150 researchers, academics, businessmen and African spe-

cialists invited to the White House.

"We need a new American policy based on the idea that we should help the nations of Africa identify and solve problems before they erupt. Reacting is not enough — we must examine these underlying problems."

The session — the first of its kind — was intended to raise the visibility of Africa and to show the administration's commitment to the region, a senior White House official said.

But Mr Clinton made no concrete proposals.

The conference has stirred up a squall of criticism from US black and African interest groups.

There has been simmering discontent over Mr Clinton's policy toward Haiti that they say is too soft and members of the "Black Caucus," made up of about 40 members of Congress, boycotted the conference.

Human Rights Watch accused the Clinton government of a "shameful response" to the bloody ethnic fighting in Rwanda and of failing to demonstrate leadership in Africa.

'Voters' roll vital for next SA poll'

CAPE TOWN — SA should never again run an election without a voters' roll, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Johann Kriegler told the standing committee on finance yesterday.

It was, he said, an "impossible task" and "costs a fortune" because it requires over-catering everywhere.

Reviewing the April elections, Kriegler said: "One cannot hope to mount an exercise like this cost-effectively in four months. We must never be in a situation where we are caught short by the political process."

Kriegler said the initial budget for the IEC drafted by Home Affairs had been R286m. It was clear, however, "the extent of the exercise had not been appreciated at the time". The assessment was based on a single ballot and, therefore, the staffing requirements had been lower. In addition, the IEC's monitoring function was not appreciated at the time — eventually 22 000 monitors had been required.

Kriegler said a second budget had been prepared in February and had put the total cost at R696m, of which R375m was for administration of the election, R163m for monitoring and R27m for voter education.

This budget had remained in force until the "eve of the election" when the Inkatha Freedom Party had decided to participate, at which point a further R302m was requested for a total budget of R1bn.

Political Staff

The extra finance had been required for further polling stations, affixing stickers to ballot papers and more staff for each of the stations. Each staff member was paid R200 a day and employed for five days.

He said the IEC's accounts had not yet been finalised, but total expenditure would be "within the April budget, or not substantially over it". It was hoped to hand the final accounts over for external audit by the third week of next month.

Responding to the NP's David Graaff, who said "people were shocked and horrified" by the cost, he said experts believed the costs were "within a framework of reasonableness". He denied there had been wholesale pilfering and theft of IEC equipment and vehicles, saying that everything had been insured, most vehicles had either been leased or bought on "compulsory buy-back" and now fewer than 20 were unaccounted for. (304A)

Asked about the failure of the IEC to reconcile the ballots, he said this was a "burning issue". Ultimately, however, the shortage of ballot boxes and printing of extra papers made the reconciliation exercise impossible.

Kriegler said if maximum effort was put into registration of voters "from the bottom up", voters' rolls could be put together within eight months. A further two months should be allowed for disputes and queries.

Election costs SANDF R37m

PRETORIA — The duties performed and emergency assistance given to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) during the April election cost the SA National Defence Force more than R37m. *8/Nov*

The SA Army had 143 companies comprising 20 500 men deployed over the period at a manpower cost of R31 061 390, the SANDF said. *29/6/94*

The SA Air Force, which assisted the IEC with monitoring and a number of emergency transport flights to help distribute about 6,5-million additional ballot papers, spent R2,4m on flying hours and fuel alone. Personnel resources cost the Air Force R426 512.

The assistance required by the IEC had necessitated the suspension of training at certain fighter squadrons.

The logistical and communications sup-

STEPHANE BOTHMA

port provided by the army cost more than R2,1m. About 653 250 additional ballot papers were printed by the army's 1 Military Printing Regiment on April 27 and 28.

Road transport was provided to help distribute some of the additional ballot papers. *(234) (304A)*

The SA Navy provided manpower support to the army, specialist protection forces and bomb disposal and telecommunication experts at a cost of R352 491.

The SA Medical Service spent R567 255 to have personnel on standby, provide air evacuation teams and give medical support to deployed units and policemen.

The SANDF said the support provided to the IEC was completed within financial regulations.

Keys budgets for the RDP

24-30/6/94

304A

The Budget will be the key source for RDP funds, Finance Minister Derek Keys insists. **Mondli waka Makhananya reports**

ALTHOUGH still buried in political speak, the shape of the Reconstruction and Development Programme is clearer following this week's Budget.

At the heart of the programme will be the RDP Fund, which was kick-started by President Nelson Mandela in May with a R2.5-billion injection. Run by the Department of Finance, this fund will receive money from both foreign and domestic sources. Minister without portfolio Jay Naidoo will head a cabinet committee that will have charge over the use of this fund and will liaise with the Central Economic Advisory Office.

The government will table a white paper within weeks, spelling out in detail RDP structures, policies and priorities.

What Finance Minister Derek Keys emphasised in his Budget speech was that the RDP Fund, which will grow to R40-billion over the next five years, was only supplementary to the Budget itself.

"The primary source of finance for reconstruction and development is the Budget itself and the RDP Fund is intended as a mechanism to leverage priority changes," Keys said.

However, a matter that is still of concern to the business sector and potential investors is the exact means of financing the RDP.

The Budget is still woolly on the subject, only listing options. Until such time as this is clarified and specified, a lot will be left to speculation and doomayers will continue having a field day.

"It's regrettable that there wasn't more information about this because this is what the market and investors are looking for," says Sanlam economist Johann Louw.

Since the primary source of finance will be the government itself, a major source of the funds will have to fiscal

belt-tightening within departments. Finding the initial R2.5-billion was a trial run in this respect and will be stepped up in years to come.

The government also envisages windfalls to come from the redirection of government priorities and rationalisation of apartheid bureaucracy, especially after next year's Budget in which the ANC will have the major say. It is also hoping that the economic upswing will reap more tax rands.

Then there's the plethora of government-funded development institutions, some of which have billions locked in.

The Development Bank of South Africa and the Independent Development Trust will play a major role as they have infrastructure and funds in place. In the case of the IDT — which has had R2-billion locked in its coffers for more than four years — the normalised political situation will allow it to operate much easier in targeted areas. Non-governmental organisations will also play a key role in the RDP.

Keys also stressed that the private sector would also play a big role, particularly in housing. The government is creating instruments to this effect. One that has been referred to on many an occasion are RDP bonds.

Although the government has said it will be wary of enslaving South Africa to foreign creditors, it will nonetheless use foreign loans for rebuilding the country. This is especially so as South Africa is underbowed by international standards and therefore has room to manoeuvre on foreign borrowings. Keys singled out the World Bank as a potential source of finance for reconstruction and development funds.

What makes foreign borrowing even more attractive is that it will stop the government from competing against private borrowers for money at local banks. This will enable banks to keep interest rates in check and, in turn, theoretically have spin-offs for fixed investment, a crucial element in the RDP's job creation plans.

■ See PAGE B1, Business Mail

NEWS Limited success in attracting settlers

Boshoff supports Volkstaat council

Sowetan 24/6/94

By Tyrone August
Political Reporter

PROFESSOR Carel Boshoff, a founder of the whites-only settlement Orania, has come out in full support of the Volkstaat Council set up recently. *(304A)*

"I have faith in the council because they are acknowledged experts in their fields and have enough sense to address the demands of reasonableness and practical implementation," he said.

Despite the limited success of Orania in attracting white settlers,

■ GIVING EXPRESSION

Afrikaner homeland 'not racist':

Boshoff still believes in a *volkstaat*: "It is necessary to give expression to the desire for freedom and self-determination which every *volk* has.

"A *volkstaat* for Afrikaners has nothing to do with racism. They are a *volk* who seek their freedom and there is no desire to rule over other groups.

"It is impossible to make different laws for different people in the same country or to give different rights to

different groups."

If Afrikaners want freedom, they must be able to exercise it in a territory — and this would only be possible if they were the only people in that area.

Boshoff acknowledged that many Afrikaners would not want to live in such a *volkstaat*. But that was normal, he said, and referred to Jews living outside Israel as an example.

● See Page 12

Voters' roll essential ^(304A) CT 29/6/94 — Kriegler

SOUTH AFRICA should never again run an election without a voters' roll, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler told the standing committee on finance yesterday.

It was an impossible task and cost a fortune because it required over-catering everywhere.

Reviewing the April election Judge Kriegler said "one cannot mount an exercise like this cost-effectively in four months".

He said he could "live with" the poll result as the alternative "was disaster".

The judge said the initial budget for the IEC had been R286 million.

The assessment was based on a single ballot and staffing requirements had been lower. This had later been revised to R696m.

When the Inkatha Freedom Party had decided to participate a further R304m was requested for a total budget of R1 billion.

It was hoped to hand the final accounts over for external audit by next month.

Judge Kriegler said experts said that the costs were "within a framework of reasonableness".

He said the failure of the IEC to reconcile the ballots was a "burning issue" but the shortage of ballot boxes and printing of extra papers made reconciliation impossible.

ANC plans to restructure the party and transform Parliament into a vigorous institution of government are presented as a sign of the emergence of a democratic political culture in SA. They also signal, though, the creation of a new political divide which cuts across party lines — broadly speaking between the ANC outside government and the ANC-led coalition Cabinet.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and parliamentary speaker Frene Ginwala appear to have formed an alliance to introduce an open parliamentary system responsible to its constituency.

Ginwala has, in a few short weeks, made it clear that Parliament will no longer act as a rubber stamp for government. Simultaneously, Ramaphosa has said the party will not hesitate to criticise an ANC-led government which deviates from its mandate, and that the party expects to be the driving force behind the reconstruction and development programme (RDP).

But there are also early indications that the government of national unity will resist being dictated to by the large ANC presence in Parliament. At the same time, the NP and Inkatha Freedom Party appear more concerned with consolidating what little power they have than with monitoring and criticising the performance of Cabinet members.

"It is important that there should be an effective and dynamic connection between what happens at government level and what happens at party level, so as to fulfil the mandate we have been given," says Ramaphosa. "The party, in the end, must stand in defence of ANC policy and principles."

The ANC inside and outside Parliament is clearly trying to define a role for itself in relation to government. The effects on the country's political process could be felt for years to come. Ramaphosa says these new relationships "have to be properly streamlined. It is the same organisation but there are relation-

New ANC divide appears between Cabinet and party

By David Greybe 11/7/94

DAVID GREYBE in Cape Town

ships that now need to be reshaped and redirected."

The issue of the location of Parliament is becoming a litmus test. The ANC caucus demand that the Cabinet committee probing the location issue disband had more to do with various NP practices, than with whether or when Parliament would move to Pretoria. The caucus criticised the secrecy surrounding the Cabinet committee; it is demanding greater accountability in all areas of government.

The case of the ANC caucus rests on its argument for a principled separation of powers between the executive arm of government and the legislature.

In the end it was left to President Nelson Mandela to be seen to hammer out a compromise. He announced this week that the four-man committee would stay, but that government would take into account the views of the public on the issue.

What was important was that the ANC-led Cabinet had given notice that it would resist being dictated to by its parliamentary caucus.

Taken to its logical conclusion, the result could be a political tussle for the hearts and minds (and effective control) of the ANC between First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and

the Ramaphosa-Ginwala alliance. That contest could help decide who succeeds Mandela as president of the ANC, and of the country.

Another crucial aspect of the Cabinet-versus-caucus contest will be the new-style, open parliamentary standing committees where MPs can monitor Ministers and, more gener-

ally, flex their political muscles. MPs' public performance will become even more important when the ANC introduces a constituency-type system for its members.

Ramaphosa says the ANC national working committee, which has skipped a number of meetings recently, will soon resume weekly meetings with Mandela in attendance. This will also increase party influence on government.

The party agenda differs from the Cabinet's. For instance, some ANC MPs have expressed unhappiness that the Budget did not allocate more money to the RDP, or reduce VAT on basic foodstuffs.

Interestingly, these envisaged changes in relationships have similarities with the US system of government, where the administration is often engaged in fierce political battle with Congress. But whereas the US system is adversarial by choice, there is no guarantee that SA will follow the same route.

The ANC is aware that in the relatively short period of five years it has to go to the polls again, but this time in a winner-takes-all contest. It would not augur well for the party if it has seriously undermined government. Ramaphosa therefore talks of a non-adversarial relationship between the two, though exactly how

that will work in practice is unclear. Ramaphosa says the ANC will not hesitate to criticise an ANC Minister again, as it did Defence Minister Joe Maise for attempting to gag the Weekly Mail. But, he reiterates, not through conflict. "The ANC also has to strengthen government. That is where the question of not having a conflictual relationship with government comes in. We are going to want to work hand in hand to achieve the objectives set out in the RDP."

The full effect of the ANC's restructuring will become apparent only in December when the entire leadership stands for re-election at its national conference. Again, observers will be watching any contest between Ramaphosa and Mbeki.

Restructuring the ANC into the nine provinces includes establishing a separate four-tier RDP component, which the ANC wants to use to control the RDP at central government level.

Ramaphosa says the central feature of the RDP has to be that it is "people-driven". RDP structures at party level will have to interact with government initiatives "at all levels" in implementing the RDP. He rejects warnings that the ANC may fall into the trap of using its influence to advance short-sighted, populist causes by, for instance, opposing attempts to impose fiscal discipline or liberalise the economy.

The ANC is a responsible organisation with a responsible leadership, he says. The only criticism the ANC had of the Budget was that it had not done anything to relieve the burden of VAT on the poor. "Other than that, we were quite happy."

While the ANC has achieved power at a formal level, Ramaphosa argues that the party still has to meet its original strategic objective: to dismantle apartheid and create a non-racial and non-sexist democratic SA. And only the tripartite alliance, headed by a strong ANC, can do that, he avers.

It is still too early to know exactly how the relationship between the party and government will pan out, Ramaphosa says. "There will be problems, but we will manage them in an effective way."



□ RAMAPHOSA

Leon: DP still packs a punch

304A

ARG 2/7/94

JEAN LE MAY

Weekend Argus Reporter

LIBERALS in South Africa are planning to make a political comeback, starting with a commission to re-examine the new role of liberal democracy in South Africa after the collapse of apartheid.

And, says acting Democratic Party leader Tony Leon, who initiated the move, a small party can "punch above its weight" in parliament and play a significant role in South Africa.

"The parliamentary arena with all its opportunities from question time to standing committees is where a small party like the DP can perform best," he said, outlining the DP's programme to resurrect the liberal cause.

"We shall tackle any issue from every region in the country on a functional basis, so if anyone has any problem at all

■ After the Democratic Party's disastrous election performance, the question is now being asked: Is there a role for liberalism after the demise of apartheid?

I invite him or her to get in touch with me and I shall pass it on to the appropriate DP representative for action."

In addition to its seven MPs and three senators, the DP has representatives in five provincial legislatures — the Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the PWV — and joint caucus meetings will be held every six weeks.

Colin Eglin is co-ordinating committees from each of the provinces which would ensure that "we're firing from the same baseline," said Mr Leon.

One of the first issues to be tackled would be powers given to the provinces by the constitutional assembly.

Mr Leon said the second part of the DP's drive for relevance was establishing a commission of eminent South Africans, including people from outside the DP, to examine the future of liberal democracy here.

"There are various definitions of 'liberal' and of 'democracy' which are being used rather loosely.

"We are not happy with some of the definitions. The DP and its predecessors don't have a monopoly over liberal democracy, but we do have a clear understanding of what it entails.

"Liberal democracy is a formula which has been enormously successful wherever it has been applied throughout

the world — in the United States, for instance, and some countries in Europe.

"It is also an economic force which has been used to resuscitate economies. I'm thinking here of New Zealand where Finance Minister Roger Douglas packaged reforms which ensured that the economy worked as an organic whole, not an unrelated collection of bits and pieces.

"Douglas's policies — known as 'Rogernomics' — went for massive deregulation and the privatisation of key state assets which released capital into the economy. I must insist here that selling off state assets to meet current expenditure or finance the reconstruction and development programme will be fatal to our economy."

"What we intend doing in our liberal democracy programme is unpacking our value systems and making them touch peoples' lives."

Map guide to where voter strength lies

SOUTH AFRICA has a less than reliable census, no voters roll to speak of and generally abysmal statistics, but, with the aid of the results from April's election, CLAIRE ROBERTSON and graphic artist FIONA KRISCH have compiled South Africa's first relatively conclusive geographical map.

Only three political parties appear on the map — which traces results by magisterial districts — the African National Congress, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

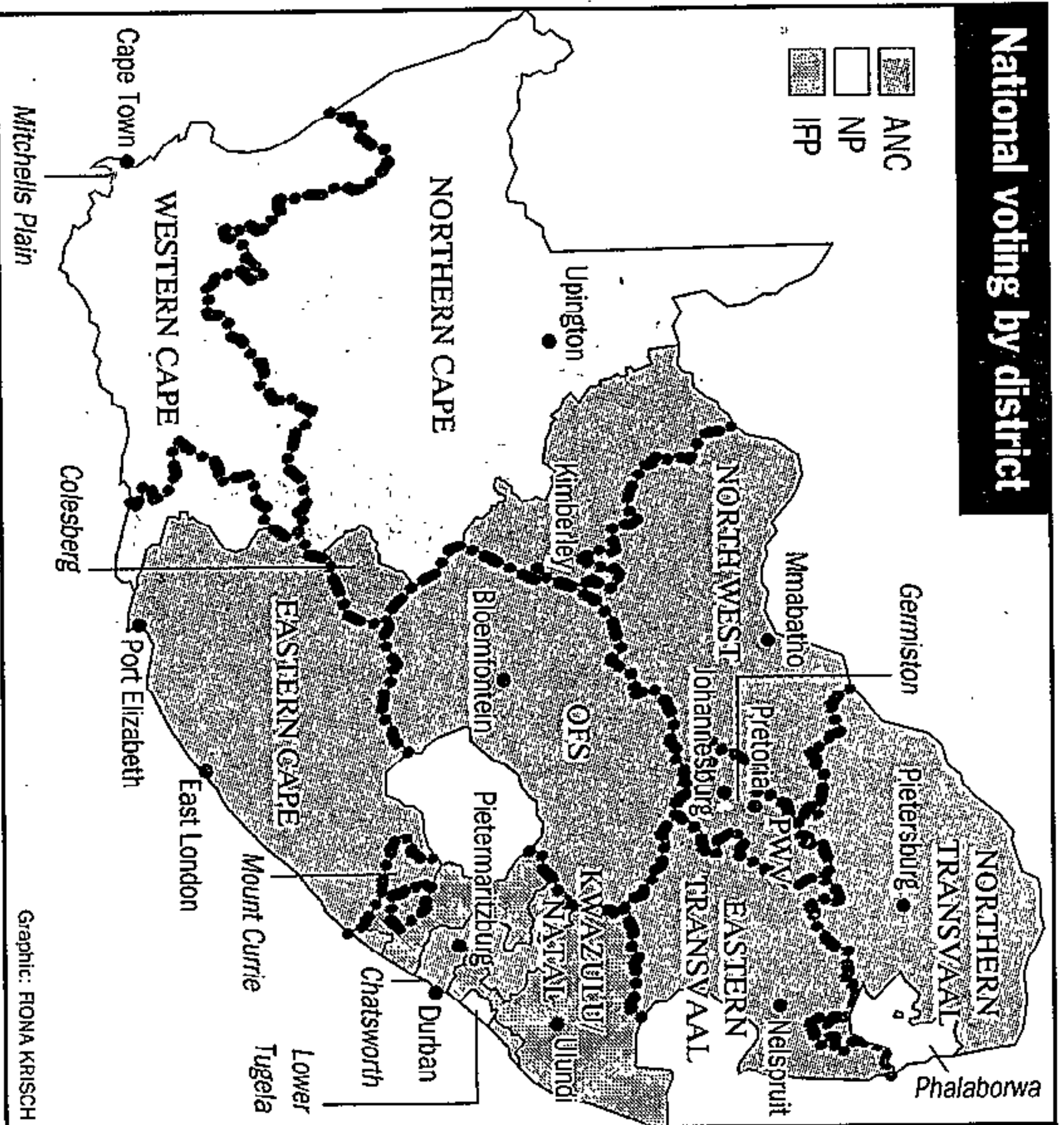
Area by area none of the other parties won the majority support of the voters.

But because the electorate was instead invited to cast its votes into a national melting pot, with the result determined by the percentage each party gained of the total votes, five others were elected to the National Assembly or provincial legislatures: the Freedom Front, Pan Africanist Congress, the Democratic Party, the African Christian Democratic Party and the Minority Front.

This last party commanded an astonishing 19 percent of the votes in Chatsworth, near Durban, which loyally helped elect its House of Delegates MP of 10 years, Amichand Rajbansi, to a seat on the KwaZulu Natal provincial legislature.

Overall, the IFP swept the province's districts, but saw its majority share cut to just over half of the provincial legislature seats, when the ANC took the more populous urban areas.

National voting by district



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

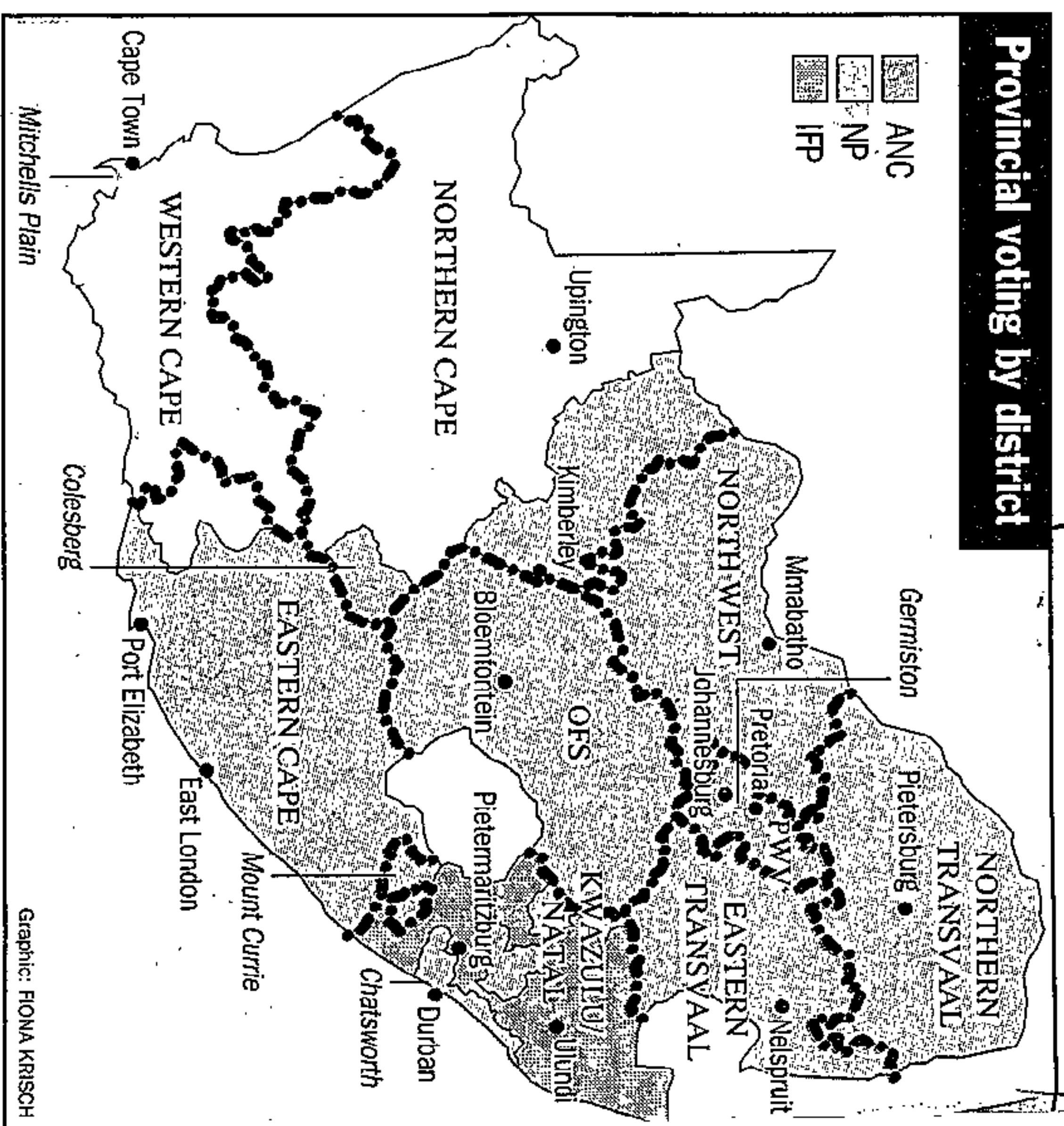
In the few KwaZulu Natal regions in which the ANC won, it won well: ANC support in the three areas of Pinetown, Durban and Maritzburg alone accounted for 14 percent of the total votes cast.

There was a similar pattern in the Northern Cape, where the NP commanded majority support in by far the largest geographical area, while a large turnout for

the ANC in Kimberley helped swing the region in its favour. In the Western Cape, only Mitchell's Plain returned an ANC majority — 65 percent.

Supporters of the smallest three of the big six parties gave their provincial votes — few as they were — to the PAC, DP and FF, but still fewer in each case trusted them with the national vote.

Provincial voting by district



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

Embassy postings are up for grabs

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

CAREER diplomats will have to swallow hard when a new crop of ambassadors drawn from hundreds of jostling applicants is announced next month.

Sources in the Department of Foreign Affairs said this week that President Nelson Mandela had indicated that he wanted the appointees to reflect the government of national unity.

He has asked that three specific people be accommodated in the diplomatic corps as political appointees for embassies abroad.

They are PAC president Clarence Makwetu, presidential aide Barbara Masakela and Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn.

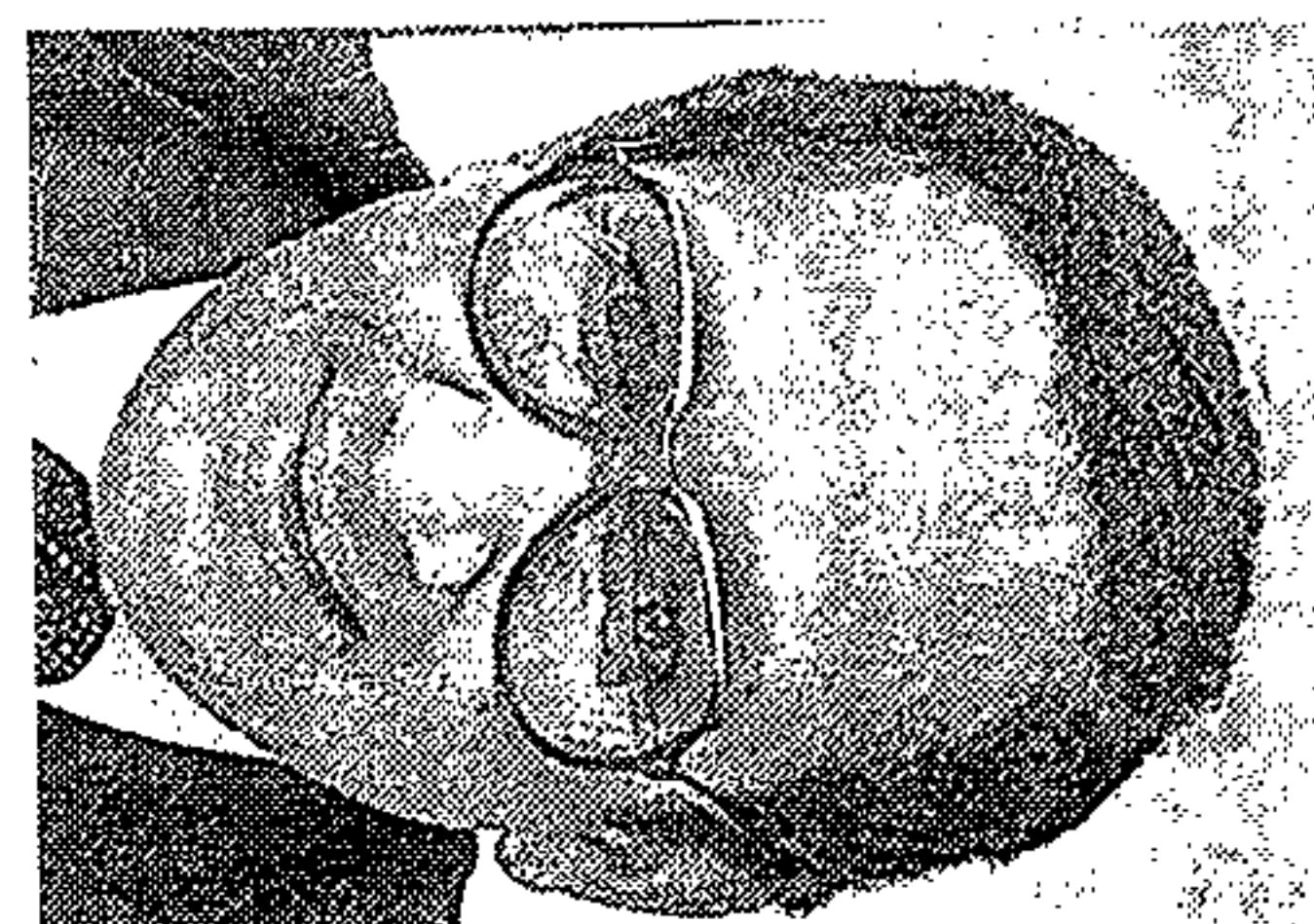
Mr Mandela's choice of Mr Makwetu is in line with the ANC's attempts to pacify the left wing and keep the PAC involved in democracy. He is unlikely to be given a senior diplomatic posting.

Mr Sonn resigned from the SABC board several weeks before the election to throw his weight behind the ANC in attempting to secure the coloured vote in the Western Cape.

An ambassadorship would be seen as a reward for this move.



BARBARA MASAKELA ... aide



FRANKLIN SONN ... rector



CLARENCE MAKWETU ... PAC

Officials in the department speculate that he could be sent to The Hague to replace political appointee Albert Ntshagel, who is to return in September.

Apart from these three political appointees, ANC Western Cape leader Allan Boesak has indicated that he wishes to be given an ambassadorship. He has made his preference for the Washington post clear, but sources in the department said that Mr Mandela had firmly rejected this possibility.

Foreign Affairs will also have to consider a request by the DP's Colin Eglin, who has asked that long-serving MP Peter Soal, who failed to be re-elected, be accommodated as a diplomat.

Sources in the department said there were hundreds of applications to be considered from people who wished to serve abroad.

Besides career diplomats who were anxious not to be overlooked,

the department had to cater for several other interests, they said.

There were four homeland departments of foreign affairs, each with a director-general and senior staff who needed to be integrated into the department. Given their limited interaction abroad and untested foreign affairs experience, their integration into the department was proving a difficult exercise, the sources said.

In addition, the ANC, they said, had a sophisticated department of 50 foreign affairs officials, many of whom would qualify for diplomatic postings.

One person in line for a top posting is Mr Tobogo Mofole, who works in First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office. Foreign Affairs officials say he could be sent to the United Nations to replace the incumbent ambassador, Mr Jim Steward.

The ANC has also trained 350 young diplomats abroad. They will

also have to be accommodated in the department.

Two key diplomatic postings that will become vacant in the next year are those to the United States and Britain.

Both incumbents, Mr Harry Schwarz in the US and Mr Kent Durr in Britain, were appointed by former President de Klerk from outside the department.

Mr Schwarz, who resigned from his job after the elections, is expected to stay on until after President Mandela has completed his state visit to the US in October.

Sources in the department said that Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo wanted Robben Island stalwart Walter Sisulu to replace Mr Schwarz. This appointment was being resisted by others in the ANC who felt he was too old for the position.

ANC MP Adelaide Tambo, sources said, was being punted to replace Mr Durr.

IEC paid out R32m for insurance

S.I Times

By CYRIL MADLALA

THE Independent Electoral Commission paid R32-million to insure its personnel and assets during the April elections.

"We were assessed as high risk — and as a consequence our premiums were high," said the IEC's director of information, Paul Bell.

He said the auditor-general ruled that IEC employees and assets could not be covered by State insurance.

IEC claims for vehicles are running at around R7-million. Of this, R3-million is being claimed for 63 vehicles of a fleet of 3 375 which were lost or stolen.

The remainder of the claim is for damage to vehicles.

Mr Bell said the IEC and its insur-

317194
ers were also examining 10 accidental death claims.

The bulk of the premiums, R12-million, was used to cover the lives of 300 000 IEC employees.

Some employees were insured for R250 000 for death and disability.

The commission also paid R9-million in premiums to secure a R200-million cover for public liability, said Mr Bell.

Assets were insured at full value — R240-million.

No claims for computer losses had been lodged as the inventory process

was still continuing.

It would not be possible to say what losses had occurred until stock-taking was finalised.

The IEC used computers worth R20-million for the election.

Explaining the high insurance costs, Mr Bell said the election was conducted in an atmosphere of extreme violence — and there was a likelihood that IEC personnel could be injured or attacked in the course of their duties (30477).

"All details of the insurance claims will be made known to the auditor-general once the IEC has completed its process of accounting," said Mr Bell.

Volkstaat support greater in towns

STimes 3/7/94

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

SUPPORT for the Volkstaat ideal is more pronounced among Afrikaners in comfy suburbia than among the hardy trekker stock of rural South Africa.

Voters in urban centres such as Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom, Sasolburg, Brits, Heidelberg and Randfontein gave between 10 and 14 percent of their provincial votes to the volkstaat ideal as embodied by the Freedom Front.

Rural South Africa chipped in with pockets of support, mainly within the borders of the old Transvaal province, few surpassing 10 percent of the votes in the district.

In all, the Front polled 639 643 provincial votes, or 3,2 percent of the total.

In each district the party was soundly beaten by the African National Congress.

But, mild though the Front's support is in the broader context of South African politics, General Constand Viljoen's fledgling party still managed to attract

more white support on the provincial ballot than the new National Party in five Transvaal districts.

These were Lydenburg, Schweizer-Reneke, Ellisras, Phalaborwa and Heidelberg. (304A)



The FF also picked up support in the Free State, where Bothaville's white voters chose the party over the NP.

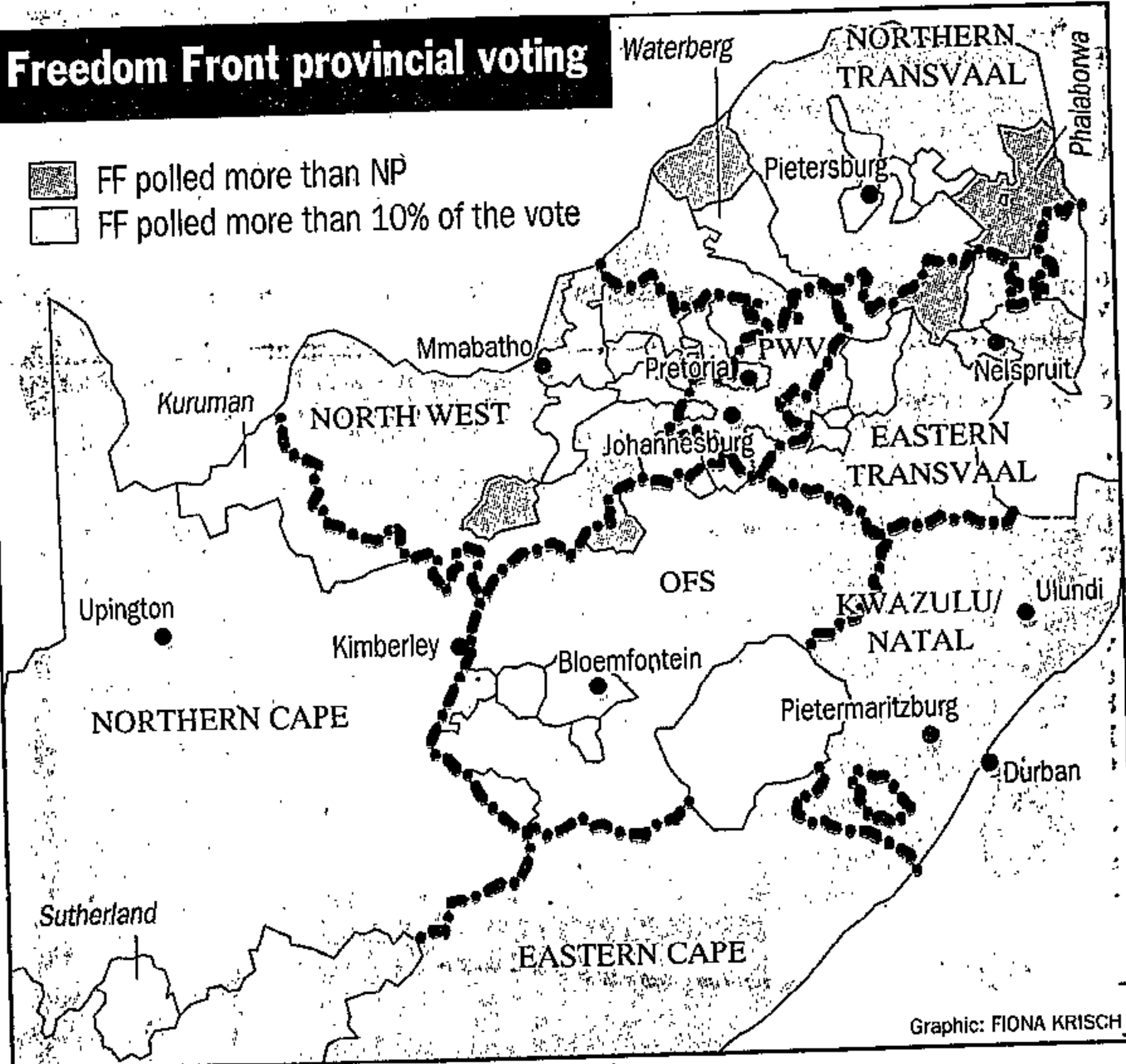
Tiny pockets of support were recorded in Kuruman and Sutherland in the Northern Cape, with 17 000 voters between them.

The Nats reversed the trend in the north-eastern Transvaal town of Phalaborwa in the national ballot, beating the FF hands down and even polling more than the ANC.

But a district-by-district breakdown of provincial results alone crowns Phalaborwa the right-wing capital of South Africa; 30 percent of its 15 500 voters cast their provincial ballots for the FF, the highest percentage of FF support recorded in the country.

Freedom Front provincial voting

-  FF polled more than NP
-  FF polled more than 10% of the vote



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

World Bank slates town-twinning idea

THE concept of a "twinning" programme aimed at merging white local authorities and adjacent townships to reorganise local government has been condemned by the World Bank.

The bank's latest report on reducing poverty in SA said the "twinning" of Sandton, Randburg and Alexandria, which has a deficit of R12m, would require a 9% increase in property taxes in Randburg and Sandton to cover the Alexandria shortfall.

But the "twinning" of Johannesburg, Diepkloof and Soweto — Diepkloof and Soweto's local authorities are burdened with a deficit of R200m — would result in an increase of about 40% in Johannesburg property taxes.

This would encourage the pattern of "space distortion" inherited from the apartheid era, the report said.

Firms and households in high tax areas would relocate to avoid a heavier tax burden, with different households getting varied levels of service depending on where they lived.

"Ultimately a twinning programme would result in the loss of economic base

SAMANTHA SHARPE

for Johannesburg (for example) and a further deterioration of the level of services provided in the lower-income areas."

The report called for a metropolitan boundary which incorporated the entire central Witwatersrand region.

The metropolitan system would more than likely create a local government system accountable to constituencies and independent of the uncertainties of central financing.

It would also have a better chance of financing the backlog in urban infrastructure and services in a way that ensured disciplined government spending.

Urban centres were the economic core of the country, and enhancing their functioning was vital to national growth and improving access to basic services for the poor, the report said.

Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council chairman Len de Wet said recently that a transitional metropolitan council would be created soon to take over the functions and powers of the Johannesburg and neighbouring city councils and the regional services council.

Dispute threatens services in Tembisa

MORE than 300 Tembisa City Council workers were dismissed last month after an unresolved dispute that is threatening services in the area.

Tembisa administrator Han Eybers said the dispute started with alleged illegal actions by the labour force, including taking a council official hostage.

The council has enlisted the assistance of private contractors and remaining

BONILE NGQIYAZA

staff members in an attempt to render essential services.

The council alleges the dismissed employees were involved in disruption and intimidation.

Eybers said a subcontractor was prevented from digging graves. Electricity staff, and the ambulance and fire brigade were also prevented from per-

forming their duties.

Eybers said the council was granted a Supreme Court interdict two weeks ago to prevent the dismissed workers from occupying council property.

He said an Industrial Court hearing on the matter had been set for today.

The Health, Municipal and Allied Workers' Federation could not be reached for comment.

140 ballot boxes disputed

CAPE TOWN — A total of 140 ballot boxes with 185 115 ballot papers were disputed in the KwaZulu/Natal election, constituting about 4.1% of the province's voters, the SA Institute of Race Relations has reported.

The institute said most of the disputed ballots were marked in favour of the Inkatha Freedom Party. In all other areas, the number of disputed ballots was negligible, the institute said.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) had reported widespread irregularities and incidents of coercion in KwaZulu/Natal, including the stuffing of ballot boxes, voting by children, the operation of illegal voting stations and the removal of IEC officials from some polling stations.

Because of the coercion, about 20% fewer monitors were deployed in KwaZulu/Natal than had been planned.

Assessing the election, the institute said one of its vice-presidents, Lawrie Schlemmer, had described SA's present political situation as one of "pre-democracy".

TIM COHEN

In such a situation, ethnically based political groupings had opted for a unity government rather than a normal government-versus-opposition arrangement.

He said the ANC had been supported by only 3% of whites while only 2% of blacks had supported the NP or the DP.

Government by "grand ethnic coalition" would lead to a "corporatist state", he said.

While providing the country with stability, such a system would also cater for the interests of central and provincial government, most labour, most agriculture, most business and most traditional sectors.

But SA could pay dearly for this in the long term through the possible exclusion of the concerns of consumers and investors.

Opposition to government and innovative policy proposals would have to be provided by groupings outside Parliament, particularly through the work of non-governmental organisations, Schlemmer said.

Attend or be expelled, MPs warned

ET 4/7/94

Political Staff

(3049)

THE ANC is to get tough with members absenting themselves from standing committee meetings.

The ultimate penalty could be removal from Parliament.

It was pointed out at yesterday's caucus meeting that MPs were elected to represent people and "make inputs for them".

Yet of the 26 ANC members supposed to serve on each standing committee, at times only nine, 10 or 12 attended.

In future, the chairperson of each standing committee will compile regular reports on attendance so that the ANC, as an organisation, can be requested to remove defaulters from Parliament.

This can be effected quite simply because any MP expelled by his party automatically loses his seat in Parliament.

The budget continues to be a thorny issue for the caucus.

Yesterday one member asked when caucus would be allowed to discuss the budget "and all the worries I have", so that in turn MPs could discuss it with the membership.

Caucus will not meet on July 28 to discuss the budget — formal debate in Parliament starts four days later.

Vive la France!

CT41144

(3044)

Red carpet welcome for Mitterrand in city

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and CHRIS BATEMAN

THE red carpet came out of mothballs yesterday for one of the highest-level visitors in South Africa's history.

French President Francois Mitterrand will be officially welcomed as one of the country's staunchest allies in helping to achieve a government of national unity.

His plane will be met in the sky by four French-made SA Air Force Mirage strike jets which will escort him for 40 minutes to D F Malan Airport. Here a red carpet will be rolled out as President Nelson Mandela greets his long-time ally and a band plays the three national anthems.

Mr Mitterrand, whose wife Danielle brokered many academic "think tanks" between prominent "verliges" and then-exiled ANC leaders, will be accorded an unprecedented honour for a visiting head of state.

Macmillan

He will address a joint sitting of the National Assembly in the Great Hall of Parliament, the first "stranger" to do so since its inception in 1910.

It will be the first address to parliamentarians since British prime minister Mr Harold Macmillan made his Wind of Change speech in the old Cape Legislative Assembly chamber — now the parliamentary dining room — on February 3, 1960.

Mr Mitterrand, seeking to glid his final year in office, will be President Nelson Mandela's first official visitor since his inauguration on May 10.

The main objects of his trip are to strengthen the ties between France and South Africa and to pay tribute to

South Africans for achieving democracy.

The president's speech is likely to reaffirm the French desire for a partnership with SA, not only in Southern Africa but on the whole continent.

France has already indicated its strong wish for SA to be a partner in development and in maintaining political stability in Africa. On the other hand, it is keen to help develop the underdeveloped part of SA.

Diplomatic sources believe the president will commit France financially to assist in SA's Reconstruction and Development Programme, though he is unlikely to specify a particular sum.

Yesterday Mr Mitterrand was quoted as saying he would call on his rich industrialised partners at next week's Group of Seven (G7) summit in Naples to increase aid to less developed nations.

Mrs Mitterrand is not expected to accompany her husband.

More than 60 foreign journalists will cover the whirlwind two-day visit.

Mr Mitterrand will attend a gala banquet at the Mount Nelson Hotel tonight and will visit Khayelitsha and Soweto before returning home on Tuesday night.

Tomorrow he leaves for Johannesburg at 12.15pm, where he is scheduled to lay a wreath at the memorial to Hector Petersen, one of the first people killed by police in the 1976 uprising.

He and Mr Mandela are to be hosted at a reception tomorrow evening by PWV Premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale.

Deputy President F W de Klerk, in Europe this week, has expressed regret at not being able to see Mr Mitterrand.

Former gardener invites employer to Mitterrand address — Page 2



FRENCH TOUCH ... Rolling out the red carpet for French President Francois Mitterrand at D F Malan airport were Mr Zaid Sarraai and Mr Jerome Patersen from the Department of Public Works.

Picture ANNE LAMING

THE
UNIVERSAL
FAVOURITE

Our man in London punts SA with pride

The urbane Kent Durr is a tired and happy man. The South African "hot seat" in London is rapidly cooling off as acceptance of the Republic has grown in leaps and bounds but there is still much work to do. NORMAN CHANDLER of The Argus Foreign Service interviewed Mr Durr in his London office.

FORMER President De Klerk must have known something when he sent former Cabinet minister Kent Durr to London to oversee South Africa's transition from pariah land to international acceptance.

That Mr Durr has achieved breakthrough after breakthrough in the three years he has been at South Africa House bears testimony to the bulldog tenacity — laced with a huge amount of persuasive charm — of the man.

Sitting in his office overlooking Trafalgar Square, below him thousands of tourists feeding just as many pigeons, Mr Durr looks the complete diplomat — satisfied with what has been achieved, looking towards the future, and pleased as punch at being able to serve the new Government of National Unity headed by President Mandela.

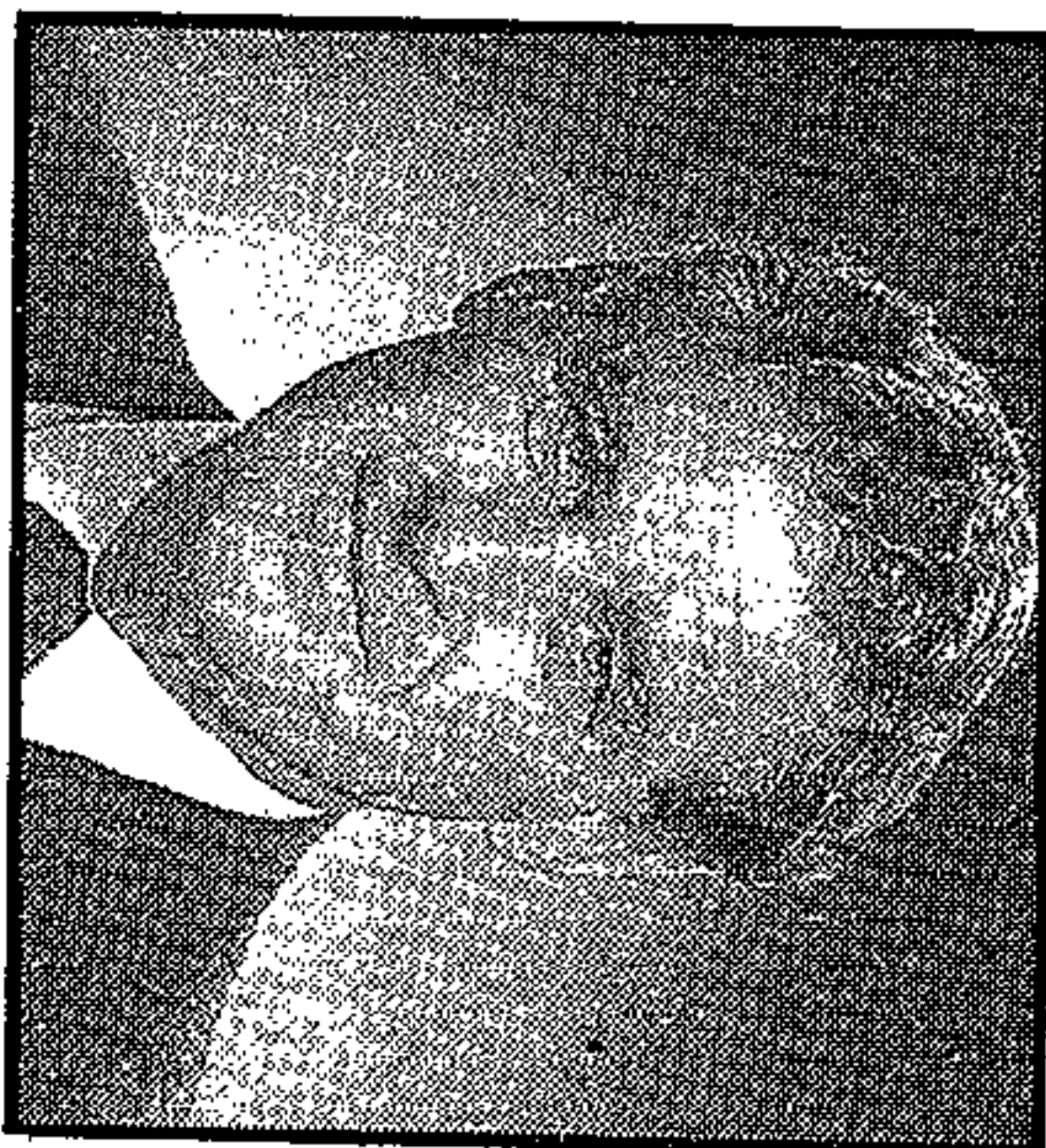
He regards Mr Mandela as a remarkable person, and is pleased at the chance given to him to remain on in London as High Commissioner of the Commonwealth's latest member.

Mr Durr will be entertaining Mr Mandela when the president arrives soon to take part in a service of thanksgiving for South Africa's return after 33 years to the Commonwealth and to escort him to a reception aboard SAS Drakensberg — the Navy's combat support vessel which ties up in the Port of London — at the same time.

"I am proud I have had the privilege in assisting in the normalisation of our affairs and in the transitional process with other South Africans concerned in all this," he says.

"I am pleased that the optimism and good faith shared by early discussions (about change) has been

KENT DURR: "If South Africans can do what they did as a divided nation, how much more can they do now as a united land?"



rewarded by the people of South Africa in the election which allows for a new economic advantage position to develop rapidly with the creation of jobs and export earnings."

He points to the high point of the five-year London posting as being the moment his car turned into Buckingham Palace for him to be presented to Queen Elizabeth soon after South Africa was formally accepted as a member of the Commonwealth — "I felt tremendous. I was bursting with pride for South Africa," he recalled.

But another proud moment was when the Queen made an unpublished visit to South Africa House on May 31 and had tea with the High Commissioner staff and met South African veterans of the Normandy landings.

A full page of the High Commissioner's visitors' book has been reserved for that magic signature, "Elizabeth R".

Mr Durr's faith in South Africa and its abilities is enormous. One could dismiss this as the opinion of

the nation's top diplomat but there can be no doubt in one's mind that Mr Durr believes passionately in this land.

"If South Africans can do what they did as a divided nation, how much more can they do now as a united land?" he asks.

He has nothing but praise for the British people, whom he calls "our best friends".

"They buy our goods, consume our wine, eat our food, wear our clothes, invest their money and have always been there with wise counsel at difficult times. They have (in the years of sanctions) been impartial but have been fair, wise and steadfast."

Mr Durr adds: "We do a lot with this country; now we will do more."

Possibly Mr Durr will one day look back on one of his most satisfying moments of tenure of the High Commissioner's Office as the day international orders totalling several billion rands come through for the revolutionary South African-built Rooivalk attack helicop-

ter. **ARG 4/7/94**

It is an initiative which Mr Durr has been part and parcel of since United Nations weapons sanctions were lifted in May. The South African munitions organisation has been making an all-out effort to secure the orders, which could also involve barter deals for the supply to Pretoria of other important military equipment, a move which could well mean an increase in defence industry employment.

Mr Durr describes the Rooivalk as "looking good and being cheap" in comparison with other competitors — such as the American-built Apache — also vying for an order from the British Ministry of Defence.

Rooivalk was test-flown by the Duke of Kent, one of Britain's finest helicopter pilots, at the recent Middle Wallop air show in Cambridgeshire, and will soon be demonstrated at Farnborough air show. He is an influential member of the Royal Family as well as having close associations with the Defence establishment.

Developing contacts for industrial expertise and investment in South Africa has of necessity been a major part of Mr Durr's activities in London, and to some extent even in Europe both before and during the new South Africa period.

He has punted the country from one forum to the next — hundreds of television interviews, press conferences, and speeches have been part of his life this year alone.

As Mr Durr ushered me out of his office, he turned and said: "I have worked for this time, I have prayed for this time, I have been deeply moved over the past month."

France will help

SA — Mitterrand

■ ■ ■ MPs applaud historic address in parliament

ARC 4/7/94

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

(30449)

FRENCH president Francois Mitterrand today pledged his country's backing for development in South Africa.

In a historic address to a joint sitting of the national assembly and senate, he said he would urge French businesses to invest in South Africa.

And he said France would back South Africa in international forums.

Mr Mitterrand's speech, in French with simultaneous translation into English, was warmly greeted by MPs and was punctuated by applause.

He said France would help ease South Africa through its efforts towards reconstruction.

"You are not a poor country and yet you have many poor people."

Mr Mitterrand hinted at a strengthened partnership between the two countries when he said an international conference in Berlin in September would be used to "give concrete form" to the interest France took in South Africa.

Today's inauguration of an electrification project in Khayelitsha, a project in which the French electricly parastatal was a partner, was the beginning of a series of contributions by his country.

He paid tribute to the South African struggle for democracy and peace, noting it had taken a lot less time than the French revolution for these ideals to be realised.

Mr Mitterrand said he was honoured to be the first foreign head of state to address a

French investors hopeful but cautious

JAMES TOMLINS
The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — The national Press today hailed President Mitterrand's visit to South Africa as a "great historic move towards full partnership between the two countries."

Le Monde carried a front-page interview with President Mandela by its resident correspondent.

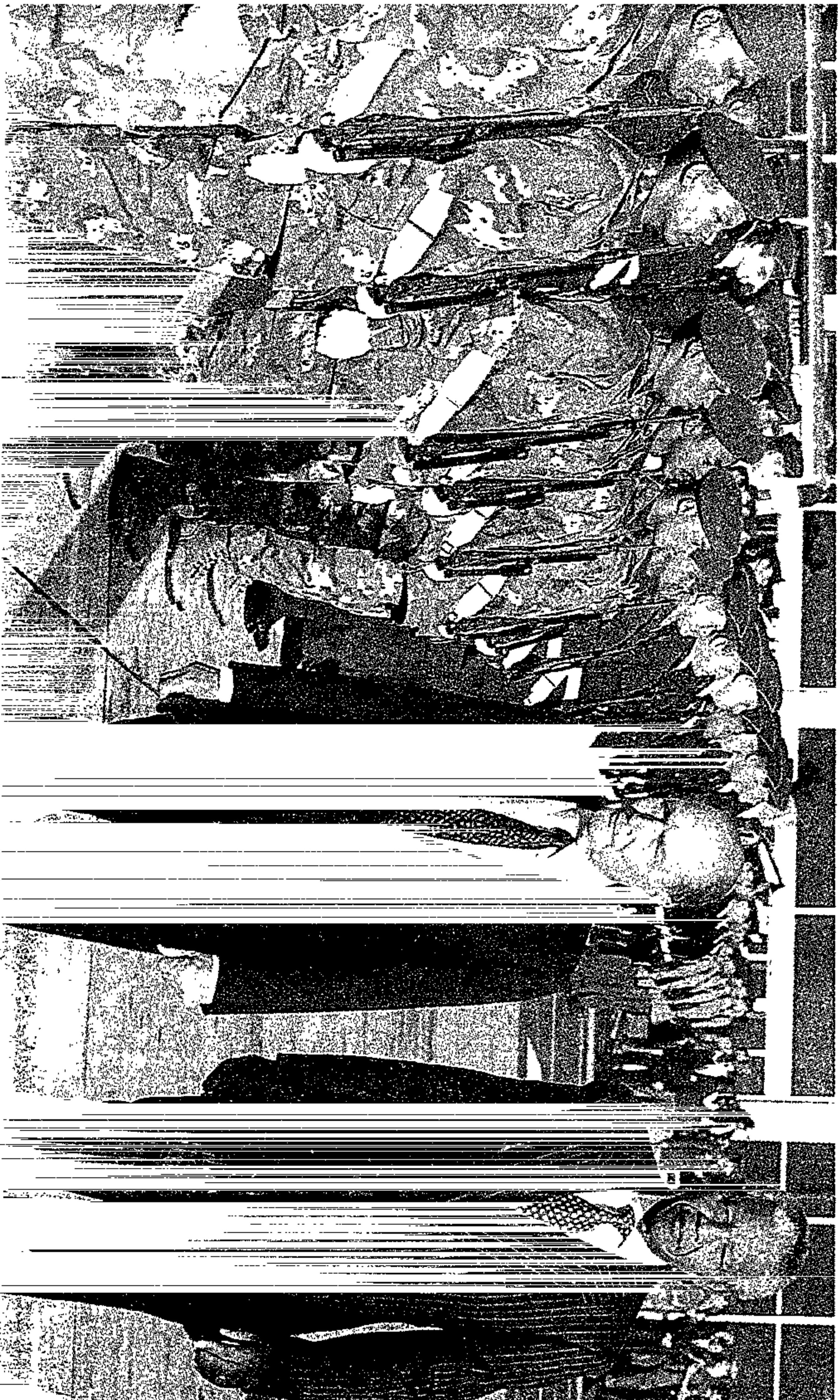
Figaro headlined the visit as: "A scouting mission" for "French investment in the country was still rather feeble."

The daily InfoMode reported that although France was expected to sign a contract for 10 helicopters and four corvettes, French businessmen remained rather cautious. "They are not falling over themselves to invest in South Africa. They want to study further the ANC programme."

Mr Mandela, interviewed by Le Monde's correspondent Georges Marion, was asked: "What do you expect from Mr Mitterrand's visit?"

He replied: "President Mitterrand has been in the forefront of those helping us to transform a state organised by apartheid into one that is non-racial. It is for him to say what concrete plans he has for us. But there can be no doubt that he was one of the first leaders determined to help us. This is a highly symbolic visit. Mr Mitterrand represents a country which has greatly aided us in the past four or five years. We will greet him very warmly indeed."

Asked about whites leaving the country because they feared his pro-black policy, Mr Mandela replied: "Those who are leaving fear our revenge. They think that the black majority will, in its turn, oppress



rench president's state visit cks off with a 21-gun salute

□ Red carpet for Mitterrand

TOS WENTZEL
Diplomatic Correspondent

THE crash of a 21-gun salute welcomed French president Francois Mitterrand to Cape Town today at the start of a two-day state visit, the first by any world leader since the country's transition to a democratic system.

Mr Mitterrand is being accorded unprecedented honour, becoming the first visiting statesman to address parliament directly.

The visit is aimed at consolidating the good relations between the two countries, underlining France's role in Africa and opening further development aid to South Africa. An aid agreement between the French Development Bank and the South African government will be signed.

There has been a close bond between the African National Congress and Mr Mitterrand's wife, Danielle, who set up many meetings between South Africans the still-exiled ANC in the 1980s. She attended President Mandela's inauguration in May.

Mr Mitterrand down on South African soil.

The two presidents shook hands and mounted a podium to hear the Western Cape army staff band play the Marseillaise, the French anthem. The two presidents then inspected a guard of honour made up of representatives of the arm the navy, the air force and the medical corps, and then heard the two South African anthems.

Mr Mitterrand was greeted by South African dignitaries including Foreign Affairs minister Alfred Nzo, Trade and Industry minister Trevor Manuel, Jakes Gerwel of the president's office, director-general of foreign affairs Rusty Evans and mayor Patricia Kreiner.

As the motorcade left the airport they passed a group of Islamic Party demonstrators bearing placards reading "Death to France".

A spokesman for the group who declined to give his name said they were "concerned Muslims", protesting the French government's refusal to allow Muslim girls to wear the traditional hijab headscarf in government schools.

TWO PRESIDENTS: President Mandela and President Francois Mitterrand inspect a guard of honour at Cape Town airport after the French president's arrival for a two-day state visit.



Picture: AND-REU INKRAM, The Argus



The two presidents shook hands with Dr Ginwala and Mr Coetsee, and Mr Mandela waved to a group of awed

distinguished guest.

Asked how he felt, a smiling Mr Mandela said South Africa was honoured to have such a

After Mr Mitterrand's speech he and Mr Mandela, flanked by speaker Frenk Ginwala and president of the senate Kobie Coetsee, posed for pictures on the steps of the presidential office at Tuynhuys.

He said it was a joy to welcome the French, the descendants of "those great revolutionaries whose simple but profound ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity" were finding expression in South Africa's freedom and dignity as a nation.

He said it was a joy to welcome the French, the descendants of "those great revolutionaries whose simple but profound ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity" were finding expression in South Africa's freedom and dignity as a nation.

Today South Africa was celebrating "the cleansing effect of the breeze of freedom".

Mr Mandela said.

In those days parliament was "the den of racial infamy", Mr Mandela said.

Mr Mandela recalled how 30 years ago, the then British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan had spoken to MPs.

"Our union today will lay the foundation for a growing partnership between our governments and peoples in pursuit of a better quality of life and a peaceful and caring world."

"We embrace you as one of us — a colleague in the quest for freedom and the social upliftment of ordinary people."

Mandela said South Africa would be forever indebted to the French people and government for the support given over the years.

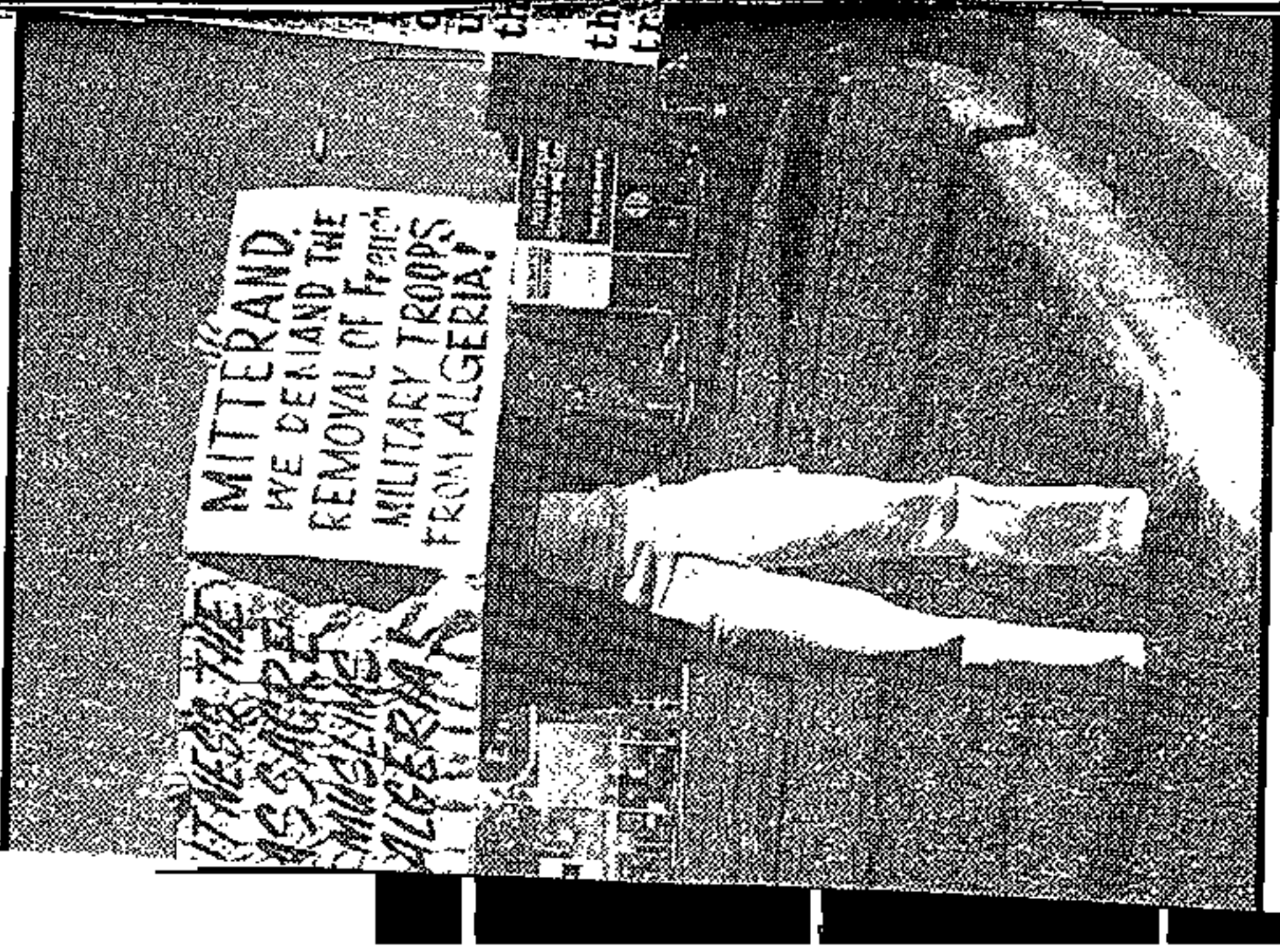
At the close of his speech Mr Mitterrand drew applause with the cry of "Long live South Africa, long live France".

Welcoming Mr Mitterrand, President

He hoped that even closer ties would be established in the coming century.

"I came here to celebrate the victory of the people over fear and intolerance."

France offered herself as a partner with her resources and her ideals.



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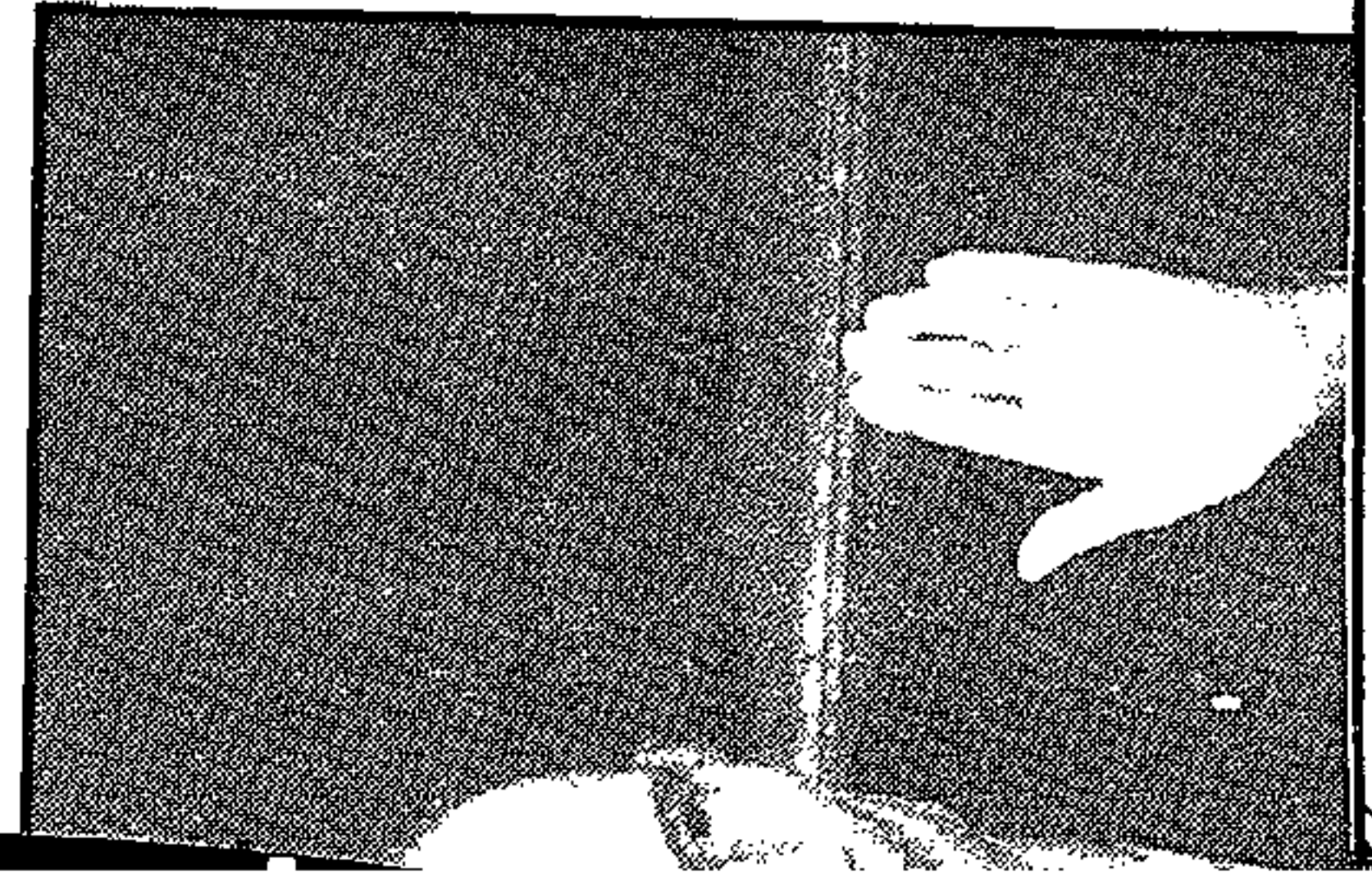
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no reason for whites to be afraid, even though we understand their feelings."

He admitted: "We are worried by the number of those leaving but my message is clear: Whites have the know-how we do not have, and we count on them to build the country."

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French pledge



UBUNTU ... Khayelitsha pensioner Mrs Anna Moleleki greets President Francois Mitterrand with a traditionally respectful handshake in her shack yesterday after he threw a power switch giving electricity to her home. His visit was to mark the "switch on" of 50 more homes in an ambitious 20 000 homes-per-year electrification project, jointly sponsored by the French company Electricite de France, Britain's East Midlands Electricity and Eskom.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

CTS/7/94 3047

Mitterrand to

push SA cause

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and CHRIS BATEMAN

PRESIDENT Francois Mitterrand yesterday dramatically offered to become the international cheerleader of South Africa's struggle for the French revolutionary ideals of "Liberte, Egalite and Fraternite".

The French leader promised Parliament he would champion a special partnership deal with the new South Africa — with France supplying development aid, technical expertise, investment and its diplomatic muscle in world forums.

"As you build a new nation, my ambition is that France should be at your side," he said in a moving address to the National Assembly, where MPs and Senators gave him two standing ovations.

French government officials said details of French involvement should begin crystallising after talks between French government ministers and industrialists and their South African counterparts.

The 77-year-old French leader, whose entourage includes a number of senior government ministers and French business leaders, told Parliament that he viewed his visit as "merely the beginning of a lasting contribution".

He said he expected conventions to

be signed during his stay in the fields of electrification, housing, health, rural development and water provision.

Details will be announced this morning about an agreement between the French Development Bank (CFD) and the SA government.

Welcoming the first foreign head of state to visit South Africa since his inauguration, President Nelson Mandela said he embraced President Mitterrand "as one of us — a colleague in the quest for freedom and the social upliftment of ordinary people".

Later yesterday Mr Mitterrand and Mr Mandela visited Khayelitsha to mark the electric "switch-on" of 50 more homes.

The event was marked by an appeal to Mr Mitterrand from South African National Civics Organisation, Sanco, Khayelitsha chairman, Mr Dickson Khulani, to visit some of the flood-stricken township homes.

"We were forced to live here, 50% of us have no proper houses and half of us are economically active young people — all unemployed," he said.

A nervous Mrs Regina Moleleki, waiting to receive the two presidents in her makeshift shack with her pensioner mother, Anna, and her three children, said: "Our knees are shaking at the honour of having our father actually in our home."

She said all she knew of the "other important leader" was that he was "from overseas".

● More reports, picture — Page 2
● Mitterrand's fireside chat via ear-phones — Page 6

Wor.C. must aid SA — Mitterrand

(304A)

ARGS/17/94

French leader upset by poverty in Peninsula

CLIVE SAWYER, Political Correspondent

FRENCH president Francois Mitterrand has called for a world aid programme to rid South Africa of poverty.

Mr Mitterrand was moved by what he saw on a tour of Peninsula shackland yesterday.

President Mandela, speaking at a press conference at the end of Mr Mitterrand's visit to Cape Town today, said the French president had "risen to all expectations".

"The moment of parting is painful. We regard him as one of us," Mr Mandela said.

"The sentiments he has expressed in these past two days have given hope that our reconstruction and development programme is indeed achievable."

Mr Mandela said details of principles agreed on in discussion between the two were still to be worked out.

He said Mr Mitterrand had been visibly moved during a visit to Cape Flats townships yesterday.

Mr Mitterrand had "shown the commitment of a person brought up in an environment in which the principles of liberty, equality and other democratic values have been deeply embedded".

Mr Mitterrand said a government of goodwill had been established in South Africa.

The country showed political determination of an exceptional calibre.

"Every moment one goes from surprise to surprise, astonishment to astonishment."

Mr Mitterrand said a world programme of aid was needed for South Africa, and named the European Union and the Group of Seven most industrialised nations (G7) as organisations suitable to take a lead.

● South Africa had its own problems and France would not ask it to intervene directly in Rwanda, Mr Mitterrand said today.

But France hoped that African countries would intervene collectively between the warring parties in Rwanda.

Mr Mitterrand said France was not at war in Rwanda.

Speaking against a background of rebel victories in the Rwandan capital Kigali in the past 24 hours, Mr Mitterrand said the programme of military assistance would not be allowed to extend to armed conflict on the side of either the Rwandan government or rebel forces.

He said France was impatient for organisations like the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity to take action to end the genocide.

"We thought it was for African countries to put themselves between warring African people," he said.

France had sent in troops in terms of an existing diplomatic agreement on military assistance which dated back to 1975.

"We want to defend those who are suffering."

He said France was almost the only country doing anything to stop the bloodshed.

Diplomatic efforts to end the civil war were to be made by Rwanda's neighbouring states, Uganda, Zaire and Tanzania.

Mr Mitterrand said French involvement was purely humanitarian.

During his South African tour he was given regular updates on Rwanda.

Mr Mandela said South Africa was prepared to help solve the Rwandan situation only as part of a UN or OAU initiative.

ACDP leader quits party (304A)

JOHANNESBURG — African Christian Democratic Party chairman Dr Johan van der Westhuizen yesterday announced his resignation from the party.

He cited political differences as the reason for his resignation.

Dr Van der Westhuizen said in a statement he had resigned because of the ACDP's "dogmatic, fundamentalistic and charismatic approach to politics".

He said the ACDP had a future in South African politics, but only as a political entity and not as a church movement.

Sapa

ET 6/7/94

Nats seek new cabinet member

ARC 6/7/94

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

THE National Party faces a poser today in its choice of a minister to fill the cabinet vacancy left by Derek Keys.

The appointment of a "non-partisan" finance minister, Chris Liebenberg, leaves a cabinet post open for an NP appointment.

Party sources said today that a decision on which new portfolio should be created was expected to precede a decision on who should take it on.

Party leader FW De Klerk is in Europe and expected home at the end of the month. An announcement about the new cabinet appointment is unlikely before the end of next month, his spokesman said.

The NP could take its cue from pressure for a fully fledged ministry of local government.

NP control of a local government ministry, even in the context of the government of national unity, could strengthen its arm in determining the des-

tiny of third-tier government, which is yet to undergo transition.

Another argument for the creation of a full ministry of local government is the workload likely to be caused by next year's municipal elections.

Speculation so far has been that candidates for the cabinet include Leon Wessels, Sam de Beer and chief whip Fanus Schoeman.

If the NP chooses local government, this could improve Mr Wessels' chances because he is former occupant of the post.

A crucial factor in the future of the cabinet is that President Mandela has made it clear he is in charge of cabinet appointments.

This means the possibility of a minor cabinet reshuffle cannot be ruled out.

A vacancy could occur in the education portfolio depending on the outcome of medical advice to education minister Sibusiso Bhengu, who had a stroke last month.

Move to re-establish Liberal Party as a home for centrists

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

MOVES are afoot to re-establish the Liberal Party in South Africa as a broader, more dynamic rallying point for centrists and liberals disillusioned with existing political parties.

This is the ultimate goal of a new campus organisation, the South African Liberal Students' Association (Salsa), to be launched in Cape Town next week. This could accelerate a realignment of party politics.

The fledgling organisation, which has emphasised its independence from the Democratic Party, is seeking to "create a powerful liberal movement".

Through this it will seek to re-establish the Liberal Party as a national force in time to contest the 1999 election.

A new Liberal Party would almost certainly absorb the Democratic Party and draw considerable support from other parties.

Significantly, DP acting leader Tony Leon — acknowledged for his forthright liberalism — will deliver the opening address at Salsa's launch. But Salsa leaders insist the organisation is not the DP in disguise.

Spokesman Malcolm Gabriel said Salsa's "market" and approach would be entirely different, though it shared a core liberal philosophy with the DP.

"Defining yourself as a democrat these days is to define yourself out of existence. Everyone's a democrat."

"We will be presenting a strong liberal ideology and will not hesitate to criticise the DP Youth."

Mr Gabriel said Mr Leon had been invited to speak at the launch "because he is a liberal of high standing, not because he is the acting leader of the DP".

He added: "We want to start developing young liberals now to prepare them for political

office. Initial goals, however, will be campus-based. We will focus on particular issues, such as bursaries, the curriculum and academic freedom."

Founded on the principles of individual liberty, freedom of choice, thought and expression, and free market economics, Salsa intends to canvass support vigorously among all students, but particularly in the African community.

"We want to convey the message that liberalism is not just a white idea."

Salsa had already established branches at most university and technikon campuses.

It would seek links with the Free Market Foundation and the National Junior Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

● Salsa's launch, which is being sponsored by the German liberal organisation, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, will take place at the University of Cape Town on Tuesday.

Struggle for soul of ACDP

WM8-14/7/94 (3044)
A putsch by charismatic Christians has led to bitter conflict in the African Christian Democratic Party, reports **Stefaans Brümmer**

A STRUGGLE for the soul of the African Christian Democratic Party culminated this week in two founder members breaking ranks and threats of further defections.

The party did surprisingly well in the April election, returning two MPs to the national assembly and three regional MPs.

Founder member Dan Maluleke, a former member of the national executive, joined co-founder Dr Johan van der Westhuizen, who announced his resignation as ACDP chairman on Tuesday, in denouncing the "coup" by the charismatics.

Maluleke alleged improper procedure in the election of national executive members and blasted the powerful role of a new "guardian committee" established to ensure the party adheres to "biblical principles".

Van der Westhuizen said he had resigned after a "dogmatic, fundamentalistic and charismatic" turn in a party supposed to be inclusive of all Christians had led to friction between himself and other leaders.

The struggle for control of the party came to a head at a June 25 national meeting, which

decided to elect a new executive. In what critics see as a purge of non-charismatics, at least four of the 12 executive members lost their positions. Both Van der Westhuizen and Maluleke withdrew from the meeting, forfeiting their chances of re-election, and ACDP parliamentary liaison officer Richard Mitchell, also not a charismatic, was ousted in the vote.

A major role in the reconstitution of the executive seems to have been played by the party's "guardian committee", formed a month ago. The committee is tasked with ensuring the party stays true to biblical principles and screening party office bearers to confirm their Christian credentials.

Maluleke said the guardian committee — which has four non-ACDP and three party members — had been loaded with representatives from charismatic churches.

ACDP president Reverend Kenneth Meshoe this week confirmed all seven guardian committee members were from charismatic churches and that they asked office bearers whether they were born-again Christians, but said the idea was not to bar non-charismatics from leadership positions.

focus on Mandela

Sowetan

8/7/94

304A

By Tyrone August

QUESTION: What is your assessment of the performance of the Government of National Unity during the past two months?

Answer: So far the GNU has functioned very well. All the members of the Cabinet, without exception, have contributed to the solution of problems and the spirit that prevails is a harmonious one.

Of course, it's a difficult period. Some departments concerned with the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme are still laying out their blueprints. Nothing is very visible to show progress but, as a man who supervises all departments, I can tell you that the (co-operation) among all the members of the Cabinet is most assuring, and we will be able to deliver on our promises. In almost two months, we have made very good progress.

What has it been like to have people from different political backgrounds in the same government?

There are no tensions of a unique kind to raise alarm. In the ANC, in our discussions we normally start from opposite angles, and because we have this commitment to one another as comrades, we invariably come to a consensus on every issue.

We are doing the same thing here. We are coming to consensus on every issue. If we come with different views, we thrash them out. There has not been a single instance where we have had to adjourn a discussion because we did not agree. The co-operation has been very good.

So not too much should be read into Deputy President Mr FW de Klerk's decisions not to accept certain invitations? Mr De Klerk has explained this to me. In regard to June 16, for example — whether we agree with it or not — he said he was not going to attend because that date is associated with the ANC, and it would not be correct to attend an occasion of that nature as it might lead to his losing support from his people.

In relation to June 16, do you think there was perhaps an over-reaction to its not being declared a public holiday?

The complaints were premature and not properly digested. You can't expect a government which was just a month old to take such a momentous decision to declare June 16 a public holiday. We are keeping a balance between satisfying the aspirations of our people as well as accommodating the interests of business.

We have won this election, for those who do not know, because of the financial support of big business. Our people do not have the capital to have ensured that they covered all our expenses. Business made a very important contribution and therefore, when it comes to questions such as June 16, we have to consult our people properly.

And there are some of our people, including

In this exclusive interview with Political Reporter **Tyrone August**, State President Nelson Mandela talks freely and frankly about the huge task facing the Government of National Unity, his new job, his colleagues and his hopes and fears:



President Nelson Mandela makes a point during a wide-ranging interview with Sowetan.

trade unions, who said they don't want this to be a holiday; times are difficult. They want to get their full pay.

So this is a question which has to be negotiated and we must avoid a piece-meal solution. What we should do is sit down to decide whether we do not have too many holidays.

If there are too many holidays, which ones must be cut out? Which ones must be maintained? And to have expected us to take such a momentous decision within a month of our coming to power is unrealistic. It comes from people who do not know the real functioning of government and how decisions are taken.

Concern has been voiced that perhaps the GNU is overly concerned with white fears and neglecting black aspirations?

I do not know what that means because we have put forward an RDP which talks about building one million houses during the next five years, and creating 2.5 million jobs. We are having

meetings with business, and raising funds internally and externally in order to start with this programme.

As from August, I am going around the country to thank our people for having put us into power, and to outline the steps we have already taken to address their basic needs. Now I don't understand when it is said that we are concentrating more on the whites. We are also seeing the PAC, Azapo and other organisations.

Perhaps this is partly related to June 16 not being declared a public holiday?

I do not know whether some of the people who are complaining have actually taken the trouble to consult the youth themselves as well as the workers, because some unions have complained about too many holidays.

This is a question which has to be left to the people themselves. In the near future, for exam-

Continued on page 9

Call to give NP local government seat

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) said yesterday it would lobby the government to create a separate local government portfolio for the NP, which lost its cabinet seat when Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys resigned.

The NP would, if no adjustments were made to enable it to have one of the security ministries, regard the local government ministry as a good option. Sanco general-secretary Mr. Penrose Ntonti said his organisation was still not convinced local government had been ac-

corded proper status by being fobbed off on Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

Mr Meyer told Sanco he thought local government was well accommodated in his ministry.

President Nelson Mandela said the finance portfolio would become a non-political position. The constitution would be amended to allow an NP minister to replace Mr Keys, bringing the number of cabinet seats to 28.

Mr Ntonti said Mr Keys' resignation had

presented the government with an opening that should be filled with members of the local government ministry.

In another development, Mr Meyer will meet the country's nine local government ministers today.

This will be followed by a meeting between the minister and the nine premiers.

Local government issues, including the implementation of the Local Government Transition Act and local government elections, will be dealt with.

Star 12/7/94 *Nzo's mending fences with the neighbours*

**SOUTH AFRICA'S
Foreign Minister
moves to cement a
regional bloc, says
Jean-Jacques
Cornish**

Encouraged by the Government's growing status as a world player, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo this week makes a series of neighbourly visits to his counterparts in Mozambique and Namibia.

Nzo and his foreign affairs team have seen as much front-line diplomatic action this past week as any superpower.

It began with their vital ancillary operation during the state visit of France's President Francois Mitterrand, which brought South Africa membership in yet another organisation: the Franco-African group, which encompasses more than 30 African nations speaking French, Portuguese and English.

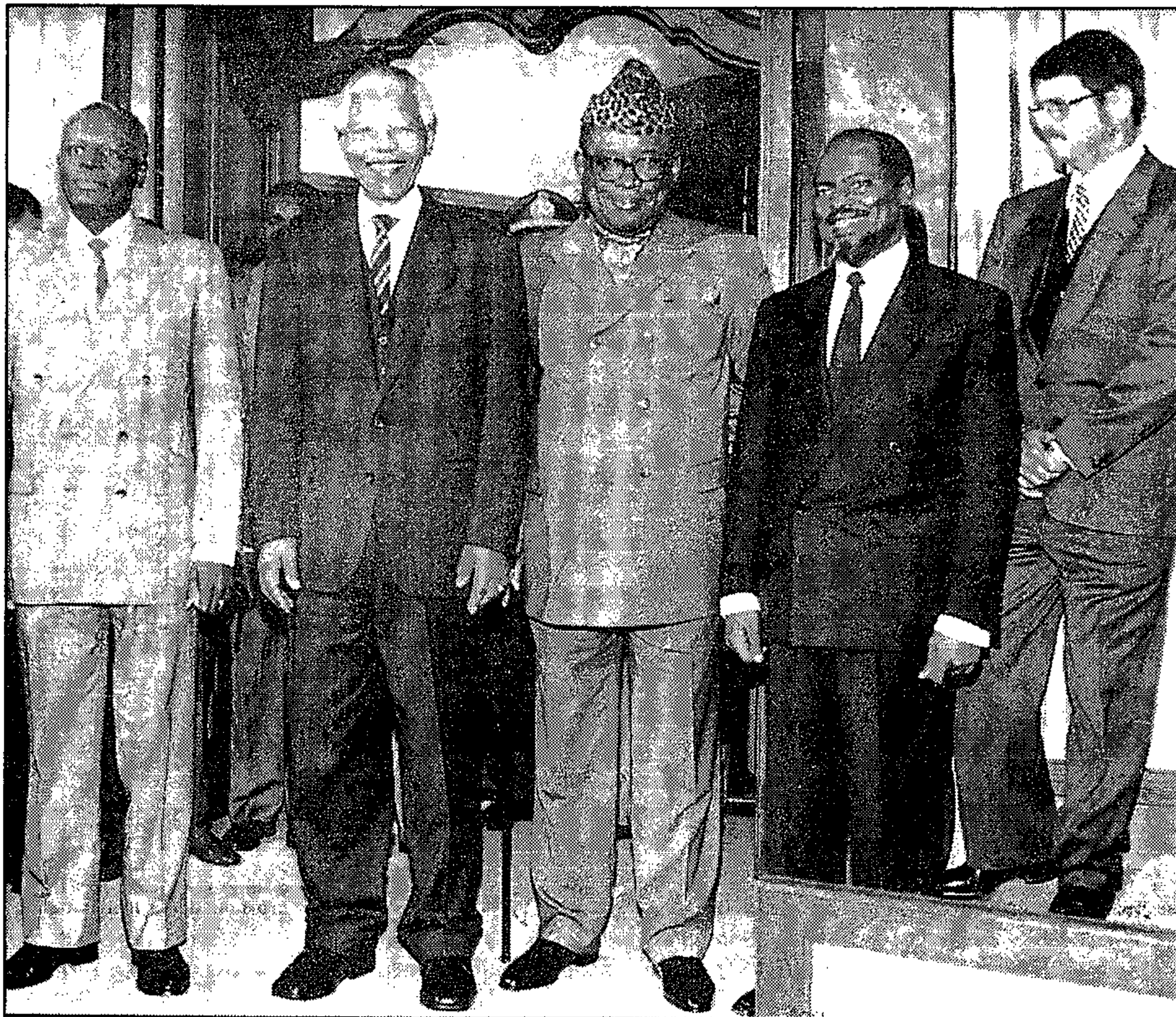
Exactly how membership will interface with South Africa's activities in the Organisation of African Unity and among the considerable number of African members of the Commonwealth remains to be seen.

Observers believe it is time Nzo takes stock of the number of organisations South Africa has joined or rejoined.

They feel he should keep a critical eye on cost, benefits and responsibilities.

Although foreign affairs officials were encouraged by the initial success of President Nelson Mandela's intervention in the Angolan peace process, their work has been cut out by the decisions taken at last Thursday's summit involving presidents Mandela, Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.

While officials from Angola and Zaire meet to prepare a summit of their two presidents, which is seen by many as the achievement of Mandela's initiatives thus far, South African and Unita officials will meet in



Forging new links . . . (from left) Angola's Eduardo dos Santos, Nelson Mandela, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Mozambique's Joaquim Chissano.

PICTURE: TJ LEMON

Pretoria to continue the process.

Their objective is to get Mandela and Unita's Jonas Savimbi around a table, where pressure could be applied on the rebel leader to return to the peace negotiations.

Nzo fully briefed his Swazi counterpart, Solomon Dhlamini, on the presidential summit when the two met in Pretoria on Friday, but their bilateral was primarily designed to strengthen neighbourly ties.

South Africa has taken up its leadership role in the re-

gion and aims to build a strong bloc. This will carry increased political and economic weight in international forums like the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth.

Said Nzo: "Part of our policy is to ensure there is stability and co-operation, and that peaceful relations are built among neighbours as a stepping stone to broader regions of the world."

"... It is not like before when people were terrified of our country because of its

practice of dropping bombs and sending in troops."

Foreign Affairs officials said a South African-led peace initiative to bring an end to conflict in Lesotho was also planned. (304A)

Nzo's regional efforts appear to, indeed, be directed at mending fences damaged by the previous government rather than digging up any old bones of contention.

With Dhlamini, for example, he did not even raise the matter of the disputed territories of Ingwavuma and Kangwane.

Thus when Nzo starts his regional travels in Maputo, he may be expected to skirt the increasingly contentious issue of power-sharing after the October elections in Mozambique.

An angry Chissano has denounced foreign governments who are pressing for a power-sharing deal in advance of the poll.

While he did not say which nations were pushing for a coalition government, a Maputo newspaper has fingered out the United States, Britain and Portugal.

Leon sees new task for liberals

Political Correspondent

NOW that South Africa has a "reasonably liberal" constitution, liberals should shift their focus decisively to promoting economic liberalism to secure true liberation, says Democratic Party acting leader Tony Leon. (3047)

It was not enough for liberals merely to try to prevent socialist economic policy from being implemented in South Africa, but to promote and sell the "liberal menu" to a new market.

He was speaking at the launch of the South African Liberal Students' Association (Salsa) at the University of Cape Town. Salsa has set as its long-term goal the re-establishment of the Liberal Party.

Mr Leon said: "I would say that the constitution we have is interim in nature and is a fragile plant — it will require strengthening before it is even finalised."

ARK 12/7/94

Top civil servants hold crisis meeting

Top civil servants hold crisis meeting

Bo4A
CT13/7/94

Top civil servants hold crisis meeting

Special Reporter

JOHANNESBURG. — Nearly half South Africa's top bureaucrats were in a state of near-rebellion yesterday after many discovered their posts had been publicly advertised without their knowledge.

Seventeen of the 36 directors-general held a crisis meeting arranged by the former National Intelligence Services director and now director-general of Constitutional Development, Dr Niel Barnard.

Well-placed sources described yesterday's atmosphere as "tense" and highly critical of the Public Service Commission over the way the transition has been handled.

One said the directors-general "seriously considered" calling on President Nelson Mandela "en masse" but decided that because of his eye operation today they would instead elect a two-man delegation.

Director-general of Justice Mr Jasper Nothe and Dr Barnard were mandated to take their grievances to the chairman of the Public Service Commission, Dr Roelof Venter.

Minister of Justice Mr Dullah Omar said last night he was not aware of any meeting between directors-general, adding: "I'd prefer not to comment."

Mr Corrie Smit, spokesman for Dr Venter, confirmed 17 directors-general posts had been advertised in the media since the new Public Service Act was proclaimed last month, adding: "This is the best and most transparent method of recruitment and the best man will get the job."

The incumbent directors-general, some of whom he conceded may not have been informed of the adverts, could re-apply for their posts along with anyone else, he said.

Further directors-general posts would be advertised as and when consultation took place "between the relevant ministers and premiers."

Mr Smit said incumbent directors-general would be dealt with in accordance with the Public Service Act. It was also reliably learnt last night that ministers recently received letters from the Commission for Public Administration asking that their respective directors-general be appointed in an acting capacity.

None of the directors-general who attended the meeting could be contacted for comment last night.

A forerunner of yesterday's dramatic meeting was the surprise replacement of Housing director-general Mr Louis Koch with the ANC's Mr Billy Cobbett in mid-May.

Among the 36 directors-general are those from the former TBVC states and the six self-governing territories plus the nine provincial directors-general.



PROPOSED . . . Taxi driver Mr Simon Mfundu, of Khayelitsha, sports two placards on his taxi expressing dissatisfaction with moving the minibus taxi rank to the station deck. The City Council has given the assurance that all taxis will from the new deck and Strand Street will be a no-go area for taxis. — Report Page 3.

Picture: ANNE LAMING

NP move to curb government 'blunders'

CAPE TOWN — Deputy President FW de Klerk would propose to Cabinet that it introduce policy frameworks for each department so that politically damaging outbursts by ANC Ministers could be avoided in future, the NP said yesterday.

NP information director and MP Marthinus van Schalkwyk said his party was "fed up" with the "loose cannon talk" of ANC Ministers, and Defence Minister Joe Modise's rebuke of Israel was the last straw.

Van Schalkwyk said the ANC's "honeymoon period" within government had come to an end. The NP's position within the government of national unity had been compromised by ANC Cabinet members

DAVID GREYBE

on several occasions.

As a result, De Klerk would propose to Cabinet on behalf of the NP next month "that policy frameworks be negotiated for each ministry which reflect the point of view of the government of national unity and not of the ANC".

Such a step would, he said, avoid a repeat of last week's embarrassing blunder by Modise when he compared Israel's policies with apartheid, and said it had been a sanctions-busting arms supplier to the former government.

The comment had led to Foreign Minis-

ter Alfred Nzo issuing a thinly veiled repudiation of a fellow Minister, and frantic efforts by senior government members to repair the political damage. (304A)

Van Schalkwyk said it was generally accepted government policy that Ministers should not enter the domain of fellow Ministers. "Modise's outburst against Israel does not instil a lot of confidence in his ability to handle an important portfolio such as defence," he said.

Modise had, through his action, not only brought SA's international relations into his arena but set a "dangerous" precedent for the new government.

SA and Mozambique sign deal

Security and economic Star 21/7/94 pacts sealed

(304A)

■ **BY SHAUN JOHNSON**
POLITICAL EDITOR

Maputo — Important security and economic pacts have been sealed between South Africa and Mozambique as the result of President Mandela's visit — his first state visit since the election.

Speaking at a banquet hosted by Mozambique president Joaquim Chissano last night and following the signing of a broad-based co-operation agreement between the countries, Mandela said a joint working group would meet in Nelspruit on Monday to discuss security issues.

"The aim is stop cross-border criminal activities that include the trafficking of weapons, drugs, and vehicles; and financial crimes that result in the treasuries of both of our countries being defrauded of legitimate excise revenues," he said.

Mandela added that the "next-most important area of co-operation" between the two countries was economic.

He assured Chissano that South Africa would do all it could to promote investment and the reconstruction and development of Mozambique.

The success of the political transition — Mozambique is scheduled to hold multi-party elections in October — was dependant on the country's economic development, he said.

While stressing that South Africa did not see itself dominating southern African politics, Mandela said the subcontinental region wanted to see Mozambique's transition succeed.

He said: "Last week, South Africa attended the SADC meeting in Windhoek. We will become more closely involved with the SADC and with the frontline states. The aim must be to create a new, prosperous southern African community that will be able to compete with dignity with the rest of the world."

Mandela paid special tribute to Mozambique for giving opponents of apartheid "safe haven ... and thereby endangering yourselves and your nation".

South Africa owed a debt to Mozambique that would not be forgotten.

■ **Reuter** reports that Chissano said South Africa and his country should establish joint security in the region to maintain peace.

focus on change

Sowetan 22/7/94

LONDON — South Africa's eager, triumphant return to the Commonwealth after a 33-year absence was akin to an errant child rejoining the family fold.

After decades of bloodshed, sanctions and international pressure one of the original members of the group that emerged from the British empire was back.

The reunion capped the Commonwealth's tireless campaign for a free South Africa and cast the spotlight on the global group that helped to usher in black majority rule.

"The return of a non-racial democratic South Africa, working alongside the other 50 members of the Commonwealth, is a boost for the association, not least in the task of making the world safer for diversity," Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said in an interview.

Representing a quarter of the world's population, with members ranging from industrial heavyweights like Britain and Canada to their poorer cousins in Africa and Asia, the Commonwealth is nothing if not diverse.

Sir Humphrey Maud, Anyaoku's deputy, described it as a "rich tapestry of nations united by the English language".

It acknowledges Queen Elizabeth as its head and its members have similar institutions and structures bequeathed by colonialism.

But with no formal constitutional structure and having achieved its aim with South Africa, sceptics wonder what role the Commonwealth will now play.

Anyaoku describes South Africa's return as a triumph that has reinforced the group's principles of democracy and sustainable growth.

The Commonwealth's informality and flexibility, far from being a drawback, is one of its strengths.

"We are able to cross the fine line of non-interference in internal affairs of other countries. In fact, we set the pace in that respect," said Anyaoku, a former Nigerian diplomat.

"We can get involved with governments in the preliminary stages of democracy and assist member countries in areas that traditionally have been regarded as internal affairs."

The Commonwealth's new relationship with South Africa will be mutually beneficial.

Pretoria will gain from the group's assistance and expertise in developing social and economic programmes and it will have a great deal to give to its immediate African neighbours, most of which are Commonwealth members.

"It will be the hub of economic growth in Southern Africa," said Maud.

"We can play a catalytic role where we are needed in helping these countries come together and develop the sort of economic programmes they'll need if they are going to be prosperous."

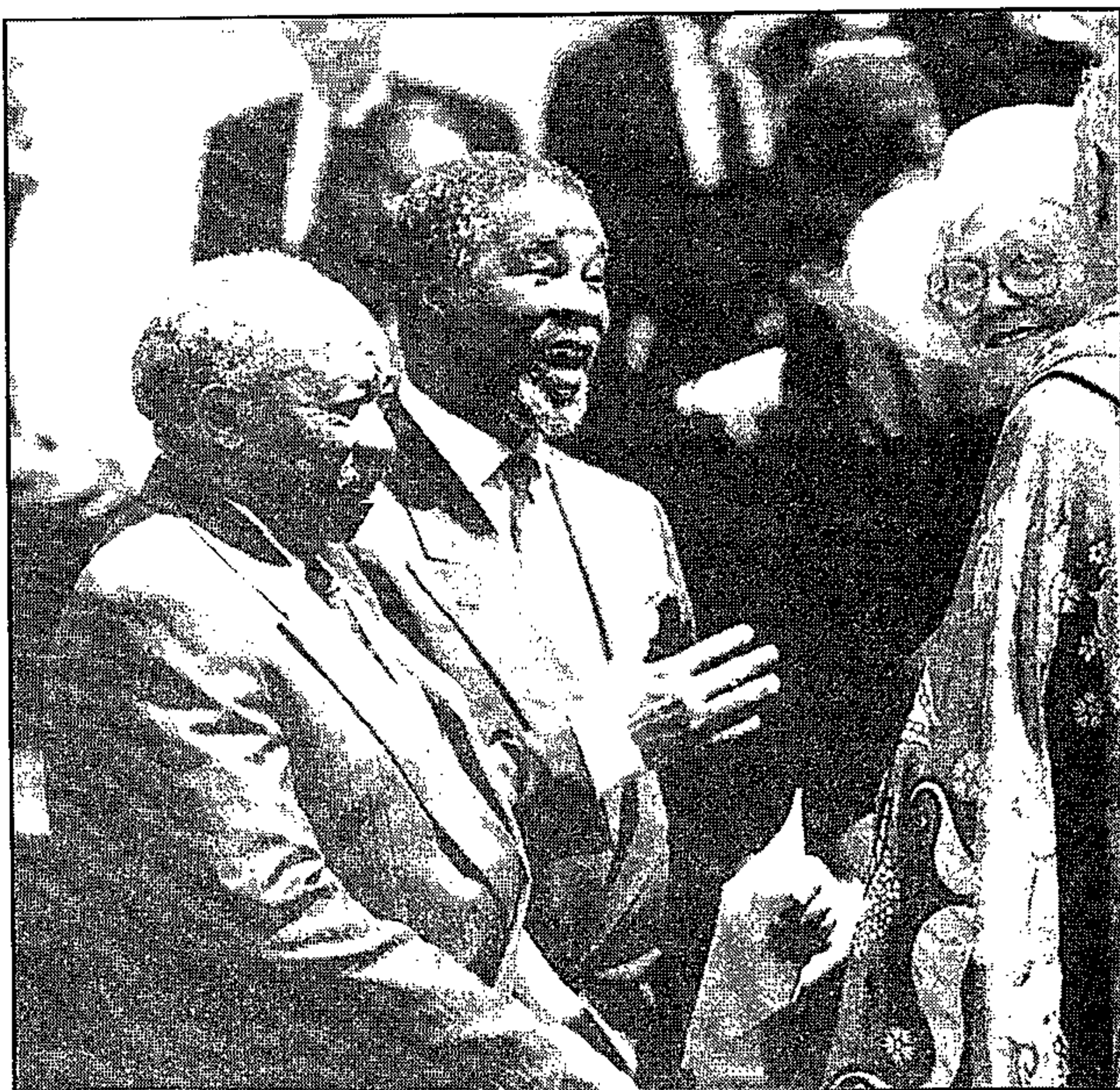
With a staff of 350 people and a budget of R197 million, the Commonwealth secretariat in London is the hub of the group's activities.

Anyaoku sees the organisation as a micro-

Out in the cold for 33 years, South Africa is back in the fold of Commonwealth which have great expectations of the former pariah of the world enhancing its chances of promoting democracy. *Sapa-Reuter's*

Patricia Reaney reports:

304A



Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo and Deputy President Mr Thabo Mbeki arrive at Westminster Abbey for a celebration, attended by the Queen Mother and 2 000 diplomats, dignitaries and guests — marking another milestone in South Africa's reacceptance by the international community.

cosm of the United Nations, without its rigid structure but with an equally vital role to play in world affairs.

Last January it helped to resolve an internal dispute in Lesotho when warring factions in the army threatened the stability of the country.

"I sent two of my colleagues there and it was they who negotiated a ceasefire and the disarming of the warring soldiers," said Anyaoku.

He sees the Commonwealth getting more and more involved in similar situations but not at the expense of its role in promoting sustainable development because so many of its members are poor nations.

Nursing infant democracies has always been

one of the Commonwealth's strong points, as well as providing technical support and practical economic help to raise the living standards of its citizens.

Anyaoku believes the return of a democratic South Africa marks a new beginning for the Commonwealth and says the actions taken by its member countries can make an impact on the way the world is governed.

"With South Africa behind us ... the Commonwealth capacity to assist its members in democracy and good government has been enhanced and it will have more time for doing that. It will become more pro-active in achieving these principles," he said.

Historic service at Westminster Abbey as South Africa rejoins Commonwealth

Royal Welcome for SA

Star 21 7 94

Bo44

'YOU CAN see the chests of South Africans swelling with pride,' says SA naval captain at moving ceremony

BY GARNER THOMSON
STAR BUREAU

London — In just 57 words and 24 seconds, South Africa healed one of the last wounds of apartheid by formally returning to the Commonwealth in a moving ceremony in London's historic Westminster Abbey yesterday.

Watched by the Queen Mother, Duchess of Kent and nearly 2 000 dignitaries and guests, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki presented the SA flag to Commonwealth secretary-general Chif Emeka Anyaoku, ending more than 30 years of international isolation.

"Mister secretary-general," he said, "I present to you this flag to mark the return of the new South Africa to the association of free and equal nations which constitute the Commonwealth."

Anyaoku replied: "Mister deputy president, I receive this flag of the new South Africa in joy and thanksgiving that South Africa is once more within our family of nations."

The moment came halfway through a celebration that Archbishop Desmond Tutu later likened to the return of the prodigal son.

Tutu said: "We have seen a veritable miracle unfolding before our eyes, an extraordinary lesson in our country... a deeply spiritual, deeply religious experience, a transformation, transfiguration — a mountain-top experience."



Return to the Commonwealth . . . Deputy President Thabo Mbeki (right) stands on the steps of Marlborough House in London with Prince Charles, Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku and Queen Elizabeth yesterday.

PICTURE: AFP

A joyful Tutu told Commonwealth representatives: "Our victory is your victory . . . it is a very great privilege to say on behalf of many millions of our

people: Thank you, thank you, thank you — for your love, your prayers, your support."

Earlier, Mbeki laid a wreath at the Cenotaph in Whitehall.

in honour of the fallen at Delville Wood. The mood changed to joy and triumph at the abbey, where the Elite Swingers of Soweto played invited

jazz as the guests assembled.

After being received by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, the guests of honour, including Mbeki and Foreign

Minister Mfengiso Nzo, were greeted by a guard of honour comprising flag-bearers of all the Commonwealth nations. After readings from Alan

Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* and Oswald Mtshali's poem *Love* came the presentation of the SA flag. Immediately afterwards, the Westminster choir led the assembly in *Die Stem* and *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, followed by prayers led by, among others, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and the Rev Dirk Costertzen.

As bells rang out, old enemies and new friends mingled: the Queen Mother chatting vivaciously, Tutu grinning and nodding at familiar faces in the crowd, Mbeki smiling proudly, and Nzo even pausing in the procession to sign an autograph for a schoolchild.

It was one of many moments that visibly moved onlookers. SAS Drakensberg Captain Preston Barnard, whose crew members formed a guard of honour outside the abbey, summed it up: "You can see the chests of South Africans swelling with pride."

Later, Mbeki, standing on the steps of Marlborough House with the Queen, Prince Charles, and Anyaoku and his wife, thanked the world for assisting in the birth of a democratic society in SA.

He was addressing the cream of British society, including top business, political and church leaders who had gathered at the Commonwealth secretary's headquarters to celebrate SA's return.

"We owe our birth in good measure to what the world and the Commonwealth have done. We have an obligation to make our contribution to making the world a better place," he said.

Notable names on the guest list included Harry, Nicky and Anthony Oppenheimer, Sir Laurens van der Post, actor Anthony Sher, Kepler Wessels, Allan Donald and Ali Bacher.

Split feared in ANC alliance

Workers' party on the cards by 1999, says expert

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

STRIKES gripping post-election South Africa are the first rumblings of a looming split in the tripartite ANC alliance, experts have warned.

A workers' party is likely to break away from the African National Congress/Cosatu/SA Communist Party alliance within a few years if the government fails to satisfy worker demands, labour and political analysts say.

Willie Breytenbach, University of Stellenbosch political scientist, confidently predicts a workers' party will break away from the ANC alliance within two or three years to challenge the ANC in the next parliamentary elections, due in 1999.

"We are witnessing the precursor of the establishment of a South African workers' party," he said.

Professor Breytenbach said the breakaway was inevitable if the government's reconstruction and development programme (RDP) failed to live up to expectations and workers

Escalating strikes are widely regarded as the first signs of an upheaval in the ANC alliance that could lead to a workers' party breaking away within a few years.

began viewing the ANC elite in the government gravy train as "bourgeois".

He said SACP was likely to side with the ANC in the coming split although individual communists would defect to a new workers' party.

The leadership of a break-away party could come from former union leaders now in government. These could include ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa or cabinet ministers Sydney Mufamadi and Jay Naidoo.

Professor Breytenbach said the ANC was beginning to follow the same pattern that occurred among liberation movements in many other African countries where trade unions split from the governing party after independence.

He said the pattern in Africa was for trade unions to be in alliance with liberation movements until decolonisation, but to break away afterwards

when these "cosy relationships" tended to sour.

Once liberation movements achieved power after "uhuru", they had to serve a much wider range of interests including employers who were in direct competition with the trade unions. This inevitably led to tensions between politicians and unionists who were previously bedfellows.

"Suddenly the politicians discover their constituency is much bigger than the narrower interests of the working community," Professor Breytenbach said. When this happened, a clash between the conflicting interests of the politicians and workers was inevitable.

The growing militancy in the trade union movement was widely predicted before the elections when the Cosatu labour federation threw in its lot with the ANC alliance to ensure a resounding ANC election victory.

But within months of the election, this marriage of convenience has already degenerated into a power struggle over the country's economic direction as the unions demand a post-liberation dividend for union members while the ANC seeks to serve broader interests by creating new jobs, fighting inflation and attracting investment to build the economy.

Trade unions now expect the ANC-dominated government to be on their side in labour disputes as a reward for supporting the ANC in the elections. But president Nelson Mandela has refused to heed their call for him to come down off the fence.

His balanced reaction after his meeting with Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa this week, has disillusioned militant unionists who had expected Mr Mandela to back them unambiguously in their test of strength against Pick'n Pay.

Econometric economist Tony Twine said workers and their unions believed they had brought the ANC to power and it was now "pay-back time".

Mbeki gets a roasting in London

GARNER THOMSON
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Just when it seemed safe for South Africa to go back into the international water, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki discovered that not everyone in the Commonwealth fraternity was happy about the way the new South Africa was shaping up.

After a week of unprecedented encouragement, compliments and near-adulation, Mr Mbeki ran headlong into unexpectedly hostile questioning at his final Press conference in London before leaving for South Africa last night.

Mr Mbeki had just finished summarising the events of an historic week for South Africa — the high point of which were celebrations marking his country's return to the Commonwealth — when Gonny Govender, the London-based correspondent for the Africa Times section of the Caribbean Times, launched an attack on the "utter immorality" of a wealthy South Africa "competing for scarce resources with a wretchedly poor country like Rwanda".

Added to that, Mr Govender said, was "the question of your own competence, your failure to impose a sensible level of taxation and to withdraw the resources necessary for the implementation of the RDP from your own soil".

Mr Govender added that he thought it would be appropriate, "if, instead of flaunting your beggar's bowl, you showed some self-respect and dignity and started a nice

■ Deputy President Thabo Mbeki recently discovered a flipside to accolades usually bestowed on the new SA.

moral gesture by contributing a part of your own over-large salary to the kind of development you want people in Europe to cough up money for".

Mr Mbeki — characteristically relaxed and unflappable — responded with a detailed account of South Africa's contribution to Rwanda so far — speedy liaison with the United Nations and its aid agencies, the campaigns within the country to raise money for food and drugs to aid Rwandan refugees and the pledge to help supply the vehicles that would be required for peace-keeping.

However, he admitted that South Africa still had, as an aftermath of apartheid, an unemployment rate among black people of nearly 50 per cent and a child mortality rate that surpassed that of several neighbouring states and was in no position to help all of Rwanda's 1 million refugees.

In spite of the image of South Africa being well off, the legacy of the apartheid system meant that employment, health and feeding schemes were a priority within the country's own borders.

"South Africa is not a wealthy nation... hundreds of thousands of children never reach the age of five because of malnutrition. We have 50 percent unemployment. To ensure the growth we need, we

must attract foreign investment."

Mr Mbeki said his talks in Britain suggested that investors were keen to pour money into South Africa's economy.

He said he had positive meetings with Prime Minister John Major, new opposition Labour Party leader Tony Blair, the trade and overseas development ministers, union leaders and investors.

"There's tremendous joy in this country among all sectors that the transition to democracy in South Africa has taken place."

Asked about worries of renewed violence in his country, newly peaceful after years of bloodshed under apartheid, he said: "No fears were expressed at all. The thing that came across strongest was that people wanted to come and look at investment and trading opportunities."

"We don't visualise that there is going to be a situation of insurrection against the new government because it isn't delivering — because it will deliver," he said.

He said foresaw "a great leap forward in bilateral ties".

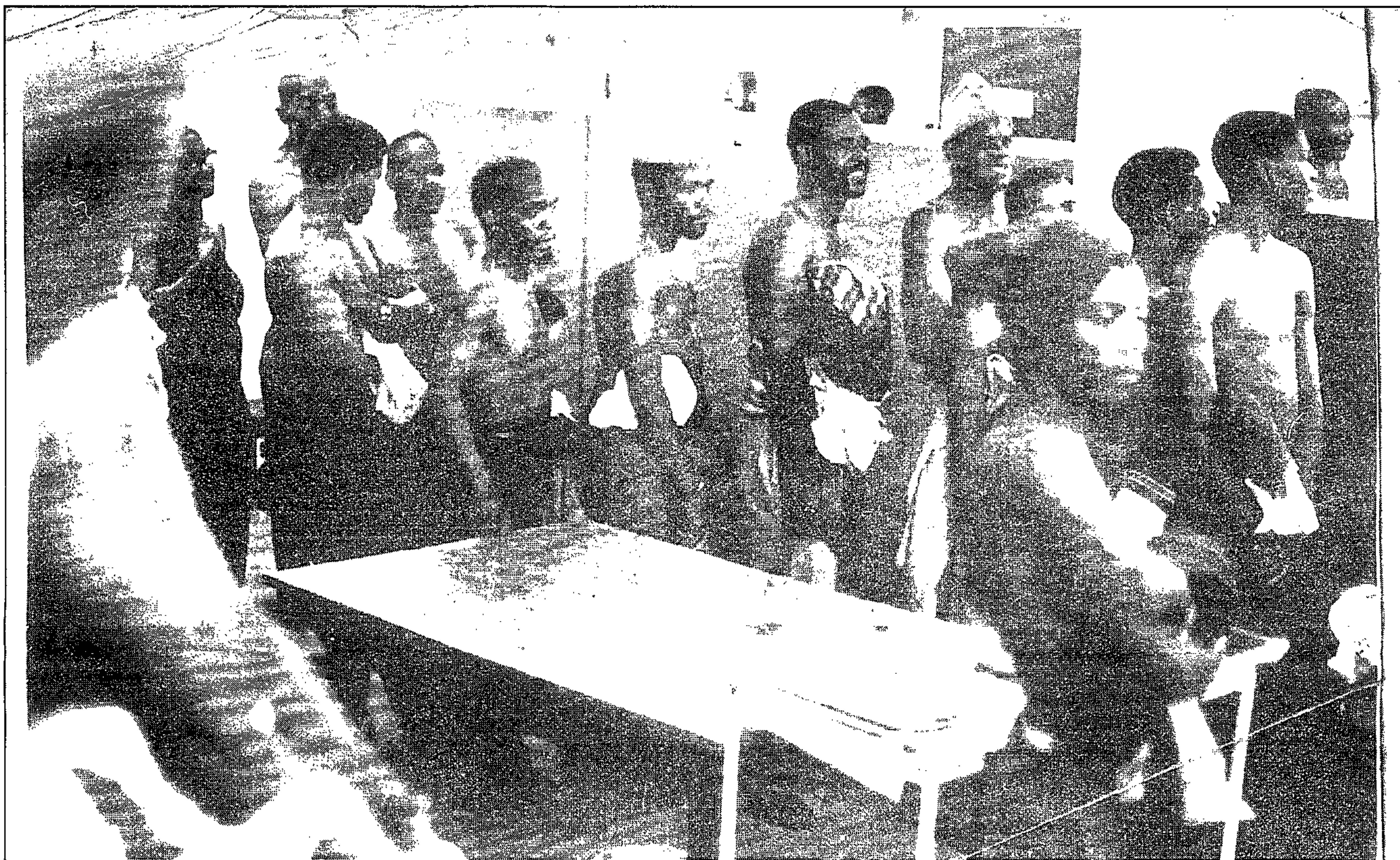
"We are going home with a very warm feeling... we've got good friends here and I am sure that great things will come out of our relationship."

"We encountered absolutely no fears about investing in South Africa," he said. "My impression was that people were anxious to come and look at investment and trade possibilities for themselves."

He said the British government had promised unspecified aid packages. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter

ARG 23/7/94 (304A)

IDT Husbands in urban areas hardly send money for their families' survival



Migrant labourers queuing for work, supposedly to support their destitute womenfolk in the rural areas.

Rural women still struggling

By Joe Mdhlela

BIG ODDS Pooling their resources

to tackle their problems while the Government is still deliberating:

DESPITE THE ODDS, rural women are relentlessly fighting for redress and justice, and will only stop talking when their lot gets the attention of the Government.

However, while the powers that be are still trying to put their house in order, these rural women will in the meantime come together, pool their resources and tackle the problem of environmental degradation.

Shining example

Among the many heroines who are a shining example of what dedication and selflessness are, is Mrs Mammalehi Raleke, a Transkei-based woman who struggles on along despite many hurdles.

Her husband who works "somewhere" in the urban areas, God knows where, hardly sends her money for her and the children to survive on.

With a heavy heart, unhappy that her husband is not contributing to the upkeep of the family, Raleke decided to team up with other women who are determined to improve their situation.

Through the Environmental and Development Agency, women like Raleke

are trained to develop skills which help them till the soil.

Not only that, they are assisted to establish water projects, helped in various ways to shed off the dependency syndrome.

As Raleke will tell you, nothing breaks a woman's morale more than the lack of moral support from her husband.

Having to walk long distances to collect wood and water, worrying at the same time about the quality of the water from an unprotected well, can be very tiring.

Not only that, the living conditions are hard in the rural areas where villages are often isolated. The lack of transport is another major concern and so is the lack of electricity.

Compounding the social problem is that women in the rural areas lack the opportunities to earn an income and therefore are unable to send their children to school.

Their migrant husbands in the urban areas often "forget about us, one gets the

impressions they don't care about us".

"But people from the Environmental and Development Agency have brought some relief in our lives, taking the heavy load off our shoulders," she says.

Restoration their dignity

As a result of these initiatives, rural women are beginning to assert themselves, restoring their dignity by doing things for themselves.

The gardens that are mushrooming attest to this newly established self-esteem of village women.

Mosilo Kuali, who is running the Environmental Development Agency, herself a rural woman, has this to say:

"I know what it means to be a rural woman. The husbands often leave their women folk destitute. They obviously promise to send money but months drag on without any monetary support being forthcoming.

"Therefore it is necessary to empower these women with skills so that they can support themselves."

Koali, painstakingly, goes through the motions helping the women to acquire skills necessary for survival.

But all these problems which now saddle women came about as a result of the migrant wage labour system.

According to statistics by the United Nations, the number of African female-headed households in the bantustan areas is in the region of 59 per cent.

Despite these figures, women have very little power in their rural communities. It is still the absent husbands who wield massive power, including authority related to all contractual obligations.

Besides the fact that there is lack of employment opportunities for women, what aggravates the matter is that they do not even have legal access to land, even though they spend most of the time working on the land.

Black and female

"Rural women cannot own the land they cultivate because they are black and female. Land which is available to them is usually officially owned by their husbands and is communal. Thus, they cannot make improvement without the husband's consent.

"Because the land is communal, everybody is entitled to it. As a result it is not marketable."

This extract from *Rural Women in*

Development explains the ruthlessness with which the village women are treated by the law.

"If you realise the extent to which our rural women folk are being treated by these laws, then you will appreciate that it is important for us to rally around each other and fight this piece of legislation that undermines our integrity," says Raleke.

Contribute expertise

Raleke hopes that the exiles who have had international exposure in terms of grappling with rural issues will bring forth their expertise to help the rural women.

She says, the Government has a major role to play in alleviating the lot of rural women who have struggled for decades without any remedy from the legislature.

As a result of these disadvantages, the Rural Women's Movement has been formed to draw together rural women from all parts of the country.

This unity the rural women hope to forge will enable them to campaign around common issues such as water, the access to land, education, child labour and the improvement of women's status in society.

For more on these issues turn on to NNTV at 9pm tonight.

OLIVE SAWYER
and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondents

THE row over South Africa siding with Cuba against the United States deepened today with a reminder from Cuba that South Africa was bound by international alliances to support it.

The row erupted over remarks made by Justice Minister Dullah Omar calling for diplomatic pressure on the United States to lift its blockade of Cuba.

Cuban charge d'affairs Marcos Rodriguez Costa said in Cape Town today that while it was not Cuba's place to dictate South African foreign policy, South Africa had this year joined the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of African Unity.

It was the policy of these bodies to oppose the United States blockade.

President Mandela and Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo had in the past clearly stated South African foreign policy on its alliances with the developing world.

"South Africa is working towards a southern hemisphere dialogue on a new economic order," Mr Costa said.

This did not preclude South Africa from diplomatic ties with anyone else including the United States.

He said the US blockade of Cuba was part of a vendetta because it could not bear "to have an independent voice only 90 miles from its shores".

He rejected the US claim that its blockade was in support of human rights in Cuba.

There were differing interpretations of what human rights meant, he said.

There were abuses by the United States itself both domestically and abroad.

He said this included its probable forthcoming invasion of Haiti.

Cuba was restructuring its economy because of problems caused by the American blockade and the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

But certain things, such as free health care and education, were not negotiable, he said.

The Western Cape region of the South African Communist Party has endorsed the call on the US to lift its blockade, declaring it a "gross violation of international norms enshrined in the charter of the United Nations".

Regional general secretary Mzukisi Gaba said: "All true democrats are obliged to expose the hypocrisy and bankruptcy of the so-called 'new world order' of US imperialism."

A statement was expected today from the foreign affairs department after the row about remarks by Mr Omar.

No official response from Washington to Mr Omar's remarks was forthcoming today.

US diplomats in South Africa said no statement would be issued at this stage.

Mr Omar's remarks sparked strong criticism from the National Party and Democratic Party.

□ Tied by international alliances, says island's charge d'affaires

ARC 26/7/94

(3044)

SA 'bound' to support Cuba

focus on transition

Sowetan 27/7/94

SOUTH AFRICA has a president and two deputies but it fell to Justice Minister Dullah Omar to fill the presidential shoes last week when all three leaders were out of the country.

President Nelson Mandela was in Mozambique on a state visit, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was in London to mark South Africa's return to the Commonwealth and Deputy President FW de Klerk was abroad on holiday, missing an opportunity to raise his almost non-existent media profile.

Mbeki's recent non-appearances at official functions have elicited a few sharp media comments which at least kept him in the public eye.

But De Klerk appears to have all but disappeared from the scene.

His last big media event was a week before the presidential inauguration in May when he conceded his National Party had lost the elections and that he would be handing over to Mandela. And then there was the inauguration itself.

Since then, however, De Klerk has all but left the scene, leaving it to Democratic Party acting leader Tony Leon to provide what little opposition there has been to the African National Congress in power.

He made a brief speech during the debate on Mandela's opening of Parliament speech, and he has undertaken two trips abroad — the first to London in May and the other to Germany this month.

De Klerk, who enjoyed a prominent and largely positive profile before the elections, is in a difficult position straddling two distinct roles. As NP leader he heads the ANC's junior partner in Government, and he is the leader of the biggest non-ANC block of representatives.

Sitting in earnest

It may be early days yet. The 100-day honeymoon period which the new Government has given itself to settle down still has three weeks to run. Next month Parliament will begin sitting in earnest, with both the opening and the Budget behind it.

The business of governance, transformation and, presumably, opposition is about to begin.

Yet some observers still think De Klerk's low profile has other motivations.

"He just seems to have lost interest; he may be sulking," said one source close to Mandela's office, adding that De Klerk had turned down opportunities to preside at official functions.

Said a former official of De Klerk's office: "He has no profile at all. I can't see him making a comeback."

De Klerk's pre-election notion of power-sharing did not take into account the fact that Mandela is one of the biggest media phenomena of the late 20th Century, as a largely ignored French President Francois Mitterrand found to his chagrin.

De Klerk has reportedly been stung by media insinuations he is the "second deputy president" and Mbeki the "first", thereby assigning him

Since the inauguration Deputy President FW de Klerk has maintained a low profile, virtually disappearing from public platforms. **Patrick Bulger** of *Sapa* wonders if he is sulking or merely giving President Nelson Mandela more room:



President Nelson Mandela



Deputy President FW de Klerk

“He has no profile at all. I can't see him making a comeback”

even less than a secondary role.

Says Mr Dave Steward, director of the Deputy President's Office: "There is no basis whatsoever for using the terms. They are constitutionally on the same level."

Chosen a low profile

Steward argues that De Klerk has deliberately chosen a low profile in the early days of the new Government.

"I don't think he wanted to maintain a high profile in the period immediately after the elections. Mandela should also be given a chance to establish himself," he said,

He said De Klerk had also needed a break after a busy and stressful four months before the elections.

He denied suggestions that De Klerk was "sulking" either over his lesser role or over his move from the presidential residence, Libertas, which his wife Marike is known to be sad to be leaving.

He expected him to project a higher profile when the new parliamentary sitting begins on August 1.

He said De Klerk would be negotiating broad policy frameworks for the Cabinet with his ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party partners. The NP would also take up issues such as the SABC's reported plan to drop Afrikaans from TV1.

Steward said De Klerk's relationship with Mandela remained as good as ever.

"The relationship is good. Both understand the importance of making progress."

On a recent occasion when De Klerk appeared alongside Mandela at Tuynhuys to receive medals from a Cape Town sculptor, Mandela was all smiles and chatter.

But De Klerk, while smiling, said nothing at all.

NP to quit Govt

Sowetan

27 17 1994

Sowetan Correspondent

The National Party is reconsidering its role in the Government of National Unity — with an increasing number of MPs pressing for it to pull out of the multiparty Cabinet immediately.

If they go their way, NP leader FW de Klerk would also quit as Deputy President.

The MPs and others in the party hierarchy believe the NP's interests would be better served if it were to take up the role of a traditional opposition party.

"The honeymoon is over," said one senior and influential NP MP yesterday.

"There is a debate in the party on how long we should be in the GNU."

He revealed that there was "growing" support for leaving now.

An NP source also pointed out that De Klerk had not resigned his seat as an MP when he took up the post of Deputy President in the GNU. This had been done to allow him to stay in Parliament if he quit the deputy presidency.

The internal debate on the NP's role has taken on added impetus with the approach of a new session of Parliament, starting on Monday. Many in the NP feel this session will be critical in establishing the party's future role.

De Klerk is likely to address Parliament next week and is expected to then paint a clearer picture of how the NP sees that role.

Central to the concerns of NP members is their perception that the ANC is not acting in concert with its GNU partners in decision-making. "ANC ministers are allowed to do and say anything," said the senior NP MP.

Even if the NP did distance itself from decisions, there "is a perception that we are co-responsible," he added.

This effectively amounted to a threat to the future of the NP. The developments come amid considerable soul-searching within the NP over its dual roles as GNU partner and opposition party — essentially contradictory positions.

The NP has also come under fire from supporters for its lacklustre performance in the opening sessions of the new Parliament.

Suggestions refuted

(30447)

Yesterday NP Federal Council executive director Mr Fanus Schoeman took the step of issuing a statement refuting suggestions that the NP and De Klerk were "disappearing from the scene".

"Nothing could be further from the truth," said Schoeman. He added that De Klerk had held a series of discussions "in the interest of South Africa" during his extended overseas visit while Parliament is in recess.

Schoeman said the NP leader "intends to deliver an important address during the first week of the

Parliamentary sitting which commences on August 1." He said the NP was engaged in "fundamental planning" on its new role.

"The chief spokespersons of the NP are going in depth into the new role which the NP will have to play in the coming session."

"It is unnecessary to speculate or be concerned about the role of the NP," said Schoeman.

An NP caucus source said the party had made a conscious decision not to play a "typical opposition role" immediately after the election as the new Government found its feet.

He admitted frankly that the NP had also not been geared to play an opposition role and the adjustment had been a "difficult experience" for some people.

However, the past few weeks had been spent overhauling the party and the NP would make a considerably greater impact on the session of Parliament starting next week.

Soul-searching over National Party's role in Government of National Unity

NP may quit the

Star 27/7/94

■ BY CHRIS WHITEFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The National Party is reconsidering its role in the Government of National Unity (GNU) — with an increasing number of MPs pressing for it to pull out of the multiparty Cabinet at once.

A GROWING lobby argues that the NP's future is at risk unless it plays the part of a traditional opposition party.

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"The honeymoon is over," said one senior and influential NP MP yesterday. "There is a debate in the party on how long we should be in the GNU." He revealed that there was "growing" support for leaving now.

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deputy presidency. The internal debate on the NP's role has taken on added impetus with the approach of a new session of Parliament starting on Monday. Many in the NP feel this session will be critical in establishing the party's future role. De Klerk is likely to address Parliament next week and is expected to then paint a clearer picture of how the NP sees that role.

Central to the concerns of NP members is their perception that the ANC is not acting in concert with its GNU partners in decision-making. Even if the NP did distance itself from decisions, there "is a perception that we are co-responsible", said the senior NP MP. This amounted to a threat to the future of the NP.

The developments come amid considerable soul-searching within the NP over its dual roles as GNU partner and opposition party — essentially contradictory positions.

"Typical opposition role" immediately after the election as the new Government found its feet. He admitted frankly that the NP had also not been geared to play an opposition role and the adjustment had been a "difficult experience" for some.

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Cabinet

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The NP has also come under fire from supporters for its lacklustre performance in the opening sessions of the new Parliament. Yesterday NP federal council executive director Fanus Schoeman took the step of issuing a statement, but denying suggestions that the NP and De Klerk were "disappearing from the scene".

NP's interests would be better served if it were to take up the role of a traditional opposition party.

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Cabinet

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(3044)

27/7/94

Nat threat to quit government

FW de Klerk



FW planning to bounce back with new high profile political role

(3049)

ALG 27/7/94

CLIVE SAWYER and CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

DISILLUSIONED National Party MPs are urging the NP to quit the government of national unity.

And the party says its leader, Deputy President F W de Klerk, is planning a ballistic comeback to the political scene.

As post-election euphoria fades, a growing number of NP MPs want Mr De Klerk to resign as deputy president, followed by other NP cabinet ministers.

"The honeymoon is over," said a senior and influential NP parliamentarian.

"There is a debate in the party about how long we should be in the government of national unity."

He claimed there was "growing" support for leaving now.

But this was denied by NP spokesman Fanus Schoeman.

He said the party still wanted to play an "important and constructive" role in President Mandela's African National Congress-led government.

"We are not considering leaving. What you are hearing is pure speculation."

In a separate statement, the NP said it was determined to play a "stabilising" role in the government of national unity and had no intention of pulling out.

An NP source also pointed out that Mr De Klerk had not resigned as an MP when he became deputy president.

This was to allow him to stay in parliament if he quit the deputy presidency.

The internal debate on the NP's role has taken on added impetus with the approach of a new session of parliament, starting on Monday.

Many in the NP feel the session will be critical in establishing the party's future role.

Mr De Klerk is likely to address parliament next week and is expected to paint a clearer picture of how the NP sees that role.

Mr Schoeman said that Mr De Klerk was on holiday in the Greek islands and would "clear the air" when he returned.

Mr De Klerk would hold a press conference in Cape Town next week.

Central to the concerns of NP members is their perception that the ANC is not acting in concert with its government partners in decision-making.

"ANC ministers are allowed to do and say anything," said the senior NP MP.

Even if the NP did distance itself from decisions, there "is a perception that we are co-responsible", he added.

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He admitted that the party had not been geared to play an opposition role and the adjustment had been a "difficult experience" for some people.

However, the past few weeks had been spent overhauling the party and the NP would make a considerably greater impact in the new session.

Teams working on future NP policy frameworks would report by the end of the month, Mr Schoeman said.

The federal management committee would hold a planning decision to discuss these reports.

On August 20, an extended NP caucus of members of the national assembly, senate and provincial parliaments would meet.

NP 'isn't quitting Govt'

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The National Party moved sharply yesterday to play down suggestions from within its ranks that it should quit the Government of National Unity (GNU) — but The Star has been reliably informed by NP sources that withdrawal is the subject of vigorous debate within the party.

The NP said in a statement yesterday, following The Star's revelation of the development, that no decision on pulling out of the GNU had been taken "at this stage".

Sources in the NP told The Star this week that there were an increasing number of MPs who strongly believed it should pull out of the GNU.

This would mean NP leader

FW de Klerk resigning as a deputy president, followed by his party's Cabinet Ministers. "There is a debate in the party on how long we should be in the GNU," said one NP MP.

The NP and its federal council executive director Fanus Schoeman denied yesterday that it was about to quit the GNU. However, their statements did not deny that discussions on the issue had taken place.

Yesterday another source close to the NP confirmed that some within the party were uncomfortable with the way the GNU was operating.

However, Schoeman said the NP still wanted to play an "important and constructive" role in the GNU. (301A)

The separate NP statement

said it was in the interest of the country "to play a stabilising role in such a government at this stage".

The NP was busy developing and refining its role as the largest opposition to the ANC in spite of its being part of the GNU. 2817194

Some political observers believe that those NP members behind talk of quitting the GNU may have been sending a signal to the ANC designed to ensure that the majority party in the GNU gives its junior partners a more significant say.

There has also been concern at the low profile of the NP since the election, and Schoeman has hinted at "important" developments next week, once the new session of Parliament has begun on Monday.

NP not planning to quit government

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The NP was not planning to withdraw from the government of national unity at this stage, it said yesterday.

The party gave this assurance in response to media speculation that an increasing number of NP members favoured pulling out of the multiparty Cabinet. *B1 Day*

Sources said there was no NP faction pressing for the party's withdrawal, although there was widespread dissatisfaction with Ministers expressing an ANC rather than a government point of view.

The frustration of party members led to threats of withdrawal being issued informally, but in fact the probability of the NP pulling out of government after such careful pre-election negotiations was slight. *28 Feb 1994*

Although the NP accepted the ANC had won the elections convincingly and that its policies would prevail, some ANC Ministers were still inclined to make statements which did not reflect the government of national unity concept, the NP said. *(30/4)*

But the party was careful yesterday to

leave the possibility open for it to withdraw from the government of national unity in the future.

A spokesman said the party believed it was in the interests of SA that it should play a "stabilising role" in government at this stage.

"Certain ANC actions in recent times have shown precisely how important the stabilising influence of the NP can be."

Particularly irksome to NP members were the recent statements in support of Cuba by Justice Minister Dullah Omar.

Deputy President FW de Klerk's presence in the government of national unity was a guarantee it would act "responsibly" on behalf of millions of South Africans, foreign governments and investors.

"As in all other parties, continuing debate exists within the NP as to the best way in which our supporters' interests, and those of SA, can be served. The uniqueness of the government of national unity makes demands on all political parties which did not exist under the old Westminster system."

Government to honour old amnesties

Star

20/7/94

POLITICAL offenders granted indemnity, amnesty or immunity from prosecution by the previous government would retain their status under new legislation, Justice Minister Dullah Omar said yesterday.

Outlining plans for a truth and reconciliation commission, which would be submitted to the Cabinet, Omar gave his assurance that it would not amount to a South African version of the post-World War 2 Nuremberg Trials.

Object

He told a delegates at a conference in Cape Town that a proposal for the commission had been formulated and would go before the Cabinet soon.

He stressed that "the object of the exercise is not to conduct a witch-hunt or to haul violators of human rights before court to face charges".

In terms of the truth commission proposal: ■ The definition of political offences could apply

to "members of other organisations" — including those of the Right — besides the liberation movements and state security forces.

■ The cut-off date for offences to be considered would remain December 5 1993. This would exclude right-wingers responsible for the spate of bombings before and during the elections.

■ Those given full, conditional or temporary indemnity by the previous government in terms of the Indemnity Act of 1990 or the Further Indemnity Act of 1992 would be

"deemed to have been given indemnity or amnesty under the new Act".

■ A committee of the commission would examine the issue of reparation for victims or their families.

The conference on truth and reconciliation at which Omar was speaking is being mounted by the Justice in Transition organisation.

It was attended yesterday by a number of interest groups, including rep-

JUSTICE Minister Dullah Omar says a truth commission will not be a local Nuremberg Trial — but some killers are unlikely to get away with murder.

Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITEFIELD reports.

304A

representatives of the South African Police Service and the Department of Safety and Security.

Delegates will be addressed today by former Chilean president Patricio Aylwin.

Omar fleshed out the proposed structure of the commission, but said that "a number of questions" remained. One of these was whether perpetrators of human rights violations should be allowed to hold public office.

The commission would be made up of eight to 10 people who did not have high political profiles, and would probably be headed by a judge. Three specialised com-

mittees would be created to deal with amnesty as required by the Constitution, violations of human rights and reparation for victims.

Applications for indemnity would have to be made "by a date fixed by law".

Omar suggested this date should be two to three months after the Act giving force to the commission had been passed.

It was envisaged that the commission would complete its work within a 12-month period.

A precondition for indemnity or amnesty would be full disclosure.

The committee on human rights violations

would aim to "establish as complete a picture as possible of gross human rights violations which took place inside and outside South Africa between March 1 1960 and December 5 1993".

It would also attempt to establish whether gross human rights violations were "due to deliberate planning on the part of the state, liberation movements, organisations or individuals and if so the nature of such planning".

It would also make recommendations on reparations and the "restoration of the dignity and honour of victims".

Omar stressed that the commission would not have powers of prosecution, but would have "investigative powers, the power to subpoena witnesses, the power of search and access to all documents".

One of the questions still to be answered was whether the names of people mentioned in evidence, implicated or giving evidence should be made

public.

However, the Minister said that steps would be taken to protect witnesses and their identities where necessary.

Whether all or some hearings of the commission should be open to the public was a matter that yet to be decided.

Omar said the object of the exercise was "to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally acceptable basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation".

Excluded

He did not elaborate during his address on what definition of political offenders would be used.

However, he told journalists later he thought that "in a number of cases planned assassinations of civilians would be excluded" from it.

This might suggest that Clive Derby-Lewis and Janus Walusz, convicted of killing SACP leader Chris Hani, will not meet the criteria.

Voting changes

New procedures are likely to include voters' rolls

CLIVE SAWYER

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

CHANGES to plans for local government elections — including holding them on different dates in each province — are being probed by a three-member special committee.

And there are signs that voters' rolls to be drawn up for local government elections could be used for future national and provincial elections.

The committee will report to constitutional development minister Roelf Meyer by August 15.

Its members are the chairman of the provincial government commission, Thozamile Botha, home affairs director-general Piet Colyn and former constitutional development di-

■ A special committee is investigating changes to local government elections — including different election dates for different provinces.

rector-general S S van der Merwe.

Its terms of reference are to study "technical, practical and financial implications" of legal provisions for the election of transitional local councils.

The committee will report on administrative and financial aspects of the elections "and suggest viable alternatives concerning aspects of these elections".

It has been instructed to "ensure as far as possible" the registration of voters and compilation of voters' rolls for the first local government elections are done so they can be used as a basis for future na-

tional, provincial and local voters rolls.

Confirming the terms of reference of the committee, Deon Rudman of the constitutional development service said several questions about the running of local government elections depended on the outcome of the technical committee's report.

These questions included whether a body similar to the Independent Electoral Commission would be set up to administer the polls.

The committee will also decide on whether applications for enrolment on existing local government voters' rolls should

still be accepted.

President Nelson Mandela last month assigned the administration of the Local Government Transition Act to the nine provinces.

Asked whether local government elections would be held simultaneously throughout the country, Mr Rudman said the Act provided for elections to take place on a date decided by the minister after consulting with authorities designated by provincial premiers.

The constitution provided for the first local government elections after the commencement of the constitution to take place on the same day.

"We will have a general municipal election and subsequent elections will take place from between three to five years, in terms of laws (to be) passed by provincial legislatures."

(304A) ARG 30/7/94

Parties to get houses in order

S. Times 31/7/94

304A

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter
SOUTH Africa's government of national unity will face a stern test in the coming week, with both the ANC and the National Party gearing up to re-assert themselves and smooth over divisions in their support bases.

A high-powered meeting this weekend of ANC cabinet ministers and regional leaders in Johannesburg, yesterday began discussing growing tensions between the ANC and its allies over the current strike wave.

Also on the agenda were the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the ANC's approach to the looming local government elections.

Among those who attended the meeting were ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, RDP Minister Jay Naidoo, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel and Deputy Provincial Affairs Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Yesterday afternoon, a high-powered ANC delegation, including President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Mr Ramaphosa, met Cosatu president John Gomomo and general-secretary Sam Shilowa at Shell House in Johannesburg.

The meeting with Cosatu comes after a week of public squabbling between the South African Communist Party and the ANC over the current strikes.

The SACP launched an unprecedented attack on Mr Mandela, describing his warning that strike action would discourage foreign investment as "upsetting".

Meanwhile, top NP officials, including Environment Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers and executive director Fanus Schoeman, met to plot their party's return to the lime-light.

Second Deputy President FW de Klerk is set to re-enter the political arena in dramatic fashion tomorrow, following a week of growing pressure on him to end the NP's honeymoon with the ANC-dominated government of national unity.

Mr De Klerk is expected to announce a more confrontational role for both himself and the NP in the government and will give his views on the labour unrest at a press conference tomorrow.

This will be reinforced by a mid-week speech to Parliament outlining his new approach, NP insiders said.

The move comes amidst fears from NP back-benchers that Mr de Klerk's low profile since the elections has allowed ANC ministers to get away with pronouncements contrary to government policy.

The NP leadership has also been criticised for its failure to respond to the SABC's plans to downgrade Afrikaans on television.

CRACKS IN THE CABINET

By THEMBA KHUMALO
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT NELSON Mandela's Government of National Unity (GNU) will face its toughest test since its inception in May when parliament meets tomorrow for its last session of the year.

The session opens against the backdrop of rumours that the National Party, the ANC's major partner in the GNU, is contemplating leaving the cabinet — which the NP has vehemently denied.

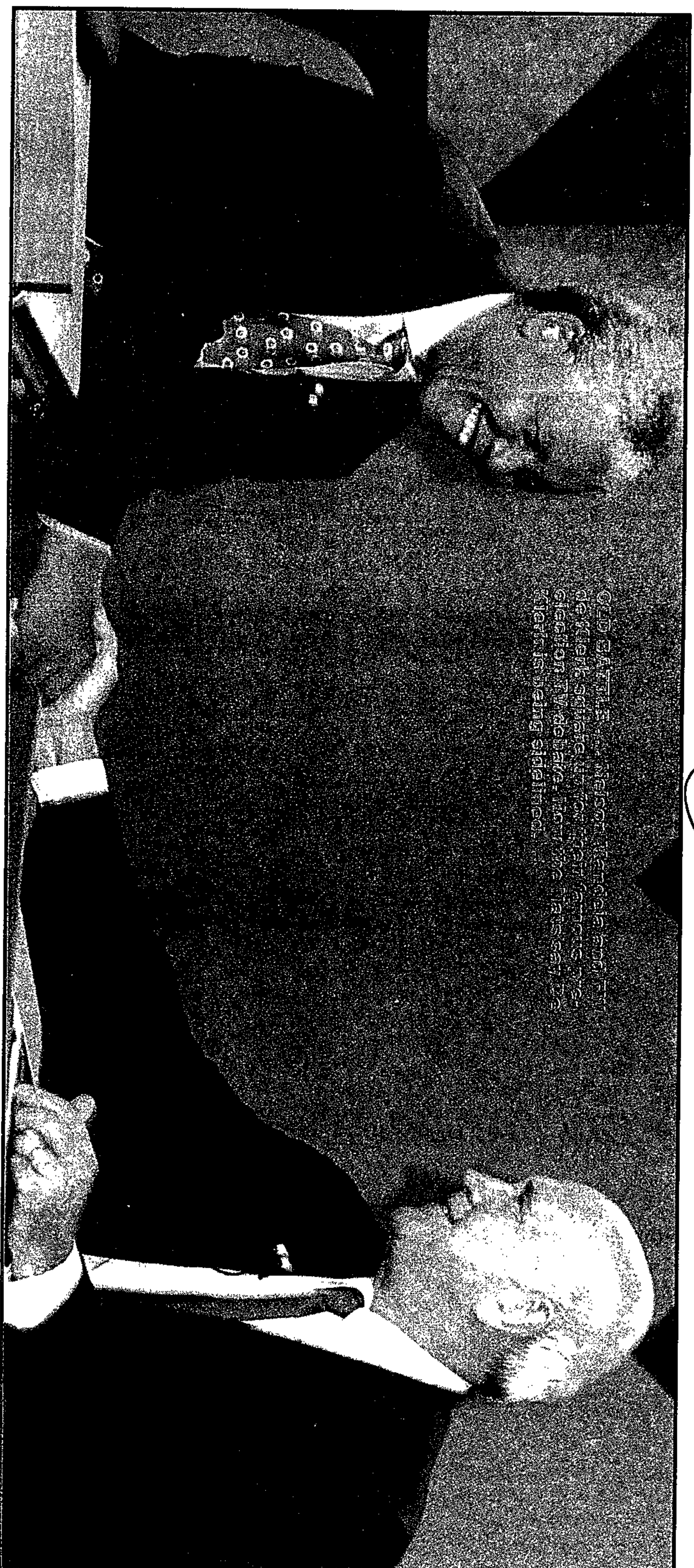
The speculated NP "withdrawal" comes at a time when relations between the ANC-dominated government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are still brittle. The NP is said to be disenchanted with the role assigned its leader and former State President, FW de Klerk, who is number three in the hierarchy and has reportedly not been playing a leading role in government. The party is reported to be contemplating establishing itself as a Westminster-type official opposition.

According to NP director Fanus Schoeman, the party was holding an urgent *bosberaad* yesterday and today to strategise on a planned confrontation with the ANC in parliament later this week.

Schoeman scoffed at suggestions that, because of the NP discontent, De Klerk might resign his deputy presidency post and remain an ordinary MP and leader of his party. But sources said there was growing discontent within the party about its role in the new government whose cabinet ministers, particularly ANC members, were alleged to have made important public statements without consulting their NP partners. It is believed there is a growing school of thought within the NP which holds the view that the party will be more effective in curbing such discrepancies and maladministration as an opposition.

Having been battered by the ANC's decisive victory in the April election, De Klerk is believed to be still bruised by his party's poor performance. He has not performed an important ceremonial task since his appointment as the second deputy president. ANC insiders say they are convinced that he conveniently baulked his ceremonial duties and went to Europe when he was expected to be at Mandela's side during French Premier Francois Mitterrand's visit.

Another issue which is likely to dominate this session is the salary scales of MPs and senators which are to be announced by Mandela later in August. He is said to have studied the recommendations made by the Melamet Commission which suggested that salaries should be acceptable to the ordinary citizen to avoid



GEN. BATTLES NELSON MANDELA'S GOVT. DE KLERK SQUARED UP FOR PARLIAMENT'S LAST SESSION TOMORROW. NOW THE TALKS ARE BEING SILENT.

perceptions of "another gray train" government.

The salaries, the commission said, should be taxed in line with those in Western democracies. The essence of the recommendations is to discourage parliamentarians from seeing their positions as a means of self-enrichment.

The introduction of new laws in parliament will serve to enhance the image of Mandela's government among black South Africans who have been thrust to the lower end of the social strata for almost 300 years. The Education Ministry is expected to spell out how free and compulsory education will be effected in the new year. In its election manifesto, the ANC promised to give beginner pupils 10 years of free and compulsory

education.

It is expected that model B, model C and private schools, which are widely perceived as denying access to children from impoverished black communities, will be subjected to stringent regulations to force them to open their doors wider. Parliament is expected to announce a new Education Act which will bring more government control of these schools.

The session will also be crucial for the enactment of the Reconstruction and Development Fund Act, a law that will legally entitle the state to raise funds for the reconstruction of the country's economy to create desperately-needed jobs, build houses and to raise funds for educating SA's black population, which has

an estimated illiteracy level of 60 percent.

The session is also expected to see improvements to the Labour Relations Act to balance relations between employers and the workforce in the wake of the spate of wage-strikes across the country in the past few weeks.

While industrial action has been described by cabinet ministers as "normal during this period of the year", it is believed that Mandela and his aides are anxious for the strikes to be resolved quickly because of the negative impression they are likely to create among potential foreign investors.

Parliament, through the Justice Ministry, will also address the question of extradition treaties with

foreign countries. High on the agenda will be the proposed extradition of the alleged killers of Namibian advocate Anton Lubowski, who was assassinated outside his house in Windhoek in 1989.

A Namibian Inquest Court recently found that his killers were South Africans — operative of the disbanded CCB Military Intelligence arm which specialised in monitoring and murdering anti-apartheid activists.

The land question is also poised to dominate the session as increasing numbers of blacks who fell victim to forced removals want to return to their birth-places. Parliament is expected to pass a new Land Act to enable displaced communities to fight for the return of their land through the Constitutional Court.

We're staying in government — FW

ARL 11/8/94 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

THE National Party will stay in the government of national unity, party leader F W de Klerk said today.

The party will try to reach compromises to prevent "the type of crisis which could break up the unity government," he said.

But it reserved the right to play an opposition role, and to challenge coalition government partners on issues of policy.

At his first press conference since his return from overseas, Mr De Klerk said there was a need to defuse the politics of confrontation.

He said he had had a good holiday "and all my batteries are charged".

He dismissed speculation he had lost interest in politics or was "sulking" because of his party's election result.

"My opponents might want me to lose interest in politics but they will have to wait many years for that."

During his trip overseas he had interviewed politicians with experience in coalition government.

He issued a warning that of-

ficial spokesmen should reflect policies decided by the government of national unity rather than make statements according to specific party political agendas.

He said his party was helping to work towards a "new reconstruction and development programme" which would no longer specifically be linked to any one party.

Mr De Klerk emphasised the possibility of the NP leaving the unity government, while it may have been raised by some party members, had not been discussed by the parliamentary caucus nor officially proposed to him.

In the wake of the election, Mr De Klerk has come under fire from National Party supporters — including the Afrikaans press — for his lacklustre performance.

Within the NP caucus there was a move for the party to break away from the government of national unity and remould itself in a traditional opposition role.

Mr De Klerk has been urged to re-establish his political profile and assert his authority over the NP's parliamentary caucus.

Local govt ministry a possibility

CAPE TOWN — A separate local government department is likely to be established soon, NP and ANC sources say. *Biday*

This issue and the approach to the government of national unity are the two main issues likely to be addressed by Deputy President FW de Klerk today following his return from overseas. *118194*

The NP will get a new Cabinet portfolio after Finance Minister Derek Keys's resignation in October. His successor, Chris Liebenberg, will not represent a party.

A highly placed NP official said yesterday that a separate local government ministry was a "strong possibility".

This option is favoured over the re-creation of a state expenditure ministry which the NP fears will result in the party shouldering responsibility for the ANC's "big spending" plans.

Several NP members have been tipped to take over the post from Roelf Meyer,

TIM COHEN

who has his hands full with Provincial Government and Constitutional Affairs.

They are Leon Wessels, who held the post under the NP government, Danie Schutte, who could be chosen because of pressure from Natal party members, and André Fourie who was previously regional government minister. *(242) (3047)*

ANC sources favour the establishment of a local government portfolio, mainly because of pressure within the party from civic organisations.

De Klerk is also expected to address the NP's role in the government of national unity, following what NP politicians regard as the recent unilateral announcement of policy by ANC members.

Parliament reopens today with a Budget debate which will continue for a week.

CP plans to contest local elections

Star 11/8/94
Bloemfontein — In a surprise move, the CP on Saturday expressed itself in favour of taking part in the coming local government elections.

Addressing a CP congress meeting in Bloemfontein, senior party member Daan du Plessis conceded that if the Freedom Front participated in

the coming local elections, as was expected, the CP could find its support base shrinking further. He said the party's central council would take a final decision in October on participation. (304A)

Meanwhile, the CP has decided to continue to restrict its membership to whites.

However, it is to adapt its constitution to extend membership to whites who do not qualify as members of "the Afrikaner Boerevolk" but who nevertheless support the party's ideal of self-determination. The CP boycotted the national and provincial elections in April. — Sapa.

pieces of legislation to reach SA's new Parliament so far is the Constitution of the Republic of SA Third Amendment Bill. The Bill principally "regulates the remuneration, allowances, pension and pension benefits of office bearers" and delays the constitutional requirement of establishing the Financial and Fiscal Commission within 60 days.

So, among the first things SA's new parliamentarians did after gaining power was to make sure they got paid properly and, simultaneously, they delayed the need to establish one of the most critical components of the new government. Though the Bill runs to only 13 pages, it was one of the longest to reach the formal debating process and get passed.

The Bill formally opened the hunting season for cynics. The posture of SA's politicians since Parliament adjourned earlier last month provided the ammunition.

Most politicians went on leave and the rumour mill went into overdrive. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki went to Rabat and spent a lot of time discussing such critical issues to the people of SA as the future of Western Sahara and Morocco's position in the OAU. The rumours were that he was also discussing the ANC's financial predicament with some of its north African sponsors. Deputy President FW de Klerk, after making a perfunctory investor-boosting trip to Germany, spent much of the month on a Greek island. The NP had to deny rumours that he was disillusioned with the election result and dispirited.

As for the other government departments, very little effort apparently went into preparing new legislation for immediate discussion when the sixth session of Parliament this year begins today.

Meanwhile, the wave of strikes hitting the country has caused speculation about whether the population was satisfied with the pace or the nature of SA's transition.

SA's government consequently meets in Cape Town today in an atmosphere of tension and without

Govt of national unity meets amid stresses and strains

By TIM COHEN in Cape Town

any clear indication of what specific policy positions will be adopted by the government of national unity or how those issues will be decided.

To this witches' brew add the resignation of Finance Minister Derek Keys and uncertainty over the health of President Nelson Mandela. All in all, a volatile mixture.

Both the NP and Inkatha allowed it to be known over the past month,

partly for strategic reasons, that they were not absolutely committed to remaining within the government of national unity for the duration of its five-year existence. Whereas before the elections they both argued strongly for participation, now that the reality of joint responsibility has dawned, the relationship seems to restrict them more than the ANC — the party the whole system was designed to restrict.

Perversely, it has not been the adoption of policy positions that has increased the tensions within and between parties in the government of national unity, but the lack of their adoption. What angered NP members most was not the reconstruction and development programme, which the NP broadly supports, but the extramural activities of many members of government. Justice Minister Dullah Omar's attendance of a pro-Cuba protest meeting, at which the US's policy towards that country was berated, was just the last of a long list. ANC members were being "irresponsible" and were acting like a liberation organisation, not a unity government, NP members sniffed.

But the problem runs deeper. Omar's action opened a debate on whether SA's foreign policy should be based on "self-interest", and therefore should do nothing to raise the ire of one of its biggest trading partners, or whether it should act

terms of its conscience, and draw attention to what some consider to be an infringement of international law by the US's "blockade" of Cuba.

The dilemma is comparable to the debate over what government's position should be on labour action. Should it intervene, and if so, at what stage and to what end? Neither issue, like so many others, has yet been comprehensively addressed.

Veteran DP MP Colin Eglin, while recognising that tensions are in the air, is not overly concerned about the perception of a lack of direction in government thus far. SA's transition was, in fact, much more fundamental than was at first appreciated, he points out. The elections marked much more than just the selection of new political representatives on a democratic basis; they also marked the creation of a fundamentally new constitutional order. Much of the current uncertainty is therefore unavoidable, he says.

Neither can it be a bad thing for Ministers to gain a thorough knowledge of their departments before coming forward with major policy changes. Politicians also needed some time off after a traumatic and exhausting election campaign, and an equally exhausting and stressful negotiating process before that.

More importantly, it is critical that the relationship between the provincial and national governments, so broadly stated in the constitution, be clarified as soon as possible, Eglin says. Once this has been done and the regional governments are working, local government will also be able to function much more effectively.

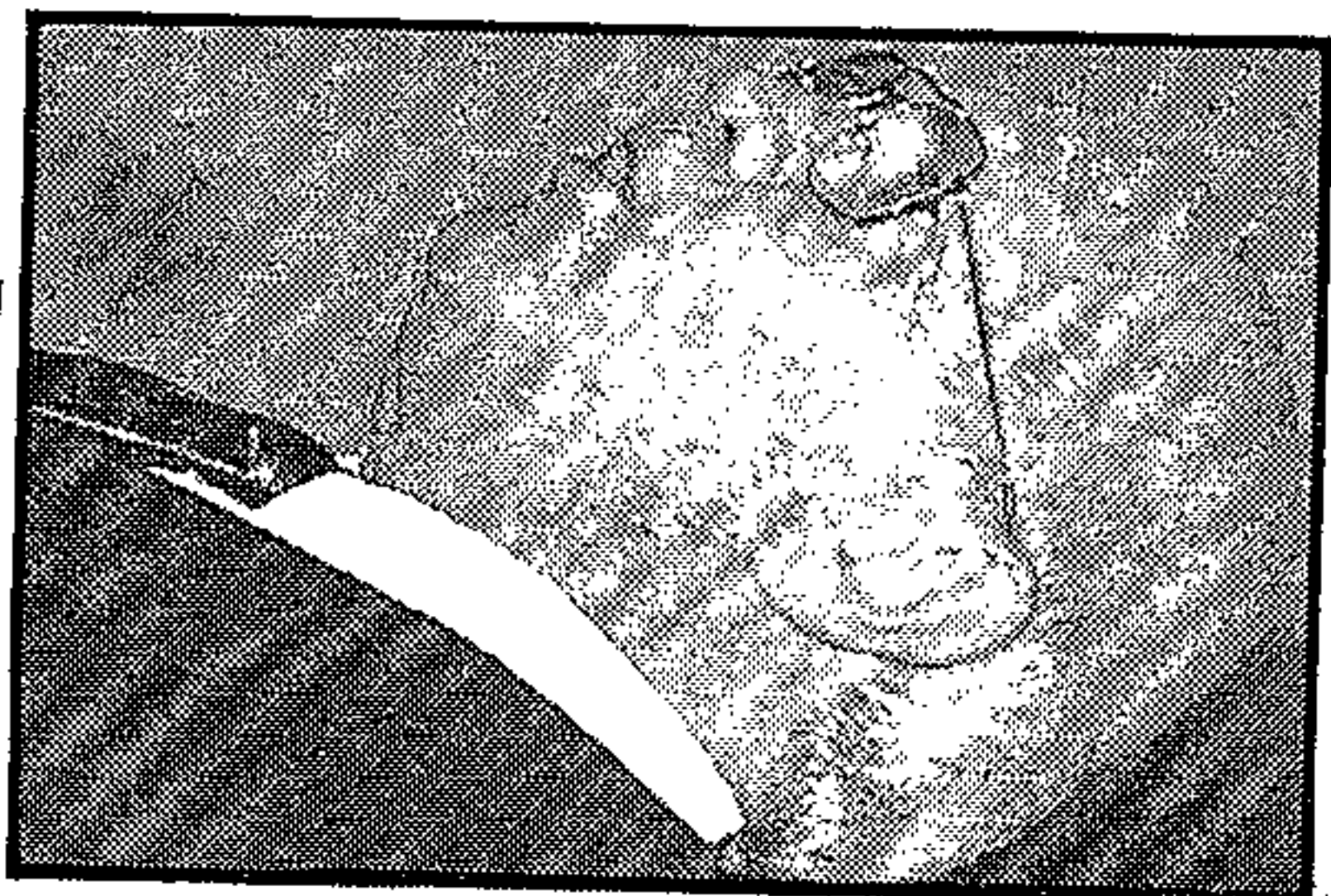
Will the government of national unity hold up under the strain? The pat answer is that it will, so long as all parties are equally unhappy. One of the most reassuring things about the current state of affairs is that pressures against the government of national unity are being felt within all parties, but there are no signs that the pressures are overwhelming anyone.

But it is becoming increasingly clear that government may not function as effectively as was hoped. The NP has already indicated its intention to raise the issue of ministerial responsibility to the government as a whole, while the ANC is also going through a process of re-evaluation.

Meanwhile, Mandela has called on all departments to report on their progress by mid-August to prepare for an assessment of the new government's first 100 days in office. They have only two more weeks. Here's hoping they have something substan-



□ MBEKI



Another blow to a struggling DP

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

THE resignation by Cape Town city council executive committee chairman Clive Keegan from the Democratic Party to join the ANC, has dealt another body blow to a party battling to shore up its public image.

But in the process Mr Keegan has earned himself the wrath of his former DP comrades for referring to them as "destructive dissidents" and saying he was fed-up with a "right-wing" clique in the DP.

One of the alleged "rightwingers", firebrand councillor Arthur Weinberg, hit at Mr Keegan, a former mayor, saying he was engaging in a game of "smoke and mirrors" and accusing him of engaging in political "gymnastics".

DP Western Cape leader Hennie Bester said Mr Keegan's resignation had been long in coming and the arguments with which he tried to justify his "rather opportunistic shift of allegiance" were surprising.

Approached by the Sunday Times, Mr Keegan refused to identify "rightwingers" in the council or in the party leadership, saying he wanted to avoid getting involved in a slanging match.

But sources said there was no doubt he was alluding to councillors Weinberg and David Erleigh.

Mr Keegan said this week that "the thing that has most pained me in recent weeks" was the establishment of a work group looking at the strategy of the DP with a view to local government elections next year.

"Not only was that body a completely white one, but it also has people sitting on it whose attitudes towards political transition, I believe, simply do not coincide with simple democratic principles." (304A)

Mr Keegan denied he was being opportunistic and said his decision was "a reaffirmation of political attitudes I have held for over 20 years on democracy and liberty".

Govt set to clash over truth commission

Star 2/18/94



De Klerk . . . "fundamental differences" with ANC.

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — A confrontation could be looming within the Government of National Unity (GNU) on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Deputy President F W de Klerk signalled yesterday that the National Party has "fundamental differences" with the ANC on the commission.

The NP leader said the impression had been created by ANC statements that there was agreement within the GNU on a truth commission.

He warned the GNU could

be put "under strain" if statements were issued before agreements were reached within the coalition government.

There had been an agreement that a Cabinet committee, including members of the NP, ANC and IFP, "has to report on how we deal with matters concerning the past".

"Meanwhile the impression is being created that there's already an agreement by the GNU on this issue," he said.

He was "not necessarily" against the establishment of such a commission but there had to be agreement on its procedures and objectives.

Pointing to other areas of disagreement, he said the NP was "strongly anti-communist" while the ANC was in alliance with the SA Communist Party.

There were also "important differences of emphasis on the economy". (304A)

De Klerk said the NP was prepared to make concessions in the interests of unity, saying that although the NP "did not like" the decision to hire special contract staff for Ministers, it had agreed to the move.

NP Ministers would, however, not be making such appointments.

► More reports — Page 8

FW denies NP pullout from govt but warns it will assert

DAVID GREYBE

8/15/94 21:18:44

CAPE TOWN — Deputy President FW de Klerk flatly denied yesterday the NP planned to pull out of the government of national unity, but warned that his party would insist that government operated differently in future.

A relaxed-looking De Klerk, back from a Greek island holiday, said the NP would demand firm policy guidelines for Cabinet Ministers to avoid a repeat of recent outbursts by his ANC colleagues.

"The government of national unity is not there to execute ANC policy," he said at a news conference.

The ANC, NP and Inkatha Freedom Party had to negotiate for the unity govern-

ment "compromise" policy guidelines which did not reflect any one party's policies but which sought consensus on important issues. If not, the government's future was threatened.

Referring to remarks attributed to President Nelson Mandela in a recent British newspaper interview, De Klerk said he did not have to be reminded he no longer governed SA. "But it is also true that the ANC does not govern the country."

The unity government was a partnership between the ANC, NP and Inkatha, and the NP was not prepared to follow "in the slipstream of the ANC". Political parties had to argue their viewpoints outside govern-

ment. The NP's main opposition role would be pursued in Parliament. The NP had never discussed withdrawing from government, he said.

Business leaders he met during his month-long trip abroad had had "basic confidence" in SA but had expressed concern about the recent surge in labour disruption, and because of this had adopted a "wait and see" approach.

This made it vital for the unity government to assert itself to achieve stability. De Klerk laughed off speculation that he

had lost interest in politics since the election, saying he was back at work "with all batteries charged".

He was looking forward to the new phase of government as the ANC's first 100 days at the head of the government of national unity drew to an end.

NP sources said De Klerk would lash out at ANC Ministers in Parliament tomorrow, signalling an end to the ANC's honeymoon with the NP.

De Klerk said the NP reserved the "full right" to criticise Cabinet colleagues, but would always put a stable SA first.

Party officials had worked during the July break on a detailed assessment of the

political situation. The party would use it as a basis to negotiate policy frameworks within the unity government.

A reconstruction and development programme which reflected what was possible had to be negotiated.

The kind of issues that could wreck the unity government included the truth and reconciliation commission, the ANC alliance with the SACP and economic policy. However, these should not be allowed to flare up into major rows.

Compromise and responsible government, including in opposition, were the order of the day, not cheap party politicking, De Klerk said.

influence

Next year's Budget in December

THE cabinet will approve the 1995-6 Budget in December, the Department of State Expenditure announced yesterday.

A departmental statement said the budgetary process had to start 16 months before the Budget was tabled. Work on the 1995-6 budget had begun in November last year, effectively making it the last Budget tabled by out-going Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys.

Because of the run-up to the process, the relocation of functions and the delay in the presentation of this year's Budget, the 1995-6 Budget had had to be determined in accordance with previous structures.

The department added that planning for the 1995-6 Budget "may be influenced substantially by transitional processes which are to continue for some time".

Parliamentary tensions rise

Political Staff

THE fragile peace in Parliament was shattered yesterday as the Budget debate was marked by accusations, interjections and rebuttals across the chamber floor.

The tone was set early on with a request by President Nelson Mandela for a copy of the speech made by NP MP Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk, whom he asked to be present during the debate.

By early evening the tension had risen, with NP MP Ms Tertius King snapping at an ANC MP whom she accused of not being able to speak English properly.

ANC MP Ms Gill Marcus responded by saying many MPs spoke in a language with which they were not familiar in order to facilitate debate — accusing Ms King of being implicitly racist.

'100-day honeymoon is finished'

Earlier in the debate, ANC MP Mr Janne Momborg said the NP had sent their "hitmen" into Parliament on Monday, one of whom (Mr Van Schalkwyk) he described as being "like Goebbels". He said the ANC would not allow "a 20% party" to derail the RDP.

Water Affairs Minister Professor Kader Asmal also criticised Mr Van Schalkwyk's reaction to the RDP, saying it was like "medieval scholars who were all in favour of virtue but had problems

identifying what concrete aspect they were committed to".

DP acting leader Mr Tony Leon agreed, saying the NP was crippled by the fact that they had no coherent ideology, but merely a set of interests.

NP MP Mr Andre Fourie hit back, invoking the memory of former SACP leader Mr Chris Hani by quoting his wife Lampho saying her husband would have warned that it was important to tell people not only what they could expect, but also what they could not expect.

"The 100-day honeymoon is over and the millions of voters who voted for freedom are starting to realise they were led up the garden path by all the false expectations and the wild promises made by the ANC/SACP/Co-satu: unholy alliance."

● See Notes in the House — Page 7

CF3/8/94

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FW takes firm stand on co-operative govt

CAPE TOWN — Deputy President FW de Klerk insisted on co-operative government yesterday, inducing a delay in the election of chairmen of parliamentary standing committees by asserting the NP's rights.

De Klerk said the NP did not want a veto, but did want decisions to be reached by consensus, as required by the constitution.

Seven of the 27 parliamentary standing committees, which met for the first time yesterday, decided to delay the appointment of chairmen until after inter-party negotiation.

Later, during the Budget debate, De Klerk warned that NP participation in the government of national unity was not unconditional, adding that the NP insisted on proper consultation.

"We stand ready to co-operate with all other parties — but we refuse to become the captive of any party," he said.

De Klerk said "by and large" the government of national unity was "working well", saying that what was emerging was not NP, ANC or Inkatha Freedom Party policy but a "joint policy".

The new government should establish conventions regarding the leeway permitted to coalition members to criticise government policy and their Cabinet colleagues, particularly as local government elections approached.

De Klerk warned that efforts by individual Ministers, or by the ANC, to embark on initiatives without first reaching coalition agreements could place serious strain on government.

Albay 14/8/94
TIM COHEN

He said the spirit of national unity had to be extended to other groups such as the private sector which had to play an important role in the reconstruction and development programme.

Labour, he said, would have to realise that the current wave of strikes would discourage investors and work against the interests of both workers and the unemployed. (204A)

De Klerk called for an accord between labour, government and the private sector which would ensure labour stability and serve as the basis for investor confidence.

Sapa reports President Nelson Mandela faces the parliamentary caucus of the ANC today in what could be a heated encounter about minority party representation in government structures.

Mandela will brief the caucus on recent discussions he held with De Klerk on the role of minority parties.

The ANC caucus is understood to have been upset by Mandela's recent decision to allow the NP the presidency of the Senate (Kobie Coetsee) and the deputy chairmanship of the Constitutional Assembly (Leon Wessels).

But the NP is demanding that it receive 20% of chairmanships of standing committees because it occupies 20% of parliamentary seats.

This arrangement would require that individual ANC members of the ANC-dominated committees elect NP members to the posts.

focus on GNU

IT MAY be early to say with any fair measure of accuracy exactly how South Africa's Government of National Unity will function.

Under the best of conditions three months may be too early for a new government to make any significant or measurable changes to the new State.

However, what does seem apparent in the present arrangement is that the fundamental differences that existed among the main political parties before the election could be threateningly entrenched in the Cabinet.

The return from abroad of Mr de Klerk may be the start of a period of great challenge for the GNU — if not confusion and dislocation.

De Klerk said in Cape Town this week that while he accepted the NP was no longer ruling the country, "the ANC is not ruling the country either".

He said this in response to a remark in which Mandela reportedly said De Klerk sometimes had to be reminded that he was no longer governing the country.

On the same day during the Budget debate in Parliament, NP backbenchers were asking the rhetorical question: "Who is governing the country; the ANC, Cosatu or the communists?"

There is an apparent division, publicly at least, about who is actually governing the country and who is really accountable for decisions taken by the Government or for statements made by office-bearers.

Elsewhere, on issues which traditionally the Cabinet would not be divided on publicly, De Klerk placed distance between himself, as leader of the NP, and the ANC.

Statements and comments

De Klerk said he ought not to be held responsible for statements and comments made by other members of Government and that "the buck" for comments made by ANC members of Cabinet stopped at their leader.

On broader policy issues, De Klerk said decisions made by the GNU should not reflect the policies of any particular party within the Cabinet. These policies, he said, ought to be based on consultation, negotiation and consensus, presumably in Cabinet.

He singled out the RDP and Truth Commission as examples of areas the NP had not been sufficiently involved in and where it could still assert itself.

"The National Party is not willing to move into the slipstream of the ANC," De Klerk said.

But having said that, De Klerk said too that he would not leave the Democratic Party to be the only opposition in Parliament.

"In Parliament our opposition role will come to the fore. The necessary questions will be asked," the former President said.

This duality can either be a formula for disaster or for success; chances are that the former is a more likely scenario.

Nevertheless, De Klerk said that while there

Emerging tensions in the Government of National Unity is making coalition governance 'tantamount to walking a tightrope'. Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** speculates on what the future may bring:

Sowetan 4/8/94



Nelson Mandela

were indeed insignificant differences among the coalition partners (the ANC, NP and Inkatha Freedom Party) which should not harm the GNU, other more fundamental ones may.

"There might come about serious disagreements on matters of fundamental principle and those would be the type of crises which could break up a government of national unity."

In Cape Town on Monday De Klerk reiterated that the NP was fundamentally "anti-communist" while "the ANC are in alliance with communists". Thus, being in a coalition government with the ANC was tantamount to continuously "walking a tightrope," De Klerk said.

"The challenge which we in the National Party, the ANC leadership and the IFP leadership faces, is to avoid such fundamental differences of opinion that would force any of the participants to reconsider its position in the government of national unity," he said.

The fundamental divisions and differences that are so characteristic of the parties in the Cabinet could cause the GNU to come apart — if the centre is unable to hold.

But exactly how probable is a dissolution of the GNU? Leader of the Freedom Front General Constand Viljoen and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the IFP have, on separate occasions, suggested the GNU will not last very long.

Leader of the DP Mr Tony Leon has also suggested that the NP could not possibly play a dual role, as a member of the GNU and as opposition.



FW de Klerk

The NP may very well be the catalyst for stable government. Consider the events of the past few weeks.

When it was speculated late last month that the NP was considering withdrawing from the GNU, investor confidence plummeted and the markets became jittery. (30/4/94)

Similarly, before the appointment of Mr Derek Keys as Minister of Finance last May, international business leaders, speaking at a forum in London, backed him alone as the man who could restore investor confidence in South Africa.

Also after Keys announced his resignation Mandela moved swiftly to replace him with another white establishment businessman, Mr Chris Liebenberg. All of which creates an impression that without the NP (and a white person holding the purse strings) the GNU is destined to collapse.

De Klerk is as bouncy as a baby when he says "it is not a perception, but a reality" that investor confidence and stable markets depend on whether the NP is in the GNU and happy.

The picture that is emerging is thus one of an NP that is part of the GNU, but that is not prepared to accept responsibility for any failures and frailties of the GNU.

It is a picture of an NP whose role in the GNU is ensured because of the backing of big business. It is a picture of a GNU at odds with itself and which has yet to determine an identity that resembles the unity its name suggests.

'Participation not unconditional'

Star 4/8/94 FW warns GNU

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Deputy President F W de Klerk has warned that the NP's participation in the Government of National Unity (GNU) is "not unconditional".

And Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the IFP, told Parliament yesterday: "I certainly do not need a five-year period in the GNU."

However, the two leaders of the ANC's GNU partners also struck conciliatory notes in their speeches in yesterday's Budget debate. Both called for petty political differences to be put aside.

NP leader De Klerk said: "We stand ready to co-operate with all other parties in the GNU. But we refuse to become the captive of any party. We reserve to ourselves the

right at all times to act according to our conscience and beliefs."

Hitting out at what he characterised as dangerous trends in this week's Budget debate, De Klerk said: "Let us differ on issues on the basis of sound and scientific reasoning. But let us avoid negative, destructive and backward-looking debates."

"In that spirit I once again commit the National Party to co-operation within the framework of the transitional constitution. However, our participation in the GNU is not unconditional."

The NP did not seek a veto, but "on the other hand, we serve in the GNU in our own right — not at the whim of anybody else".

Buthelezi asked in his speech what would happen in two years, "when the real reason for the GNU evaporates

because a constitution will have been written".

"I certainly do not need a five-year period in a GNU. I am in that government to contribute what I can constitutionally and nationally and democratically, knowing that it is costing me to be there."

He took a swipe at the NP by saying he did not believe it could cast off its apartheid baggage. (304A)

De Klerk hit out at the wave of strikes in the country at the moment, saying they would "discourage investors and make our products less competitive in crucial export markets".

He called for an accord between business, labour and the Government "which will ensure stability of our workforce and a basis for confidence of visitors". If this failed, the country would fail to ensure economic growth.

FW reaffirms NP commitment

ARG 4/8/94
VUYO BAYUMA, Political Staff

DEPUTY President F W de Klerk reaffirmed the National Party's commitment to the government of national unity but had to ride out a chorus of jeers from African National Congress hecklers during the budget debate.

And the Inkatha Freedom Party, another coalition partner, hinted that it might not remain within the alliance for the full five-year term. But the NP and IFP also said they supported national reconciliation as a key to South Africa's future.

Yesterday Mr De Klerk, responding to earlier barrages by the ANC and Democratic Party against his "lame" party, appealed to the ANC to stop blaming the NP for everything wrong in the new South Africa.

If the ANC wanted to retain the co-operation of four-million Nationalists, it should refrain from insulting the NP, he said.

Minister of Home Affairs and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party was in the government to "contribute what it could constitutionally".

What would happen after two years was anybody's guess because by then the government would have written the new constitution. "I certainly do not need a five-year period," he said.

NP takes stand on unity

CT 4/8/94
Political Staff

NATIONAL PARTY leader Mr F W de Klerk warned yesterday his party's participation in the government was not unconditional, saying the NP insisted on consultation as required by the constitution.

Speaking during the second reading budget debate, he said the NP did not want to a veto — but wanted “to serve in our own right as the representatives of millions of South Africans”.

“We stand ready to co-operate with all other parties in the government — but we refuse to become the captive of any party.”

Mr De Klerk said “by and large” the government was “working well”.

The key to success lay in:

- Reaching detailed framework agreements on all important policy questions such as the truth commission, affirmative action, education and land tenure.

- Establishing conventions regarding the leeway permitted to coalition members to criticise government policy and their cabinet colleagues — particularly as elections approach.

- Developing mechanisms to identify and defuse potential problems within the coalition before they lead to “disunity and confrontation”.

He called for an accord between labour, the government and the private sector which would ensure the stability of the work force, and serve as the basis for investor confidence.

Mandela, caucus showdown looms

A MAJOR showdown is looming between President Nelson Mandela and his parliamentary caucus today over the appointment of chairpersons of the 27 standing committees.

In a surprise move on Tuesday evening, Mr Mandela instructed the six committees, scheduled to meet yesterday, not to go ahead with the election of chairpersons.

They adjourned today after brief meetings. It is understood Mr Mandela's wants to give expression to the spirit of the government and

allow members of other parties to chair certain committees.

The NP, it is understood, would chair five committees, the IFP two and the Freedom Front and DP one each.

The ANC's caucus, however, is opposed to this and sources made it very clear yesterday, that they planned to challenge the leader today, and overturn the decision to appoint nine chairpersons from other parties.

One source said Mr Mandela had had to back down on another occasion in the face of opposi-

tion from the caucus — "and the same will happen today".

The DP's Mr Douglas Gibson described the thought that all parties, including those not in the government, should have chairperson as "an extremely healthy development".

"Democracy in Parliament can only be strengthened by including minority parties in the important committee process."

He expected the negotiations over chairpersons to be concluded within the next few days.

— Political Staff, Sapa (3047)

Afrikaners 'no rainbow nation'

South 518-918194

By Quentin Wilson

COLOURED people will never associate themselves with the "traditions of Afrikaner heritage" and are therefore "not welcome" in the ranks of the Conservative Party (CP).

According to the logic of CP chief secretary, Dr Lemuel Theron, Afrikaans-speaking coloureds are "not part" of "Afrikanerdom" — whereas there are cases where English speaking whites are.

"Afrikaners are all white people who associate themselves with the Christian traditions of Afrikaner heritage," says Theron. "We in the CP don't believe there is a need to change our views. Whiteness is still a criterion for party membership.

"There are English speaking white members who have made a great contribution to our party but

they are people who associate with our past." (30/11/94)

The CP, says Theron, is a home for Afrikanerdom. Although the majority of coloured South Africans speak Afrikaans, they will not be recruited by the CP.

"All white people who associate themselves with the ideals and aspirations of the CP are welcome to join us. We have a tradition of being a white party, and that is not set to change," Theron said.

Asked why the CP could not allow coloureds to make up their own minds on whether they identified with Afrikaner heritage or not, Theron said: "It is just very unlikely that this would happen. There was a coloured party that was established some time ago to explicitly concern itself with the future of coloureds. That is how it should be. Each ethnic group should have its own party."

Fw 5/8/94

An uneasy peace

De Klerk will somehow have to lead his party to a more realistic role



There's more than a small measure of irony in the fact that the National Party, whose policies created the social and economic quagmire inherited by the government of national unity, is seen as the main bastion

against similar excesses by the ANC.

The twin threats of creeping socialism and unchecked trade union tyranny mean many people in SA and abroad are counting on the NP as a watchdog in the Cabinet and an opposition party in parliament to uphold liberal democratic principles and a free market economy. Not that the party has a particularly sound understanding of either concept; nevertheless, it represents the only stabilising influence on the ANC juggernaut.

Or does it? With the government of national unity (GNU)'s symbolically important 100-day honeymoon period drawing to an end, the focus has fallen on what role the NP should be playing.

The interim constitution provides for a coalition government comprising the major parties but a GNU is not mandatory. However, the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party accepted seats as junior partners in the national unity Cabinet to promote the constitution's underlying aim of reconciliation. And the alliance is extremely fragile. The apparent bonhomie between Cabinet colleagues such as Finance Minister Derek Keys and Trade & Industry Minister Trevor Manuel belies some irreconcilable ideological differences between the NP and the ANC.

The few issues that have been decided by Cabinet during the GNU's first three months have been bolstered by a good dose of post-election euphoria. But the days of back-slapping celebration are over. Tensions between the NP and ANC are surfacing again and a showdown seems inevitable.

How the NP in general and party leader FW de Klerk in particular deal with the growing crisis could be vital to SA's well-being over the next few years. The responsibility that rests with De Klerk was demonstrated clearly last week when a mere rumour that the NP was considering pulling out of the GNU sent shudders through the financial markets, indicating the importance attached to the party remaining within the decision-making structures.



Omar

De Klerk did not miss the significance of the reaction. In obvious reference to the ANC, he says it should be carefully noted by all who have the country's interests at heart. It is one of the main reasons the NP will not abandon the GNU.

On the other hand, the NP's influence should not be exaggerated unduly. Its clout will decrease considerably when Keys retires towards the end of the year. His was the one portfolio that gave the NP access to real power but his replacement, Chris Liebenberg, will not be joining a party and the NP will be given another, obviously less important, portfolio.

Top Nat Ministers like Dawie de Villiers,



De Klerk and Mandela ... a delicate egg dance

Kraai van Niekerk and Pik Botha are respected and experienced — but De Klerk knows from long Cabinet experience that portfolios such as Mineral & Energy Affairs and Agriculture are not senior ones.

If Keys had not been given Finance originally, it is arguable that the Nats could have insisted on at least one of the security portfolios. Now they have ended up with none of the great offices of State.

It is no doubt of little consolation to the Nat backbenchers that Minister Sydney Mufamadi seems to be doing a sensible and sensitive job at Safety & Security, the police portfolio, or that Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils are getting on well with the generals.

De Klerk believes his mandate from 4m voters in April dictates that he should stay in the coalition. He denies there is any pressure from within the

party to pull out: "The NP has no intention of leaving the GNU. The matter has never been raised in caucus or with me personally. It is not a debate of significance in the NP and there is no tension in the NP over participation."

He says in the past 40 years, opposition parties in SA have had little success in changing government policy and he is not prepared to relegate the Nats to that role. He remains firmly committed to using the NP's participation in Cabinet to moderate the policies that will guide SA at least until the next election and possibly beyond it.

"The NP is approaching participation in the GNU in an orderly manner. We plan

ahead, prepare well and then implement strategies. For example, a 30-member NP task group worked through the July parliamentary recess on all issues of government policy, particularly the RDP. The group's reports are now being analysed and will form the basis of the party's contribution to policy formulation in Cabinet."

De Klerk says the NP has already made significant contributions to consensus decisions in the GNU. He claims the financ-

ing of the RDP is based largely on input by the NP.

The debate on the NP's role in government is multifaceted. One aspect is that the concept of a GNU does not sit comfortably with the fact that the ANC won the election by a landslide and should, by normal democratic criteria, be ruling on its own.

Many rank-and-file members of the ANC and an increasing number of senior officials believe they conceded too much in negotiations by effectively giving the NP veto powers in Cabinet. But they know that a Nat pullout could have disastrous economic consequences and possibly lead to new outbreaks of inter-party conflict.

It will be necessary to keep the NP reasonably happy in Cabinet compromises — but this could give the impression that the NP is cracking the whip. The Nats are well aware of this and it remains their trump card in seeking to ensure that reasonably sane policies are adopted by the GNU.

The real test will come when neither side is prepared to give way. It happened at Codesa

and the multiparty talks ground to a halt. A similar impasse in Cabinet could have far more serious consequences.

Not that a withdrawal of the NP would cause a constitutional crisis. In terms of the constitution, if De Klerk quits as Deputy President he will not be replaced and if the Nats pull out of the Cabinet, President Nelson Mandela will simply replace their Ministers with his own appointees.

Withdrawal from Cabinet now would not be the NP's best course of action. Its stabilising effect on the economy means the party enjoys power beyond its numerical strength in the GNU and, from the Nats' point of view, the fact that the party's presence riles the ANC should be exploited.

In a recent interview, Mandela said De Klerk needed to be reminded now and then that he no longer governed the country. De Klerk responds: "It is true; I don't govern the country, but neither does the ANC."

That's the crux of the issue. The ANC is perceived as the ruling party and most of its supporters believe it is. But the *de jure* position, underpinned by the interim constitution, is that a GNU comprising representatives of three parties governs.

Under ideal conditions, this arrangement should have seen a smooth transition to democracy and prosperity. The problem is that the GNU must start from scratch to formulate policy in key areas and is taking far too long to do so. This means that old Nat policy is, in many cases, still being implemented, which is frustrating ANC Ministers and angering supporters.

The delay is also resulting in confusion. For example, Justice Minister Dullah Omar's crusade to establish a Truth & Reconciliation commission is widely perceived as GNU policy but his proposals have yet to be presented to Cabinet, let alone drafted into law.

De Klerk points out that a commission comprising representatives of the ANC, NP and IFP is looking at how to deal with the past and must still submit a report. Yet Omar gives the impression that the GNU has already taken a decision when no policy has been agreed on.

"I'm not necessarily against a truth commission," says De Klerk, "but the details need to be negotiated and it puts the GNU under strain when statements are made by Ministers before agreements are reached."

The same applies to statements by ANC Ministers on issues such as education, health reform and land policy. In most cases, they are simply expounding ANC views rather than GNU policy — which has not been formulated.

Other Ministers such as the ANC's Kader Asmal believe he and his Cabinet colleagues have the right to speak out on any issue. That's fine when one is in opposition, but it tends to cause confusion and conflict when Ministers interfere in the portfolios of others. These are expected symptoms of inexperience and a lack of understanding on the workings of Cabinet government — but Mandela will need to deal with them decisively and quickly to avoid serious damage to the GNU's credibility. (30/4)

Until now, the NP has simply sat back and listened to the rhetoric. But it certainly does not accept what is being said. De Klerk believes some of the statements breach the spirit within which policy is being determined jointly. He says Cabinet needs to ensure it does not implement the policy of one party or another.

"The GNU does not exist to implement ANC policy. The spirit of the interim constitution implies a quest for consensus. For all important issues, we need to agree on a joint approach to policy frameworks. The basic approach of the three parties participating in the GNU will differ but the solution must be a compromise."

But at what point does compromise become mere acquiescence and when does the NP refuse to budge? De Klerk says this depends on the issues. There will be some on which the NP does not agree but they will not be significant enough to risk "rocking the boat." For instance, the NP opposed the Cabinet decision to allow Ministers to appoint contract staff at high salaries from outside the civil service and even warned against it. But the ANC believed it needed the staff and the facility was approved.

De Klerk concedes that issues will arise on which compromise will be impossible and failure to reach agreement could cause the collapse of the GNU. He declines to be drawn on what these could be. Instead, he says the challenge to participating parties in the GNU is to avoid fundamental differences.

NP Ministers and De Klerk have done so by keeping out of the limelight and making no statements that could be construed as GNU policy.

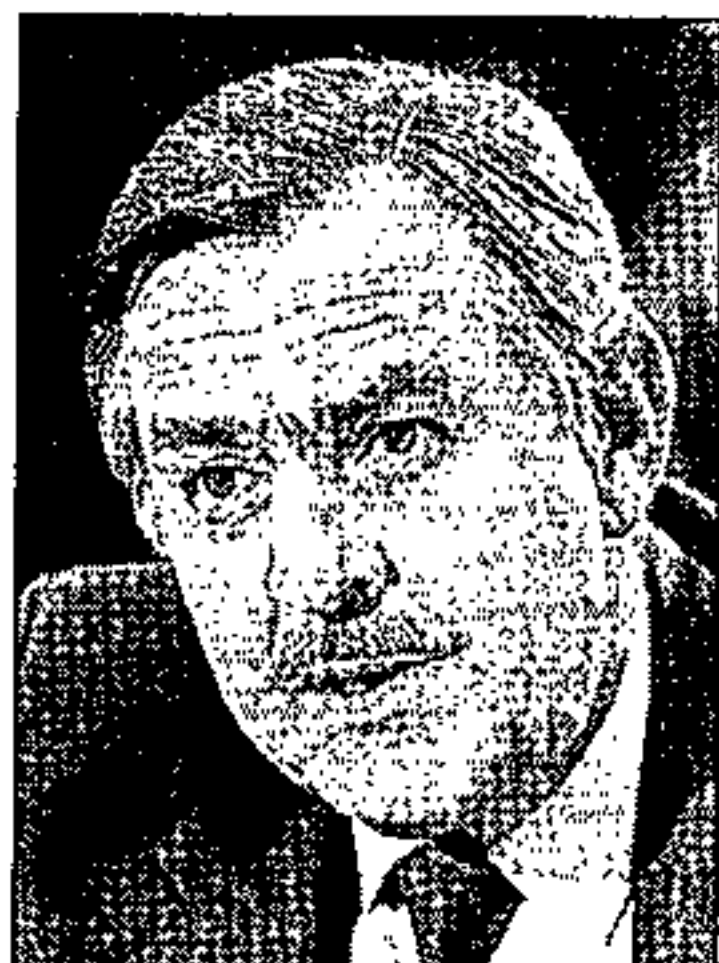
De Klerk says he deliberately adopted a low profile after the election. "I was not sulking, as



Asmal



Mufamadi



Botha



De Villiers

has been suggested by someone in the President's office. Time was needed to put certain structures in place and people in the GNU needed time to get to know one another."

He is convinced the arrangement can work. Outside the GNU, the NP will continue to propagate its own policies "but in the spirit of the agreement that confrontational debate needs to be avoided."

De Klerk says the party reserves the right to criticise decisions, statements and actions by Cabinet colleagues of other parties and sees this as part of its function. In parliament, it will aggressively oppose aspects of ANC policy with which it disagrees.

De Klerk accepts that it will be difficult to be a partner in government and an opposition party in parliament but disagrees that the roles are mutually exclusive. He says countries such as Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark have had

coalition governments since World War 2.

De Klerk believes the new style of government and opposition in SA requires the press and other institutions to adopt new perspectives and not simply seek "typical opposition style behaviour as found in the Westminster system."

But the situation on the ground is different. MPs and supporters of the two parties see themselves as rivals and will behave as such. Unity does not extend beyond Cabinet and the provincial governments. Even in these forums, serious confrontation at some time is inevitable.

The differences between the ANC and NP are simply too great to ensure a cosy working relationship for any length of time. Resolving conflicts will demand all the statesmanship that Mandela and De Klerk can muster.

It is not in the interests of either party or the country for the Nats to be in opposition now. The ANC is too inexperienced at government and the NP too skilful at opposition to risk pitting them against each other in open political warfare.

The type of compromise that gave rise to the interim constitution and saw SA through the election needs to be fostered for at least a few more years and this can perhaps be achieved only through the GNU.

What is unhealthy is that the entire arrangement may depend too heavily on two men, Mandela and De Klerk.

In particular, to be in government and opposition simultaneously is not natural, whatever claims De Klerk makes. It will take all his political acumen to ensure that his party does not remain stranded in a political no-man's-land — where it has undoubtedly been for the past three months. ■

ANC unveils plan on framing constitution

B Day 5/8/94

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The ANC parliamentary caucus yesterday gave the go-ahead to a bold new plan to broaden involvement in drawing up the final constitution, to avoid a repeat of the exclusive World Trade Centre negotiations.

The plan, unveiled by ANC secretary-general and Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa, will be presented to the ANC-dominated constitutional steering committee on Tuesday for approval.

President Nelson Mandela afterwards described the plan as "brilliant".

Ramaphosa said afterwards the original proposal to have a 50-member constitutional committee made up of MPs doing most of the work on the final constitution was unsatisfactory.

Complaints from the ANC itself about the proposed structures for constitution-making surfaced at this week's steering committee meeting, when ANC MPs called for changes so that not only all MPs but also society had direct access to the process.

According to the original plan, the constitutional committee would almost exclusively report to, and work with, the Constitutional Assembly (the National Assembly and Senate sitting together).

Under the new plan, so-called "theme com-

mittees" will work under the Constitutional Assembly and the constitutional committee, on specific issues such as fundamental rights, structures of government and the judiciary.

The theme committees would in turn be assisted by technical committees, to ensure that whatever the theme committees came up with was translated into proper legal jargon, Ramaphosa said.

"From time to time," he said, commissions would also be established to deal with even broader issues so that specialist groups such as pressure groups could contribute to the debate. Examples of the kind of issues for commissions were abortion and future boundaries.

"In this way we finally hope to provide for an all-inclusive constitution-making process," Ramaphosa said.

He said as far as constitution-making was concerned, SA had now entered uncharted waters. He said the Namibian experience was "not so helpful anymore".

With only 21 months left in which to finalise the constitution, it was also envisaged the Constitutional Assembly would sit weekly. "Constitution-making has to be fulltime if we want to do the job properly and in time," he said.

New words ring in Parliament

ANC rejects plea from rest of GNU

Sowetan 5/8/94

A COMPROMISE Caucus agrees
to elect some members of other parties:

Sowetan Correspondents

THE ANC caucus yesterday rejected demands from its Government of National Unity partners to proportionally share the chairmanships of Parliament's 26 standing committees.

However, at least some members of other parties will be elected to the posts. On Monday the chief whips of all parties in parliament will meet on the issue to thrash out the details.

Yesterday the ANC caucus meeting in Cape Town dug in its heels at demands that the National Party and IFP should get seats in proportion to the support they fetched in the election.

But President Nelson Mandela apparently convinced the caucus that it should allow chairmen to be elected from some other parties.

On Wednesday the election of chair-

men to six standing committees had been postponed by Mandela amid speculation that the NP and IFP would get their way. (304A)

This gave rise to suggestions that Mandela and the caucus — which generally feels that the ANC has given enough concessions to other parties — would clash. However, sources said the meeting had been amicable and would result in at least some opposition party members chairing the committees.

In terms of the system agreed by the ANC caucus yesterday, each committee will vote on its chairmanship. However, in some cases it will be agreed beforehand that the ANC will support an opposition candidate.

Speaking to Pressmen after the meeting, Mandela said: "The principle of the GNU at all levels has been accepted by our people. Therefore giving the chairmanships to other political parties would be consistent with imposing the GNU."

NO crisis, says Mbeki

'Keep alive the collective will ...'

■ In a keynote speech in parliament, Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki has urged MPs not to create false impressions that there is a government crisis.

CLIVE SAWYER

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

DEPUTY-PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki has urged the dismantling of the State's informer network so that people can speak freely without fear of retribution.

This right was part of the transformation to democracy — a transformation which entitled African National Congress members to criticise their president.

In a speech in the national assembly, he urged South Africans to keep alive the collective will which had made political change possible.

He asked parliamentarians not to contribute to the notion that the country was in crisis.

To fuel prophecies of doom would be to take away the hope given to people by the success of the transition so far. Political and labour disputes were healthy in a democratic society.

Mr Mbeki said the price South Africa had paid for its success in moving to democracy was "an assumption developed that differences among parties have disappeared".

After the joy of the election, "we dis-

covered society was still made up of sectors with competing interests".

"When life reasserted itself and, quite correctly, political parties began to say various things, some people said doom and crisis had arrived."

This was not true, Mr Mbeki said.

"Political differences among parties in the government of national unity is a healthy thing. Debate is quite proper. This is part of the benefit of democratic transformation."

This included members of the ANC being able to criticise the president of the ANC, Mr Mbeki said.

It was natural that management and workers would dispute how to share wealth. Trade unions were expected to pursue their purposes with as much vigour as possible. Mobilising resources to implement programmes promised in the election campaign would take time.

"It is important we do not encourage one another to have exaggerated expectations of the capacity of the budget to realise the objectives of the RDP."

The government faced a serious of painful decisions about its priorities in future budgets, he said.

It had committed itself not to increase the tax burden, and had committed itself to reducing the budget deficit.

"If I am not wrong, more than 40 per cent of the budget goes to salaries and wages."

The government had guaranteed job security of civil servants and to address



THABO MBEKI — keynote address.

racial and gender discrimination in the public service. People in the bottom rungs of the civil service were paid an "abysmal" wage, he said.

"The public debt has to be serviced. That means less money for development, less for the objectives stated in the reconstruction and development programme."

It was important for the government to manage properly foreign assistance given to it. Foreign aid should be treated as bridging finance while the economy was rebuilt.

He said the government was not opposed in principle to privatisation, and would discuss how it could serve broader interests.

The capacity of the government to deliver results depended on a growing economy. "The problems are immense. The minister of trade and industry — Trevor Manuel — told me the implementation of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) might, among other things, result in the shrinking of the clothing and textile and automobile industry."

The collapse of tariff barriers could mean retrenchments just when the country was striving to reduce unemployment. The country had to be united to achieve the transition from poverty to prosperity, he said.

Mr Mbeki's speech came at the end of a week of a surge of political and labour strife as the National Party took a few self-conscious steps on its path as a self-proclaimed opposition party.

Conflict about chairmanship of parliamentary committees emerged, not only between the NP and ANC, but also between President Nelson Mandela and the ANC caucus. Mr Mandela, admitting there had

been "pressure" on him about the issue, said this was healthy.

In the national assembly, Mr Mbeki's speech followed some sharp exchanges between ANC and NP parliamentarians. NP MPs urged the ANC to jettison its Communist Party partner.

P J Steenkamp (NP) said he "wished Mr Mandela well in dealing with the rotten apples in the ANC basket".

Elias Mosokuntu (ANC) said his party had the mandate of the majority of voters and did not need the government of national unity to implement the reconstruction and development programme. He lashed out at parties which wanted to re-debate the RDP as wasting the time of the homeless and jobless.

Sam de Beer (NP) criticised the ANC for its calls to cut the salaries of public servants. "The government should be able to compete for suitably qualified people," he said.

Brian Bunting, expelled from parliament in 1953 for being a communist, called on those who wanted the ANC to dump the SACP to focus on what parties agreed on rather than their differences. He accused the NP of "extreme anti-communist and racist sentiments" in its election campaign.

These exchanges between ordinary MPs took place in the hours before Mr Mbeki spoke.

The House listened in silence to his address, with warm applause at the end. Among those who shook Mr Mbeki's hand were Justice Minister Dullah Omar, Finance Minister Derek Keys, and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

SA now has ties with 30 African countries

CT 9/8/94 (304A)

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA now had representation in 30 African countries, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo told Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the debate on his budget, Mr Nzo said normalisation of relations with Africa had been a priority of the new government.

High commissions were being established in Tanzania and Nigeria and an embassy accredited to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) would be opened soon.

Mr Nzo said relations with coun-

tries of North Africa and the Middle East were also "improving rapidly". An embassy was being opened in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and "high level visits" in the near future to Jordan, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Sudan were envisaged.

Mr Nzo also announced that President Nelson Mandela would visit Tanzania later this month. He will visit Namibia this week.

Mr Nzo said his department was investigating all international covenants, treaties and conventions to identify needs and obligations.

New voters' roll coming

Sowetan

10/8/94

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Government is preparing a common voters' roll, according to Minister of Home Affairs Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Addressing Parliament yesterday, Buthelezi said this was necessary to prevent the chaos of the past election "where it was easy to bus people around" to influence a swing in polls in specific areas.

"I don't think South Africans would like to have another nightmare at the next election (because we don't have a

voters' roll).

"The department is already working on a voters' roll," Buthelezi said.

During the run-up to the elections, the Department of Home Affairs had been encumbered with the task of issuing acceptable identity documents to all eligible voters.

When statistics became available, Buthelezi said, it was evident that drastic measures had to be taken in order to avoid another "nightmare" (304A)

While 2 423 075 identity documents were issued in 1993, clearly in anticipation of an election, another 2 116 600 were issued during the four months of 1994 (before the election).

He explained that the Government Printer printed 2 800 identity documents and 6 000 passports every day for a period of five months.

Although the 5,3 million temporary voters' cards could not be produced at short notice by private companies, the Government Printer did, Buthelezi said.

He said during the night of April 27 and 28 1,6 million ballot papers were being printed.

"With a minimal capital outlay for additional equipment, the Government Printing Works would be able to produce all election material in the future as it had for the past 105 years preceding the last election," Buthelezi said.

**SA in African
association** 10/8/94

HARARE. — South Africa yesterday formally joined the Association of African Diplomats, which groups African diplomats accredited to Zimbabwe, a local report said.

South Africa became eligible for membership of the association following the April elections which ushered in a government of national unity. — Sapa (304A)

'SA must have voters' roll'

CT 10/8/94 (304A)
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. — South Africa should never again have to live through another nightmare like the April election, Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He was committed to promoting the necessary legislative and administrative initiatives to ensure this, he said introducing debate on his Budget Vote.

Because the poll was not based on a voters' roll, exceptional measures were taken to identify those entitled to vote, he said. The cabinet should consider the development of national records and a voters' roll as South Africa needed such a roll for forthcoming local authority elections.

"It is my intention to ensure that after these elections South Africa will be able to look at electoral results with confidence and certainty ... I hope that the new South African democracy will never have to suffer the injury and insult of electoral results which are not accompanied by a full numerical reconciliation," he said.

Illegal aliens were a burning issue and the cabinet had set up an inter-departmental committee on the issue, he said, adding that the influx of aliens could threaten the Reconstruction and Development Programme. — Sapa



WOMEN'S DAY ... National convener of the National Women's Coalition Ms Jean Ngubane hands over the Women's Charter to Senate President, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Speaker of Parliament Dr Frene Ginwala, and Constitutional Assembly leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. Picture: STEWART COLMAN

Women deliver charter

Political Staff

NEARLY 40 years after then Prime Minister Mr J G Strijdom sent a lowly official to meet an ANC Women's League march — and proceeded to ignore their demands — the National Women's Coalition handed copies of the Women's Charter for Effective Equality to the Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Frene Ginwala, president of the Senate, Kobie Coetsee of the NP, and Constitutional Assembly chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, in Parliament yesterday.

The coalition delegation includ-

ed Ms Jean Ngubane, national convener, and Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, chairwoman of the SABC board.

The coalition wants Parliament to declare August 9 as National Women's Day — an "international day in support of the women of South Africa" and in recognition of their important contribution to the attainment of democracy in South Africa.

Ms Ngubane said women represented 54% of the population but had mustered only 100 seats (out of 400) in Parliament, with only two women in the 27-member cabinet. "This just isn't good enough," she

said.

Replying, Mr Ramaphosa said South Africans should feel proud that many women had risen above the obstacles placed in their path to become leaders in the community.

According to the delegation handing over the charter to Western Cape Premier Mr Hernus Kriel yesterday, law-makers now had the opportunity to reflect women's aspirations in South Africa by consulting the newly compiled Women's Charter — while the commitment to sexual equality by Mr Kriel would be monitored.

R200m plan for 'volk' homeland

CT 11/8/94

(304A)

PRETORIA. — About R200 million for an Afrikaner "volkstaat" could be mobilised within the next two years, the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Avstig) said here yesterday.

Avstig chairman Professor Carel Boshoff told a press conference many Afrikaners were presently searching for a safe place to invest their retirement packages.

"Our studies show that we could reach R200 million within two years."

An investment fund set up recently stood at R100 000 at this stage, he added.

Profits from the investment fund would be used to establish industries and other projects in Avstig's proposed volkstaat.

The organisation also presented its proposals to the Volkstaat Council earlier in the day.

The proposed Afrikaner homeland falls largely in the Northern Cape and includes parts of the southern Free State and Western Cape.

Prof Boshoff said Avstig's volkstaat would not affect or disrupt any of the existing provinces.

He predicted that the Afrikaner nation would not subject itself to the present government indefinitely. If a volkstaat was not found, Afrikaners could become a "disrupting force" in South Africa.

Volkstaat Council to meet provincial heads

PRETORIA. — The Volkstaat Council will visit provincial premiers next week for talks on the feasibility of a "volkstaat" for Afrikaners, council chairman Mr Johann Wingard said yesterday.

The attitude of premiers and their executive councils towards a "volkstaat" would be tested and stock would be taken of specific preconditions that the provinces might want to lay down, he said.

Ways to protect the interests of "permanent" minorities would also be examined.

Mr Wingard said the council had appointments with provincial premiers from August 15 to August 22. — Sapa

The volkstaat should not exist in isolation, but should be part of the South African economic community, he said.

Prof Boshoff said he envisaged a commonwealth of nations comprising South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho and the volkstaat.

Only permanent residents owning assets in the volkstaat would be granted citizenship and the right to vote.

Avstig says in its presentation that Orania, the volkstaat town developed by Prof Carel Boshoff on the banks of the Orange River, is proving to be a successful experiment.

About 400 people have settled in, 53 businesses have been established and a school with 100 pupils is functioning well. — Sapa

PARLIAMENT

Fm 12/8/94

The backbenches grow restive

It was not surprising that the Reconstruction & Development Programme dominated last week's Budget debate in parliament. But it is worrying that the programme seems set to become a divisive political issue, rather than a unifying economic package to uplift SA and generate new investment.

The debate highlighted the complex problems facing the Government of National Unity (GNU), on the one hand, as it struggles to formulate new policy, and the ANC on the other, as it tries to honour election promises and move away from an economy structured to support apartheid.

The ANC has staked its name on the success of the RDP and will brook no opposition. But at the same time, the National Party does not want to be seen as simply endorsing an ANC plan.

In addition, there is dissension in the ANC on spending priorities. This has already emerged in disagreement between Ministers on Budget allocations, and is expected to develop soon into a full-blown debate on fundamental economic restructuring to bolster the RDP. Coupled to this, the transitional nature of the Budget means "it does not belong" to any party: the framework is Nat, though some detail was added after pre-election consultations with the ANC and others. Now it is the property of the GNU.

But it falls well short of meeting the ANC's needs and smacks for most MPs of apartheid-style spending, which always tended to leave the poor worse off.

The result was an often bitter debate last week, in which ANC MPs in particular reeled off the mounting woes of their hard-pressed constituents and criticised government's inability to relieve their suffering now that a democratic dispensation is in place.

Some saw a solution in cutting security spending. For example, Housing Minister Joe Slovo questioned the need to buy modern military hardware. "We have not been presented with a thorough analysis of the potential threats to the security and integrity of SA, which is capable of convincing me of the need for major capital

spending on such items as submarines at a time when we face a housing backlog in excess of 1m units." (3044)

Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa and Inkatha's Mahomed Cassim echoed his views and the ANC's Pregs Govender urged wide-ranging Budget cuts including 15% less for defence administration and a 33% reduction in spending on the secret service.

The critics were partly appeased by Finance Minister Derek Keys's assurance that MPs would have a more direct role in drawing up next year's Budget.

Notwithstanding the posturing, there was more concern that dissent about State spending were threats by ANC and SACP hardliners to ignore the GNU to ensure implementation of the RDP. Elias Mosunkutu said the RDP was not "directly or solely dependent" on the GNU for implementation. "The GNU is but one avenue. The ANC as a government can and has the will to implement the

RDP."

SACP member Ian Phillips disagreed with National Party leader F W de Klerk that all new policy had to be negotiated in parliament and in the GNU. "He should be reminded that this is an elected parliament where the ANC commands a sizeable majority. An attempt to deny the majority of SA the right to exercise their power through the ANC majority is unacceptable and will be resisted."

The SACP view that the RDP must be the basis for fundamental economic restructuring was illustrated by Phillips's contention that the RDP is "a path towards giving people power in this country." SA's economic structures needed to be "overhauled" rather than merely modified or adapted to the new political situation.

Not to be outdone, Nat speakers said an RDP without GNU approval was impossible. One of the party's most provocative debaters, Andre Fourie, told the ANC that its "100-day honeymoon" was over. "The masses of *uhuru* voters, the millions who voted for freedom, are starting to realise that they were led up the garden path by all the false expectations created and the wild promises made by the ANC/SACP/Co-satu unholy alliance." He said that until the RDP White Paper was published, the plan

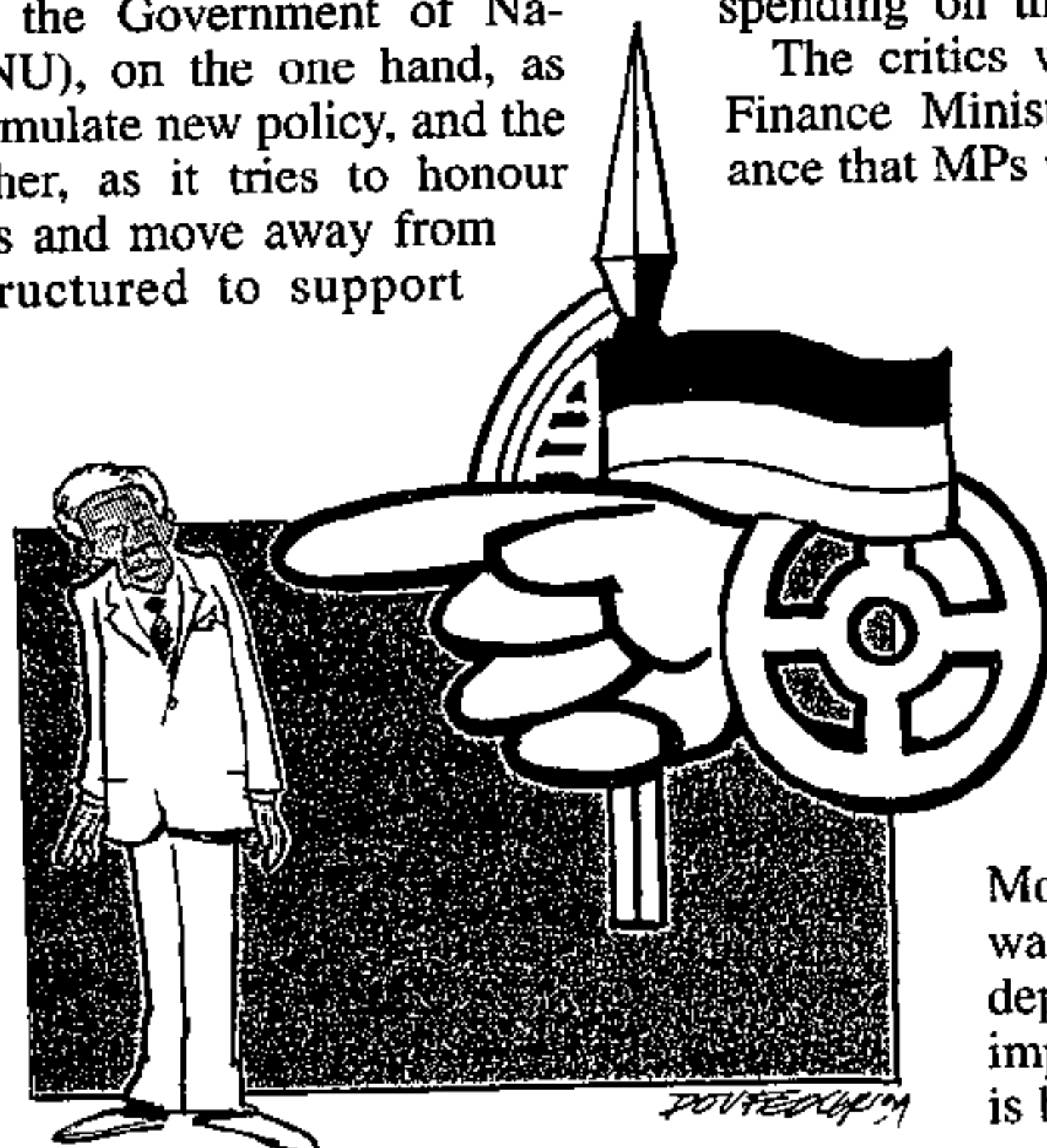
as presented by the ANC was simply "pie in the sky."

The tone of some of the exchanges suggested a potential danger in unchecked tension between the two parties. It is a problem that needs to be addressed urgently by the GNU if the RDP is to be embraced as a national plan by all participants in parliament rather than resented as an ANC payback to its supporters.

The most sober warning about the direction in which MPs were drifting came from Finance Deputy Minister Alec Erwin, who cautioned against allowing critical issues to become simply items of petty bickering. He said investors were sensitive to perceptions of a government's ability to deal with difficult problems consistently and on the basis of stable policies.

"We may not have done ourselves a great deal of good service in this assembly by the way we have dealt with certain complicated political and economic issues." He said the impression may have been created during the debate that political leaders were more concerned about "making political footballs out of complicated problems" than trying to solve them. "If that perception gets into the minds of investors they will have no confidence that we are capable of implementing a stable, consistent and correct economic policy."

With debates on individual Budget votes scheduled for the next month, MPs should have plenty of time to reflect. The question is, what will they conclude? ■



Draft Bill hold-ups to result in recess

8 Day 12/8/94

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Parliament would go into recess from September 24 to October 16 because scores of draft Bills were not ready for tabling, ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile said yesterday.

There were 94 Bills in the pipeline but most were "still in a young stage". Only the Public Protector Bill would be disposed of during the current session.

Speaking after the ANC's weekly caucus meeting, Stofile said the Constitutional Assembly — the body entrusted with writing a final constitution — would meet every Monday in future. However, the proposal that MPs be given Fridays off to allow them to stay in touch with their constituencies, as well as the issue of constituency allowances, had not been finalised.

A multiparty committee was investigating the matter of "the alienation of Ministers from their departments and MPs from their constituencies and families" as a result of the five-day week system.

There was also growing opposition to night sittings and it was possible that party whips might reduce the amount of time in debate to cut back on late-night sessions.

He said a memorandum was being prepared for Cabinet to advise Ministers that if they had not finalised Bills from their departments by end-August, they would not be considered by Parliament this year.

He added that any Bill submitted after the end of November would be dealt with by Parliament next year. He attributed the

slow passage of legislation to the need for wide consultation on new laws.

DAVID GREYBE reports that Stofile also chided sections of the media for creating the impression last week that the caucus had clashed with President Nelson Mandela over the appointment of MPs from other parties as chairmen of standing committees. (301PA)

The ANC had in fact "accepted the principle of accommodating all parties", as proposed by Mandela. Stofile said he expected the issue to be resolved between all parties by the end of the week.

Sapa reports the ANC parliamentary caucus and Deputy President FW de Klerk indicated yesterday that the deadlock over chairmanships of parliamentary standing committees was close to being resolved.

De Klerk said the matter had been resolved at the level of party whips and now had to be cleared by the political leadership. He indicated that the NP was in line to receive some posts.

The issue became deadlocked when De Klerk asked Mandela to intervene and ensure that chairmanships of standing committees went to other parties as well as the ANC.

□ Stofile said yesterday Donald Mlindwa Gumede was likely to replace Feroza Adam, who died this week after a motor vehicle accident, as an ANC MP.

focus on 100 days

Sowetan 12/8/94

LET US get down to work, Mandela told Parliament in May, saying the road to a glorious future depended on collective hard work and a people-centred society. The first 100 days have ended and heightened labour unrest is the order of the day.

Automobile manufactures and large retailers are reeling from strikes over wage demands.

This has taken big business by surprise as it had hoped that the goodwill that followed the elections would filter down to labour-management relationships.

The main focus will be on Mandela's Reconstruction and Development Programme, which he announced in his inaugural speech in May.

Translated into action, this meant the Cabinet's approval of a programme that would make use of part of the R2,5 billion needed to fund the entire RDP plan (R12,5 billion over the next five years of the GNU's interim reign).

To those who had had no vote, the homeless and unemployed majority of South Africans who voted for democracy on April 27, the 100-day pledge meant pre-election promises would be translated into reality in the near future.

Part of this plan was to address the basic needs of the underprivileged. In this regard a programme for the electrification of 350 000 houses had already been approved and being implemented in May.

Important to the plan, as Mandela told Parliament then, was effectively controlled spending.

"As we allocate larger amounts in future, we shall require further adjustments by (government) departments, partly to correct the bias in the spending patterns which are a legacy of the past."

Success in the achievement of this goal, Mandela said, needed the co-operation of the Cabinet and the whole civil service. Also, higher taxes would be avoided. Government spending to ensure the reduction of the Budget deficit would be maintained.

Music to the ears of the "masses" was the President's announcement that:

- Children under the age of six years and pregnant mothers would receive free medical care in every State hospital and clinic;
- A feeding scheme would be introduced in every primary school;
- Free education for the first 10 years would be introduced; and;
- A vigorous campaign through negotiation with civics, the private sector and organised labour would be launched to rebuild and restore services in townships and rural areas and create jobs for unemployed youths.

Briefly, health and education became a priority for the new government.

The African National Congress-led GNU has promised to build 2,5 million houses in the next five years.

But to accomplish the delivery of these fundamental needs meant "taking into cognisance certain practical realities, such as availability of

THE first 100 days of the Government of National Unity are up today. Political Correspondent **Themba Molefe** takes stock:

(3044)



Nelson Mandela

funds, other resources and implementation of policy".

Only this week Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma said in Parliament that no funding had been set aside to cover free medical services to pregnant mothers.

In reply to a question she said health authorities would have to redetermine their priorities to provide for this spending. No additional funds had been requested from central government and services would have to be funded from current allocations.

Meanwhile, State hospitals, especially those in black areas, continue to receive a flood of patients who qualify for free medical care.

At Leratong Hospital on the West Rand four doctors resigned after complaining of overwork resulting from the sudden influx of patients.

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee said yesterday that there were no visible effects of the Education Ministry's efforts to transform the educational system.

NECC general secretary Sipho Cele told a Press conference the ministry owed the public an explanation about its achievements in the 100 days since the new Government took office.

As we allocate larger amounts in future, we shall require further adjustments by (government) departments, partly to correct the bias in the spending patterns which are a legacy of the past

He said the NECC and its affiliates had asked the ministry to state its vision of transformation in education with specific reference to a White Paper currently being drafted.

It had also sought clarification of plans to reform tertiary education and of the ministry's policies on overcrowding at schools and the redistribution of resources.

In spite of pre-election promises that an ANC government would cut down on defence spending, this has not been the case.

In the current 1994-95 Budget defence spending was increased to R12 billion from last year's R10,7 billion.

The Defence Ministry said integration costs accounted for the rise as liberation armies, former bantustan forces and the old government's defence force become the new South African National Defence Force.

Economist Mr Mike Brown said that practically the RDP was "on hold" as the Government was still awaiting White Papers from various ministries to help with the formulation of policy.

He said the past 100 days, therefore, saw little movement in the establishment of guidelines, drawing up of legislation and channels of distribution (of funds).

This also meant that job creation, a cornerstone of the RDP, could only be visible once the GNU had put in place the guidelines and clearly spelled out how, for example, finance should be directed to the provinces and what powers those legislatures can exercise.

As Brown put it: "It is still early days yet." But for South Africans as a whole the first 100 days have seen the country come in from the cold and being accepted by the Organisation of African Unity, United Nations and the Commonwealth.

Boshoff proposes a 'Silicon Volkstaat'

Professor Carel Boshoff wants to turn the north-west Cape into South Africa's Silicon Valley, reports **Jan Talfard**

THE FIRST concrete plans for an Afrikaner homeland were laid before the Volkstaat Council this week.

And the most novel of these is a proposal from Professor Carel Boshoff and his Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (Avstig) to turn the north-west Cape into South Africa's own Silicon Valley and to establish the area as a "secure investment area" where foreign investors can make use of confidential bank accounts — along the lines of Swiss banks.

For a change, the Avstig document does not skirt issues such as citizenship and geographical areas.

Not all the proposals are exotic or fanciful. Other ideas mooted for the establishment of a "high technology" environment are to set up tanneries

and plants for the manufacture of specialised tools, engine parts and chemicals used in the mining industry.

And in a proposal that may even find favour among those with more green leanings, Avstig envisages that a large part of these industries can be established by harnessing the green powers of a region with plenty of solar and hydro-electric resources.

But long before the Volkstaat's industries start churning out high tech tools or silicon chips, a spanner of quite another nature is likely to drop into the works and bring the whole process to a gear-wrenching slow down.

Already there are grumblings among Volkstaat supporters who favour other geographical areas that the Avstig proposals may receive too much of a sympathetic ear from the Volkstaat Council (VC).

They point out that the VC's chairman, Johann Wiegardt, is not only a long-time supporter and executive member of Avstig, but that no less than three members of the Boshoff family are currently also members of

the council.

In an earlier interview with the W/M&G, VC spokesman Koos van Rensburg was nevertheless adamant that a particular pressure group inside the Council would not be able to exert undue influence.

He said the VC would only reach its final conclusions to be submitted to government after "scientific and objective investigation" of the different proposals. Added to that, the VC consists of 20 different members, all representative of various geographical proposals.

According to the Avstig, proposals citizenship will have to be accorded to all permanent inhabitants of the region. The catch nevertheless seems to be contained in the following: "International custom will govern immigration and foreigners in the country will be accorded the usual acceptable protection but with certain limitations."

The document goes on to explain that citizenship and certain privileges may be accorded to prospective citizens who want to be associated with

the Volkstaat, but that voting rights and the right to be elected to statutory structures will only be the privilege of those living inside the Volkstaat or who hold assets in the area.

Although the document says a Volkstaat should be attained for a nation (volk) and not so much for whites or a particular race group, the foundation seems to be well aware of the demographic hurdles.

Stating that the area contains around 120 000 whites of which the majority are Afrikaners, the document also acknowledges the existence of 130 000 blacks and 510 000 "coloureds". But, the document argues, if more densely populated areas such as Kimberley, Warrenton, Postmasburg and Kuruman as well as the "traditional coloured areas in the West" are excluded, an additional 100 000 Afrikaners will ensure a majority.

Boshoff envisages a second Great Trek. Avstig is advocating a huge relocation of Afrikaners from other parts of the country, entailing the establishment of so-called "Trek parties".

According to Van Rensburg, VC proposals to be submitted to the GNU shortly will nevertheless not be a demand for the immediate establishment of a Volkstaat but will contain several integrating measures that the Volkstatters believe will eventually lead to further independence.

Explaining that a symbiosis will have to be found between Afrikaner loyalty to an Afrikaner state and concurrent loyalty to a larger South Africa, he views the Volkstaat of the future as more of an additional province with stronger regional powers than those currently accorded to the provinces.

At the same time such a Volkstaat will have to be acceptable to the majority of South Africans. "Whatever is proposed can't be allowed to create conflict," he said.

Finally has to be reached pretty soon. A press conference with final proposals is planned for the end of the month while rumour has it that these proposals will be submitted to the GNU early next month.

Economy is starting to move, says Keys

LEIGH ROBERTS and SAPA

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's economy was "really starting to get going" and growth would exceed 2,5 percent this year, Minister of Finance Derek Keys said yesterday.

Concluding the debate on the state expenditure budget vote, he said suggestions that the growth rate would slip below 2,5 percent because of a lack of confidence in the new Government were "overdone".

"My reading of what's happening in the economy at the moment is that it is running extremely strongly. We had the results published by AMIC (Anglo American Industrial Corporation) in the

course of this week. It's a good indicator because it's a widely diversified group invested in many basic industries. They are up 60 percent.

"That only happens in an economy that's really starting to get going. I have every confidence that 2,5 percent will be exceeded."

■ There is good news for retiring taxpayers from the taxman: the Commissioner for Inland Revenue said yesterday that the new 5 percent transition levy on annual taxable incomes above R50 000 will not be paid on the taxable portion of retirement lump sums.

This means significant savings in tax to these

taxpayers. It also eases their quandary over whether to defer their retirement until after the levy period expires.

Keys made the announcement in his Budget speech in June.

In another concession from the taxman, the bonuses and gratuities received by retiring taxpayers from their companies will also escape the

Retrenched taxpayers also stand to gain — bonuses and gratuities received from their companies on retrenchment will not attract the levy.

■ Story on Page 17

Secret services cash queried

CAPE TOWN — MPs yesterday strongly attacked the R427 million set aside in the Budget for secret services.

Finance committee head Gill Marcus said there were no checks and balances on the way in which this money was spent on secret services, which could in effect be duplicating police work.

She envisaged a scenario where much of the money could be spent sending National Intelligence Service (NIS) staff out to watch police agents watching drug smugglers.

ANC backbencher Max Coleman described the allocation, which forms part of the R600 million state expenditure vote, as a "shirter grant" that dominated the department's vote without having any control over how it was spent. He recommended that the NIS either have its own vote or that its work be distributed to other ministries.

Finance Minister Derek Keys said legislation was being prepared to deal with this issue.

— Sapa.



DEREK KEYS

De Klerk forecasts fine showing for NP in '99

DEPUTY President F W de Klerk said yesterday his National Party was the biggest nonracial party in South Africa and would perform well in the 1999 election.

"The NP has growth potential. It is the biggest non-racial party in South Africa. More than 50 percent of people who voted for it were not white. We got more than a million votes within the Indian community and achieved the highest votes in the so-called coloured community."

De Klerk said in an interview.

"The next election (in 1999) will not be about liberalism, it will be about fundamental principles, about values needed to build a society. I will lead my party to achieve the largest possible percentage," he said.

(3044A)