S.A. GOVT & POLITICS

1995

AUG - SEPT.

SA's rights defended

STAFF REPORTER

SOUTH AFRICA is an autonomous nation and the US should respect its right to take decisions, SA ambassador to the US, Mr Franklin Sonn, said yesterday.

However, reports that relations between the two countries had been soured were exaggerated, he said.

He is in the city to hold talks with the government.

One of the issues to be discussed will be SA's multi-million rand oil venture with Iran to store oil at Saldanha Bay — a venture the US would like to see scrapped.

Another concerns the increased tariffs for imported chickens which two US politicians have asked SA to flout so that the chickens can be imported at a fraction of the normal tariff.

Ethics code could be extended

3614A

ARG 2/8/95

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

A YET-to-be-drafted code of ethics for parliamentarians could be extended to cover other categories of people — including cabinet ministers, MPs' spouses, officials and office-bearers in parastatals.

The inclusion of MPs' spouses would mean they would have to declare their assets in an official parliamentary register.

This is among issues to be decided by a national assembly special sub-committee on a code of ethics for MPs.

Headed by Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, the sub-committee decided at a meeting yesterday to co-ordinate its debate with similar efforts by the senate.

If it is decided that the code will embrace non-MPs, new legislation rather than internal parliamentary rules will have to be approved.

Whether this information would be available to all is likely to spark considerable debate.

DP battles to define future role

CT 3/8/95 (30/4)

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

THE Democratic Party's federal congress meets in Muizenberg this weekend as it battles to define its role and way forward in the new South Africa.

Although the congress contains the slogan "A force to be reckoned with", the small liberal party faces a major challenge in this year's local government elections to demonstrate that it is indeed a force to be reckoned with.

The congress agenda, which was released yesterday, contains few contentious motions and the conference could again become embroiled in lengthy debate on abortion as its Natal Midlands regional executive tries to reverse the party's cautious support of the right of individual choice on the issue.

But the agenda and the abortion issue notwithstanding, the party has to deal with its future role and survival.

In last year's elections, it was left very much a minority party in Parliament and five of the provincial legislatures.

The congress will be opened by DP leader Mr Tony Leon.

PREMIA

GAUTENG MP BEHIND SURPRISE MOVE

ANC hasn't endorsed 'one capital' proposal

ET 3/8/95

(3044)

WHAT was thought to be an ANC submission that South Africa's capitals be combined has turned out to be the work of one MP, not the organisation. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

THE surprise proposal for a single legislative and executive capital submitted this week on the ANC's behalf to a Constitutional Assembly theme committee has not been endorsed by any ANC structure.

The proposal, it is understood, has not been discussed in either the ANC's national executive committee or its parliamentary caucus.

It has not been raised in the ANC's constitutional commission and was not raised at last week's constitutional workshop.

The "ANC's preliminary submission" to the committee stated that the ANC "believes there should be one consolidated seat of government which is accessible to the provinces and the majority of people in our country".

It added that cost should be taken into account in determining where the consolidated seat of government should be.

This proposal is understood to have been drafted by a Gauteng-based MP who has strong links to the pro-Pretoria lobby.

Afford

But there is growing feeling within the ANC caucus that South Africa cannot afford to even consider changing the present separation of capital while there are such pressing demands for the RDP and for stimulating economic growth.

MP's one capital call 'shocks' Yengeni

CT 4/8/95

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

A "SHOCKED" Mr Tony Yengeni called yesterday for disciplinary action to be taken against a fellow ANC MP for submitting a memorandum to a Constitutional Assembly committee stating that the ANC wanted one legislative and executive capital.

"I take a very strong exception to what has happened," he said in an interview.

The ANC leader in the Western Cape, Mr Chris Nissen, named the MP concerned as Mr Moss Chikane and accused him of "trying to subvert the democratic process within the ANC". He dismissed the memorandum, which was submitted this week to Theme Committee 1, as "complete nonsense".

All Mr Chikane would say yesterday was that he had acted "under instructions".

Meanwhile, the ANC Premier of the Free State, Mr Patrick Lekota, has written to the Constitutional Assembly urging that no decision be taken until Bloemfontein's case had been heard. (304A)

Bok emblem still has its date with destiny

(304A) sowetan 4/8/95

Victor Tsuai reports on the heated debate at last week's NSC meeting

THE LAST-MINUTE LIFELINE THROWN TO THE Springbok emblem by Sport Minister Mr Steve Tshwete suggests the Government has already taken a decision on the hotly debated issue. There was a strong pro-Springbok lobby at the National Sports Council (NSC) meeting in Mmabatho last week, led by Tshwete himself and Department of Sport director-general Mr Mthobi Tyamzashe.

Tshwete, in his speech, strongly implored the NSC to "decide responsibly on whether they want to retain the emblem or not". Tyamzashe's address took the delegates by surprise.

His rather middle-of-the-road stance convinced some delegates the Government had already taken a decision on the matter.

It was also interesting to note that the custodians of the emblem, the South African Rugby Football Union (Sarfu), chose not to clarify their position after being asked to do so. A large section of the delegates believed that Tyamzashe's and Tshwete's speeches should be seen as an attempt to bolster President Nelson Mandela's request in June to retain the emblem.

Gaining ground

While the two most senior sports officials in South Africa did not say so unequivocally, it was clear the eventual decision to defer the debate to November meant that the expectation was that ground will have been won by that time in favour of the emblem.

In his impassioned plea, Tshwete pointed out to the meeting it was the NSC's collective responsibility to seek reconciliation.

"In your hand, you have a powerful instrument that can be used effectively and most responsibly. At the same time, we take cognisance of the fact that Sarfu should use their ideas in the interests of the country," he said.

"The whole issue should be seen in the context of a nation-building exercise as well as a sports issue. The task is a challenging one and demands that we should rise to the occasion. This debate has not been confined to sport but has filtered down to society.

"We therefore find it necessary to contextualise the debate. Our major mission is to bring people together. We must look at the survival of the nation rather than the demise of Sarfu.

What happened in 1992, when the Springbok emblem was done away with, is irrelevant." Tshwete ended his speech by telling delegates that nothing was cast in stone, implying the NSC could, if it wished, overlook the 1992 decision and come out with a fresh position.

Insurmountable task

Tyamzashe, a former NSC general secretary, said: "The Springbok issue is not the first insurmountable task to be faced by the NSC. All that really matters is the ability of the people to talk about it and the ability to come to decisions.

"We sympathise with the Sarfu letter asking for an extension of the deadline. Although we are not sure that having been granted what they requested Sarfu would abide by the decision, we should be careful not to put them into a laager.

"I therefore appeal to you to try to minimise the damage to the situation when expressing your inner feelings on the matter."

Delegates who spoke on the issue before Tshwete, however, left no doubt about their feelings — despite an appeal by NSC president Mr Mluleki George for delegates to remain calm when discussing the issue.

The first delegate to be given a chance to speak, Athletics South Africa's Mr John Ncinane, was blunt. He summed up the mood of most delegates when he attacked Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who supports retaining the Springbok emblem.

Marching through the streets

Earlier that week Tutu had marched through the streets of Cape Town wearing a Springbok jersey. Ncinane said: "We must stick to the agreement of 1992 and not create bad precedents by acceding to the request. I would also like to tell people like Archbishop Tutu not to interfere in sports because we don't interfere in clerical issues."

Ncinane also attacked soccer chief Mr Solomon Morewa "for jumping the gun ahead of this meeting to align the South African Football Association with the request".

Tennis South Africa president Mr John Ngcobo said that granting the request to rugby would open the floodgates to other sports codes to retain the Springbok emblem.

"Our leadership is trying to influence public opinion on the issue," said Ngcobo. "Sport must decide whether they want the emblem or not. If rugby get their way, what will stop tennis from demanding the same treatment?"

> **"In your hand, you have a powerful instrument that can be used effectively and most responsibly"**
>
> —Steve Tshwete, Sport Minister

South African National Boxing Organisation president Mr Vernon Phakathi said that they saw no compelling reasons to grant the request, and argued that no further concessions be made to Sarfu.

A table tennis official said the meeting should not even entertain extending to November rugby's concession. He said granting rugby's request would cause further divisions that would take years to repair. Rugby, he said, had no option but to accept the *status quo*.

A Volleyball South Africa delegation also felt that granting the request would cause a lot of damage and urged the matter be closed with immediate effect.

Other anti-Springbok emblem delegates, who by far outnumbered those who spoke in support of Sarfu, included regions like Transkei, North Eastern Cape, Eastern Transvaal, North West and Border.

The arrival of Tshwete, who was the guest speaker, resulted in the premature halt of the debate, which would in all likelihood have resulted there and then in the scrapping of the emblem.

Only a diplomatic gesture by George, in apologising to the delegates for not affording some of them a chance to speak, ensured that the matter was carried over to November.

In the meantime, the Springbok emblem debate will continue to haunt, if not inadvertently divide, South African sport until its date with destiny in November.



Sport rescu

Parliament's new opportunists

Openness in government has led to the rise of a new group of parliamentary lobbyists, reports **Marion Edmunds**

THE new South Africa has given birth to a new breed of opportunists. They lurk in the corridors of power with files under their arms, monitor the parliamentary programme, sit diligently through long committee meetings, and take every opportunity to make new contacts. They are the new lobbyists and their agents, the parliamentary monitors, intent on catching the eyes and reaching the ears of decision-makers.

They represent a diverse group of organisations — the non-governmental sector, business, concerned citizens or groups who have taken certain issues to heart.

Full-time and part-time lobbyists are taking Parliament's commitment to "transparency" as far as they can. While most members of the public cannot afford to travel to Parliament to put their case, nor understand how to do it, the lobbyists are taking the floor at public hearings and engaging the politicians wherever possible.

All lobbyists and monitors interviewed agreed categorically that it is much easier to get into Parliament now than in the years of National Party rule, but many said they had encountered other problems.

Local government lobbyist Ashleigh Westaway, from the Surplus People's Project, said: "There is a core of parliamentarians who are honestly trying to make Parliament more accessible, and there are many people who are ready to listen, but to get a hearing and to actually influence policy are two different things."

Ultimately, it's not what you know, but who you know that counts. Precisely for this reason, many NGO lobbyists are in a good position because they have networks of personal contacts, made in apartheid days, that stretch right into the heart of Parliament and the Cabinet.

For example, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) managed through lobbying " well-placed contacts" in the president's office to reopen nominations for judges in the Land Claims Court, after the short-list had been finalised. Nadel wanted at least one woman judge; the short-list had included only men.

It could be argued that the lobby worked because the issue was an important one, but would somebody like women's activist Nina Romm have had the same success? Romm — a [illegible] for last year's elections — says she has given up lobbying on women's issues because she did it flat out for two-and-half years and has run out of money. "Give me funds and I'll lobby," she said. Funds and lobbying, it seems, go hand in hand.

Bastienne Klein, the co-ordinator of the Black Sash Advice Office, says that foreign funders like lobbying and would be prepared to pay NGOs to get lobbying in full swing.

Klein also believes that it is very important to "mobilise" around issues, to drive the point home. Lobbyists from all NGOs agree that the power of the lobby resides in the extent of the support that can be claimed. It is a numbers game.

A Nadel representative, Michelle Norton, says that mobilising support is a lobby tactic that has been taught to NGOs at Nadel workshops. She said that Nadel brought out an American civil rights lobbyist to South Africa to train members of NGOs to lobby effectively. They had discussed tactics such as the production of simple-to-read fact sheets, sit-ins and protest marches.

However, Norton said that Nadel preferred to call these activities "legislative advocacy".

"Many South Africans are uncomfortable with the idea of lobbying, but the visiting professor explained that it's not necessarily an underhand process like we see in *LA Law*, exerting unfair influence or passing money under the table."

The people with money to pass under the table are, of course, not in the NGO sector. They are more likely to be found in the business community. But even here, lobbying is taking on an air of respectability.

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) has a parliamentary information office run by a lobby veteran. Peter Duminy spent twenty years in the lobby business in Australia before coming to South Africa. He says he is not a lobbyist himself, rather a "post office" for information, which he feeds out to the specialists. They are responsible for the lobbying.

"What I have learnt from my time in Australia is that you insult a politician if you approach him or her without specialist knowledge — politicians don't want to meet public relations people, glad-handers. They want to get a point of view on a matter."

Another office working quietly behind the scenes is that of the Chamber of Mines, headed by Johan Liebenberg. He employs six full-time public policy analysts who monitor all the committees and inform parliamentarians about the mining industry. Liebenberg is satisfied with the way Parliament is being run:

"We are looking at a transparent system where it is possible for people who represent interests outside of Parliament to have access to the process."

The editor of *Cosmopolitan* and *Femina*, Jane Raphaely, has also thrown herself into lobbying in Parliament — on women's issues, human rights, and child welfare. "It is incumbent on editors of consumer magazines, if they care about their readers, to use contacts, influence and knowledge to lobby in Parliament," she said.

And how does Parliament respond to all this? Alf Karim, the director of Parliament's Public Education Department, has been brooding over plans to publicise Parliament for many months. These plans, he hopes, will make average South Africans feel more confident about coming forward to have their say on their own. But he has realised that the new, but still exclusive, Parliament does favour the rich, the resourced and the articulate, by virtue of its structure and the way it works. With that in mind, Karim has realised that Parliament will have to rely on the lobbyists and their organisations to get a sense of public opinion.

"The non-governmental sector is central to the survival of our democracy," he says from the heart of Parliament, with a hint of irony. The irony is compounded by the fact that lobbyists are not elected, but are either appointed or are volunteers. Yet they are the ones giving substance to South Africa's new democracy by articulating the link between the hundreds who have seats in Parliament and the millions who scratched anonymous crosses on the ballot papers of April 1994.



Lend us your ears: Ordinary people often have difficulty airing their views to Parliament

PHOTOGRAPH: ROGER BOSCH

Rules for the rulers

Marion Edmunds

THE ethics of lobbying is to be examined by a National Assembly committee which is working out a code of conduct for MPs.

The multiparty Ethics Committee this week put lobbying in Parliament on a long list of moral issues, all of which need to be explored, defined and possibly regulated.

The committee will be grappling with such questions as whether MPs should be obliged to disclose their financial interests, or employment outside of Parliament, and whether they should have to disclose gifts or pensions. Also under the spotlight are the public disclosure of assets, the ownership of property, directorships of companies, or associations with any particular interest group. And to what extent do outside interests clash with a parliamentarian's duty to represent the people? Is there such a thing as a free lunch?

The Ethics Committee is planning to start soul-searching in earnest next week, when senators join its ranks. Decisions taken will be fed into a draft document, which will be put to the public for comment.

Democratic Party MP Mike Ellis said that the committee was drawing particularly from the experience of the British Parliament.

DP swings into a new political era with its very own anthem

(304A)

DAVID BREIER
Political Staff

AAG 5/8/95

SOUTH Africa's liberation movements are known for their impressive mass singing at political rallies. Nationalists try to sing — usually with painful results. But white liberals have had the good sense not to sing at all — they can't.

But all that changes today when the liberal Democratic Party releases its own party song to be heard in public for the first time at the DP's federal congress in Muizenberg.

They may actually get it right as the party is becoming increasingly black — and as political organisers have long known, the blacker the audience, the better it sings.

The *Democratic Party Song 1995*, described as upbeat with African overtones and a catchy tune, has been recorded by a choir, soloists and a band featuring Afro instruments, to inspire DP congress delegates to sing along.

"After the first test run, I was humming it for a week," said DP federal chairwoman Dene Smuts.

"Toyi-toying is not our style," says Ms Smuts, dismissing the rhythmic jog accompanied by chants, long associated with black liberation movements, as "dance-and-demand — you dance and make demands irrespective of whether they are feasible".

"But we in the DP are an extremely spirited lot and this song will have the people on their feet, tapping their toes, because it captures the spirit of the party, the things we've always worked for and the spirit of South Africa at its best in the new era," she said.

Ms Smuts said the party would decide whether or not to adopt the song to inspire it for future mobilisation in elections.

"It's a combination of gooseflesh and gusto. There is lots of beautiful drumbeat — it's more upbeat than *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*," she enthused.

The song includes three verses and a chorus, with words by ad and PR agency man Chris Reader and music by local tunesmith Grant McLachlan.

The chorus includes lines such as:

South Africa our land
Where the drums still rumble and the lions roar
And the eagles fly and the spirits soar

As well as:

South Africa, we've shown the world
How friend and foe
Can all come together in one big rainbow.

The verses include lines like:

We must be firm, we must be strong,
And strive to achieve more,
With democratic values,
We'll succeed as none before.

NEW RECRUITS PARADED

DP in exuberant mood

CT 7/8/95 (304A)

THE Democratic Party rode a wave of optimism to the close of its congress yesterday. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

A SURPRISINGLY exuberant Democratic Party yesterday paraded a cross-section of new recruits from other parties and claimed it had reversed its election setbacks of last year.

Party leader Mr Tony Leon — who was re-elected at the federal congress — said in his concluding speech: "I believe this has been a very victorious congress for our renewal and election prospects."

Among the delegates were the former National Party secretary in Natal, Mr Neil Rossouw; a former NP city councillor in Durban, Mr Laurie Kaplan; the former Federal Party leader, Ms Frances Kendall; the former chairperson of an ANC branch in Soweto that has 17 000 members, Mr Bheki Ntanzi; and a former member of the PAC's national executive, Mr Victor Mayekiso.

Mr Leon said 26 of the 42 people nominated to the party's federal council from the floor of the congress were not white and six of the 10 elected were women.



RE-ELECTED: Democratic Party members applaud Mr Tony Leon after he was re-elected as leader of the DP at their annual congress held in Muizenberg over the weekend. ***PICTURE: ALAN TAYLOR***

"Don't let our enemies, opponents and so-called friends define us. We must define ourselves," he said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had accused the DP of being too aggressive, but it would continue being aggressive when it came to issues like Dr Allan Boesak's appointment to Geneva, Mrs Winnie Mandela's victims, the Shell House shootings and the multimillion-rand civil servants whose activities were never exposed.

"We will continue to do so because the foundation of this party is justice, between black and white, rich and poor.

"We will champion that again and again," Mr Leon said to loud applause.

● THE DP affirmed its "pro-choice" policy on abortion, averting a major debate in its ranks.

● It also advocated that the ownership of schools be vested in the schools themselves and that their controlling bodies be made up largely of pupils' parents.

Party to take 'local lead' from Britain's Liberals

(304A)

ARG 7/8/95

Political Correspondent

CAMPAIGN tactics used by the Liberal Democratic Party in the United Kingdom to win control of a significant slice of local government are to be emulated by the Democratic Party.

DP members assisted their Liberal-Democratic counterparts in UK elections earlier this year, to observe their example at close quarters.

Like the DP, the Liberal-Democrats have a meagre portion of parliamentary seats: no more than 18 out of 650 in the House of Commons, but they control a third of Britain's local councils.

DP senator James Selfe is optimistic his party can take a leaf from the Liberal-Democrat book.

The UK party has shared its skills with the DP, but at this stage the local party will not give away its game plan.

Mr Selfe, who is organising the party's local government campaign at national level, has just returned from a tour of four provinces during which he led training courses for prospective candidates for municipal elections.

Mr Selfe believes the key to local elections will be the individual merits of candidates, with politics playing a less central role.

In the Eastern Cape, where a broad front of candidates is to be deployed, some will stand as official DP candidates while other party members will be formally identified with the party.

Candidates are being prepared in regions which, Mr Selfe admits, are not traditional DP strongholds: the Northern Province, the Free State and Northern Cape.

In the Johannesburg metropolitan area, the DP is likely to contest at least 100 wards.

Countrwide, the party is expected to stand in about 17 000 wards.

Leon pledges DP's role to uphold justice

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Tony Leon has recommitted his party to its role as a plucky campaigner for classic liberal values.

Hitting back at criticism by African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa that the DP was too aggressive in its approach, Mr Leon said his party would continue to champion the cause of justice.

He cited last year's shootings outside the ANC headquarters at Shell House in Johannesburg as an example where his party would not tolerate a cover-up.

At the close yesterday of its annual federal congress, the party was betraying little of the apocalyptic do-or-die sentiment displayed after its poor showing in last year's elections.

At the congress, the DP adopted an "Agenda for a Better Country" (ABC) programme of action on crime, the economy, a future national constitution, affirmative action, housing, health and education.

The ABC will be the arsenal of DP alternatives to government policy and action, and a centrepiece of its local government election campaign.

Mr Leon urged party faithful not to allow the party to be defined by outsiders and critics.

The caricature of the DP as a 'cucumber sandwich-eating brigade" had to be shaken off.

The DP was a dedicated band of liberal pioneers drawn from a wide diversity of South



Tony Leon

Africans.

The federal council elected at the congress, and the motions which had been passed, had shown that the DP had transcended the past.

The party yesterday moved to repair damage done to its support by a motion at last year's federal congress binding party members to a pro-choice position on abortion.

The motion is acknowledged by party insiders to have alienated many life-long supporters of the DP and its predecessors.

A resolution passed yesterday, while binding public representatives to support pro-choice legislation, allows party members in their personal capacities to follow their conscience on the matter.

Mr Leon was re-elected unopposed as leader.

Chris April, deputy leader of the Western Cape region and senator William Mnisi of Gauteng were elected deputy leaders.

Dene Smuts was re-elected federal chairperson.

Discussion on capital held up

POLITICAL STAFF (304A)

DISCUSSION in a Constitutional Assembly theme committee on draft reports about South Africa's future seat of government was postponed yesterday until Monday, to enable the ANC to decide its position. CT 8/8/95

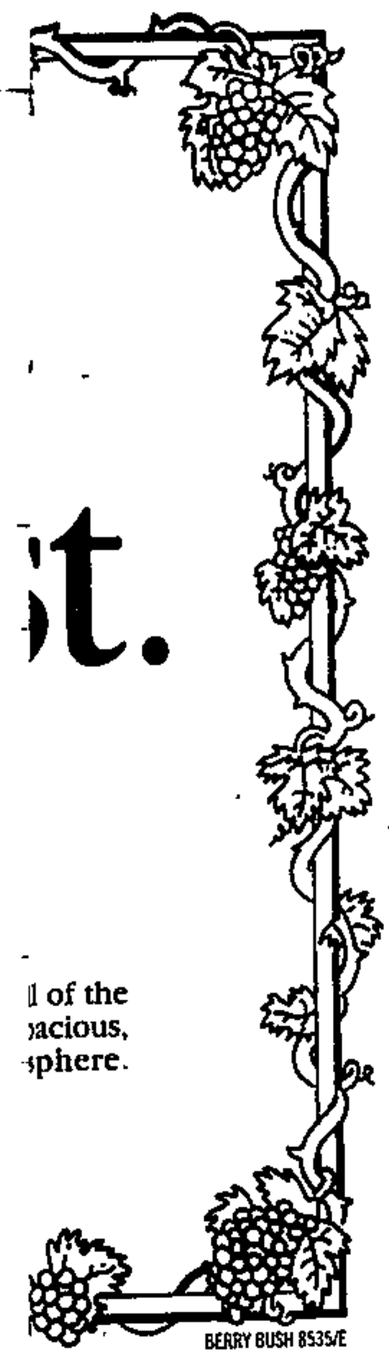
This follows the release last week of a controversial ANC document that claimed the organisation had decided SA needed one legislative and executive capital.

This was immediately rejected by other ANC representatives and its Western Cape leader, Mr Chris Nissen, said Gauteng-based MP Mr Moss Chikane had submitted the document without approval.

MP Mr Tony Yengeni called for the organisation to take disciplinary action against Mr Chikane.

outside Grahamstown last month, attended his memorial service in Yeoville, Johannesburg, yesterday.

Picture: NICKY DE BLOIS



st.

ll of the
acious,
sphere.

BERRY BUSH 8535/E

Bill overrides payment of traditional leaders

(304A)
(2254)

BD 8/8/95

ULUNDI — Chiefs in KwaZulu-Natal's House of Traditional Leaders yesterday accepted in principle a Bill that compromises central government's move to take from provincial governments the responsibility of paying traditional leaders.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the chiefs that the KwaZulu-Natal government also intended challenging the Traditional Leaders' Act in the Constitutional Court. The Act provides for payment of traditional leaders by the central government.

In his speech Buthelezi said that central government was "hell bent" on breaking essential ties between traditional leaders and their communities, thereby undermining the position of chiefs through legislation. KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose had been right in resisting the legislation.

Buthelezi said the province's Bill had been drafted so as not to preclude chiefs from obtaining remuneration due in terms of the Act.

In terms of the provincial Bill, money paid by central government to chiefs would be distributed through KwaZulu-Natal's traditional affairs MEC.

The legislation drafted by the province would prevail over the Traditional Leaders' Act, Buthelezi said.

"With this legislation the kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal is drawing a line stating that we have allowed things to go thus far but no further, and that we are committed to ensuring that any further breach of our autonomy and inalienable rights will be met with a response which will ensure that whatever actions the central government chooses to take, will be frustrated and rendered ineffective and impotent," he said. — Sapa.

New testimony

10 September 13:

ing the delegation unconsti-

Free State also wants seat of Parliament

(304A)

Sowetan 8/8/95

Vuyo Bavuma
Political Reporter

THE Free State has become the latest province to join the race of trying to win the seating of Parliament.

Yesterday Mr Piet Marais, chairman of theme committee on the character of the state, said Free State premier Patrick Lekota had asked to be given the opportunity to address the committee, on why Parliament should be moved to the province.

Submission being prepared

Marais added that Lekota said his province's submission was being prepared.

So far, the theme committee on character of the state has heard submissions from Midrand, Cape Town and Pretoria.

Meanwhile, *Sapa* reports that discussion of draft reports on South Africa's future seat of government, symbols, language and name, was postponed yesterday because the ANC needed more time to reach a decision within its ranks.

Democratic state

A meeting of the Constitutional Assembly's theme committee on the character of the democratic state, was delayed by half an hour to allow ANC members of the committee to caucus among themselves.

When it met at 9.30am, the ANC's N J Mahlangu asked for a further extension of time to allow his party to have "further in-house discussions".

This was agreed to by the other parties.

Discussion on the preamble and possible post-amble to South Africa's final constitution were similarly postponed.

Last Tuesday, the ANC tabled a submission that the country should have "one consolidated seat of Parliament and the executive".

Changed stance

This changed the ANC's stance, enunciated the day before, which had merely stated what methods should be used to arrive at a decision on the seat of government.

The tabling of the "one capital" proposal led to a flurry of denials within ANC ranks that this was the party's final position.

Last week the ANC also changed its stance overnight on the national anthem (or anthems) and the coat of arms.

Parliament Africanised

(304A) Sowetan 8/8/95

The South African Parliament is now accessible to its citizens and MPs today have more power than MPs had before the changeover in 1994

By Alexandra Zavis

WHEN the bell rang to signal another session of the apartheid-era Parliament, Mr Slammert Faviers used to head for the basement.

One of the first black workers at the stately Parliament complex 27 years ago, Faviers was banished underground, forbidden to speak to the dark-suited, white legislators.

Now Faviers, once a cleaner and now a supervisor and sometime messenger, chats with black and white lawmakers, many in African clothes and shifting with ease from English to Zulu, Afrikaans or Sesotho.

"Everything has changed," Faviers said. "The first thing that impressed me was to see the President (Nelson Mandela) walk into the Assembly. And he shook my hand. That was fantastic.'

The new atmosphere in Parliament reflects the changes in South Africa since last year's all-race election ended apartheid and brought Mandela's African National Congress to power.

A new legislature, dominated by blacks, has spent a year overhauling apartheid-era laws and creating a more open, accountable system.

The 400-member National Assembly and 90-member Senate are also rewriting the Constitution and drafting a Bill of Rights.

In the first two sessions of the new Parliament, 92 bills passed both chambers. Some took only a few minutes, but the 55-page Bill establishing a Truth Commission to investigate the nation's bloody past required more than a year.

Under the former white rulers, Parliament merely carried out Cabinet policy decisions and passed an average of 130 bills a year.

Now the process involves public consultation, with committee hearings and discussion forums throughout the country.

The committees have new powers to amend bills and discuss policy, formerly the exclusive domain of the Cabinet.

"In the past, members of Parliament were rubber stamps," said National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala, an ANC member.

"When we came in, we decided we were going to tip the balance in favour of the legislature."

Committee meetings are also open for the first time to journalists, who wander freely through Parliament's halls.

Once a sealed fortress, the 18th century brick buildings – with a statue of Queen Victoria at the entrance – have also been opened to the general public. Boisterous crowds often pack the public gallery where once only invited dignitaries sat.

The premises are used for book releases, conferences and holiday celebrations. School children are a common sight.

Demonstrations take place almost daily.



Dr Frene Ginwala ... MPs were rubber stamps under the NP Government.



President Nelson Mandela ... his leadership brought a new atmosphere to Parliament.

A few years ago, they would have been broken up by police with clubs and guns.

Parliament workers, formerly barred from joining trade unions, have even protested on the floor of the National Assembly for better pay. Only eight women sat in the old Parliament compared with 118 today. The legislature had to add women's restrooms on every floor and create a day-care centre.

But not everyone is pleased with the change. "In the old days, Parliament functioned like a well-oiled machine," said Mr Barend Geldenhuys, a legislator for the former ruling NP since 1979.

"I can't recall one day that Parliament did not start sharp on time. Since April 27 1994, I cannot recall one day that it did." He also complained about unruliness among spectators during debates and a recent spate of thefts.

Sport Minister Mr Steve Tshwete's car stereo was stolen from the heavily guarded parking area.

But Geldenhuys also noted a new credibility compared with the 46-year rule of the white-minority National Party, which could pass whatever laws it wanted.

"In the old days, there was a saying that a broomstick could be an NP candidate for Parliament and make it," he said. "Now, it is an achievement." – *Sapa-AP*.

Afrikaners 'still divided over volkstaat call'

(304A) CT 11/8/95

AFRIKAANS political and cultural groups are still divided over their demand for an Afrikaner volkstaat, says a Constitutional Assembly committee.

While the groups all agreed it was a fundamental right, they could not decide on its boundaries, its constitution or how it should be introduced, the theme committee on self-determination said in a report released yesterday.

The committee had received submissions from 68 individuals, the Afrikanerbond, the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (AFF), the Volkstaat Council, ANC, National Party, Pan-Africanist Congress and Conservative Party.

While the AFF, Volkstaat Council and the CP agreed on the need for a volkstaat they could not see eye-to-eye on issues of substance.

One of the biggest areas of disagreement was on what form self-determination should take.

The Afrikanerbond and NP supported cultural self-determination in contrast to the AFF, Volkstaat Council and the CP which wanted territorial self-determination, the report said.

The Volkstaat Council, however, said a volkstaat should form part of South Africa in a federal structure.

The AFF and the CP on the other hand said they wanted a sovereign, secessionist state outside South Africa's borders.

The PAC was the only party to oppose the principle of self-determination. The NP and ANC both agreed that negotiations on the issue should continue.

Among the 68 public submissions were suggestions that apartheid be re-introduced, that Zulu and Griqua volkstaats be established and "one said something about vehicle registration numbers". —Sapa.

SA's triumphant return to Africa

(504A) CT (PWR) 11/8/95

DIPLOMATIC VIEW



South Africa has chosen, wisely, to focus its foreign policy on its African neighbours

BY JEAN-JACQUES CORNISH

South Africa has wisely sought to make the heaviest imprint of its foreign policy footprint in Africa. This is not an immediate economic strategy. Any pay-off will have to come later. For the moment the decision is driven by political, moral and historic considerations.

These were graphically illustrated by South Africa's triumphant arrival at the Organisation of African Unity's summit in Tunis last year. President Nelson Mandela, universally accepted as one of that increasingly rare breed of statesman politicians, literally loomed over his fellow Africans.

South Africa could so easily have stormed in and taken on the big-brother role. Alfred Nzo, the foreign minister, criticised in some quarters for his low-key approach, demonstrated his intelligence by resisting this temptation. In this way the groundwork was laid for important work later on. There were other sensibilities to consider.

Zimbabwe, for example, had a real fear of being dwarfed by its newly-liberated, southern neighbour. One of the fears was that voracious South African businesses would swarm over Zimbabwe's awakening economy and swamp it. Zimbabwe's economy still has to be roused to see if that trepidation is justified.

Officially though, South Africa moved directly into playing its full part in converting the Southern African Development Community, the anti-apartheid pressure grouping, into a more significant watchdog and discussion forum for the region. Here we saw clearly how, because of its size, South Africa fundamentally changes the nature of any regional organisation it joins. While there is not a shadow of doubt about South Africa's regional leadership, the surprising element was how soon the country rose to continental prominence. Nigeria, the only other contender, is so beset with internal problems that it was either disinclined or unable to mount a challenge.

Thus South Africa was immediately pulled into the organisation's conflict resolution mechanism. Demands came from Africa and beyond for a physical commitment to peacekeeping operations in Africa. Thankfully, these were resisted as South Africa got down to the complex business of integrating its own defence force.

Miracle

However, it cannot be too long before South African National Defence Force members are involved in United Nations or other operations putting out fires on the world's most troubled continent.

This would be incumbent on us as Africa's new ray of hope. About 18 months ago most of the powers with the capacity and the foresight to get involved in foreign development projects had all but given up on Africa. The political miracle that brought democracy to South Africa caused them to reconsider.

Increasingly South Africa is being mentioned as the potential gateway for new efforts for Africa's upliftment. Among the more attractive aspects of this must, ultimately, be the money in the bank.

However, there is a considerable responsibility accompanying the role of redeemer.

By and large South Africa has displayed wisdom and leadership in its dealings with Africa. But there are oversights and errors that demand early attention.

The Maghreb is an immediate example that springs to mind. Africans, encouraged by South Africa's imprint on the continent, asked why we had done no more than dip a tentative toe into the Mediterranean.

At the moment we have offices in Morocco and Tunisia. This is not enough for a country recognised for its importance by European and other powers.

The countries ranged along the north African coast have put aside bilateral difficulties to form an economic and political negotiating bloc on the increasingly important Mediterranean rim and beyond.

South Africa has wisely avoided involvement in the fraught Western Sahara preoccupying Morocco. More experienced powers have failed dismally to make any headway on this issue.

We have forged important bonds of friendship and co-operation with Tunisia. However, it is time to develop commercial relations with this trading nation.

Algeria is possibly South Africa's most glaring blind spot in the region. The physical and economic characteristics of this country make it a natural partner. Like South Africa, Algeria has the potential of being a world player. Certainly it has everything it needs to make it one of the richest African states — oil and natural gas.

Civil strife has complicated things. Violence caused by Muslim fundamentalists seeking to wrest power from the military government has cost between 30 000 and 40 000 lives in the past three years.

A period of calm as the antagonists negotiated behind the scenes was shattered last month as the fundamentalists, lead by the Front for Islamic Salvation, pulled out of talks with the government and terrorism resumed.

Presence

However, consideration should be given to establishing some sort of token presence.

Algeria wasted no time setting up an embassy in South Africa after diplomatic relations were established last year. South Africa sent an official to scout out possibilities in Algiers. He apparently did not like what he saw.

This year a number of Algerian delegations have visited South Africa. However, there have been no reciprocal visits by South Africa.

This goes beyond a cautious approach to this troubled country. It looks suspiciously like offering them the frozen mitt.

South Africa should not only send people to look at what Algeria has to offer but also consider getting involved in observing the presidential elections promised in Algeria later this year.

NEWS

Cabinet 'greatest new SA success'

Star 11/8/95 (304A)

BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Cabinet ministers frequently break party ranks and join their opposition party colleagues in Cabinet debates, according to the NP's KwaZulu-Natal leader, Danie Schutte.

Speaking at a conference on Parliament organised jointly by the University of Stellenbosch and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Schutte said the multiparty Cabinet of the Government of National Unity has been the "greatest success story of the new dispensation".

"Discussions and decision-making within the Cabinet and the Cabinet committees are open and unrestrained. Quite often debate takes place across party lines with ANC and NP ministers on the one side differing with their party colleagues on the other.

"Debate in the present Cabinet is generally free and unrestrained, as it was also in the Cabinet of President F W de Klerk.

"This was not always the case with the Cabinet of president P W Botha," he said.

Although not in the multiparty Cabinet at the moment, Schutte was Minister of Home Affairs before last year's election.

He said the present Cabinet's success lay not so much in what it had been able to achieve but in what had been avoided by the presence of the three main parties.

Without the NP the Government would have had "a very rough ride economically and administratively" and there would have been "great instability" had the IFP not been present when issues like the king of the Zulus, international mediation and Shell House had been raised.

"At least they are there to represent their interests, to vent their frustration and to be heard. Had they not been there the only route open to them would have been the confrontational route."

Cabinet discussions were preceded by a lengthy process of consultation and were usually raised first in one of four Cabinet committees dealing with economic affairs, social and administrative affairs, security and intelligence and the RDP.

Schutte said the two deputy presidents chaired Cabinet meetings on an alternate basis and ensured that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was consulted on major issues.

VOLKSTAAT

Still trying

The destiny of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and Conservative Party (CP) seems tied to a wish and a prayer rather than realistic expectations, judging by their annual provincial congress held in Durban last weekend.

Even an advance poster campaign in the city's traditionally rightwing areas and the presence of CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg failed to attract the interest of more than about 60 people to hear his message of the *volk*'s right to self-determination.

Giving moral support, however, was guest speaker Frank Mdlalose, the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal and chairman of Inkatha, whose home town Newcastle is part of the targeted area for a promised land for the *boerevolk*.

Mdlalose never batted an eyelid at the old SA flag draped over the speaker's podium or the backdrop of the *vierkleur* when he addressed the sparse gathering on the merits of pluralism and federalism and attacked SA's "stillborn" concept of provincial competency as a mockery of the principle of devolution.

"The essential features of pluralism manifest themselves in self-governance of a people in a federal system which protects minorities, recognises the autonomy of civil society and respect for cultural diversity," said Mdlalose.

Asked whether this meant endorsement of self-determination for the *volk* in KwaZulu-Natal, he says that he supports the principle, but the issues of where and how must be debated.

That debate, when and if it happens, is likely to centre on Northern Natal where the AVF/CP believe they have an historical claim dating back to the old Utrecht Republic. AVF southern KwaZulu-Natal leader Johann Horn says the claim is supported by documents lodged in the Maritzburg deeds office, and stretches northwards in an arc from Ladysmith to the southern Gauteng border and east through Vryheid to the coast including Richards Bay.

This differs dramatically from the approach of Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front, whose deputy secretary Pieter Uys says possible volkstaat areas must be researched to prove feasibility. "The only possible autonomous area near this lies between Ermelostad, Vrede and Newcastle. We don't go further into KwaZulu-Natal than that. The AVF/CP appear to have taken a map of SA, identified chunks and said these are areas where the *boerevolk* will some day become independent."

While the weekend congress did not put a timetable on such independence, Horn stressed the importance of staking a claim to land soon, and it was decided to establish a trust to buy farms in sympathetic areas. The possibility of establishing satellite "cantons" in other sympathetic areas was also discussed. But the long-term target remains the "re-establishment" of its northern KwaZulu-Natal homeland.

Delegates were told of a complex series of events beginning with Voortrekker leader Piet Retief's murder by Dingaan in 1838, through various military and territorial treaties (including allocation of land as reward for recapturing stolen cattle for Zulu kings) with kings Mpanda and Dinizulu which saw the establishment of the old Republic, its incorporation into Paul Kruger's Transvaal Republic and its eventual incorporation into Natal in 1902 as a R7m portion of the Transvaal's war reparations debt.

The AVF/CP believe the incorporation was illegitimate because it was not part of the Treaty of Vereeniging signed at the end of the Anglo-Boer War.

Right or wrong it seems a dubious basis for establishing a *volkstaat*. Perhaps there's a slim chance via the Land Claims Court. ■

Parliament's Slammert leaves underground

ST(CM) 13/8/95 (304A)

By ALEXANDRA ZAVIS

WHEN the bell rang to signal another session of the apartheid-era parliament, Slammert Faviers used to head for the basement.

One of the first non-white workers at the stately parliament complex 27 years ago, Faviers was banished underground, forbidden to speak to the dark-suited, white legislators.

Now Faviers, once a cleaner and now a supervisor and sometime messenger, chats with black, white, Indian and coloured lawmakers, many in African clothes and shifting with ease from English to Zulu, Afrikaans or Sotho.

"Everything has changed," Faviers said. "The first thing that impressed me was to see the president walk into the assembly, and he shook my hand. That was fantastic."

A new legislature, dominated by blacks, has spent a year overhauling apartheid-era laws and creating a more open, accountable system. They also are rewriting the constitution and drafting a Bill of Rights.

In the first two sessions of the new parliament, 92 Bills passed both chambers. The 55-page Bill establishing a Truth Commission to investigate the nation's bloody past required more than a year.

Under the former white rulers, parliament merely carried out Cabinet policy decisions and passed an average of 130 bills a year. Now the process involves public consultation, with committee hearings and discussion forums throughout the country.

The committees have new powers to amend bills and discuss policy, formerly the exclusive domain of the cabinet.

"In the past, Members of Parliament were rubber stamps," said National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala, an ANC member.

Committee meetings also are open for the first time to journalists, who wander freely through parliament's halls.

Once a sealed fortress, the 18th century brick buildings with a statue of Queen Victoria at the entrance also have been opened to the general public.

Boisterous crowds often pack the public gallery where once only invited dignitaries sat. Demonstrations take place almost daily.

Only eight women sat in the old parliament, compared with 118 today.

Not everyone has been pleased with the change.

"In the old days, parliament functioned like a well-oiled machine," said Barend Geldenhuys, a legislator for the former ruling National Party since 1979. "I can't recall one day that parliament did not start sharp on time. Since the April 27,1994, I cannot recall one day that it did."

He also complained about unruliness among spectators during debates and a recent spate of thefts, including the theft of Sport Minister Steve Tshwete's car stereo from the heavily guarded parking area.

But Mr Geldenhuys also noted a new credibility compared with the 46-year NP rule.

"In the old days, there was a saying that a broomstick could be an NP candidate for parliament and make it," he said. "Now, it is an achievement." — Sapa-AP



CHANGES . . . Slammert Faviers outside parliament Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

Confusion in ANC delays decision on new watchdogs

ST 13/8/95

(3044)

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

ANC confusion over how to appoint important government watchdogs — such as the auditor general — has led the Constitutional Assembly to delay its decision on the matter.

The issue came to a head early this week when a theme committee charged with drafting clauses on the auditor general rebelled against the constitutional committee, which had rejected its proposals.

At the constitutional committee, which is supposed to negotiate differences emerging from theme committees, the ANC's Johnny de Lange and Kader Asmal dismissed the theme committee's suggestion that a two-thirds majority of Parliament should okay the appointment.

They said that the clause on the appointment of the auditor general, and similar clauses on the appointment of members of the Human Rights Commission and the Public Protector, should be held over until a common appointment procedure can be negotiated.

When news of the decision reached the theme committee early this week, several of its members, including the ANC's Gill Marcus, the DP's Ken Andrew and the NP's Piet Welgemoed spoke out against the decision.

So great was the looming crisis that Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy, Leon Wessels, attended a meeting of the theme committee later in the week to explain the constitution committee's decision.

Mr Ramaphosa conceded that there was a "weakness in co-ordination between the theme committee and the constitutional committee".

He has said that the ANC had yet to adopt a formal position on the appointment issue, but some of the organisation's constitutional negotiators are known to favour a stronger role for the executive in the process.

Mr Asmal last week told the constitutional committee the consensus approach to appointments would lead to parties trading candidates in a deal-making process that would not necessarily lead to the best persons being appointed.

One option being considered is the American model where the president appoints the attorney general, who is then subjected to a gruelling public hearing led by the legislature.

But Ms Marcus said she was worried about the seriousness with which the constitutional committee was taking the need for independent watchdogs. "I would want to be sure that we are strengthening their independence," she said.

The ANC's Rob Davies said the organisation would decide once it had viewed proposals on the appointment process being drafted by legal advisers.

In terms of the interim constitution, the appointment of the Public Protector and members of the Human Rights Commission has to be approved by a 75 percent majority by the National Assembly and the Senate. The auditor general has to be approved by a two-thirds majority.

A second controversy surrounded a rejection by the constitutional committee of a clause requiring the auditor general to have "specialised knowlege of or experience in auditing, state finances and public administration".

Ms Marcus said these qualifications were essential. "An auditor general who does not understand accounting should not be an auditor general," she said.

Deputy President F W de Klerk will this week again try to stamp his authority over a National Party struggling to recover from its loss of power, reports EDYTH BULBRING

FW tries to fix his unravelling party as the elections loom

(304A)

ST 13/8/95

NATIONAL PARTY leader F W de Klerk has called together the party's most senior members for a special meeting on Tuesday in an attempt to find solutions to the problems that have besieged his party over the past 15 months.

The meeting of the federal executive — the highest decision-making body in the NP after congress — for the second time in less than three weeks, is an indication of the severity of the party's crisis.

A senior member this week claimed that the meeting would be different to the several other NP gatherings which have attempted to deal with party divisions.

"There is a feeling of finality about this meeting. Things need to be sorted out ahead of the local government elections."

Tensions in the party reached boiling point last month after the Sunday Times published a story outlining the divisions and personal differences that had arisen in the NP since last year's elections.

In an attempt to calm the bitter public row that ensued, Mr de Klerk told the party's youth congress in Stellenbosch that he was fast losing sympathy with those who could not adapt to being constructive participants in a government of national unity and an opposition party at the same time.

He threatened strong measures against those who broke party discipline and used media leaks to malign colleagues and influence the direction of the party.

However, since the congress there has been a feeling in the party that strong speeches and threats from Mr de Klerk every few months would not be sufficient to hold the party together during an election campaign.

Tuesday's meeting precedes a two-day think-tank for the NP parliamentary caucus at the end of the month to strategise for the elections.

"If the federal executive is unable to come up with some solutions, the think-tank is just going to be another two days of agony and going over the same ground," an MP said this week.

"Let's hope also that F W's attempt to instil discipline doesn't result in a witch-hunt," he added.

NP executive director Fanus Schoeman said the federal executive meeting was an attempt to sharpen the party's ability to fight the elections and to "sort out perceived little things".

These "little things" were the allegations of tensions in the party which Mr de Klerk spoke of in Stellenbosch, and whether it was necessary to give more focus to an increased oppositional role for the party, Mr Schoeman said.

Since negotiating itself out of power while keeping a minority role in executive office, the NP has been unable to adapt to the contradictory role of being both in government and in opposition.

The spin-offs from this dilemma have been bitterness between party members, tension between backbenchers and the executive and suspicions between national and provincial levels.

Some party members, like ministers Roelf Meyer, Chris Fismer and Dawie de Villiers, lay greater emphasis — in the national interest — on playing a constructive role in government.

They talk of being "in competition with the ANC" — suggesting that they are less ideologically removed from the ANC than colleagues want.

Others in the party, most with no executive power and reduced to fighting over dwindling party jobs, want a greater emphasis on opposition politics. They are roughly divided into those — like Andre Fourie — who want to form an anti-ANC front with the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Front, and those who see the role of an opposition as being more than simply anti-ANC.

QUOTE: It was a nightmare. At the end we finally got Pik (Botha) to do his thing, but he didn't behave like he used to during the old election days

The elections will necessitate a shift in emphasis to a more stridently oppositional role which is likely to fit uncomfortably with those playing a constructive role in government.

A national election organiser recalled the difficulties the party experienced in trying to get NP negotiators — still in the throes of delicate talks — and other party heavyweights to fight the elections last year.

"In discussions, these senior NP members would say: 'Please don't do anything that might upset the ANC.' It was a nightmare. At the end we finally got Pik (Botha) to do his thing, but he didn't behave like he used to during the old election days."

The shift to "opposition mode" in local elections will strengthen the hand of those who argue that the party's survival after five years depends on it raising its profile as an effective opposition party.

The ANC has begun to make it very clear in the Constitutional Assembly that it will not tolerate entrenched power-sharing in a final constitution.

And President Nelson Mandela has shifted his attention from building reconciliation between parties to nation-building activities that reach out to non-ANC voters directly — his wearing of the Springbok jersey being the most memorable example.

"There is a realisation in the ANC that stability after five years will have less to do with enforced alliances between parties and more to do with the voluntary co-operation between people," a senior ANC member said this week.

The NP's approach to the drafting of the new constitution has not taken the end of enforced power-sharing into account. In its submissions to the Constitutional Assembly, the NP argues for a continuation of the government of national unity and its proposals on federalism are weak and unimaginative.

"It would be difficult for F W and Roelf to do a U-turn on this after all their public statements about how well power-sharing is working. We also keep on being promised by Roelf that the ANC will go for a government of national unity for another five years," a NP MP said this week.

These assurances are being treated with some scepticism among backbenchers. Nevertheless, the probability of majority rule appears not to have been considered by the NP in its contributions towards the writing of the new constitution.

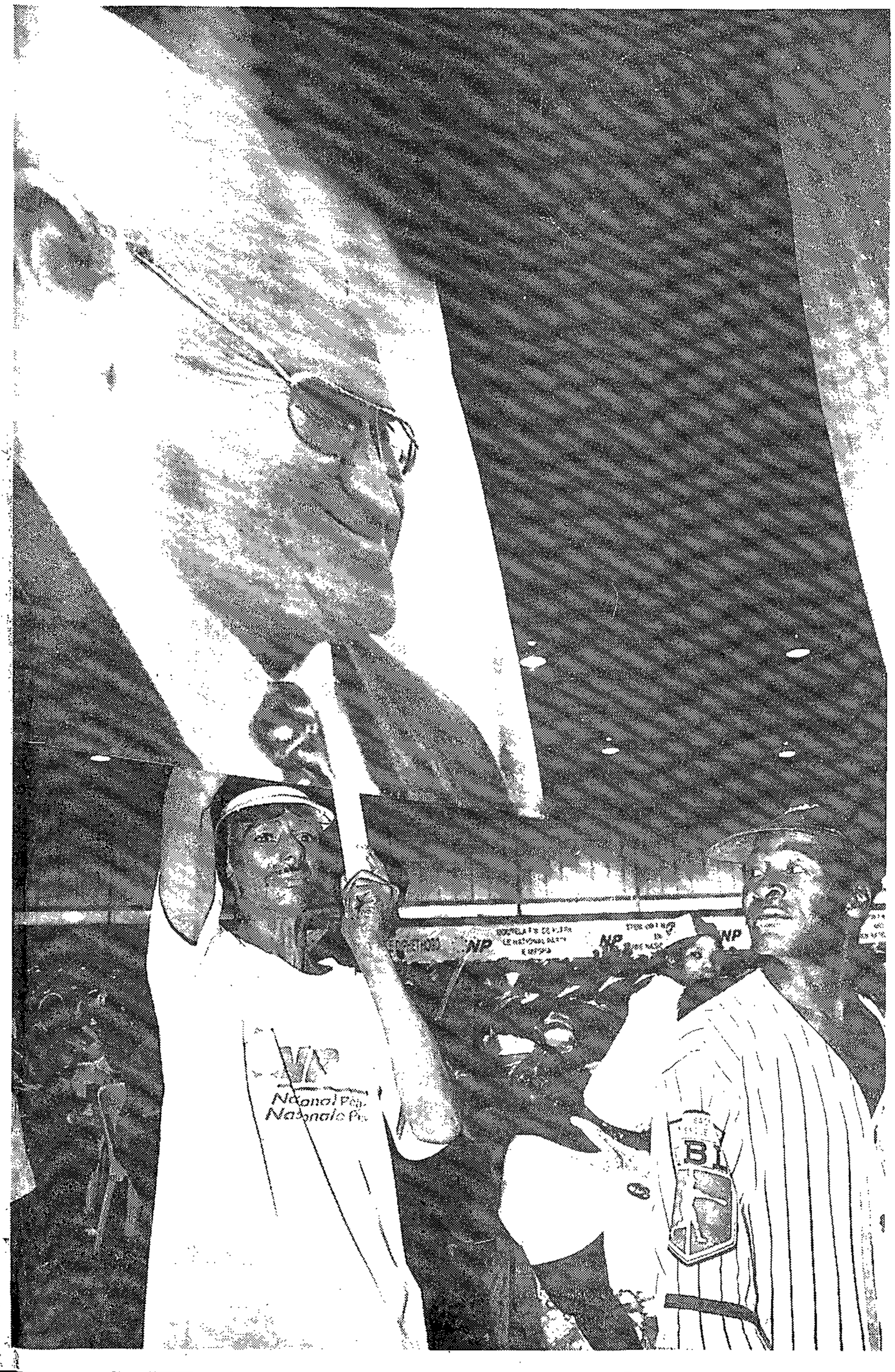
"If the NP wants to survive, it needs to wake up and realise that majority rule is coming. It should go for stronger federal powers and checks and balances at the centre," a constitutional lawyer said.

This approach was sacrificed during the writing of the interim constitution by the NP in its enthusiasm to secure five years' worth of office jobs.

Some pragmatists in the NP and the majority of the party in the Western Cape, where the NP is likely to remain in power, favour the strengthening of federal powers in the final constitution. This would give them the power to implement NP policy to a greater extent than is now possible.

In this way, they argue, they would be able to show up the rest of the country under ANC rule. And they would make the NP more attractive to voters in the rest of the country in future elections.

That's the theory. But first party leaders must meet on Tuesday and attempt — finally — to come up with some answers to prevent the party from falling apart during local government elections.



LARGER THAN LIFE ... a supporter holds up a poster of F W de Klerk — or 'pappa' as he is now known in the Western Cape — at an election rally last year. But NP MPs are getting restless as the party struggles to be both in opposition and in power

Bid to move fight to host Parliament from political arena

(Golfa) Star 14/8/95

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

As the battle to host Parliament hots up, Cape Town is making a concerted bid to remove the debate about its location from the political agenda.

Free State Premier Patrick "Terror" Lekota's decision to enter Bloemfontein in the race has pushed the tally of competitors to five, with Midrand and Nietgedacht having recently joined Pretoria and Cape Town in the bidding.

Pressure

The Constitutional Assembly has to rule on the issue before the final constitution is written. This is expected around the middle of next year.

Cape Town is pressurising President Mandela to remove the matter from the agenda as it is becoming a threat to national unity since it is reviving the historical North-South divides.

"The message we are sending to the president is that there is no purpose creating these divisions," said Cape Town's Citizens' Alliance for Parliament spokesman Kevin Kevanny.

But the debate has already caused some divisions, with most major parties' parliamentary caucuses split down the middle between a pro-Cape Town and pro-Pretoria lobby.

In the open

This division surfaced at the ANC's National Executive Committee meeting two weeks ago with Transport Minister Mac Maharaj crossing swords with ANC Chief Whip Arnold Stofile and Defence standing committee chairman Tony Yengeni.

Bid to move fight to host Parliament from political arena

(Gold) Star 14/8/95

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

As the battle to host Parliament hots up, Cape Town is making a concerted bid to remove the debate about its location from the political agenda.

Free State Premier Patrick "Terror" Lekota's decision to enter Bloemfontein in the race has pushed the tally of competitors to five, with Midrand and Nietgedacht having recently joined Pretoria and Cape Town in the bidding.

Pressure

The Constitutional Assembly has to rule on the issue before the final constitution is written. This is expected around the middle of next year.

Cape Town is pressurising President Mandela to remove the matter from the agenda as it is becoming a threat to national unity since it is reviving the historical North-South divides.

"The message we are sending to the president is that there is no purpose creating these divisions," said Cape Town's Citizens' Alliance for Parliament spokesman Kevin Kevanny.

But the debate has already caused some divisions, with most major parties' parliamentary caucuses split down the middle between a pro-Cape Town and pro-Pretoria lobby.

In the open

This division surfaced at the ANC's National Executive Committee meeting two weeks ago with Transport Minister Mac Maharaj crossing swords with ANC Chief Whip Arnold Stofile and Defence standing committee chairman Tony Yengeni.

'City is MPs' graveyard'

ET 15/8/95

POLITICAL STAFF

3049

BLOEMFONTEIN was strategically well placed to be South Africa's capital, Free State Premier Mr Patrick Lekota told a Constitutional Assembly theme committee yesterday.

It was far from neighbouring countries and had the protection of high mountains and the Karoo.

The Free State legislature has also called for Parliament to be moved to Bloemfontein.

It quotes from a 1952 parliamentary debate in which it was said many MPs died in Cape Town because they went from Sea Point to the hot atmosphere of Gardens, then back to Sea Point, where they contracted inflammation (of the lungs?) and ended in their graves.

ANC capital switch

THE ANC yesterday withdrew its controversial proposal that South Africa should have one legislative and executive capital.

The original submission said cost-effectiveness should be the only consideration in deciding on the future capital.

The ANC now proposes that any decision on the location of the capital or capitals should take cost-effectiveness and efficient government into account.

— Political Staff

Bloem wants to be capital

Adrian Hadland (3049)
BD 15/8/95

CAPE TOWN — Free State premier Patrick Lekota put the case yesterday for Bloemfontein to be adopted as SA's capital city under the new constitution.

This submission brings to four the number of cities vying for capital status following pitches earlier this year from Cape Town, Pretoria and Midrand.

Lekota told a Constitutional Assembly committee Bloemfontein had strong financial, strategic, historical and political reasons to be declared the new capital city and seat of the national Parliament.

Bloemfontein, or Mangaung, was the most centrally located city in SA and the least likely to be disrupted by political or any other turmoil, he said.

It was also the city where the ANC, the NP and the DP (then the Progressive Federal Party) were long-established.

Lekota said that Naval Hill, which overlooks the city of Bloemfontein, would be an ideal location for the country's new parliamentary complex.

A detailed submission on the financial aspects of the bid would be put to the Constitutional Assembly at a later stage, he said.

The committee agreed it would wait for this prior to deciding on the hearing of further oral evidence from the four contending cities.

They want to reach the people

(304A) Somedan 15/8/95

The new SACS is intent on taking the government to all the people

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

ONCE upon a time there was a country that called itself the Republic of South Africa, but which existed for only 48 years because it was unknown to its inhabitants.

When the National Party was at war with the liberation movement, one of its weapons was its propaganda machinery and the ruthless manipulation of information.

Blacks had no access to state information and were the targets of misinformation and propaganda. Whites, on the other hand, were made to believe statutory segregation was acceptable.

Through organs such as the Bureau of State Security, aptly acronymed BOSS because it received information from shadowy agencies such as the Bureau for Information and national intelligence juntas, apartheid exceeded even the wildest expectations of its proponents.

More acceptable

In the final years of NP rule, the Bureau for Information was renamed the South African Communication Services in an attempt to make it more acceptable – but it was still "his master's voice".

In 1994 Deputy President Thabo Mbeki took over the administration of the SACS and embarked on its "democratisation".

As a communications service, SACS's major thrust is to reach South Africans, even in the remotest of areas, through its publications and through liaison with various communities.

On the fourth floor of the Midtown Building at the SACS headquarters in Pretoria, its head Mr David Venter leads the "new struggle."

He is assisted by Mr Mandla Themba as publications director and Ms Tembeka Nkamba, chief director of media production, liaison and research. A highly skilled team, the trio's mammoth task is to assist in the transformation of central Government.

Venter, who does not hesitate to say he voted for a black-dominated party, admitted: "The apartheid ideology had designed a (public) service which would ensure the entrenchment of racial separation and white domination."

Themba, a typical Robben Island graduate, said he was aware of the legacy of the "apartheid" SACS, but he was part of a team that was poised to transform the service and "take the Government to the people".

Nkamba believes rural areas which were neglected in the past, are an important target for the dissemination of information.

With a wealth of fresh expertise, the new SACS believes it is ready to carry out the mandate of becoming representative and people-centred for the implementation of Government policies and programmes.

Venter's team is particularly pleased with the efforts of poor communities to uplift themselves. An example, he said, was the project coordinated by the Rural Women's Movement, which saw the establishment of the Rural Women's Movement Radio Station in Moutse.

'More radios than mattresses'

He beamed when he related how a determined group of women confirmed the belief that "there are more radio receivers than mattresses in South Africa". The Moutse women, he said, actually launched their community radio from the veranda of a shop.

The SACS regards community media as crucial instruments to effectively disseminate Government information. As such, the SACS should be seen as part of the broader changes taking place in the civil service.

Venter and his team agreed that in the apartheid era the civil service was characterised by a lack of legitimacy, white male domination, centralised control and authoritarian management.

Low productivity

There was also a rigid, vertical style of thinking focused on administering and entrenching apartheid ideology, a lack of accountability and transparency, inadequate and inappropriate training and low productivity, poor planning and a lack of management information, a poorly paid staff, lacking motivation, professionalism and a work ethic and adversarial labour relations.

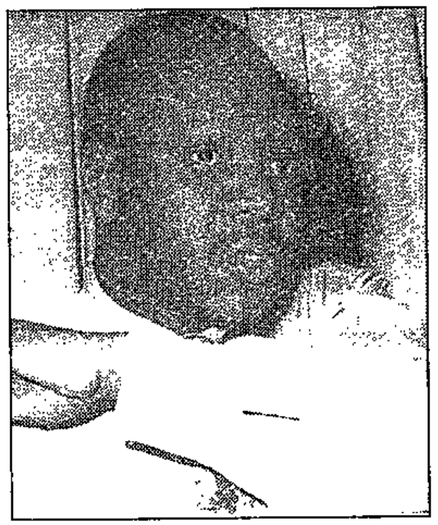
The new SACS team, however, has the necessary skills, vision and youth on its side to address these challenges effectively.

From August 25-27, a SACS-sponsored conference on new Government communication and media policy will be held near Cape Town. It will be addressed by Mbeki, leading media experts and journalists.

This will form the basis of a White Paper on communication to be in before Parliament next year.



David Venter...leads the SAC's "new struggle"



Mandla Themba ... poised to transform the SACS.



Tembeka Nkandla...give rural communities information.

PICS: JOE MOLEFE

PROFILES

● David Patrick Venter
Education: BEd and MA (Stellenbosch)
Experience: Registered counselling psychologist
Awarded runner-up prize as Communicator of the Year in 1994 by the Public Relations Institute of South Africa.
Head of SACS since December 1992.

● Mandla Themba
Education: Completed high school while serving five year sentence on Robben Island
BA – majors in sociology and international politics
Experience: Journalism – sports writer on *The World* and *Rand Daily Mail*. Former producer for British Broadcasting Corporation.

● Tembeka Nkamba
Education: MA in Film and Video Production (University of California in Los Angeles)
Experience: Rural development with special reference to literacy programmes and self-reliance schemes
Advancing children's and women's projects
South African Achiever 1993
Best Achiever Award 1990 (Dale Carnegie)
Founder of Media Women SABC

Bloemfontein won't fit the bill

CT 16/8/95

MOVING parliament to Bloemfontein would cost taxpayers R5 billion — and not R450 million as cited by the city in its presentation to the Constitutional Assembly. ~~2544~~ 3049

Noting this, the co-convener of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament, Mr Adrian Sayers, called on President Nelson Mandela to end the uncertainty about Parliament "which has opened a Pandora's box for any city to make a grab at the legislature".

MPs protest against inefficiency



PROTEST: Ms Gill Marcus: "MPs must be diligent."

IN a protest against government inefficiency, MPs yesterday refused to discuss a supplementary budget with ministers until supporting documentation was delivered.

Chief whips of the major parties agreed at a special meeting yesterday to postpone discussion of the R1,5 billion supplementary budget at least until today.

The National Assembly adjourned immediately after Finance Minister Mr Chris Liebenberg's three-minute introduction.

"I think it's a question of MPs paying due diligence to what they are doing and they are saying: What's it about, where's it going to," Finance Committee chairwoman Ms Gill Marcus said.

"Due notification for adequate planning and preparation was not given to the committee. Explanatory memoranda were not made available to the committee for its deliberations," the committee said in an official memorandum.

Two of the three ministries involved, Defence and National Intelligence, produced supporting documents yesterday, but too late for distribution to MPs.

Ms Marcus said the presentation, which traditionally includes an opportunity to put questions to ministers, would be completed today and the appropriation debate originally scheduled for today and tomorrow would be postponed until Tuesday.

The supplementary estimates include an additional R700 million for the Defence Ministry, taking the total budget for 1995/96 to R10,5 billion.

An additional R600m raised from the sale of strategic oil stocks is proposed for the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

The amounts were announced in Mr Liebenberg's March budget speech, but were decided upon too late for inclusion in the official documentation. — Reuter

(304A) CT 16/8/95

vate sector for management, specialist and administrative staff by the end of the year, says Fedsal general secretary Dannhauser van der Merwe.

Masterbond ruling

THE Cape Supreme Court has set aside the private prosecution of the Masterbond curators by legal consultant Lionel Reichenberg, who was acting on behalf of the Masterbond Victims' Association.

Abortion error

YESTERDAY's Comment erroneously stated that it had been recommended by a parliamentary committee that abortions be procurable until the 28th week of pregnancy. It should have referred to the 24th week. The error is regretted.

REPORTS: Business Day Reporters, Sapa.

Double taxation agreements signed

BD 16/8/95 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Double taxation agreements with a total of 47 countries had either been finalised or were still being negotiated, Commissioner of Inland Revenue Trevor van Heerden said yesterday.

Van Heerden told the parliamentary finance committee that nine agreements had already been agreed and 15 others were close to being signed. Double taxation agreements aimed to prevent the taxation of a company in both its country of origin and the country in which it operated.

He said SA already had agreements with several southern African countries and with Germany, Britain, Switzerland and the Netherlands.

Parliament would be asked to ratify agreements with nine other countries, including all the Scandinavian countries, several in eastern Europe and both France and Belgium.

The Mauritian government had asked for the renegotiation of its agreement. The Republic of China agreement was in abeyance because of uncertainty about SA's diplomatic relations with China.

Agreements with other trading partners, especially Japan and the US, were either about to be signed or negotiations opened.

Van Heerden said SA had been generally well received in the negotiations, although they were often driven by the business communities in the countries concerned which lobbied their government to achieve the best possible tax dispensation, he said.

SA, Iran sign wide-ranging protocol

BD 16/8/95 (304A)

Adrian Hadland

CAPE TOWN — SA and Iran firmed up economic and diplomatic relations yesterday, despite US calls for a trade embargo against the Islamic republic.

The signing of a wide-ranging joint protocol on co-operation, together with the imminent finalisation of an agreement allowing Iran to store 15-million barrels of crude oil at Saldanha, marked a further defeat for US foreign policy, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati said.

"This is not the first time the US has been against our co-operation with other countries," Velayati said.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said the US had not placed any formal pressure on SA to pull out of the agreement with Iran.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pik Botha said the oil storage agreement could be signed within two weeks, Reuter reports. "There's a trade-profit benefit for SA of at least R50m (a year)," said Botha.

Velayati said SA's refineries were compatible with Iranian oil and the Saldanha storage facilities would be used to route crude supplies to neighbouring African countries.

As SA was Iran's gateway to Africa, so the co-operation agreement would allow SA access to central Asia including Russia, Velayati said.

Strategic Fuel Fund GM Kobus van Zyl said the 15-million barrels of Iranian crude to be stored at Saldanha represented a third of the facility's 45-million barrel storage capacity.

If the oil was stored permanently, it would be possible to decrease SA's strategic oil stock to the value of R1bn, he said.

Velyati, who arrived in SA yesterday for a three day visit, said only Israel had heeded the US call for a trade embargo. "They have to learn not to determine the internal affairs of other countries".

Nzo said SA had recently established a full embassy in Iran.

A body would be created further to entrench and expand bilateral relations between the two countries, he said.

Issues which gave rise to the US embargo, including allegations of human rights abuses, Iran's nuclear programme and its support for international terrorism, had been discussed with the Iranian delegation prior to the signing of the agreement, Nzo said.

AND YOU
THOUGHT

Bid to put chiefs on Govt payroll hits snag

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — President Nelson Mandela's move to put traditional leaders on the Government's payroll has struck a legal obstacle and may have to go back to Parliament.

The IFP, reacting to the surprise development yesterday, said Constitutional Development, Provincial Affairs and Local Government Minister Roelf Meyer had embarrassed Mandela and the Government by tabling a Bill that was patently unconstitutional.

Mandela's legal adviser, Fink Haysom, conceded yesterday that the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill was encountering legal difficulties.

He said a provision of the constitution calling for legislation on traditional authorities to be referred to a Council of Traditional Leaders had not been adhered to.

Star 16/8/95

The council has not yet been established.

Mandela's lawyers must now decide whether to go ahead with the Bill and risk a probable Constitutional Court challenge or whether to defer the Bill until the council comes into being. Mandela would make a decision within the next few weeks, Haysom said.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Cape Town last night the IFP intended taking the Government to court "because it has passed a law on the remuneration of traditional leaders without first receiving the constitutionally mandated opinion of the Council of Traditional Leaders as the constitution prescribes".

Mandela last week told a Women's Day rally in the Northern Province that the Bill would be re ferred back to Parliament.

The Bill was raced through the last session of Parliament.

(3049)

The IFP in KwaZulu-Natal has tabled legislation forbidding local chiefs from accepting Government pay.

Deputy Speaker Bhadra Ranchod, replying to a point of order by IFP MP Koos van der Merwe, said he could not interpret the constitution on the issue and that the debate should go ahead. The Bill was passed.

Van der Merwe said yesterday the Bill was an embarrassment to the Government.

Delay despite Bills mountain

Cape Town — Just 15 minutes after Parliament resumed sitting from a month-long recess, it adjourned yesterday because of delays in distributing explanatory documents to MPs due to debate the R1,5-billion supplementary budget.

The abrupt ending of the first sitting fuelled speculation Parliament would have to return in November after the local government elections.

This year's final session is set to end on September 15, but finance committee chairman Gill Marcus indicated Parliament might have to sit again after the local government poll to deal with outstanding legislation.

At least 10 measures, including deregulation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, have to be processed by her committee.

Marcus and other finance committee members indicated on Monday they would not attempt to rush legislation through.

Justice committee head Johnny de Lange said last week it would have to deal with "literally tons" of Bills, including measures to help combat crime, emergency powers revisions, and the right of attorneys to appear before the Supreme Court.

The land affairs committee has several major Bills to deal with; the safety and security committee will consider the South African Police Services Bill to complete the reintegration of the former homelands' police services; and the Education Ministry plans to table the National Education Policy Bill.

In his introduction of the estimate, Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg's "I'm a little confused on how the debate will proceed or not proceed" was met with a NP backbencher's comment of "All of us are!"

Earlier, MPs were told by their party whips that the budget debate would be postponed until next Tuesday and Wednesday because of administrative delays in distributing explanatory documents. The estimates debate will take place next Wednesday.

Speaker Frene Ginwala adjourned the House after Liebenberg's five-minute introduction. — Sapa.

Public servants could fight new 'glasnost' Bill

(304A) (~~213~~)

CAPE TOWN — SA's public servants were likely to "fight" new laws which would give the public greater access to government documents through SA's Open Democracy Bill, the house communications committee heard yesterday.

BD 17/8/95

This had been so with public servants in other countries where similar freedom of information laws had been enacted, Canadian information expert Thomas Riley told the committee.

"The law will go through a difficult process. Public servants will fight it before a culture of releasing documents is established," he said.

The Bill was a "step up" on the US Freedom of Information Act, said Riley, who helped to draw up a code on access to government information for the Hong Kong government in 1994.

The Bill detailed the administrative steps to be followed to assist members of the public, even illiterates who wanted information.

When the Bill was passed SA would become the 15th country in the world to have freedom of information laws, Riley said.

While the Bill correctly restricted public access to certain types of government information, Riley said he knew of no instance where information released had harmed government.

"It might have embarrassed the government but never harmed it. Of course, though, there is no such thing as total openness. Government cannot operate in a fishbowl. There must be a certain amount of secrecy."

In 1992, of the 521 000 requests made to the US government for information only 4% of the requests had been turned down.

While the cost of implementing freedom of information laws was low — in Canada the federal government spent only a few million dollars annually — the legislation would help democratise government institutions. — Sapa.

Pension problems revealed

(3[illegible]) (304A)

Cape Town — The Government did not know exactly how many MPs who served in Parliament and TBVC legislatures before April 1994 were receiving pensions, Deputy Finance Minister Alec Erwin said yesterday.

"We are having some difficulty ascertaining from certain of the former TBVC territories who got a pension," the deputy minister added.

—Sapa.

Star 17/8/95

Several councillors defect to FF

Star 17/8/95 (304A)

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA

A shake-up in Afrikaner politics seems imminent after several Conservative Party councillors defected to the Freedom Front early this week.

The eight men, all councillors in West Rand transitional local councils, were also joined by three National Party councillors from traditionally right-wing wards.

Freedom Front spokesman Colonel Flip Uys said yesterday that more defections from these parties were possible in the run-up to the November local government elections. He attributed the floor-crossing to work FF leader Constand Viljoen had done in convincing Afrikaners.

"People realise the CP has no future and people are disenchanted with the NP," he said.

He said much of the disenchantment with the NP and the CP was a result of Viljoen's and other senior FF leaders' visit to chambers of commerce as well as other influential Afrikaans bodies.

But NP Gauteng spokesman Daryl Swanepoel described the defection as opportunism by people who "are unsure of retaining their seats".

He said there might be a trickle of defections across the political spectrum as the elections drew nearer.

De Klerk slams backbiting in NP

BD 18/8/95 (304A)

Tim Cohen and Farouk Chothia

CAPE TOWN — Deputy President and NP leader FW de Klerk yesterday took a firm line on "backbiting" in his party on its role in the government of national unity, demanding "discipline" from members.

He recommitted the party to participation in the government, saying the NP viewed its oppositional role as being just as important as its participation in the executive. De Klerk was speaking after the NP's caucus meeting yesterday, which followed a federal executive meeting on Tuesday at which disputes between members were discussed.

Not one of the 18 members who participated in the debate yesterday had differed fundamentally from his exposition, to which all caucus members had formally committed themselves at the end of the meeting.

He denied that the caucus meeting was a "band-aid discussion", saying he was "sick and tired of backbiting and little internal disputes being allowed to develop into bigger disputes harming the interests and team spirit of the party".

Asked what disciplinary measures were discussed with caucus members, De Klerk said the discussion was constructive. "I cracked the whip but not to make wounds that bleed," he said.

The perception that the NP had to choose between being "opposition" or "competitor" was based on a false premise because the NP had decided from the start that "the NP is, and wants to be, both". There were "deep-rooted and fundamental differences between the NP and the ANC, De Klerk said, refuting the perception that the only differences between the parties were on abortion and the death penalty.

De Klerk said the party rejected the "neo-racism" of the ANC, which would dump SA once again into the misery of a new form of racial discrimination.

De Klerk said he was surprised that it was considered a "crisis" when NP members differed, but it was not when ANC members differed with the policy espoused by the party's leaders.

He left the discussion for Natal, where he will hold talks with Natal NP leaders, denying reports that there were differences between national and provincial NP leaders and leaders in that province on the staggering of local government elections.

But NP KwaZulu-Natal caucus chairman Tino Volker said he had not discussed the postponement with NP ministers in the national government, because local government was a provincial competence. He called for a postponement for the province until March 15 or March 29 next year.

MPs must disclose their financial interests

(304A & 359) BD 18/8/95

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Members of the National Assembly and Senate are going to have to disclose their financial interests and those of their dependent children.

This has been agreed by the joint ethics subcommittee — but it has yet to be decided which items on a proposed asset register will be in the public domain and which will not be disclosed to the public.

Committee chairman Kader Asmal also proposed that senators and MPs should also have to disclose the financial interests of spouses.

Parliamentary Speaker Frene Ginwala said "the whole family unit" should be covered.

A decision on what financial interests will have to be disclosed publicly, and whether spouses will fall within the net, would be taken at the committee's next meeting on Tuesday.

Inside Parliament: The onerous committee system, the code of ethics ... and the ushers

Musical chairs of parliamentary committees

WM 18-24/8/95 (304A)

Parliamentary whip

By special arrangement, we feature extracts from Parliamentary Whip, the publication of Idasa's Parliamentary Information and Monitoring Service (Pims), the most comprehensive Parliament-watching team

MPs are seriously overstretched by the committee system, with some sitting on more than a dozen of these bodies.

An investigation by Parliamentary Whip shows that under the new parliamentary-committee system, MPs in parties such as the DP and the ACDP are seriously overstretched by the need to be represented on each parliamentary committee.

This applies also to some MPs in the larger parties such as the ANC and NP, some of whom are members of as many as seven committees.

These figures raise serious questions about the capacity of MPs to develop the expertise and specialism necessary to realise the full potential of the evolving parliamentary-committee system. It supports those who now argue for a reduction in the number of full parliamentary committees.

Parliamentary committees — including joint standing committees, select committees and ad hoc commitees — have undergone a radical change. Not only have they increased dramatically in number — from about 25 to 61 committees — but they have also assumed relatively meaningful powers in regard to matters relating to the development of public policy and the drafting of legislation.

Also, the unevenness of workload within certain parties suggests that party managers are tending to push for hard-working and effective MPs to be members of as many committees as possible.

ANC:	No of committees
Ms P Govender	7
Mr P Dexter	5
Mr S Macozoma	4
Mr SP Makwetla	3
Lieut G Rockman	2
NP:	**No of committees**
Ms S Camerer	9
Mr NJ Gogotya	7
Col NG Ramaremisa	4
Dr PJ Steenkamp	3
IFP:	**No of committees**
Ms L Singh	14
Dr DRB Madide	7
Freedom Front:	**No of committees**
Mr J Chiole	10
DP:	**No of committees**
Sen W Mnisi	12
PAC:	**No of committees**
Ms P De Lille	15
ACDP:	**No of committees**
Mr LM Green	13



Patricia de Lille of the PAC sits on the most committees — 15 in all

(304A)

The rule of the whip

(304A)

ST 20/8/95

The National Party was this week ordered to embrace the trinity writes EDYTH BULBRING

LIKE an angry parent grown weary of his children bickering and spitting in front of the neighbours, F W de Klerk told his party this week: "Stop. That's enough now."

"There was straight talk, especially from me, on a lack of discipline, on irresponsible and faceless statements to the media, on allowing personal likes or dislikes to interfere with the effectiveness and team spirit of the party," Mr de Klerk said after a meeting of the party caucus on Thursday.

The NP leader said the same kind of things to his party last year and then again in February as he tried to instil the kind of discipline that held the party together during 45 years of government.

After each crack of the whip Mr de Klerk would state confidently that things had been settled in his party for once and for all.

But, as the months went by, it would once again become apparent that the same old problems had returned with stronger intensity to haunt the unhappy party.

This time, following a crisis federal executive meeting and "frank and constructive discussion" at a caucus meeting, Mr de Klerk said that there would be no more debate on the party's role.

"The agonising about our role is over," he said.

The schizophrenic party, which over the past several months has been ripped apart as members waged battle in an attempt to secure personal advancement or dictate the direction of the party, agreed at this week's meeting to a "trinity" interpretation of its role in the government of national unity.

It decided that, when it agreed with positions in the government, it would cooperate fully; when it differed on the emphasis or the way policy was executed, it would compete with its partners in government.

But, when it disagreed, it would "fiercely oppose" its partners in government.

Mr de Klerk said all caucus members had agreed to be bound by this approach and all members — from the most junior to the most senior — were required to play all these roles.

This method for operating in changed circumstances, notwithstanding some subtle tweaking, is not very new. But the caucus was obviously overwhelmed by the slick presentations of those who spoke in support of the trilogy, rewarding two of the speeches with standing ovations.

Away from the caucus, however, NP members are going to wish they had the charmed words of the high priests when, for example, they try to explain to a party farmer from Worcester why he should not voice his unhappiness about a cabinet decision — enforced by the Environment Minister, Dawie de Villiers — to overrule the Western Cape premier and approve a toxic waste factory next to his garlic farm.

The executive director of the National Party, Fanus Schoeman, said this week that the difference this time round compared with all the other times that the NP has sat down to some agonising soul-searching was that Mr de Klerk was very adamant that he was fed up with the problems some members were having adapting to the party's changed circumstances.

He said the party was not going to pretend that there would be no tensions between its party members at provincial and national level or between the executive members and the backbenchers, but differences would be handled differently from now on.

"It is not what we are going to do, but how we are going to do it . . . it is not a question as to whether we differ in the party, it is how we differ," he said.

Members would take their grievances to the appropriate structures and discuss them in a mature manner. They would not discuss them in the open or start vendettas, he said.

If members were found speaking out of court, they would be disciplined.

Mr de Klerk said this week that punishments would range from reprimands to expulsions.

"I didn't have the approach of driving anybody out," he said. "But I really laid it on the line that I am sick and tired of back-biting and little internal disputes being allowed to harm the interests of the party and the team spirit of the party."

Mr de Klerk said that he had "cracked the whip — but not to cause wounds or draw blood".

NP members will be aware, however, that Mr de Klerk has the power to draw blood should he wish to do so.

In terms of the constitution, any MP Mr de Klerk decides to expel from the NP for flouting his instructions would also lose his seat in Parliament.

For now, it appears that the party has heard and taken note of its leader's displeasure.

F W de Klerk says he is sick and tired of undisciplined and bickering members



Making corruption as hard as possible

304A WM 18-24/8/95

THE Parliamentary Ethics Sub-committee, chaired by Cabinet Minister Kader Asmal, is now meeting on a weekly basis in an attempt to draft a code of ethics that will govern MPs' outside financial interests and their duty to disclose such interests publicly.

Asmal has secured the agreement of the Senate on a consolidated approach to the matter.

Senators representing all political parties will join the sub-committee at future meetings with a view to recommending rules that will apply to both the National Assembly and the Senate.

The Joint Sub-committee on Code of Ethics/Conduct — as it will be called from now on — must still report, however, to the respective Rules Committees of the two Houses. This means that it is still possible that two codes could result, rather than the single consolidated code that Asmal hopes to achieve.

But the fact that there will be joint contributions from the Senate and the National Assembly at this important formative stage of the code will speed up the process.

As the debate gathers pace, the sub-committee's attention has moved directly to consider the complex issue of disclosure of financial outside interests of parliamentarians. The sub-committee has agreed that the question of whether Parliament should be considered as a full-time vocation should be left to the individual political parties to give guidance on.

Key African National Congress players hope to persuade the party to adopt an internal rule prohibiting ANC MPs and Senators from having second jobs.

In this way, according to senior ANC sources, the party hopes to wrest the moral high ground from the other political parties by demonstrating to the public that it alone is devoted to representing the electorate on a full-time basis.

At its meeting on August 1, the sub-committee identified a list of possible categories of financial interests where disclosure may be appropriate. As it began to work its way through the list at the next meeting, a week later, important differences in approach emerged. On the question of income, for example, the Democratic Party's representative on the sub-committee, Douglas Gibson, said: "It is none of the public's business to know if I am a millionaire."

Inkatha Freedom Party representative Johan van der Merwe added that "if the object of the exercise of disclosing income is to prevent corruption it will not work, because if I am going to accept a bribe I will do so in a way that will not show up anywhere."

Asmal retorted: "But we are trying to create as many difficulties for people as possible".

He referred to the practice in most Scandinavian countries where income tax returns are publicly available.

"That way if there is a large-scale increase in income, and I have only my parliamentary salary to live on, people will be able to see that something is wrong," he said.

The Speaker of the National Assembly, Frene Ginwala, who sits on the sub-committee as an ex-officio member, favours total disclosure of all financial interests and assets. Referring to the United Kingdom's Register of Members' Interests, which provides for the disclosure of any pecuniary interest which "might reasonably be thought by others to influence his or her actions, speeches or votes in Parliament, or actions taken in his or her capacity as a member of Parliament", Ginwala stated that this was a "very narrow" definition.

"It is not for us to say what is reasonable," she argued. "The interim Constitution requires open and transparent government, which is much broader. Almost any (financial interest or asset) may possibly influence your view".

The sub-committee is keen to look at the rules that exist in other countries — although Asmal has made it clear that it is for the sub-committee to construct a uniquely South African code. It now has before it a review of the disclosure rules around the world prepared for the UK parliament.

This document was prepared in 1986, however, and as a second report — prepared for the sub-committee by Idasa's Parliamentary Information and Monitoring Service (Pims) — shows, many more countries have adopted more stringent ethical rules in the nine years that have passed since then.

Possible categories of financial interest for disclosure being considered by the sub-committee:

- Shareholdings, including nominee shareholdings;
- Outside employment (and possible incompatible occupations);
- Directorships;
- Clients for whom services are provided/lobbying/retainers;
- Consultancies;
- Sponsorships or financial or material support (which would include agencies financing support staff)
- Gifts, benefits and hospitality;
- Overseas visits, and grounds for exempting such visits from register;
- Overseas benefits and gifts;
- Land and Property, including interest in land and own residence.

Other issues for discussion identified by the sub-committee:

- Regulation by legislation or Parliamentary Rules; and method of enforcement of disclosure;
- Date of initial registration of member's financial interests, updating of register and period of registration;
- Who specifically should be included in the disclosure requirements: members; their spouses and children; ministers; presiding officers; chairpersons of committees; senior officials; provincial legislatures; chairpersons and directors of parastatals (it was noted that persons outside of Parliament could only be included if the proposed code of conduct was established by legislation);
- Should the disclosures be private or in the public domain?
- Administration of a proposed register of members' interests;
- Possible sanctions for non-disclosure;
- If fixed assets are to be disclosed, is the value of such assets also to be disclosed?

Pims is to hold a small workshop in the next few weeks, with a view to drafting a charter on parliamentary and political ethics. If you would be interested in participating, phone (021) 418-3464 or fax (021) 25-1042.

SA claims tract of southern seas

304A

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ET 21/8/96

JOHANNESBURG: South Africa intends to claim a huge area of the southern oceans as part of its sovereign territory, under the UN-backed Law of the Sea convention.

Commodore Neil Guy, of the hydrographic office of the SA Navy, said the SA claim included territorial, contiguous, and exclusive economic zones, with a future claim being lodged to the continental shelf.

Territorial waters extend 12 nautical miles from the coast, the contiguous zone is double that, and the exclusive fishing zone or economic zone extends for a further 200 nautical miles. Another 100 nautical miles are now being claimed, to include the continental shelf.

The claim forms a huge arc of the Atlantic and Indian oceans, stretching 340 nautical miles from the coast.

Cmdre Guy said that in territorial waters SA had total sovereignty but must allow "innocent passage" (shipping).

In the contiguous zone, SA could enforce legislation, and in the exclusive economic zone and on the continental shelf, it could "explore, exploit and protect its resources".

14. MAIZE

The annual subsidy paid to the Maize Board for handling and storage costs was phased out and suspended during 1991. The single-channel fixed price marketing system was abolished on 30 April 1995 under the new Maize Marketing Scheme. The Board does not control the domestic marketing of maize but operates a separate pool for surplus maize.

15. MARGARINE

Import control on margarine was revoked.

16. MEAT

Restrictive registration of abattoir agents, butchers, general dealers, meat processors, hides and skins dealers as well as importers was abolished. Quantitative import control was lifted. Tariffs were implemented. The prohibition establishing controlled areas was repealed, marking the freer movement of meat throughout the RSA, subject to hygiene requirements, possible. Control over meat products was scrapped.

17. MOHAIR

The single-channel pool system was replaced in September 1994 with a surplus removal system (floor prices).

18. OILSEEDS

Control over the exportation of vegetable oils was abolished. The marketing of groundnuts no longer takes place through a single-channel pool system, but by way of a surplus removal system with voluntary pools.

19. POTATOES

Export control on potatoes has been abolished. The Potato Scheme was abolished on 31 December 1993. The Potato Board was also disbanded on 31 December 1993.

20. ROOIBOS TEA

Export control over rooibos tea was abolished. Restrictive registration of traders was also abolished. The Scheme was revoked on 30 September 1993 and the Board disbanded.

21. TOBACCO

Export payments by the Board ceased during 1993.

22. WHEAT

Restrictive registration of millers and bakers was abolished. Payment of subsidies on standard bread was suspended. Price determination on flour and standard bread was abolished.

23. WOOL

The single-channel pool marketing system was abolished and a new Wool Scheme implemented on 16 July 1993. In terms of the new Scheme producers market their wool in a free-market environment. The agreement between the Wool Board and BKB, as sole agent, for the marketing of wool was also discontinued. The functions of the Board are currently restricted to product development, quality control, market development, advertising and upkeep of an information system for the industry.

For written reply:

Salaries of traditional leaders: criteria

116. Sen E K MOORCROFT asked the Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development:

(1) (a) What specific criteria are used to determine which traditional leaders receive salaries, (b) who makes the decision in this regard and (c) what specific functions are salaried traditional leaders expected to perform;

(2) whether any standards have been devised for measuring their performance; if not, why not; if so, what standards?

S223E

The MINISTER FOR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) and (b) Traditional leaders are recognised and recommended by a meeting of the Royal Families. Leaders thus recommended are duly appointed in terms of applicable laws. The responsibility for the appointment of traditional leaders has been assigned to a competent authority within the government of the various provinces. Each leader's allowancer, stipendium, salary and other privileges, are determined by the relevant premier of a province in consultation with the Treasury (Regulation 24 of the Regulations Prescribing the Duties, Powers, Privileges and Conditions of Services of Chiefs and Headmen—Proclamation No 110 of 1957).

(c) The functions that traditional leaders are expected to perform are contained in the Regulations Presiding the Duties, Powers, Privileges and Conditions of Service of Chiefs and Headmen (Proclamation No 110 of 1957), and in laws and proclamations of the former Self-Governing Territories and TBVC States. For an overview of all the functions of traditional leaders, Proclamation No 110 of 1957, may be consulted.

(2) The function of a traditional leader is executed by the office and personnel of the Tribal Authority. The performance of a traditional leader is subject to regulations contained in applicable proclamations and laws (eg. Regulation 30(1) of Proclamation No 110 of 1957). The balancing and auditing of financial statements must, for example, comply with the prescriptions of the Auditor-General.

ANC MP expelled

National Assembly adjourned twice in a week as too few members present

(30 Aug) ARG 24/8/95

Political Staff

AN African National Congress MP has been expelled for failing to attend parliament, and the national assembly itself was plunged into a brief crisis when it had to be adjourned because too few MPs were present to pass the national budget.

The absences in the assembly yesterday came after an adjournment on Tuesday when there were not enough MPs in the chamber to constitute a quorum.

Meanwhile, the government made it known yesterday that it planned to push through 44 new bills, some on highly contentious matters, before parliament ended its session at the end of next month.

The expelled MP is S J Mahlangu, an ANC member from the former KwaNdebele homeland, who was fired for "unconstitutional absences" from the debating chamber.

His expulsion was an unprecedented move, after a long record of absence from parliament without adequate reason.

In terms of the constitution, his place is taken by B R Mkhize, the next person on the ANC's list of election candidates.

Mr Mahlangu was not available for comment. ANC officials were unable to say today where he was, or why he had failed to do the job required of him.

Notice of his expulsion was given yesterday under Section 42(d) of the interim constitution, which says that a member loses his seat if he is absent from the assembly for 15 consecutive days without "constitutional" reasons.

Such reasons included ill-health and overseas travel on parliamentary business.

Twice this week parliament had to be adjourned because too few MPs from all parties were present to constitute a quorum under the constitution.

The second time, the assembly had to be adjourned in the face of what could have turned into a constitutional crisis — the inability of parliament to approve the national budget.

The bells were rung during the adjournment to summon MPs to the chamber, enabling the vote on the budget to take place.

'Afrikaners won't go to war for Volkstaat'

(304A)

ST 25/8/95

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Afrikaners would not go to war over the establishment of a Volkstaat, but would rather strive to achieve it through democratic means, Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

"I believe the time for war is over," he told the Johannesburg Press Club.

Gen Viljoen said Afrikaners would continue pursuing the ideal of self-determination after having "stopped short of civil war on April 27 last year".

Self-determination, the party believed, could be achieved in a province or in "havens of concentrations" which would relieve the fears of Afrikaners of being overwhelmed by "distinctly different cultures".

He added: "We recognise by now that we have one country to share. Our quest is for co-existence and co-operation."

The Afrikaner had nowhere else to go and did not wish to repeat failed policies of the past, the general said.

R5,1m a month for chiefs' pay

(304A)

THE monthly salary bill for South Africa's 3 152 traditional leaders was R5,1 million, the Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

This means that taxpayers are paying R61,2m a year to the traditional leaders.

CT 25/8/95

Whips crack down on absent MPs

(304A)

CT 25/8/95

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

MEMBERS of Parliament who did not attend the crucial House of Assembly sitting this week to approve the R158,1-billion Budget have come under fire from party whips — and some could be fined for their absence.

Those who were not there included President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President F W de Klerk and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

ANC chief whip in the Senate, Senator Bulelani Ngcuka, said yesterday the ANC was drawing up a list of those who had failed to turn up. They would have to report to party whips to explain their absence and could be fined.

The National Assembly could not approve the Budget on Wednesday night because there was no quorum.

Now the act of approving the spending of the money the government needs to run the country next year has been postponed to next Wednesday.

Only 167 (41%) of the 400 MPs were in the House on Wednesday instead of the 200 (50%) needed.

However, the ANC — which had 45% of its 249 MPs in the National Assembly — was not the major culprit.

Only about a third of NP MPs were present, a handful of IFP MPs and about 40% of DP MPs.

CLAIRE BISSEKER reports that only two members of the cabinet managed to attend the vote — Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar and Finance Minister Mr Chris Liebenberg, who does not have a vote.

● See Page 6

Far-reaching plans for Afrikan
South Africans are revealed in a
writes **Chris**

Aiming for Bo

The idea of a "rainbow nation" symbolises a new beginning full of promise for most South Africans, but not for thousands of Afrikaners who are embarking on a series of far-reaching plans to isolate themselves from this "social and political cancer".

Estimates of support for these initiatives among the range of political and cultural organisations reach as high as 50% of the Afrikaner community.

More than 100 prominent Afrikaners, including Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, recently contributed to the work of 18 committees covering every facet of "volkshuishouding". The result is the bulky first report of the Volksrepubliekwerkkomitee (VRWK) of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

The report says the Afrikaner now stands at an historic moment of a compulsory and dramatic volks "cleansing".

It blames the sins of the volk for its "disinheritance", stating that Afrikaners have handled their land "recklessly" and "ungratefully".

"So God has taken away what He gave us and delivered us unto people who are not serious about His Word in every way. There are even infidels among the rulers of the country."

While a Volkstaat, in which Afrikaner rule will go absolutely unchallenged, remains the dream of many a Boer, new economic, geographic and political realities are forcing them to create miniature volkstaatjies wherever they can.

According to major Afrikaans groupings this would include anything from areas and suburbs where there is a high concentration of Afrikaners right down to the volkshuis itself where mothers have been tasked to ensure that their children can withstand "any onslaught".

The report reveals that Boere-Afrikaner parents are already insisting on the right to determine what type of teaching their children should have. This includes State-supported schools as well as private and home schools.

They are also demanding to choose the textbooks their children receive, to have teachers trained and even to vet them to establish their suitability.

Home-nursing by the women of the volk is mooted as a high-priority alternative to health care in "low-standard" State hospitals and it is proposed to extend to all cities and towns an action to mobilise Boere-Afrikaner doctors, nursing staff and paramedics.

These proposals were confirmed by Conservative Party secretary Wouter Hoffman. He revealed that an own bloodbank was on the cards. An own medical aid scheme and an own medical services corporation have already been formed which have secured agreements with doctors, pharmacies and clinics for services to members.

Separate health and educational facilities are vigorously supported by .ksie Vrouekrag. Its chairman, Lucia van den Bergh, said there were plans to buy clinics and hospitals "for the sake of our own people . . . who refuse to be examined by volks-foreign people".

Commenting on integrated education, Van den Bergh said it had already been "proved" that mixed schools lead to mixed sport, mixed social relations, and mixed marriages. "If you don't keep what is your own, it will all be lost." Children in mixed schools will be targeted with the relevant "information".



The volk would have to become so totally independent and self-sufficient that it could survive without water from the country's dams and electricity from the national power grid.

The VRWK report proposed a Law Secretariat for the volk as well as a Legal Aid Clinic to handle research, investigations, advice and bail applications.

"The evil of the Constitution and the Charter of Human Rights must be emphasised, while their provisions must be exploited and misused to the advantage of our people," it said.

Actions for the restitution of land rights should be launched, the report urged. Farmers who qualify for this should be identified and helped to press their claims. And those whose land could be targeted for repossession in terms of new laws should be given assistance in the form of expert advice and financial aid to oppose such claims.

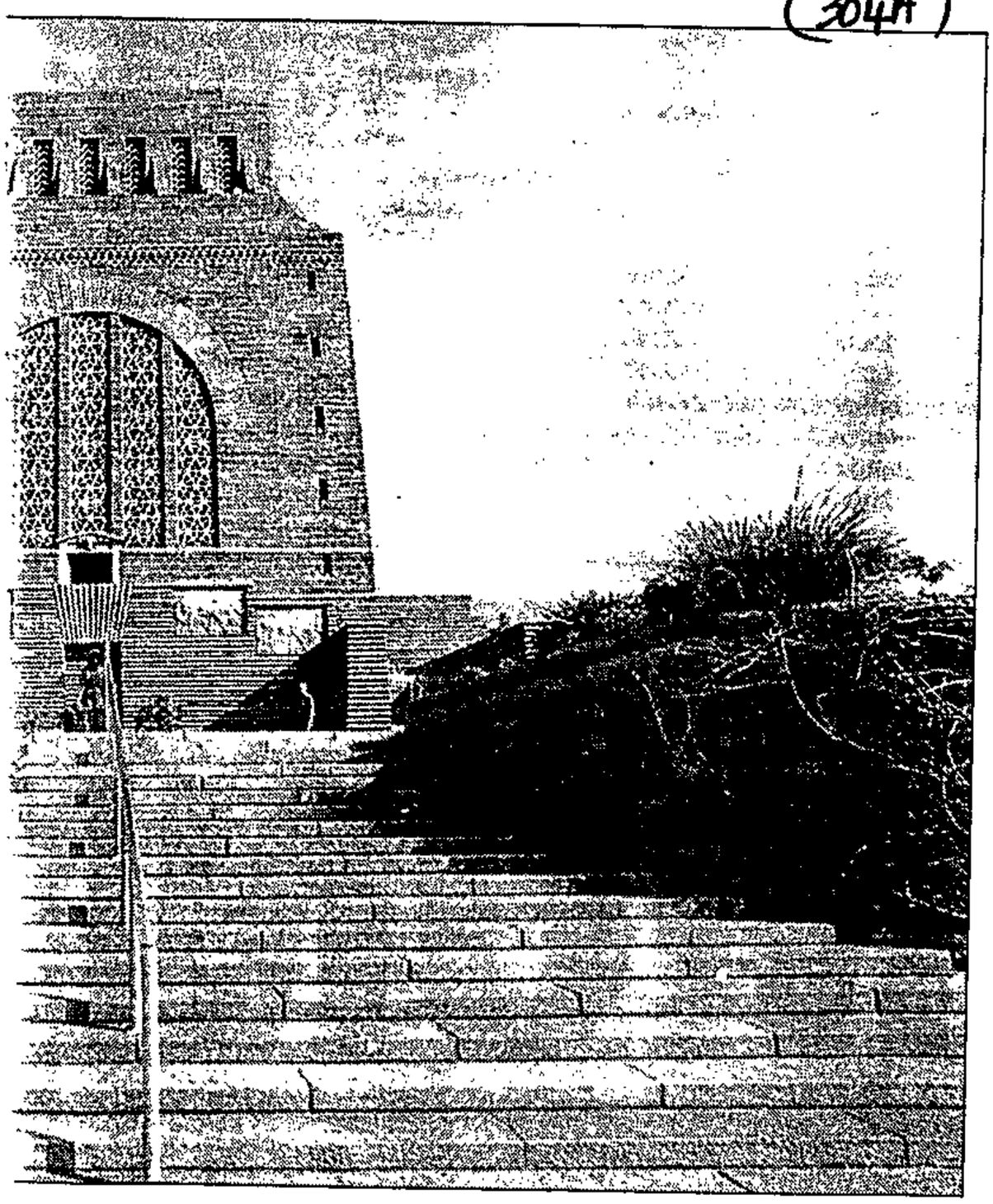
In the area of foreign affairs, a number of people are said by the report to have been assigned to different parts of the world in order to "market" the Boerevolk

kaners to isolate themselves from other
in a bulky Afrikaner Volksfront report,
***s Steyn** of Spectrum*

ere-exclusivity

(304A)

Star 25/8/95



of cause.

Furthermore, a travel agency would be formed in conjunction with a well-known company to bring "friends" of the Boerevolk to South Africa.

The reports disclosed that in the field of white labour, a strategy, which included "acts of resistance", had been completed – but could not be detailed because of its "sensitivity". Also, a task group was being formed to examine the "whitening" of farm labour corps through the training and employment of whites.

To fight crime, it suggested that Boere-Afrikaners form their own security and guard system in rural and town areas. And to guarantee an acceptable communication service, the foundation of a Boere-Afrikaner television channel and a newspaper would receive urgent attention.

Boere-women have been told that they were the most important "component" for the volkshuis in order to break free from "foreign labour", and that they should accept "any hard labour" as part of their task. They have been reminded that they were mothers first.

Aksie Vrouekrag's Van den Bergh said women were urged to see to it that their husbands conduct Bible study around the table, that children were informed about Satanism, prostitution and pornography, and that their daughters were warned against "living together".

Women were tasked, too, with the employment of jobless and unskilled white women and training them in all aspects of home industry, including making clothes, cooking, baking and nursing.

Former Conservative Party youth leader and Volksunie chairman Gerdus Kruger has advocated a "total cultural war" in which the authority of the current "regime" was rejected completely.

He said in his book, *Denksprong vir die Regse Beweging in Suid-Afrika* (to be published this month), that this strategy would test "to the extreme" each law made by the new Government.

He exhorted the Afrikaner youth to realise that taxes were now becoming an "economic weapon" and that they had to use "every conceivable method" to escape from the Grip of the "octopus" government. "The denial of all laws is the point of departure."

Kruger also said the new-generation Afrikaners would have to use "any" means to make itself financially powerful. They had to be prepared, in line with Mao's fifth rule for guerilla warfare, to "loot" supplies and resources from the enemy regime.

He said the youth would have to learn to revolt against "affirmative action", and insist on treatment on merit, adding that they should start defending values and standards at universitie "with arrogance" or move on t begin their own private tertiar institutions.

General Constand Viljoen' Freedom Front said it wanted th establishment of an Afrikan erraad in each town and city i South Africa. Such a raad woul be tasked with the maintenanc of Afrikaner culture in all it facets.

The mission of his party wa linked to the recent findings O the Volkstaat Council which, i addition to a Volkstaat, identified certain "autonomous areas" within the provinces where Afrikaners could live as "concentrated minorities".

Cultural self-determination, also outside the Volkstaat, was proposedthrough the establishment of civic councils.

Conservative Party secretary Wouter Hoffman said his party intended to use "good" support in constituencies in the forthcoming municipal elections to insist on own policing, own education, own health services and own community life for the people living in those areas.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder advised Boere to isolate themselves symbolically and culturally. "The Boerevolk will have to seclude itself totally," he said. "We will not survive if we continue to live in the new South Africa. We will have to make ourselves economically strong so that we can become the Jews of Southern Africa.

"The way the Boer will follow is that we will keep a low political profile in the future because we can't achieve anything anymore through the ballot box.

"We will follow the way of the ANC, which acted undemocratically for 70 years until, through violence and terrorism, it caused the fall of the NP Government."

Malaysia signs big contract

DAVID BREIER
Political Staff

MALAYSIAN and South African businessmen signed agreements worth hundreds of millions of rand in Cape Town this week — in what observers described as one of the great ironies of history.

The irony did not escape the plush city hotel hall crammed with more than 600 Cape and Malaysian businessmen who gathered to witness the historic signing and listen to visiting Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad.

Businessmen noted that three centuries ago Malayans were regarded as good enough only to be slaves who were hauled to the Cape to do manual labour for the Dutch colonists.

But 300 years later the tables were turned as prosperous visiting Malaysians listened to pleas from the relatively stagnant Cape for investment.

While South Africa has had negative growth for years and hopes for three percent growth this year, Malaysia's economy has been growing by a phenomenal eight or nine percent annually over the past few years.

Western Cape economic affairs minister Chris Nissen begged the Malaysians: "Bring your money, and you can make money better than anywhere else".

Mr Nissen said the Cape was the gateway to South Africa, southern Africa and the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. He offered them stability, a beautiful environment, varied industry, tourism, fishing — and "our gold — the lobster".

He noted that the visitors were linked to "Malaysian people in the Western Cape" — the descendents of the slaves.

Among Cape Town businessmen who crammed the hall to listen to Premier Mohamad was estate agent Ebrahim Girie who noted that history had a "very peculiar way of taking shape" after a country that had been a source of slaves had become a source of investment.

He hoped the dedication and determination of the Malaysians would rub off on the Western Cape which still had strong links with Malaysia — its food and many customs and traditions.

Prime Minister Mohamad led a delegation including 150 Malaysian government officials and 200 businessmen, which he said was a "vote of confidence" in South Africa under its new government.

(304A) ARG 26/8/95

Trade between the two countries had been worth $190 million (about R700 million) for the first four months of this year — four times more than the equivalent period last year, he said.

This was only one percent of Malaysia's global trade, leaving tremendous potential for expansion, he said.

He expressed an interest in importing Cape fruit and fruit juices which Malaysia now imports from Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

Mr Mohamad said the natural beauty of Cape Town and its surroundings offered major scope for joint tourism ventures in hotels and resorts.

But asked whether Malaysia planned to develop a R205 million Hilton Hotel in the Cape as has been mooted for Johannesburg, Mr Mohamad was cagey, saying "we would like to spread out" over various parts of the country.

Parties agree to fewer MPs

(30 LPA) ARG 26/8/95

TYRONE SEALE
Political Staff

MOST political parties favour, in principle, a reduction in the size of the national assembly but say a final decision will depend on the country's choice of electoral system and the powers to be allocated to the provinces.

The size of the assembly, a main house of parliament, was one of the issues under discussion at yesterday's meeting of the constitutional assembly, comprising a joint sitting of the national assembly and the senate.

No decision was reached, as the matter is subject to further debate in the constitution-making process.

However, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Freedom Front and the African Christian Democratic Party cautiously supported a reduced national assembly, which has 400 seats.

The National Party argued that a slight reduction would not make a major difference to parliament's expenses and might endanger the true representiveness of the assembly.

ANC MP Ndaweni Mahlangu acknowledged there was widespread criticism about the number of national assembly seats.

■ Most parties support a smaller national assembly, reducing the number of seats from 400 to 300 or 350.

He said a reduction could affect members' workloads.

The issue also depended on whether the country would choose proportional representation or constituencies as an electoral system, and whether the constituencies would enjoy single or multiple representation in parliament and how many constituencies would be created.

Freedom Front senator Tienie Groenewald said his party believed that if the present legislature was thought to work well, it should not be tampered with and should be reviewed if the situation changed.

Ultimately, he said, the size of the national assembly should be determined by the functions of the central government.

"If more powers are delegated to the provinces, then the size of the national assembly can be reduced.

"About 350 members would give us an acceptable ratio between voters and representatives, compared with other parliaments."

Colin Eglin (DP) said the size of the national assembly was also dependent on whether the senate would be retained, how large the provincial governments would be and the electoral system that would finally be adopted.

The DP would be in favour of a national assembly of about 300 members.

Gora Ebrahim (PAC) said if constituences were to be adopted, the PAC would want to see multiple representation to ensure that at least 75 percent of voters in any area had central representation.

Single-member representation meant some constituencies would have representative in parliament on behalf of as little as 48 percent of the people in a given area.

Another option would be to look at which institutions were duplicating work the national assembly could do, and to let the national assembly deal with this exclusively and more cost-effectively.

Parties back National Assembly seat cuts

(304A) STOR 26/8/95

By TYRON SEALE

Most political parties favour, in principle, a reduction in the size of the National Assembly but say a final decision will depend on the country's choice of electoral system and the powers to be allocated to the provinces.

The size of the National Assembly was one of the issues under discussion at yesterday's meeting of the Constitutional Assembly, a joint sitting of the National Assembly and the Senate.

No decision was reached, as the matter is subject to further debate in the constitution-making process.

However, the ANC, the PAC, the Freedom Front and the African Christian Democratic Party cautiously supported a reduction in the National Assembly's current 400 seats.

The NP argued that a slight reduction would not make a major difference to Parliament's expenses and might very well endanger the true representativeness of the National Assembly.

ANC MP Ndaweni Mahlangu acknowledged that there was widespread criticism of the number of National Assembly seats.

Freedom Front senator Tienie Groenewald said his party believed that if the legislature was thought to work well, it should not be tampered with.

However, it should be reviewed if the situation changed.

MPs so poor they 'rob Peter to pay Paul'

Star 26/8/95 (304A)

By GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

Cape Town – Many members of Parliament say they are in deep financial trouble and fail to make ends meet on their salaries.

While some MPs came under fire this week for being absent from Parliament, others painted a dismal financial picture.

Misnomers about the gravy train were just that – with many MPs going into the red each month and having to rely on bank loans, they claimed.

One MP who freely admitted he would not be able to come out on an ordinary MP's salary of R16 000 without the extra money he received as chairman of the portfolio committee for public enterprises was Mandla Msomi, an Inkatha Freedom Party MP.

Msomi said other less fortunate MPs "went down on their knees" to their bank managers each month.

The situation was so bad for some cash-strapped MPs that they were hoping the dress code would be relaxed because many could not afford to maintain dress standards, according to Msomi.

He has to travel regularly to his constituency in Gauteng and to his home in KwaZulu-Natal. Running three homes and two cars, paying for travel expenses after he exceeded his limit and footing the bill for his home and cellular telephone bills were just a few of the expenses he faced each month.

Like many other MPs, he was "robbing Peter to pay Paul" but had the security of private investments accumulated before he became an MP, he said.

"The business of being an MP is just not a viable one. MPs put themselves in the red each month and have to find a way of subsidising their expenses," he said.

MP Ntombi Shope, a single mother, said she was battling to make ends meet. Her home telephone had been cut off on more than one occasion – an experience shared by many of her colleagues.

"There is no gravy on this train. It just does not exist," she said.

For the past year Shope has been borrowing about R5 000 a month to get by.

"I just don't want to think about it because then I would get so worried I wouldn't be able to do my job," she said.

Shope said she cleared about R9 000 a month after deductions from her ordinary MP's salary. Car allowances, home phone expenses and excess flight costs came out of her pocket.

MPs received no allowance for resettlement.

While some declined to discuss their financial affairs, Msomi said many MPs were always at the doors of their bank managers.

MPs would have to be allowed to moonlight if they were to survive, she said.

ANC blamed for shambles in Parliament

ST 27/8/95

304A

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

THE ANC this week came under sustained fire from inside and outside the party for its failure to manage Parliament, its committees and the legislation it handles.

The country's first democratic Parliament hit an all-time low on Wednesday when it found itself without enough members to pass the Budget.

And the institution is facing a deluge of last-minute legislation which will turn parliamentary committees into sausage factories if they are to process it before the session ends.

The passing of the Appropriation Bill — the most important financial decision taken by Parliament each year — was delayed because too few MPs arrived in chamber to make up a quorum.

This followed two house adjournments, on Tuesday and Wednesday, because of a lack of interest from MPs, who are paid R193 200 a year.

The quorum problem, along with the news that no fewer than 33 Bills will have to pass through the National Assembly, the Senate and their committees in the next three weeks, has prompted the ANC to re-examine its parliamentary discipline.

The party this week removed one of its MPs, Prince James Mahlangu, from Parliament after he failed to show his face in the institution for more than 15 days without official leave.

And the organisation has announced that it is to fine members who fail to attend sessions.

Addressing Parliament on Monday, the chairman of the Finance Committee, Gill Marcus, expressed "extreme concern at the way scheduling takes place — or, in reality, does not".

She said her committee had been advised that it would have to process 10 items of legislation in the next three weeks. This made proper public hearings and submissions impossible and, she fumed, was "a disservice to the legislation, the members of Parliament and this house".

The DP's Douglas Gibson said it was plain that "nobody's running the show". He said the Leader of the House, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel, was clearly unable to oversee the day-to-day running of Parliament.

"The management of Parliament is not improving. On the contrary, it is deteriorating. And if Parliament itself cannot be run efficiently, how can the citizens of South Africa have confidence that the country is in good hands?" he asked.

As Parliament suffered a growing crisis, the Constitutional Assembly, which is supposed to draft the country's constitution, also had its problems.

ANC MP Tony Yengeni interrupted the body's proceedings on Friday to ask why only one cabinet minister was present.

"What is the signal that we are sending to the country and what effect is this going to have on the final constitution?" he asked.

His view was endorsed by the chairman of the Constitutional Assembly, Cyril Ramaphosa, who noted that only the Provincial and Constitutional Affairs Minister, Roelf Meyer, and his deputy, Mohammed Valli Moosa, were present.

Mr Ramaphosa pointed out that meetings had been shifted from Mondays to Fridays "on a proposal from the executive" and at the inconvenience of the Constitutional Assembly's management.

He said that a letter would be written to the executive and a meeting scheduled with President Nelson Mandela to discuss the subject.

Suzman and DP c

By EDY
Political

FORMER De
Helen Suzman
party for reje
tary report on
released this m

In a letter to
Mrs Suzman sa
concerned" to
wanted the pa
on abortion to
meant the DP
port of the com
recommendati

Mrs Suzman
statement iss
spokesman Mi

He said the
lectually, mor
ally respecta
thrown in the



HELEN SUZMAN ... DP backtracked

Report dampens hope for provincial power

ST 27/8/95

(2b1) (304A)

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be forgiven for saying "I told you so" following a constitutional assembly report this week which could weaken the case of those wanting more provincial power in the final constitution.

The report, drafted by technical advisers, suggested that constitutional principles agreed at Codesa added little to the debate on the division of powers between central and provincial government — as Chief Buthelezi had warned last year.

The principles were the subject of months of bargaining, mostly between Inkatha, the ANC, the NP and the DP, and were supposed to ensure that future constitution writers did not ignore the views of those who attended Codesa.

Presenting the report to the constitutional assembly's top negotiating forum, Professor Dennis Davis said: "Principles differ from rules of law. They do not apply on an all-or-nothing basis, like rules of law."

Then he showed how the principles would have little effect on key debates on the allocation of regional powers.

On the question of "residual powers" — the issue of where authority would be assumed to reside if it were not allocated — Professor Davis said that since South Africa was a central state before April 1994, all power would be located centrally unless it was specifically given to a province.

The hard-fought principle 18.2, which bars constitution makers from giving provinces "substantially less or substantially inferior" powers would not prevent a reduction in provincial powers.

"It is impossible to devise a definitive test which would authoritatively decide the question of when powers and functions are less or inferior, but not substantially so," he said.

It could be argued, said Professor Davis, that a clause saying that national and provincial government would have to be granted exclusive powers did not mean that the provinces would have to have legislatures.

Principle 21, which says the level of government where decisions could be taken "most effectively", did not automatically imply "that the lowest level of government should always be the level so empowered," he said.

The ANC's Professor Dirk du Toit welcomed the report as "a very important piece of work", but the DP's Colin Eglin was displeased with the interpretation that residual powers would rest with central government. The PAC's Patricia de Lille, an ardent advocate of centralisation and opponent of the constitutional principles, expressed her guarded happiness with the report.

Rightwing blueprint exposed

(304A) Sowetan 28/8/95

Fifty percent of Afrikaners now support complete segregation

By Chris Steyn
Spectrum

SPECTRUM
MAKING A DIFFERENCE



WAITING FOR A VOLKSTAAT ... Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg and Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen.

THE IDEA of a "rainbow nation" symbolises a new beginning full of promise for most South Africans, but not for thousands of Afrikaners who are making plans to isolate themselves from this "social and political cancer".

Estimates of support for these initiatives among the range of political and cultural organisations consulted by *Spectrum*, the investigative unit of Independent Newspapers, was as high as 50 percent of the Afrikaner community.

Over 100 prominent Afrikaners, including Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, recently contributed to the work of 18 committees covering every facet of *volkshuishouding*.

Historic moment

The result is the bulky first report of the *Volksrepubliekwerkkomitee* (People's Republic Working Committee) of the Afrikaner Volksfront. The report says the Afrikaner now stands at an historic moment of a compulsory and dramatic *volk*'s "cleansing".

It blames the sins of the *volk* for its "disinheritance", stating that Afrikaners have handled their land "recklessly" and "ungratefully".

"So God has taken away what He gave us and delivered us unto people who are not serious about His Word in every way. There are even infidels among the rulers of the country."

While a *volkstaat*, in which Afrikaner rule will go absolutely unchallenged, remains the dream of many a *Boer*, new economic, geographic and political realities are forcing them to create miniature *volkstaatjies* wherever they can.

According to major Afrikaner groupings, this would include anything from areas and suburbs where there is a high concentration of Afrikaners right down to the *volks huis* (people's home) itself where mothers have been given the task of ensuring that their children can withstand "any onslaught".

The report reveals that *Boere-Afrikaner* parents are already insisting on the right to determine what type of education their children should have. They are also demanding the right to choose the textbooks their children use and a say in how teachers are trained and even vet them to establish their suitability.

Health care

Home nursing by women of the *volk* is mooted as a high-priority alternative to health care in "low-standard" state hospitals, and it is proposed to mobilise *Boere-Afrikaner* doctors, nursing staff and paramedics throughout the country.

These proposals were confirmed by Conservative Party secretary Mr Wouter Hoffman in an interview with *Spectrum*. He revealed that an own bloodbank was on the cards.

An own medical aid scheme and an own medical services corporation have already been formed. They have secured agreements with doctors, pharmacies and clinics for services to members.

Educational facilities

Separate health and educational facilities are vigorously supported by Aksie Vrouekrag.

Its chairperson, Ms Lucia van den Bergh, told *Spectrum* that there are plans to buy clinics and hospitals "for the sake of our own people ... who refuse to be examined by *volks*-foreign people".

Commenting on integrated education, Van den Bergh says it has been "proved" that mixed schools lead to mixed sport, mixed social relations and mixed marriages.

"If you don't keep what is your own, it will all be lost." She adds that children in mixed schools will be targeted with the relevant "information".

Self-sufficient

According to Van den Bergh, the *volk* will have to become so completely self-sufficient that it can survive without water from the country's dams and electricity from the national power grid.

The VRWK report goes on to propose a Law Secretariat for the *volk* as well as a Legal Aid Clinic to handle research, investigations, advice and bail applications.

"The evil of the Constitution and the Charter of Human Rights must be emphasised, while their provisions must be exploited and misused to the advantage of our people," it says.

Actions for the restitution of land rights should be launched, the report urges. Farmers who qualify for this are to be identified and helped to press their claims.

And those whose land could be targeted for repossession in terms of new laws should be given assistance in the form of expert advice and financial aid to oppose such claims.

Foreign affairs

In the area of foreign affairs, a number of people have been assigned to different parts of the world in order to "market" the *Boerevolk* cause.

Furthermore, a travel agency is being formed in conjunction with a well-known company to bring "friends" of the *Boerevolk* to South Africa.

The reports disclose that in the field of white labour, a strategy, which includes "acts of resistance" has been completed — but can't be detailed because of its "sensitivity".

Also, a task group is to be formed to examine the "whitening" of farm labour corps through the training and employment of whites.

To fight crime, it suggests that *Boere-Afrikaners* form their own security and guard system in rural and town areas. To guarantee an acceptable communication service, founding a *Boere-Afrikaner* television channel and a newspaper is to receive urgent attention.

Boere women are told that they are the most important "component" of the *volks huis* in order to break free from "foreign labour" and that they should accept "any hard labour" as part of their task.

Bible study

They are reminded that they are mothers first. *Aksie Vrouekrag's* Van den Bergh says women are urged to see to it that their husbands conduct Bible study around the table, that children are informed about satanism, prostitution, pornography and that their daughters are warned against "living together".

Women are asked to employ jobless and unskilled white women.

Former Conservative Party youth leader and Volksunie chairman Mr Gerdus Kruger advocates a "total cultural war" in which the authority of the current "regime" is rejected in its totality.

He says in his book, *Denksprong vir die regse beweging in Suid-Afrika*, which will be published this month, that this strategy will test "to the extreme" each new law.

For instance, he exhorts Afrikaner youth to realise that taxes are becoming an "economic weapon" and that they have to use "every conceivable method" to escape from the grip of the government.

Kruger also says the new generation of Afrikaners will have to use "any" means to make themselves financially powerful. The youth will have to learn to revolt against affirmative action and insist on treatment on merit.

The Cuba-SA relations

Sowetan 28/8/95

Despite objections from the US and the Nats, South Africa is determined to press ahead with its relations with Cuba, writes Political Reporter **Vuyo Bavuma**

(304A)

WHEN THE UNITED STATES declared its ill-named new world order philosophy, cynics feared that it was merely a cheap excuse to bully the weaker countries into toeing Uncle Sam's line.

They felt that although the superpower paraded itself as a model of democracy, it was in fact trying to meddle in the domestic affairs of other countries.

These fears were rekindled recently when the Washington government saw red because of the increasingly close ties between the new South African Government and Cuba. Their relationship was strengthened in May when South Africa opened a consulate office in Havana.

It would have graduated to a higher level in September when President Nelson Mandela was to have hosted President Fidel Castro. The Cuban leader, however, withdrew because of a busy schedule.

This took place as South Africa clinched a lucrative oil deal with Iran – an event that further sent tempers soaring in the US.

Both Cuba and Iran are detested by the US government.

Close ties with Cuba

In its usual "I-know-what's-right-for-you attitude", the US protested to South African ambassador Mr Franklin Sonn about these developments. It cited the danger of having close ties with Cuba and Iran, claiming that this would hurt South Africa. They further argued that South Africa, being a newly democratic country, should not play ball with Cuba and Iran.

The US does have trade relations with countries which are famous for human rights abuses but it conveniently ignores this anomaly.

However, South Africa is not willing to allow the US to dictate who its political bedfellows should be: The oil deal with Iran went through.

But, not unexpectedly, the anti-Cuba band has allies in the country – like the National Party. In parliamentary debates, the NP always speaks passionately against forging ties with Cuba (few subjects elicit such passion from the Nats).

In their outdated communist bashing, the party constantly explains the dangers of forging relationships with the regime of Fidel Castro.

They always point out that the island rulers were guilty of oppressing their opponents and do not deserve to be friends with the new South Africa – ironic, coming from a party which committed many human rights abuses for more than 40 years.

The African National Congress and its ally,



Cuban president Fidel Castro ... won the respect of many South Africans during the anti-apartheid struggle.

the South African Communist Party, always did their best to shoot down the anti-Cuban protests.

Needless to say, they had a political obligation to defend Cuba because the island rulers were more than kind during the arms struggle against the apartheid regime.

Totally unjustified

Is the US justified in dictating to South Africa? The head of Unisa's Centre for Latin American Studies, Zelia Campbell, says the views of the US government are totally unjustified.

In fact, she says, the Pretoria government should protest against the blatant interference of the US in its domestic affairs.

Campbell also strongly argues that South Africa should develop closer economic ties with Cuba or it will "completely miss the boat". Cuba has a lot to offer the local economy.

Cuba has legalised private ownership and has many joint investment ventures with firms from Commonwealth countries such as Canada, Britain, Australia and India.

South Africa can also benefit from the island's tourist and mining industries, said Campbell, adding that Cuba had a good sports programme and a health policy which can be useful to the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Like many Latin American activists, Campbell believes the US should lift the 30-year-old embargo against Cuba because this is hurting the people of the island and "not Fidel Castro".

Campbell's views were echoed by Professor Peter Vale of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

US being insensitive

He believes the US is being insensitive to South Africa's needs: "America should know that the Cuban question is dear to the hearts of many South Africans.

"Cuba has featured prominently in South Africa's arms struggle against the previous apartheid regime." For example, Cuba helped South Africa's liberation forces in Angola while the US helped their enemies Unita.

Like Campbell, Vale believes South Africa should just go ahead and expand its ties with Cuba despite the misgivings of the US.

The country was extremely concerned about relations between South Africa and Cuba because South Africa may provide a lifeline to the Cuban economy, which the US has been trying to destroy for more than 30 years.

Vale says it seems the US is behaving irrationally because other Western countries such as France and Britain have relations with Cuba.

On possible South Africa-Cuba economic cooperation, Vale also believes South Africa could benefit from Cuba's mining and hotel industries.

On human rights abuses in Cuba, he stresses, South Africa should make its own assessment about the matter and not rely on the US government.

By having closer relations with Cuba, South Africa will be able to exert some influence on the Castro regime to improve its human rights record, argues Vale.

But one thing is clear – whether there are US objections or not, the new South African Government is determined to press ahead with its relations with Cuba.

After all, Fidel Castro is a symbol of success for many South African activists who fought to

Nzo too slow for Skweyiya

(304A) WM 28/7/95 - 3/8/95



Slow to change department: Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo

The slow pace of change at the Department of Foreign Affairs has prompted Zola Skweyiya to take action, writes Rehana Rossouw

MINISTER of Public Service and Administration Dr Zola Skweyiya this week stepped in to overhaul the Department of Foreign Affairs, impatient at the pace of transformation.

A ministry source said Skweyiya, who met Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo on Tuesday to discuss accelerating change in the department, was "seriously concerned" about the department's staff composition.

"We are not seeing change in the department at the rate that it is taking place in other government departments, even though it is acknowledged that the public service takes time to change," said the source.

"What makes the minister (Skweyiya) intent on speeding up change in the Department of Foreign Affairs is that it should represent the face of the country abroad, and is not doing so at present."

South Africa's Paris embassy, for example, has a staff of 84, of whom only two — including Ambassador Barbara Masekela — are black.

At their meeting, Skweyiya and Nzo discussed a new staff plan drawn up by the department to create an extra 198 posts. It was agreed these would be advertised to ensure candidates came forward not only from within the public service but also from the public.

The posts include five new deputy director generals. Two people in the department have already been identified for those positions. There are 26 vacancies for chief directors, but Foreign Affairs intends advertising only 13 of those positions.

Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman, Peter Swanepoel, said the meeting was intended to update Skweyiya on progress made in rationalising the department ahead of an October 30 deadline.

"It's difficult for me to comment on whether or not the minister is dissatisfied (with the pace of change). The Public Service Commission has already approved the new staff plan and how we're going to implement it."

Not discussed by the ministers was the issue of making South Africa's foreign missions more representative. A follow-up meeting could be in the offing as the department makes new postings and transfers twice a year, in August and December.

Swanepoel said the department hoped to "achieve a balance in terms of the demographics of the country within the next two or three years."

Breakthrough reached on division of central and national powers

(304A) BD 29/8/95

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — After months of haggling, parliamentary parties yesterday unanimously adopted a working document dealing with the crucial area of national and provincial powers.

Significantly, the two-page document drafted by four technical experts does not deviate from the principles in the interim constitution.

Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said: "This is tremendous progress on a very complex issue. We have moved from nothing to three drafts and now to one."

The advance was achieved in the assembly's "deadlock breaking" committee, a subcommittee of the 46-member constitutional committee. Two weeks ago parties still differed over the interpretation of the principles.

Ramaphosa said work on the next stage would start next Monday when MPs would begin to negotiate exact national and provincial powers. Work would continue simultaneously on "fleshing out" the "building block" document adopted yesterday. The experts have until Friday to produce a second draft based on yesterday's input from parties in the subcommittee.

Ramaphosa said it was too early to say whether the new constitution would be federal or unitary, or a mixture. The form of government would become clear only when specific powers had been allocated.

However, Ramaphosa did not rule out the possibility that provinces would end up with more powers than they enjoyed in the interim constitution.

The IFP, which is boycotting the assembly, is demanding greater regional autonomy.

ANC MP and senior negotiator Dirk du Toit said the unfinished constitution could, at present, "only be called a multitiered system of government". MPs have until May next year to finish the job.

The document adopted yesterday was drafted by Professors Dennis Davis of the University of Cape Town, Francois Venter of Potchefstroom University, Bongani Majola of the University of the North, and Deon Basson of Pretoria University.

It deals with five broad areas: legislative authority of the country; legislative authority of provinces; framework legislation; conflict of laws or overrides; and necessary ancillary powers.

It begins by stating that the legislative authority of the republic "vests in Parliament, which shall be competent to make any laws on any matter".

A provincial legislature will have the power to legislate "on any matter" which falls within a functional area as specified in a separate schedule which outlines provincial powers.

Continued on Page 2

Powers

(304A) BD 29/8/95

Continued from Page 1

On framework legislation, Parliament will be empowered to pass legislation binding on provinces regarding any matter "to ensure uniformity".

Provinces, in turn, would be empowered to make laws "for the achievement of those objectives" as set out in framework legislation.

Under overrides, Parliament will be empowered to legislate on any matter within a functional area as specified in the provincial powers schedule.

In the event of a conflict between an Act of Parliament and a provincial legislature regarding the schedule, the Act shall prevail over the provincial law where:

- ☐ The province is unable to regulate the particular subject effectively;
- ☐ The Act is necessary for the maintenance of, among others, "essential national standards", and;
- ☐ The Act "deals with the determination of national economic policies, the promotion of interprovincial commerce or the protection of the common market in respect of the mobility of goods, services, capital and labour".

However, Parliament will not be allowed "to encroach upon the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of the provinces". A provincial law will prevail over an Act of Parliament if the law "deals with the specific socioeconomic and cultural needs and the general well-being of the inhabitants of the province".

Where a conflict between the two levels of government cannot be resolved in court, "precedence shall be given to the Act of Parliament". Ancillary powers are permitted where it is "reasonably necessary" for the effective exercise of a national or a provincial competence.

'Govt ignores rural people'

Sowetan 29/8/95
(304A)

THE chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders in Mpumalanga, Chief Bheki Mnisi, lashed out at both the Gauteng and Mpumalanga provincial governments at the weekend for allegedly attempting to sideline traditional leaders.

Mnisi accused both governments of ignoring rural residents when formulating policies and of imposing development projects without consulting with traditional leaders.

"An example of this policy is the devilish decision on abortion, which was made after consulting with people in Gauteng but not in any of our rural areas," he told villagers during an election campaign tour of rural settlements near Mozambique on Sunday.

Chiefs have potential

"The apartheid government deliberately destroyed tribal institutions because they knew what potential chiefs had to leading communities. Is the new government also adopting this policy?"

The village by village tour which was launched this weekend represents a concerted attempt by the province's traditional leaders to gain support from rural communities for their continued position in local authorities.

Mnisi also targeted new Regional Development Communities (RDC) as being unrepresentative and of implementing RDP projects without properly researching them.

Mpumalanga MEC for public works Mr Luckson Mathebula has previously warned that if traditional leaders opposed development in their regions, the government will forcefully implement them.– *African Eye News.*

Bill tabled to force chiefs' salary issue

Mduduzi ka Harvey (304A)

B0 31/8/95

GOVERNMENT yesterday tabled a constitutional amendment Bill designed to force through controversial legislation empowering it to pay chiefs' salaries.

The Constitution of the Republic of SA Second Amendment Bill was immediately condemned by Inkatha and the DP. DP deputy constitutional affairs spokesman James Selfe commented that the ANC should not use the constitution when it suited it, and amend it when it did not. He accused government of "using a sledgehammer to swat a fly".

The Bill removes the interim constitution requirement that legislation affecting traditional leaders must be referred to the Council of Traditional Leaders for comment before it can be enacted.

The council has not yet been constituted. This poses a potential obstacle to legislation on a wide front, but an immediate obstacle to the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill, which would empower central government to pay chiefs' salaries.

Inkatha recently threatened to take the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill to the constitutional court, on grounds that it has not been referred to the Council of Traditional Leaders. It sees the legislation as an attempt to tie chiefs in KwaZulu-Natal to the government's apron strings.

The proposed constitutional amendment pre-empts court action by stipulating that legislation must be referred to the Council of Traditional Leaders only once the council has been elected and is able to function.

IFP constitutional affairs spokesman Peter Smith said the IFP would challenge the amendment and call for the Bill to be set aside while houses of traditional leaders were established in the Northern Province and Eastern Cape. The Council of Traditional Leaders, a national body, must be elected by the provincial houses.

Smith said it was clear that the ANC planned to buy the chiefs by using patronage. The DP's Selfe said his party's caucus would decide today whether to call for substantial amendments to the Bill or to oppose it.

Nat MPs to forgo double salaries

Star 31/8/95

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

Deputy President F W de Klerk and National Party MPs have decided to suspend their double salary and pensions for serving in the former government.

The NP announced today that De Klerk and the MPs wanted to set an example for those still receiving double payments. The suspension would last as long as the NP officials remained MPs.

NP spokesman Danie du Plessis said the rules of the old fund would be changed to make the suspension possible.

The NP's parliamentary caucus has been informed and members have promised to cooperate.

(304A) (~~128~~)

'MPs should vet envoys'

ET 2/8/95

(3049)

POLITICAL STAFF

SENIOR ANC MP Mr Raymond Suttner has called for candidate ambassadors and senior officials to be interviewed in public by parliamentary committees before their appointments are finalised.

This would add legitimacy to the appointments, he wrote in an article in the latest issue of Indicator SA.

Mr Suttner, chairperson of the National Assembly's Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs, said Parliament should be involved in foreign policy-making. "Foreign policy should not be the exclusive preserve of professional diplomats and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"We need to move away from a situation which presumes that because foreign affairs — like every other field of policy — has a special area of concern, it can be exempted from the same degree of parliamentary scrutiny that applies to defence or security or home affairs."

A form of elitism could redevelop in the executive that could be harmful to democracy.

CABINET TO APPROVE ETHICS GUIDE

Code for ministers

CT 2/8/95 (304A)

THE CODE OF CONDUCT requires ministers to declare their financial interests, says ANC disciplinary committee chairman Prof Kader Asmal. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

THE cabinet is to approve a code of conduct for ministers when it meets in Pretoria today, says Water Affairs Minister Professor Kader Asmal.

Addressing a National Assembly committee considering a code of ethics for MPs, Prof Asmal, who chairs the ANC's disciplinary committee, said the code would focus on the need for ministers to declare their financial interests.

As most members of the cabinet would be governed eventually by the MPs' code, he would tell the cabinet that the ministers' document should serve as an interim code, he said.

There is a dispute about how far the code for parliamentarians should go.

Although the ANC wants MPs to declare all assets and sources of income, the National Party opposes this and proposes instead that the Commissioner of Inland Revenue should examine the tax returns of all parliamentarians and report defaulters to Parliament.

Codes of conduct are common in many democratic countries and are intended to make voters aware of legislators' financial interests.

Prof Asmal said the disclosure of financial interests was an indispensable part of the cabinet code.

If the ethics code was enacted in legislation rather than laid down in parliamentary rules, it should cover parastatals as well as Parliament, Prof Asmal said.



GUIDING PRINCIPLES: Professor Kader Asmal

He described the parastatals as "blushing violets" and said difficulty was being experienced in getting them to disclose details of senior staff members' pay.

Companies should also be obliged by law to disclose the remuneration of directors and chairmen.

He also called for the salaries of newspaper editors to be disclosed.

The National Assembly's ethics committee agreed yesterday to consider holding joint meetings with its Senate counterpart.

It is to draw up a discussion document exploring whether MPs should register their financial interests or disclose their interest in a particular matter when the occasion arises.

Prof Asmal also said a ruling should be made on whether MPs could hold other jobs or be paid as lobbyists.

WHERE SMALL PARTIES HAVE BIG ROLE

'Lobbyists should have code to ensure fair play'

ET 4/9/95 (304W)

SOUTH AFRICA is seen as having a legacy of unstructured, even corrupt lobbying. Speakers at a weekend conference suggested that lobbyists be given rules to play by. **PETER DENNEHY** reports.

LOBBYING of legislators should be codified to ensure fair play, Mr Andrew Dalling of Lawyers for Human Rights told a conference at UCT at the weekend.

Mr Dalling said his organisation had a perception that South Africa had a legacy of unstructured, undisciplined and even corrupt lobbying.

Providing legislators with rugby tickets was an improper form of lobbying, he said.

Panellists from the ANC, NP, Freedom Front and PAC failed to attend the conference on Saturday, but senator Dr Ruth Rabinovitz of the IFP and Mr Roger Hulley of the DP welcomed ethical lobbying of their parties by groups within civil society.

Dr Rabinovitz said fair lobbying was not easily cultivated in South Africa because very little legislation originated from ordinary members of Parliament. Most of it came from ministers and was drawn up by their directors-general and staff.

Another difficulty was that Parliament was not the supreme authority on many issues, and the judiciary could obviously not be lobbied.

Dr Rabinovitz suggested that allowance should be made for referendums on matters of public interest and importance, as they "take democracy to everybody".

Limitations

A visiting US lobbyist, Ms Judy Crockett, said referendums had limitations. They were not a good way of coming up with good legislation, because the questions asked had to be simple, whereas drawing up legislation involved a lot of give-and-take.

Mr Hulley said the importance of small parties to the lobbyist should not be underestimated. It was often difficult for a government backbencher to ask embarrassing questions of the government, or make a hard-hitting speech, but these were the opposition MP's stock-in-trade.

Small parties had influence, especially if what they said in the highest forum in the land was picked up by the media and spread to the public domain.

He said one of the difficulties for lobbyists in the new system was that it was often difficult to find the site of decision-making.

"Its like trying to influence a hive of bees when you can't find the queen," he said. "Informal hierarchies are operating. Powerful decision-makers might not even be on the committee working on a matter."

He suggested there should be a register of accredited lobbyists, who could then adopt a code of practice that would rule out "undisclosed interests". The process had to be transparent, he said.

Minister storms out of meeting

ARG 1/9/95 (304A) (269)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

STORMY Western Cape local government minister Peter Marais is in trouble again — after marching out of a parliamentary select committee meeting.

A motion of censure, proposed by African National Congress MP Salie Manie, is to be debated next week.

Mr Marais was invited to yesterday's meeting to discuss problems facing transitional councils.

While the committee was discussing another item, Mr Marais asked to speak and was allowed to do so by chairman Pravin Gordhan.

Lechesa Tsenoli (ANC), on a point of order, asked whether a non-member was allowed to speak on a subject about which he had not been asked to speak.

At this, Mr Marais walked out, saying he did not recognise the committee's authority over local government matters

Mr Manie proposed that the committee express its shock and dismay at Mr Marais's "outrageous" behaviour.

Mr Marais should be censured for flouting parliament and the constitution.

The matter should be taken up with the Premier of the Western Cape, Hernus Kriel, and the National Party.

Other non-members of the committee invited to participate included David Dlali, chairman of the Cape Metropolitan Council executive committee.

Jacko Maree (NP) said it was double standards to have allowed Mr Dlali to have spoken during the debate but for the ANC to have objected to Mr Marais's participation.

Mr Gordhan said the issue was not the right to speak, but the act of walking out of the committee.

Whither foreign policy, Nzo?

(304A) Sowetan 1/9/95

By NS Kekana

SA must formulate a policy that looks after its interests and image

NOW THAT South Africa has been accepted back into the international community of nations, it has to come up with a policy that will enable it to influence relations between itself and other countries positively and to use that influence to its own benefit.

Given that there is a dearth of political leadership on the continent comparable to that of President Nelson Mandela, it would be to the great advantage of South Africa to formulate a policy that will make it emerge as the leader of Africa, politically and economically.

It is now a year since Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo was appointed, but he has yet to point out the direction the country's foreign policy should take.

The failure of the minister to do so has led to debate and acrimony in certain sections of civil society which is impatiently awaiting a sign from him. One of the debates is whether South Africa should conclude diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China or with Taiwan.

Proponents of Red China or Taiwan are not guided by what official foreign policy is – there is none at the moment. They are guided by either the contribution of the one to the liberation struggle, or by the economic investments of the other in South Africa.

Red China is also touted as a potentially massive market for South African products. Yet the debates are not guided by the pronouncements of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They are the debates of academics and specialists on foreign affairs.

There was also a time when it was crucial for South Africa to come out clearly on foreign policy – during the protracted internal troubles in Mozambique, Angola, Rwanda and Burundi.

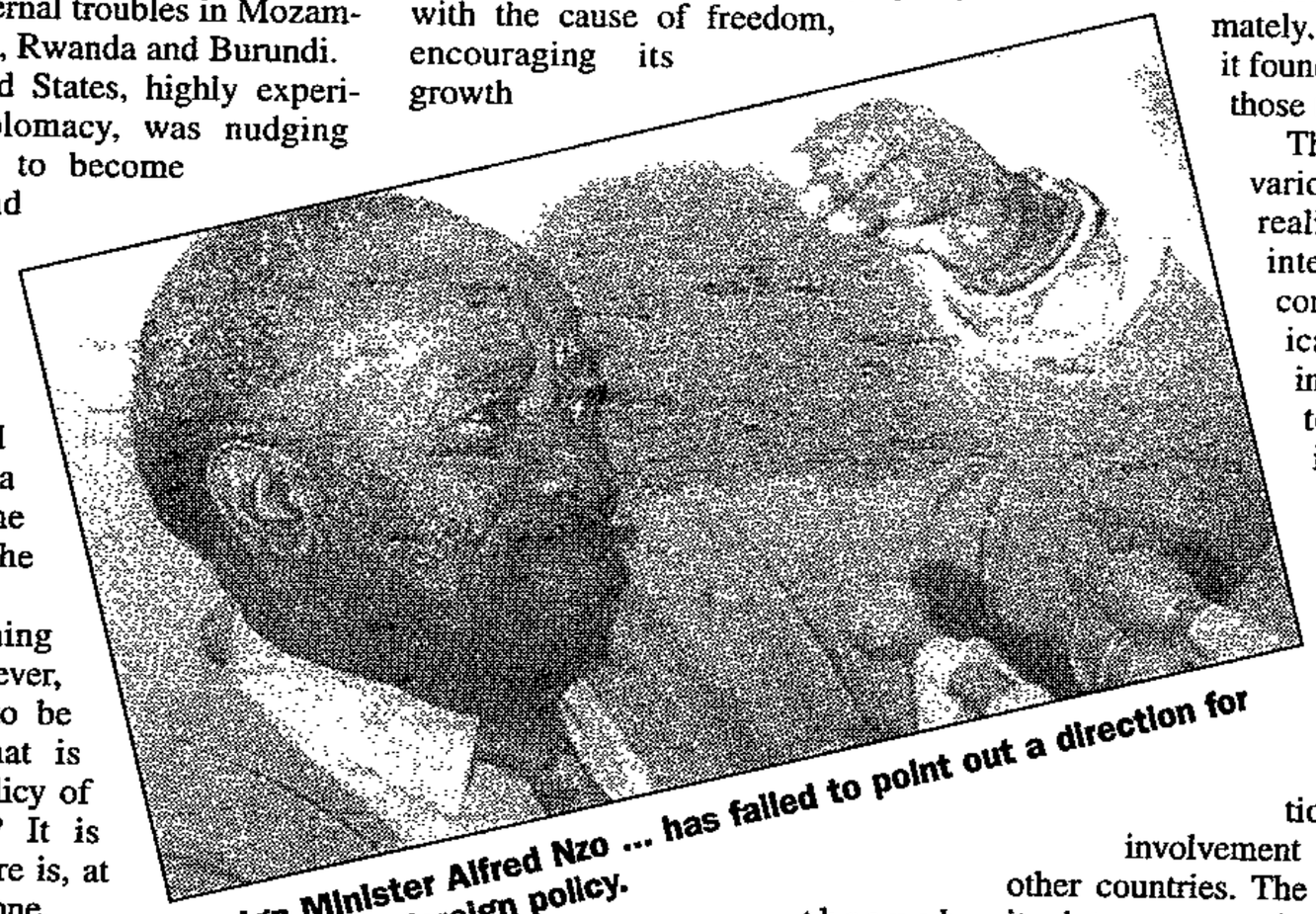
The United States, highly experienced in diplomacy, was nudging South Africa to become directly and physically involved in these problems. Good sense prevailed, and South Africa only became involved at the periphery.

The burning question, however, still remains to be answered: what is the foreign policy of South Africa? It is safe to say there is, at the moment, none.

At the moment, there is nothing to learn from the languid corridors of the Union Buildings. At this stage, it would be more helpful to establish what South Africa can learn from the foreign policy formulations of other countries.

In this respect, let's attempt to establish how the US evolved its foreign policy. Since independence in 1783 the US has had three basic concerns for foreign policy.

These are national security, a desire to protect and foster trade, and the feeling of a national mission of sympathy with the cause of freedom, encouraging its growth through the world. In line with these factors, the US followed a policy of isolation. This policy was neatly summarised by Thomas Jefferson as follows: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."



Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo ... has failed to point out a direction for the country's foreign policy.

In 1823 the Monroe Doctrine became the cornerstone of US foreign policy until 1962.

The policy was against interference in American affairs by European countries.

However, the US then embarked on a policy of colonialism and went on to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. At first, when the First World War and the Second World War broke out, the US did not want to get involved. However, events overtook the US and ultimately, albeit reluctantly, it found itself involved in those two wars.

Thereafter, through various policies and realising that US interests were not confined to the physical US only, it increasingly began to take part in international affairs.

Korea, Vietnam and Cuba – all these events wrested the US away from its policy of isolation to one of involvement in the affairs of other countries. The US realised that its interests can best be served by involvement in the affairs of those countries.

From this example, what can South Africa learn? It is important to outline the aims and objectives of the foreign policy of South Africa.

For example, what are the interests of South Africa internally and externally? Obviously, if the good life promised by the majority in Parliament is to be achieved, the aims and objectives of foreign policy should enable the country to do just that.

Therefore foreign policy would aim at, among other things, massive investment in South Africa. South Africa would, then, conclude diplomatic relations with those countries that would enable it to achieve the goals which it set for itself.

In the case of the US, it realised that the interests of its citizens could best be served by keeping an eye on the goings-on in the internal affairs of other countries.

If there is a similarity in the experiences of the US and those of South Africa, then it would be in the interests of South Africa to consider what it can learn from the American experience.

In the interests of the development of a foreign policy, South Africa should know and analyse the strengths and weaknesses of its neighbours, on the continent and abroad.

What wealth do they produce that can benefit South Africa? In which way can South Africa influence developments in those countries to its benefit? Such intelligence should be gathered, analysed and adapted to suit the needs of our foreign policy.

South Africa should also develop a foreign policy that will allow it to influence events in other countries to its own benefit.

The intention of South Africa's foreign policy should be to enable it to be a leader in Africa. It should also enable South Africa in the long run to share the centre stage of international leadership with the US and some European countries.

(Dr Kekana is a history lecturer at Vista University.)

Watchdogs 'watched'

cp 3/9/95
(304A)

By RAFIQ ROHAN

THE MINISTER of Safety and Security is aware of the activities of a shadowy underground group called the "Revolutionary Watchdogs", whose aim is to "unite the whole of Africa in a United States of Africa".

The organisation was founded after disgruntled members split from the PAC in 1990, Sydney Mufamadi told Parliament this week in response to a question from Piet Matthee (NP MP).

The Revolutionary Watchdogs do not operate from official offices, but usually make use of the homes of its more prominent leaders.

These leaders are Neo Ester Chipape, Phakamile Walaza, Percy Yende, Joe Moropa, Mandla Zulu and Mangadi Seboko.

The size of the organisation is unknown to Mufamadi.

Aims

In addition to uniting Africa, Parliament was told that the aims of the organisation were to:

- Uphold the objectives and aims of the 1959 PAC constitution;
- Develop Africans politically, economically, culturally and educationally;
- Put a socialist order in place in the Republic of South Africa;
- Return all the land to its original black owners.

Asked why he tabled the question, Matthee said he was pressed for time and would provide a comment later.



MUFAMADI . . . Aware of the Watchdogs.

ANC's call to silence Die Stem

CHRIS BATEMAN
POLITICAL STAFF

(304A)

CT 4/8/95

THE government should do away with Die Stem, a meeting of the ANC's national executive committee decided at the University of the Western Cape at the weekend — and give provinces direct representation in the senate.

The NEC also re-affirmed the property clause in the Bill of Rights which prevents the state from expropriating land unless it is for "public purposes" and a market related compensation price is paid.

According to one NEC recommendation, Nkosi Sikele iAfrika, which could have an Nguni, Sotho, Afrikaans and English version, should be the national anthem and Die Stem should be scrapped.

The restructuring of the senate was necessary to increase the collective power of provincial legislatures in national law-making, while encouraging inter-provincial co-ordination and "co-operative governance".

It was agreed that the present senate structure did not ensure dynamic representation of provinces' interests.

The party also re-affirmed its commitment to finding an effective role for traditional leaders.

It said that at national level there should be a House of Traditional Leaders with powers regarding matters of traditional authorities and customary law.

The NEC said the constitution should provide for a national attorney-general appointed by the president in consultation with the cabinet.

Other decisions were that the electoral dispensation should combine proportional and constituency-based representation, provision for a president with ceremonial and executive powers and a deputy president and president not holding office for more than two terms.

ANC calls for 'Nkosi' as sole anthem, but in four langages

■ POLITICAL STAFF

Cape Town — The ANC's national executive meeting in Cape Town at the weekend rejected the proposal of a prime minister to take the place of a proposed deputy president.

An NEC resolution said it wanted to "reiterate its previous position and make provision for a president with both ceremonial and executive powers and for a deputy president" and that the president should not hold office for more than two terms.

South Africa's national anthem should be Nkosi Sikilel' iAfrika, which could have an Nguni, Sotho, Afrikaans and English version, the NEC decided.

The future electoral dispensation should combine proportional and constituency-based representation, said the NEC.

And with the senate not properly facilitating its intended role of representing provinces, the NEC adopted proposals to ensure direct representation of provincial MPLs in a new senate or council of provinces, **Sapa** reports.

This would increase the collective powers of provincial legislatures with regard to national law-making, and encourage inter-provincial co-ordination and co-operation.

The NEC said it wanted an effective role for traditional leaders and a national attorney-general should be appoint ed by the Cabinet.

The NEC wants a clause in the Bill of Rights on property "providing it does not block the goals of land reform and regulation and that the property clause should also be balanced ... by positive rights to land in the Bill of Rights".

Star 4/9/95

(304A)

Parliament in crisis

□ *Professional help needed, Idasa survey finds*

ARG 4/9/95 (304A)

PARLIAMENT is in crisis, and the Speaker should call in professional help to get it running properly, says director of Idasa's public information centre Mamphela Ramphele.

Launching the Institute for a Democratic South Africa survey of MPs and senators, she said today that South Africans should be prepared to accept a lower level of participatory democracy if they wanted parliament run more efficiently.

"I think we have gone overboard with this participatory democracy. There is a limit," said Dr Ramphele.

The survey, aimed at providing the first comprehensive set of data on what Idasa called "South Africa's new parliamentary class", was an unprecedented exercise.

"This survey, which asks the questions that the public wants to ask, and has the right to ask, provides MPs and senators with an historic opportunity to demonstrate that they are really as transparent and accessible to the electorate as they say they are," she said.

The survey questionnaire, which is to be distributed to MPs this week, contains an extensive section on financial interests, asks for information on shares, directorships and other sources of income, property holdings and gifts received since entering parliament.

Idasa's parliamentary information and monitoring service, which compiled the questionnaire, said it recognised that a parliamentary committee was looking into a code of ethics for MPs, including the rules that should govern disclosure on financial interests.

"But we take the view that what we believe to be the public's right to know may differ from what the parliamentary committee decides it is their right to know. Hence we must pursue the answers to the questions independently of that process."

Dr Ramphele believed the administrative and absenteeism problems in parliament highlighted in recent news reports were caused not by "ill will", but by the difficulty of adapting to a new system.

"I do not disagree that some MPs could do with a bit more energy, but I think the majority work very hard," she said.

Speaker Frene Ginwala had to recognise that there was a crisis and that parliament needed professional help to streamline its work and match its resources with the work that MPs and staff were expected to do, Dr Ramphele said.

A strategic plan had to be drawn up.

"A lot of people" in the private sector were willing to help free of charge. She had secured funding for a programme to provide MPs with graduate assistants. The proposal had been put to the Speaker.

Asked why this had not gone through, Dr Ramphele replied: "We would like to know too, and we would like to continue discussions with the Speaker." — Sapa.



PARLIAMENTARY SURVEY: Mamphela Ramphele, director of Idasa's public information centre, and Richard Calland, manager of Idasa's parliamentary information and monitoring service, with a copy of the survey of MPs and senators. Dr Ramphele has warned that parliament is in crisis.

Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus.

Nzo: Foreign Affairs needs to be open

CT 5/9/95 (304A)

PRETORIA: Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo yesterday dismissed as grossly exaggerated allegations that Foreign Affairs officials were clinging to past bad habits and operating in secrecy as an elite circle of specialists.

However, he told a conference of heads-of-mission here, his department needed to act responsibly in dealing with privileged information while achieving a high degree of transparency.

It was necessary for his departmet to determine how it could best serve South Africa's interests, and a policy review would be reasonable in view of the new government, Mr Nzo said.

There had been a profound break with the past and the way had been opened for rebuilding the nation.

South Africa was committed to promoting human rights and democracy in the interests of Africa and the world, but did not aspire to be the dominating force in the region, he said. — Sapa

Mandela to cut short official visit

(304A)

POLITICAL STAFF CT 5/9/95

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela will shorten an official visit to Botswana to address the ANC caucus about the chaotic situation in Parliament.

Mr Mandela will address the caucus on Thursday morning.

ANC parliamentary sources said Mr Mandela was deeply concerned about the administrative and absenteeism problems highlighted in recent reports.

Mr Mandela leaves South Africa for his first-ever official visit to Botswana this morning.

It was to have been a three-day trip but he will now return on tomorrow night and fly directly to Cape Town for the meeting.

Presidential spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed last night that Mr Mandela was shortening his trip to Botswana.

"As the majority party I think we are honest in saying it is a problem. We have the capacity to draw up a plan to address the problem," Mr Mamoepa said.

[redacted] their rights".

Idasa director declares SA Parliament in crisis

(304A) BD 5/9/95

CAPE TOWN — Parliament is in crisis, and the Speaker should call in professional help to get it running properly, says Idasa public information centre director Mamphela Ramphele.

Launching an Idasa survey of MPs and senators yesterday, she said South Africans should be prepared to accept a lower level of participatory democracy if they wanted their Parliament run more efficiently.

"I think we have gone overboard with this participatory democracy. There is a limit."

The survey — aimed at providing the first comprehensive set of data on what Idasa called "SA's new parliamentary class" — was an unprecedented exercise.

"This survey, which asks the questions that the public wants to ask, and has the right to ask, provides MPs and senators with a historic opportunity to demonstrate that they are really as transparent and accessible to the electorate as they say they are."

The survey questionnaire — to be distributed to MPs this week — contains an extensive section on financial interests, asks for information on shares, directorships and other sources of income, property holdings and gifts received since entering Parliament.

Idasa's parliamentary information and monitoring service which compiled the questionnaire said it recognised that a parliamentary committee was looking into a code of ethics for MPs, including the rules that should govern disclosure on financial interests.

"But ... we take the view that what we believe to be the public's right to know may differ from what the parliamentary committee decides it is their right to know. Hence we must pursue the answers to the questions posed independently of that process."

Ramphele believed the administrative and absenteeism problems in Parliament highlighted in recent news reports were caused not by "ill will", but by the difficulties of adapting to a new system, although some MPs could do with "a bit more energy". — Sapa.

Review of foreign ties

Stephané Bothma

(304A)

PRETORIA — Total transparency in foreign policy was not feasible or desirable and legitimate strategic and tactical reasons existed for maintaining certain levels of secrecy, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo said yesterday. BD 5/9/95

But allegations that foreign affairs was limiting foreign policy questions to an elite circle of specialists under a cloud of secrecy were grossly exaggerated, he told a week-long SA heads of missions conference.

The conference is being attended by all SA's ambassadors, high commissioners and consuls-general and is aimed at reviewing foreign policy. A policy review was routine after a change in government, Nzo said.

He said the new SA was welcome everywhere, but could not be everywhere. "We lack the means, and therefore have to make choices. Those choices constitute foreign policy."

He said government had the final say in the decision-making process and that foreign policy could not be made in the marketplace.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who opened the conference, said 91% of SA's budget was being spent on recurrent expenditure. This should be cut so that more money could be available for capital expenditure.

"Maybe we have too many embassies, high commissions, consuls-generals and ambassadors," he said.

Porn court showdown begins

Susan Russell

THE Christian Lawyers' Association is just one of almost a dozen women's rights and other lobby groups who will make submissions to the Constitutional Court today when it sits to consider the validity of current anti-pornography legislation.

In the first case of its kind to come before the court, the 11 judges will be asked to rule on whether provisions of the Indecent or Obscene Photographic Matter Act violate freedom of speech and other constitutional rights.

The matter was referred to the court on behalf of three people prosecuted under the Act in two separate criminal cases. Both cases are pending a Constitutional Court decision.

Lawyers acting for Johannesburg couple Patrick and Inga Case and Roy Curtis are attacking the section of the Act which prohibits the possession of obscene photographic material including film and video tapes.

They accept that the State may legitimately legislate against certain forms of pornography such as that which exploits women and children in the context of "violence, degradation and (as) victims".

However they argue that the "overbroad and vague" terms of the present Act unjustifiably violate the constitutional right to personal privacy, equality and freedom of speech. They also want the Publications Act scrutinised.

Lobby groups, including the Christian Lawyers' Association and the State, arguing against a total scrapping of the Act, concede that sections of the legislation might be too broad at present, but submit they should remain in place until any defects have been amended by government.

ANC slammed over bid to drop Die Stem

Star 5/9/95 (304A)

■ BY PATRICK BULGER AND MICHAEL SPARKS

Cape Town – Far-reaching decisions taken by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) at the weekend – including dropping *Die Stem*, reshaping the Senate and entrenching a property rights clause in the new constitution – evoked widespread reaction yesterday.

The NEC meeting was held to finalise the ANC's approach to crucial issues facing the Constitutional Assembly, which is drafting a new constitution.

Reacting to the decision to propose that *Die Stem* be dropped, NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk alleged the ANC was "playing party politics with South Africa's national symbols".

The Cabinet had only recently decided upon a new shortened anthem that included both *Die Stem* and *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. If *Nkosi* became the sole anthem, Van Schalkwyk said, it would mean South Africa would have the same anthem as a number of other African countries.

The ANC proposed four verses of *Nkosi* in Nguni, Sotho, Afrikaans and English.

On the Senate, NP constitutional spokesman Fanus Schoeman said the ANC was trying to limit the powers of provinces by replacing the Senate with a council of provinces. The NP opposed the idea of collective power over provincial affairs and said this would make inroads into provinces' individual competencies.

The NP welcomed the retention of the property rights clause.

DP leader Tony Leon also welcomed the decision as his party regarded property rights as "an essential element of fundamental freedom and liberty".

"A well-formulated property rights clause should not prevent the State from addressing the needs of the homeless or the landless," Leon said.

The NP criticised the ANC NEC's call for a national attorney- general, saying it would undermine the credibility of the attorney-general.

Meanwhile, Afrikaner cultural organisations said that if changes were necessary to the existing two national anthems, then they would rather have a whole new anthem, rather than just *Nkosi*.

Dr Frits Kok, managing director of the Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging, said the ATKV supported the combined use of *Nkosi* and *Die Stem*. Since they had both played a unifying role, if only one anthem was used it would be very divisive.

Kok emphasised that he liked *Nkosi* as a song very much. The ATKV had translated the anthem into Afrikaans and distributed 15 000 copies of it.

The Rev Henno Cronje, chief executive of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, agreed that *Nkosi* was a beautiful song. He was concerned that the ANC's proposal would not contribute to unity in the country.

He also proposed a whole new anthem if at least one of the existing ones was scrapped.

Healing old wounds

President Nelson Mandela's visit to Botswana might be overshadowed by the demand for apartheid reparations, **Pamela Dube** of our Political Staff reports

(304A) Sowetan 5/9/95

PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA'S visit to Botswana, which starts today, is seen as an important move in cementing relations between the two countries.

However, when Mandela and Botswana President Ketumile Masire meet, serious issues are likely to come up that could open old wounds.

Although this is not Mandela's first visit to Botswana, it is his first since he became President. When he was released from prison in 1990, Botswana was among the first states he paid a courtesy call to.

He went back a year later to attend the ad-hoc committee meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Gaborone, which focused more on impending changes in South Africa at the time.

Mandela's most publicised visit to Botswana was last year, a few weeks before being inaugurated as President. This was when Lesotho security forces were on the verge of overthrowing Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle's infant government.

Mandela, who was accompanied – or was it the other way round? – by then president FW de Klerk, met with Masire and then Frontline States chairman, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, to find a solution to the Lesotho crisis.

Last week Mokhehle told the Southern African Development Community summit that the intervention of the three presidents had paid dividends. A dialogue to restore peace among the Basotho starts this month.

On this week's visit to Botswana, Mandela will pay tribute to the contribution of the Batswana to the South African liberation struggle.

The visit – which will take Mandela to the village of Serowe, the birthplace of Botswana's first president, Sir Seretse Khama – is a "thank you" gesture.

In Serowe the President will lay a wreath at Khama's grave at the Bangwato Royal Cemetery. After that Mandela is expected to address a *Kgotla* meeting at the village, which for decades housed many prominent South African exiles, including the late writer Bessie Head.

Mandela will also pay tribute to the victims of the former South African regime. Of particular importance is the wreath-laying ceremony at the graves of the 12 South African freedom fighters and Batswana who were killed by the South African Defence Force on June 14 1984 at the height of the cross-border raids

But it will be economic factors that are bound to dominate the visit, in line with the cooperation treaties of SADC. Mandela himself sees the visit as a way of enhancing bilateral relations and advancing economic growth in both countries, according to a statement from his office.



Botswana's President Ketumile Masire.



South Africa's President Nelson Mandela.

Strong economic links already exist between the two countries, with about 80 percent of Botswana's industrial imports coming from South Africa.

"Botswana, often hailed as an economic success story, grew from being one of the poorest countries in the world to being the fastest-growing economy between 1980 and 1990," the statement says.

Both states recognise the role of the South African private sector in the economic growth of Botswana, particularly in diamond mining. Mandela will also meet with the local business community, many of whom are South Africans.

Mandela's office says South Africa's ministers of land affairs, foreign affairs and defence have visited Botswana in the past two years to promote cooperation in various matters. A draft agreement on defence, security and crime control is currently being discussed by officials of both governments.

It is not clear whether the controversial Mapharangwane Air Base, allegedly sponsored by the United States, will come up for discussion between Mandela and Masire.

The base, the biggest in Africa, was denounced by Mandela before he assumed the presidency as an unnecessary facility in the region.

The visit to the graves of victims of cross-border raids is also expected to bring to the fore the question which South Africans do not talk about: reparations.

Sources within both the Botswana government and the South African delegation say Masire's government is intent on persuading upon Mandela to pay for the destruction caused by the National Party government.

The question has been shelved for a decade now and feelings in Botswana are that Mandela's government, although not responsible for the raids, should pay up.

"To some it might not be a major issue, best left in abeyance for the sake of a harmonious relationship," said one University of Botswana academic who preferred to remain anonymous.

But the feeling, especially among those who lost houses and those whose children died for protecting ANC freedom fighters, is that the time has now come to show appreciation.

As usual, Mandela will also call on the ANC's old ally, Botswana National Front president Dr Kenneth Koma. BNF, whose deputy president Mr Michael Dingake served 15 years on Robben Island as an ANC activist, has in the past made no bones about the fact that Masire's ruling Botswana Democratic Party cannot claim sole contribution to the South African struggle.

In fact, BNF officials have on many occasions accused Masire's government of being "close buddies of the enemy", the NP, a claim which has always been denied by Masire's party.

However, Mandela made it clear that those were internal politics, best left to the Batswana.

MPs critical of Idasa survey

Political Correspondent

A SURVEY of parliamentarians by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) has run into flak from at least two parties.

National Party chief whip Hennie Smit has dismissed the survey, which asks MPs to disclose a wide range of personal and financial data, as "premature", because parliament is planning its own rules of disclosure of personal information.

"We will not encourage our members to fill it in," he said.

A lot of the questions were "very personal".

According to an Idasa Press statement the survey asks MPs questions as diverse as "How many shares do you own?" to "What do you do to relax?"

Mr Smit said his party was not opposed to a code of ethics or to disclosure. ARG 6/9/95

At its caucus meeting last week, it had approved proposals to be put to the conferring committee of the national assembly and the senate which was to draw up the rules for disclosure.

Democratic Party chief whip Doug Gibson was highly critical of the survey.

He said he had spent an hour with its drafters discussing possible questions but this discussion had not been taken into account in the final draft.

ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile was not available for comment. (304A)

Government departments blamed for parliament crisis

(250) (304A) ARG 6/9/95

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

ACTING Speaker of the national assembly Bhadra Ranchod has blamed government departments for the crisis in parliament.

As the legislature groans under a huge workload in a rush to meet next week's deadline for recess, parliament has been left red-faced by failure to raise quorums to pass vital legislation.

The crisis has prompted President Mandela to cut short a state visit to Botswana to deal with the crisis.

Party whips met yesterday to discuss possible solutions. An announcement of measures may be made today.

Responding to the criticism, Dr Ranchod said the main problem was a dearth of legislation earlier in the session because of government departments failing to meet deadlines.

"Parliament has been blamed for problems emanating from another source."

A new generation of MPs had brought a commitment to participatory democracy, which had led to changed rules and an expanded role for committees.

To make it work, adequate human and financial resources were needed.

Dr Ranchod made it clear that parliament was not complacent in its response.

The Speaker, Frene Ginwala, and president of the senate, Kobie Coetsee, had commissioned a study on management techniques for parliament. But the implementation of recommendations in the study would take time.

Already one step had been taken to try to impose order on the legislative flow — the office of the Leader of the House, the link person between the cabinet and parliament, was to be expanded.

The Leader of the House, Trevor Manuel, is also a cabinet minister, a burden which he said had left him little time for his duties to the national assembly.

ARG 6/9/95

Civil servants get blame for logjam

(250)(304A)

THE ANC has confirmed that President Nelson Mandela will address the caucus tomorrow on parliament's management crisis, but blamed civil servants for the logjam undermining the last two weeks of the session.

"The ANC rejects the suggestion that parliament is in a state of crisis. The ANC is honest enough to acknowledge that while there exist problems with the parliamentary programme, this does not imply the existence of a crisis," the ANC said.

Mamphele Ramphele, head of Idasa's parliamentary monitoring service and Deputy Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, said on Monday that parliament was in a crisis and needed professional help.

Parliament is due to adjourn for the year on Friday next week, but MPs are still trying to process at least 44 bills, including some of the most significant measures since the elections last year.

"The current problems are actually a manifestation of the failure of the civil service to process this legislation in time to meet the deadlines for the present parliamentary session," the ANC said. — Reuter.

Botswana, SA 'will co-operate'

CT 7/9/95

(304A)

GABORONE. President Nelson Mandela and his Botswana counterpart Mr Ketumile Masire yesterday committed themseves to combat cross-border crime and work towards regional economic viability and stability.

Mr Mandela said the economies of the two countries were linked and could only prosper together.

"Economic interaction based on principles of mutual benefit and inter-dependence, will turn our region into an economic bloc strong enough to make its mark in an increasingly competitive international market."

Both countries are members of the Southern African Development Community.

"Joint action to combat crime is necessary to defeat any evil plans," he said.

Mr Mandela laid wreaths on Tuesday afternoon at the graves of victims of a June 1985 cross-border raid by the South African Defence Force which killed 15 people. — Reuter

Anger grows over the absent MPs

(304A) ARG 7/9/95

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

THE national assembly will be asked to approve a motion calling on President Mandela and other top office-bearers to solve the administrative crisis in the legislature.

Democratic Party chief whip Doug Gibson gave notice of the motion on the eve of an address today by Mr Mandela to the African National Congress caucus.

The National Party has applied for an urgent debate on the crisis.

Mr Gibson said the "bastion of democracy" should operate effectively.

It was deplorable that the national assembly was functioning in a desultory, inefficient manner, with over-long sessions that took up much of the year but produced little.

MPs were left too little time for constituency work and research.

The legislative process was suffering because of indiscipline by the cabinet and government departments.

Some committees had impossibly overcrowded programmes, which hindered their ability to consult properly.

His motion calls on Mr Mandela, the cabinet, the Speaker of the national assembly, the president of the senate, the leader of the house and party whips to take steps during the recess to improve the situation.

Yesterday the joint standing committee on defence failed for the third time to raise a quorum, prompting chairman Pieter Groenewald (FF) to say that taxpayers' money was being wasted.

In a statement, the ANC joined in blaming the civil service for failing to process legislation in time to ensure the smooth running of the national assembly.

Meanwhile, a senator, Piet Gous (FF), has said the other house should not be tarred with the same brush.

"The activities of the senate are conducted in a spirit of healthy debate and with a sense of responsibility in regard to the purpose and duties of the institution," he said.

Dr Gous, chairman of the select committee on land affairs and agriculture, said his committee had never had to adjourn over lack of a quorum.

Reuters reports that parliament asked for R82 million in foreign aid to bolster its failing operations — but rejected a United States-funded graduate internship programme.

Bernie Fanaroff, director-general of the reconstruction and development programme, said yesterday that parliament had asked for R82 million from a pool of foreign development funding to bolster the operations of the committees.

Richard Calland of the Institute for Democracy for South Africa's public information service told reporters the government had ignored an offer of an American-funded back-up programme.

106 ANC, NP MEMBERS ABSENT

Opposition parties block crucial bill

(304A) CT 8/9/95

THE ANC and NP yesterday lost a crucial vote to amend the Constitution by 25 votes, with 106 of their own members absent. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

AN ANC and National Party-backed Constitutional Amendment Bill was shot down by the combined opposition parties yesterday, putting the November 1 local government elections in serious jeopardy.

They lost the vote by 25 — with 106 ANC and NP members absent when the vote was taken.

The smaller parties turned out in full force, with 64 out of a possible 82 voting against the bill.

Now the elections will have to be aborted if a key clause, which amends the Constitution to allow the elections to be staggered, is not enacted before Parliament adjourns next Friday.

After the vote stony-faced Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Roelf Meyer said: "As far as I am concerned, Parliament will stay here until we pass this bill."

The joint sitting of Parliament required two-thirds of all MPs and senators to approve the amendments and change the constitution — 327 out of 490 — but only 302 voted for them.

The vote was an embarrassing setback for the ANC and the National Party, both of which backed the proposed amendments.

But the smaller opposition parties were jubilant and cheered enthusiastically when the Deputy Speaker Dr Bhadra Ranchod announced the result.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, the Freedom Front, the Democratic Party, the PAC and the African Christian Democratic Party all opposed the amendments. Sixty-four voted against the measure.

Another joint sitting will be called next week in an attempt to obtain the required majority.

"This is not the end of the world," Mr Meyer, said last night. "We will bring it to Parliament again next week, so that it can be passed."

At present, the Constitution lays down that local government elections should be held throughout the country on the same day. Unless this is changed, it will be illegal to stagger them.

With a sizeable parliamentary delegation in Beijing for the women's conferences, the Foreign Affairs committee leaving this weekend for Taiwan and various MPs on leave of absence, it could be politically risky to plunge into another straight vote on the measure without prior negotiation.

Last night Mr Meyer conceded that there would be problems for the local government elections if the amendments did not go through.

The IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said that from the outset his party had tried to point out the bill's disdain for constitutionality.

'Banana republic'

Submitting the bill again in the same form "would really make us a banana republic", he said.

The chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Mr Pravin Gordhan, said the defeat was "not a reflection of the merits of the bill.

"The lesson for the majority party is that their whipping structures must be efficient enough to ensure their votes are available," he said.

"The minority parties find themselves in a strange alliance."

Mr Gordhan added that the reasons for opposing the bill were "flimsy".

Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday abandoned an earlier decision to hold a special caucus meeting last night to be addressed by President Nelson Mandela.

The caucus was scheduled to discuss the chaos in Parliament caused by the lack of quorums.

Instead, Mr Mandela attended an ANC national working committee meeting.

Extra funds mooted to oil Parliament's wheels

(3044)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The blame for recent administrative problems in Parliament rested mainly with the Cabinet and government departments, acting National Assembly speaker Bhadra Ranchod said yesterday. However, it was not in chaos.

"Our primary job is to pass legislation, but the material has not come through on a regular basis from departments this year — and now we have a flood," he said.

Steps would be introduced soon to deal with the growing number of administrative problems. "It is not chaos yet."

However, yesterday saw the postponement of the second reading of the State of Emergency Bill because a printing press had broken down, and the defence committee was unable to approve legislation establishing civilian control over the military because most members were absent.

Ranchod maintained that absenteeism was not the main problem. "We need to look at the whole relationship between the executive and the legislature, and between the National Assembly and parliamentary committees." Political parties were responsible for discipline.

Steps in the pipeline included extra funds from government to appoint support staff for MPs and parliamentary committees; a new office with full-time staff to assist an "overworked" leader of the house in the assembly, and Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel; and the creation of a channel between the legislative and executive arms of government to ensure a steady flow of draft legislation from the executive.

BD 6/9/95

Continued on Page 2

Parliament

(3044)

BD 6/9/95

Continued from Page 1

MPs have until next Friday, when Parliament adjourns, to deal with more than 40 pieces of legislation. Ranchod said there was "no indication yet" that the session would have to be extended. However, Parliament was abuzz with rumours that night sittings might become necessary.

Ranchod said Speaker Frene Ginwala, who was attending a UN conference on women in China, "has indicated to me that she has been able to secure extra funding for Parliament".

He was unable to provide figures, except to say "it will be expensive".

Meanwhile, a government source said President Nelson Mandela would not cut short his trip to Botswana, but "will find a way" of communicating his concern about absenteeism among MPs and the administrative problems in Parliament.

Humiliating defeat for ANC, NP

Parliament fails to pass key changes

(304A)

BD 8/9/95

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and the NP suffered a humiliating defeat when Parliament failed yesterday to pass controversial constitutional changes which affect everything from local government elections to payment of traditional leaders.

Despite having a collective 83% of votes in Parliament, the ANC and NP members failed to breach the two-thirds hurdle prescribed for constitutional changes.

The embarrassing failure underlines the problems in Parliament where there has been a spate of absenteeism and allegations that legislation is being rushed.

Cheers went up from the opposition benches when it became apparent that only 302 votes were registered in favour of the Bill — 25 short of the necessary amount because more than a quarter of ANC and NP MPs were absent. The remaining parties voted against the Constitution Second Amendment Bill, which will allow local government elections to be staggered, among other things.

ANC and NP members sat stunned when the vote was announced, but members of both parties vowed that the vote would be retaken either today or early next week.

The legislation is controversial because it also backdates constitutional changes which allow payment of traditional leaders by national government. This will effectively obviate a Constitutional Court challenge to the previous constitutional changes which were made without consulting the House of Traditional Leaders which has not yet been established.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said later the changes were so important that "as far as I am concerned, MPs will stay here until the legislation is passed". He said it did not appear that NP members had voted against the Bill, which has caused some unhappiness in NP ranks.

ANC MP and parliamentary constitutional committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said he did not believe failure to pass the legislation reflected on its content.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he gained some satisfaction from the fact that the Bill was not passed because it entailed a diminution of constitutionalism. He did not see how the Bill could simply be reintroduced, suggesting this would make SA look like a banana republic.

DP MP Colin Eglin said the Bill had been presented in a "pressure cooker atmosphere", with some amendments being finalised only one day before it was put to Parliament. Many changes were necessary because laws had been passed which could conflict with the constitution. Instead of this legislation being changed, the constitution was being changed to suit government's immediate needs.

Meyer denied this, saying no permanent constitutional changes were being introduced, only certain transitional measures.

The ANC postponed its caucus meeting last night which the President was to address. Problems would be discussed at a national working committee meeting.

● Comment: Page 12

Parties close ranks against ANC over Bill

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The Freedom Front, NP, DP and IFP walked out of the parliamentary education committee yesterday, protesting that the ANC was "steamrollering" the controversial National Education Policy Bill through the committee.

NP MP Piet Marais described the joint news conference held after the walkout as "historic", as the four parties had never before "closed ranks against the undemocratic behaviour of the ANC".

He said committee chairman Blade Nzimande had refused to allow the committee to hold hearings from interested parties on the Bill but Nzimande denied that the ANC was against calling interested parties to give evidence on the legislation. The legislation would not be delayed and it would be passed by the committee with or without the support of the other parties.

Marais said the protesting parties were considering their options, with a desire expressed to take the legislation to the Constitutional Court.

Marais said the legislation, which dealt with critical issues related to the powers of national and provincial governments, was presented to the committee on Monday.

Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu had said the Bill would be passed during the current session, which Marais said would leave no time for proper consultation.

IFP MP Sybil Seaton decried the ANC's "dictatorial attitude".

Other MPs said parliamentarians could

Continued on Page 2

Parties

Continued from Page 1

not simply be "rubber stamps".

Nzimande said if the Bill was not passed during the current session, there would be chaos in schools next year.

The problem was that the parties objecting all represented white constituents whose schools were comparatively stable, but the reconstruction of black schools could not be obstructed, he said.

Nzimande said he had offered to hold public hearings on the Bill after it was passed. Amendments could be suggested and presented to Parliament next year.

Objecting parties said this procedure was highly irregular for such an important piece of legislation.

● See Page 12

No-show MPs cause voting defeat

Slap in face for the ANC

(3044) Star 8/9/95

■ BY PATRICK BULGER

Cape Town – A joint sitting of Parliament yesterday handed the ANC and the NP an embarrassing defeat when two-thirds of the 490 MPs failed to support a controversial constitutional amendment.

If it is not passed by next Friday when Parliament rises, it would have serious implications for the local government elections due on November 1, Constitutional Affairs and Provincial Development Minister Roelf Meyer said.

The Bill seeks to amend several clauses of the Interim Constitution. Most controversially it dispenses with the need for the president to consult with an as yet non-existent council of traditional leaders.

The amendment would have allowed him to sign the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill that has been delayed following legal advice he received. The Bill also amends the constitution to allow local government elections to take place on different days in different provinces.

IFP members leapt to their feet when Deputy Speaker Bhadra Ranchod announced that the majority vote of 302 had failed to reach the 327 necessary to pass the amendment.

CRISIS could have serious implications for November 1 local government elections

Constitutional amendments require a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly and Senate sitting together.

ANC and NP members alleged that members of the DP, the PAC, the Freedom Front and the ACDP had "ganged up" against the NP and ANC to defeat the amendment. Sixty-four MPs voted against the Bill.

The Second Amendment Bill had been steered through the portfolio committee on constitutional affairs amid IFP protests that it was an attempt at constitutional gerrymandering.

Meyer said after the session adjourned that he was confident all NP members present had voted in favour of the amendment. The Bill would be brought in front of another joint sitting before Parliament adjourned at the end of next week, he said.

"As far as I am concerned, Parliament will stay here until the Bill is passed," Meyer said. He indicated the Bill would be reintroduced in the same form next week and he was confident it would then be passed.

Meyer conceded that there would be major problems for the elections if the amendment did not go through.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi shared his backbenchers' joy at the ANC-NP defeat.

"A statement has been made because from the very outset we tried to point out the disdain for constitutionality," Buthelezi said. Submitting the Bill again in its same form "will really make us a banana republic".

Earlier during debate on the Bill, IFP MP Peter Smith said the amendment was the "most pernicious piece of legislation this Parliament has received".

He alleged the Bill was the "birth of the banana republic", concluding: "God save South Africa and all the people who live in it."

■ President Mandela cancelled his meeting yesterday with members of the ANC caucus, where he was expected to berate his MPs for their tardy attendance at meetings where important votes were taken. Instead, he was due to meet the ANC's national working committee last night.

Idasa challenges MPs to prove transparency

ARG 8/9/95 (304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

A CHALLENGE has been issued to MPs and senators to use the controversial Idasa public information centre questionnaire "to live up to their commitment to transparency".

The alternative was "old style" silence and secrecy.

Centre director Mamphela Ramphele delivered the challenge in response to criticism of the questionnaire from some parties in parliament.

Dr Ramphele said: "The questions we are asking on behalf of the public are not dissimilar to those that form the ANC's own code of conduct, and are in line with common practice elsewhere."

She added: "In any case, the duty of the Public Information Centre goes beyond the individual political parties."

It was up to the public to judge whether or not the questions were appropriate.

The centre would "go ahead with those people are who prepared to answer questions".

While those who chose not to had a democratic right to keep silent, "we will have to weigh up the option of telling members of the South African public so that they can judge for themselves".

She added: "The survey provides a unique opportunity for MPs to live up to their commitment to transparency.

The survey tested what she regarded as "a number of basic things", including MPs':

- Outside financial interests "to see if they can act in the public's interest without conflicts of interest arising".
- Records.
- Suitability for office.

(11B)

ANC, NP fail to pass Bill

Poor attendance by ANC and NP MPs cost them majority decision

Sowetan 8/9/95

(30HA)

PARLIAMENT'S crisis deepened yesterday as the ANC and National Party together failed to pass constitutional legislation vital to the pending local government elections, and opposition parties walked out of a key education committee.

The NP threatened to boycott committees next week to protest what it said was the "bulldozing" of legislation through Parliament without sufficient consultation.

Government Ministers and parliamentary officials met last night to assess how the failure to pass the Bill would affect the elections due on November 1.

A constitutional amendment allowing staggered local elections, supported by both ANC and NP, failed to pass because not enough MPs and Senators from these parties turned up to make the required two-thirds majority.

The Constitution Second Amendment Bill was opposed by the Democratic Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, Pan Africanist Congress and the African Christian Democratic Party.

Yesterday's failed constitutional Bill needed support from 327 of the 490 MPs and Senators, but the ANC and NP together could muster only 302 votes. The opposing parties polled 64 votes.

Deputy Speaker Mr Bhadra Ranchod said it would be brought before the House at a future date.

In another development yesterday the NP and opposition parties walked out of a key education committee to protest what it described as attempts to "bulldoze" Minister Sibusiso Bengu's controversial Education Policy Bill through Parliament.

MPs representing the NP, FF, DP and IFP said they were united behind a demand for the Bill, which puts control of education policy into central Government hands, to be tested in the Constitutional Court.

With several major pieces of legislation tabled in the last week, the Ministers of Labour, Education and Land Affairs all want Bills they are herding passed before Parliament adjourns next week.

A special ANC caucus meeting at which President Nelson Mandela was to crack the whip about absenteeism and other administrative crises in Parliament was postponed yesterday.

ANC MPs filed into the Old Assembly Chamber shortly before 5pm but were told Mandela would make his points at an extended National Working Committee instead.

Mandela's return to Cape Town after a two-day state visit to Botswana yesterday afternoon was delayed in Gaborone about an hour, presidential spokeswoman Priscilla Naidoo said. – *Sapa.*

Parliament report touches a nerve

WM 8-14/9/95 (304A)

THREE Members of Parliament have contacted the *Mail & Guardian* about last week's story on absenteeism in the National Assembly.

The African National Congress' David Dalling has pointed out he has been absent because of major surgery to his foot. The failure of this surgery has prevented his return and forced him to have a further operation. He plans to return to Parliament in a wheelchair as soon as his health permits.

The *M&G* had reported that he had "handed in medical certificates to justify his five-month absence due to ankle problems".

ANC whip Jannie Momberg wrote to say he was "extremely disappointed" by the article, which quoted the register as showing he had been away for 25 days of the first part of this year. The article pointed out that the register was inaccurate.

"If (the writer) had come to me for my side of the story, I could have ... explained that in March I went to Durham in England on an official World Cross Country delegation. In May, I was away to give speeches in Amsterdam at the request of the South African ambassador.

"I could have explained to her that the register was wrong on seven days when I was actually marked absent and was present, and that on two days I was ill, for which I handed in a doctor's certificate," he wrote.

"Where the whole article creates the wrong impression to the public is that it is a crime or sin or transgression to use the 30 days to which a member is entitled to be absent. These days can be used in various ways and most members make use of it."

A letter from Inkatha MP Farouk Cassim appears on Page 27.

Meanwhile, Parliament's whips met on Tuesday to discuss ways of restoring its "battered image".

Deputy Speaker Bhadra Ranchod, who co-chaired the meeting with Senate President Kobie Coetsee, stressed the need for parties to stand together to protect Parliament's dignity, sources at the meeting said.

Several whips characterised the meeting as "an attempt to close ranks and put a brave face on the problems".

Ranchod was expected to announce plans to improve Parliament's efficiency later in the week.

On Monday, Idasa Public Information Centre director Mamphela Ramphele said Parliament was in crisis and needed professional help.

On Tuesday, as the whips were meeting, the National Assembly's defence committee was unable to summon the quorum necessary to approve a Bill establishing civilian control over the military.

Sources at Tuesday's meeting said all parties agreed something had to be done to get Parliament in order and legislation processed more efficiently.

Deputy President FW de Klerk told the South African Press Association on Tuesday that Parliament needed new management mechanisms and a chief whip of Parliament, who should be above party politics. This had worked well in the past and would bring order to Parliament.

President Nelson Mandela, who was earlier reported to be cutting short an official visit to Botswana to meet the ANC caucus on Thursday, had decided to complete his trip and was due to meet the caucus on Thursday evening, his spokesman Parks Mankahlana said.

How accessible are MPs?

WM 8-14/9/95 (3044)

Gaye Davis

THE rumblings began almost as soon as the survey teams hit the cobblestones in the Parliamentary precinct.

It was, said Dr Mamphela Ramphele, director of Idasa's Public Information Centre (PIC), a historic opportunity for MPs and senators to prove they were really as transparent and accessible to the electorate as they claimed to be — but not everyone saw it that way.

Teams of students started delivering the PIC's seven-page folio of questions to MPs and senators on Monday, asking each to sign on receipt. The survey will provide the first comprehensive picture of South Africa's parliamentarians.

By Wednesday, National Party chief whip Hennie Smit was reported as saying NP members would not be encouraged to fill it in. It was unclear whether this was because he believed the survey was "premature", as Parliament was busy formulating its own rules for disclosure, or because he found many of the questions "very personal". DP chief whip Douglas Gibson was also reported to be "highly critical" of the survey.

Its 161 questions move from the easy (personal details, education and political background) through the tricky (a declaration of financial interests, such as details of shares and property owned, and gifts worth more than R200 received) to the sticky (Are you planning to apply for amnesty, and for which act?).

"A number of the questions will appear intrusive. And, in a sense, they are: in politics, the only questions worth asking are those that are challenging," said Richard Calland, manager of the Parliamentary Information and Monitoring Service (PIMS) at Idasa's PIC.

bly in plenary session. Yet pathetically little seems to have been achieved.

Thus the draft clauses relating to the structures of parliament say: "Parliament consists of the National Assembly and . . ." A footnote directs the reader to the extraordinary statement: "The question of the Senate is contentious. Consequently, no provisions on the Senate were included in this draft." In other words, the political parties are not sure what the Senate stands for.

Within parliament, much has been made of absenteeism. The standard excuse offered by MPs is that they are so involved in committee work they cannot attend sittings.

Though parliament's order paper lists an excessive number of committee sittings — and often constitutional ones as well on any day — the sittings are usually not so onerous as to preclude parliamentary attendance.

On any afternoon, the ANC benches appear most depleted. And, because of its large number of MPs, the ANC does not have to spread its members around a plethora of committees. They are not overworked.

In terms of important legislation passed this session, many of the observable problems — as opposed to anecdotal gossip among press gallery correspondents — relate to the huge administrative burden that rests on House Leader and Trade & Industry Minister Trevor Manuel.

Manuel is a competent Minister who presides over a complicated portfolio that must evaluate technical issues such as subsidies, protection and access to world markets. He has had occasion to scold the legislative drafters for not co-operating effectively, but the fact remains that the customary pressure at the end of any session is taking its toll.

Important legislation, though admittedly much of a politically correct nature, will most likely have to be held over.

If there is a fault, it lies in the ANC's desire to push through the wholesale transformation of everything — from labour to gender relations — within 18 months. From one view, this is absurd; from another, it accords well enough with the idea that piecemeal reform is the kind most likely to fail.

Finally, a little noted factor is playing a disproportionately abrasive role: language.

Last week, in an interpellation — a mini-debate, in which a Minister must engage in verbal cut-and-thrust on issues relating to his portfolio — Inkatha members insisted on speaking Zulu. Under House rules, to have enough time to organise for translation, 24 hours' notice must be given if a speech is to be made in any language other than English or Afrikaans.

The Inkatha speakers were clearly making an ethnic point. Perhaps it deserves to be made — if for no reason other than that it underscores the ridiculousness of having 11 official languages. But it proved time-consuming and tedious. Again, party political points were being scored.

PARLIAMENT (3049)

Chaos unbundled

FM 8/9/95

The flurry of recent alarmist reports over parliament's alleged inability to get through its work schedule by the end of this session on September 15 is based on reality.

By one estimate, there are at least 60 committees of parliament, either looking at ways and means of transformation — which is how truth, gender and abortion commissions were born — or scrutinising the more mundane laws referred to them.

Attending these meetings can be dispiriting. The party political bickering would astonish anyone who thinks the Government of National Unity is intended as some kind of coalition in the national interest. It isn't. It results from political compromise; and with local elections looming, the parties taking part are being as vociferous as possible to score electoral points.

Parliament also doubles as the Constitutional Assembly (CA), entrusted with drafting the final basic law. Here progress has been so scant that numerous deadlines have been missed and the possibility of getting a new constitution by May is receding.

The extent to which the CA — its laggard nature emblematic enough of the cumbersome procedures of the 490-member National Assembly and Senate — is struggling with elementary concepts, not to mention the vocabulary of constitutionalism, is contained in documents laid before the CA on August 25. Draft clauses have been prepared for consideration by the full Assem-

CURRENT AFFAIRS

The new parliament is so radically different in its workings and intentions from the old that blockages are inevitable. With municipal elections ahead, this session cannot be extended.

A vast amount of grass-roots organisation, not to mention voter education, must be carried out if the elections are not to be even more of a farce in some areas than the last general election was.

ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile is said to be concerned about the effects that attending parliament is having on the marriages of his "young men." But, without an effective overturning of old habits of thought and practice, the marital bliss of young comrades should be the least of his worries. ■

Angry ANC recalls members from China, and targets its truant MPs

Star 9/9/95 (304A)

By ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC has recalled members attending a United Nations conference in China – and will institute disciplinary proceedings against MPs absent from Parliament for a crucial vote on a constitutional amendment on Thursday.

This follows the defeat of the amendment – supported by the ANC and the NP – when the two parties failed to achieve the required two-thirds majority.

The ANC has also postponed a visit to Taiwan by the foreign affairs committee.

ANC chief whip in the Senate, Bulelani Nqcuka, told the Saturday Star that ANC MPs who were absent without permission would face a disciplinary hearing.

A spokesman for Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa confirmed the bill would be voted on again once it had been read on Tuesday.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, Democratic Party, Pan Africanist Congress, Freedom Front and African Christian Democratic Party voted against the amendment.

On Thursday IFP MP Sybil Seaton called for a division, which meant that after the bells had been rung a formal vote was taken.

The result of the joint sitting of the National Assembly and Senate – required to make constitutional amendments – was met by applause by those opposed to the amendment.

After the sitting, IFP MP Walter Felgate told the Saturday Star: "It has given some hope that the ANC's march to majoritarian tyranny is being threatened."

ANC MP and chairman of the National Assembly's constitutional affairs committee Pravin Gordhan said the voting was no reflection on the merits of the bill.

TO PAGE 2

Star 9/9/95 (304A)

♦ ANC recalls members

He said it was an important lesson about the efficiency of the ANC's whipping structures.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it appeared that there had been an arrangement between the IFP, FF, DP, ACDP and PAC to vote against the Bill. However, Parliamentarians from these parties yesterday denied this.

It is understood that some of the ANC whips are angry that they alone are being blamed for the insufficient number of MPs present on Thursday. Said one: "We were told at a very late stage in the debate that there would be a division."

On Thursday 304 NP and ANC parliamentarians voted in favour of the amendment and 64 voted against it. This meant that a further 23 votes were necessary to approve the Bill.

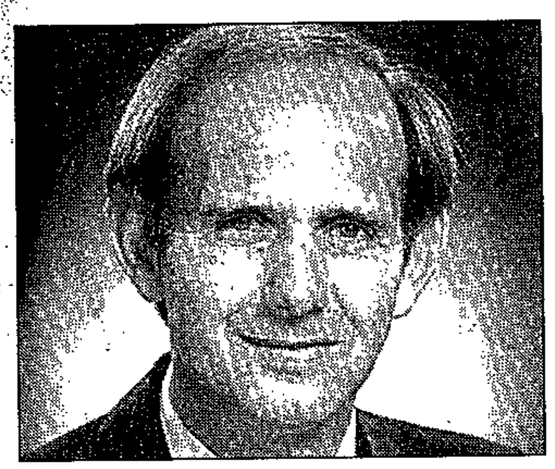
NP whip in the National Assembly Gert Oosthuizen said 26 MPs out of a total of 82 from his party were absent with permission on Thursday. His counterpart in the Senate, Attie Jooste, said five NP senators were absent with permission. This meant that 68 NP MPs and senators were at Thursday's debate.

Said Oosthuisen: "The NP is not the majority party. It was not my duty to see that the bulk of members were there. It was my duty to see that a sufficient number of members were there. I had made ample provision for two-thirds of the (NP) MPs to be there."

An ANC whip said 65 of the 312 ANC MPs and senators were absent during the debate.

Parliament drifts, flounders and trips

Star 9/9/95 (304A)



No quorum. Row upon row of empty seats. Not enough MPs to pass the budget.What on earth is going on? KEN ANDREW, DP MP and spokesman on finance takes a look at some of the problems

The failure two weeks ago to have a quorum of Members of Parliament in place for the passing of the Appropriation Bill was yet another glaring indication that the parliamentary system is not working as it should be.

Many people are concerned about whether the Members of Parliament they elected are actually working, and whether in fact Parliament is functioning at all.

In many respects the new Parliament is far better than the old. It is more transparent, it is far more inclusive, there is greater public access and a more open-minded approach. But the political machinery is not working.

There are a number of reasons for this. Most importantly, there is insufficient leadership and no hands-on approach because the complexity of Parliament has been underestimated by the government. For instance, the two people most crucial to the process are severely constrained by other obligations.

The Leader of the House, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel, holds an extremely demanding portfolio and cannot devote enough time to his other duties.

Likewise, the Reverend Arnold Stofile, chief whip of the majority party, is frequently away or occupied with other responsibilities. As a result of the poor and somewhat chaotic management of Parliament there is an enormous amount of time and effort wasted and it is little wonder that members are becoming demoralised and cynical.

This has contributed to the poor attendance at both the National Assembly sittings and committee meetings. The problem is compounded by the fact that neither the President nor his deputy are available and prepared, in practice, to be answerable to members in the National Assembly. This conveys the distinct impression to members that National Assembly sessions are considered by the Cabinet to be routine gatherings which have to be tolerated.

The result is that parliament has drifted and floundered and tripped as the pressure has mounted.

These problems will not go away, and we need a fundamental rethink of the system rather than tinkering with what we have.

It is vital to reorganise our Parliament so that its members can do the job they were elected to do. Fundamental changes are necessary, both in the mindsets of Members of Parliament and in the rules of Parliament.

It is a fallacy to believe that MP's are only working when they are occupying seats in the National Assembly or committees. In fact, any MP who sits in the National Assembly day in and day out, irrespective of the debate being conducted, is almost certainly not being productive. MP's have a myriad of tasks aside from debating legislation.

They should also be researching and keeping up to date in particular fields of interest, networking, assisting individuals and communities with problems they may have, and taking initiatives to improve the quality of life of ordinary people by improving the quality of performance of government.

But the theoretical power of members to perform any role at all has to a large extent become empty, because there are inadequate backup resources. Parliament will not function satisfactorily so long as members have

> *The political machinery is not working due to poor leadership*

workloads and demands which they cannot cope with.

In New Zealand, each member has a fully equipped parliamentary office, a full time executive parliamentary secretary, a constituency allowance covering the cost of a constituency agent and a fully equipped office and an allowance for constituency newsletters. There is an allowance for researchers amounting to one researcher for about every five members.

The South African system, which does not even permit a full secretarial allowance, is laughable by comparison, and it is vital that this situation be improved.

MP's have critical functions to perform, but they cannot do this under the pressure of their enormous workloads.

They must have time available to do adequate research and spend time assisting voters and attending parliamentary committee meetings. The Australian Parliament sits for four days a week with a pattern of two weeks on and two weeks off, and we believe a similar arrangement should be followed here. But these measures will be useless unless Parliamentary procedures are organised more efficiently.

Committees, for instance, play a crucial role in enabling the legislature to study Bills in depth and improve them, in providing ordinary members of Parliament an opportunity to make pro-active, constructive contributions and in giving society an opportunity to have its voice heard. But a plethora of committee meetings, up to 27 a day, are held on sitting days which often encroach on the sitting times of the National Assembly. This means it is impossible to get the full benefit from the committee system.

It is our view that the Leader of the House should be a cabinet minister who has no other portfolios, and that the chief whip of the majority party be available on a full time basis. This would give both the capability to manage the working of Parliament effectively. Parliament also needs to become more relevant by being seen to be addressing the topical issues of the day.

This can be achieved by having Ministers reply to oral questions without notice on a daily basis and providing time for a short, unstructured debate on any issues members wish to raise just before Parliament adjourns each day.

Some problems have little to do with failings of the machinery of Parliament, however. It is a disgrace that few, if any, committee

> *Few meetings start on time and bells ring for 20 minutes or more*

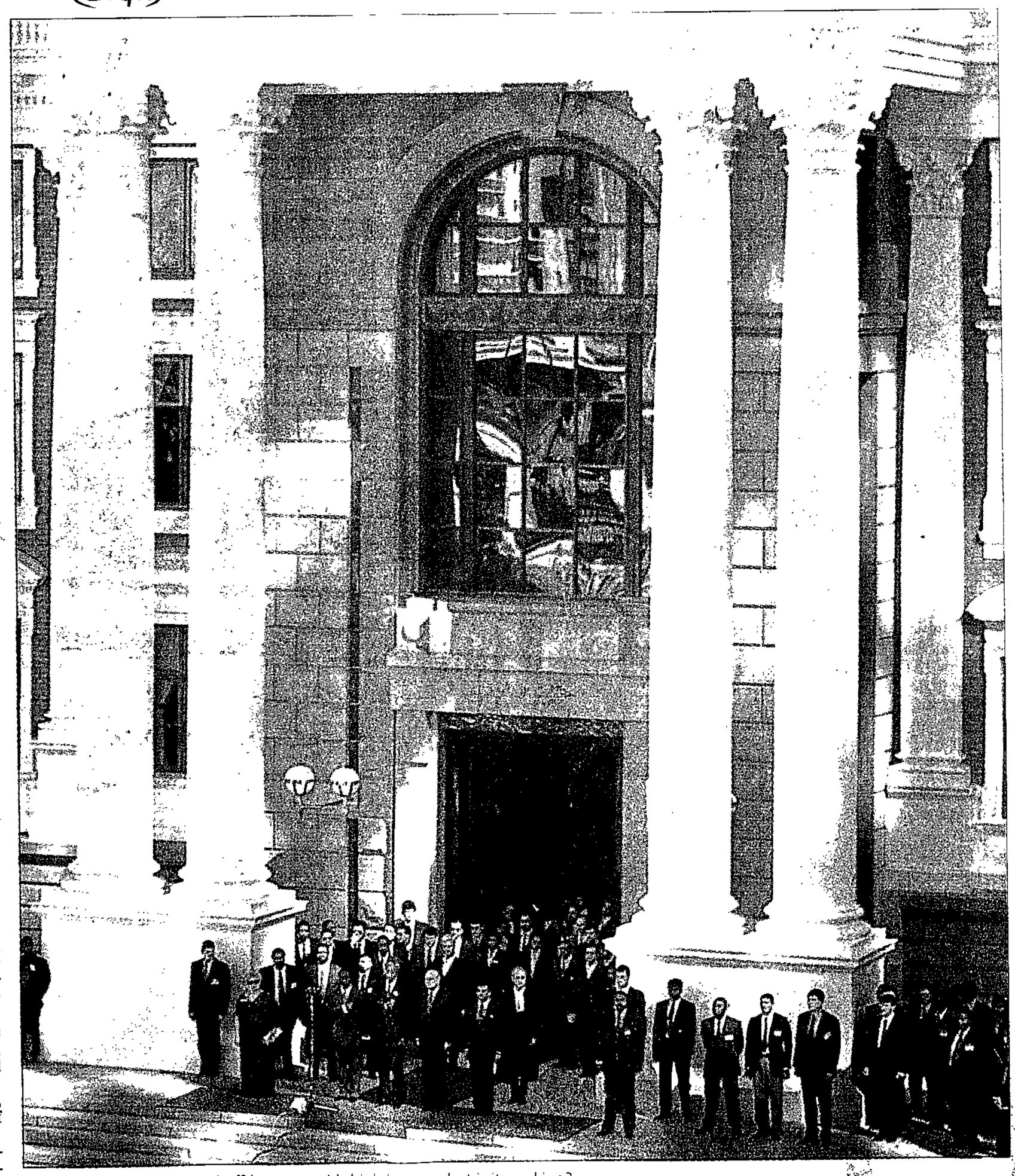
meetings or meetings of the National Assembly start on time and bells frequently ring for 20 minutes or more.

This sloppiness cannot be attributed to any of the defects already discussed and it is the responsibility of every MP to stop this.

While many members are extremely busy, there are too many who are absent from Parliament because they "clock in" and disappear. It is the personal responsibility of members to ensure that this does not happen.

These proposals are not comprehensive, but could provide a basis for substantial improvements.

Further discussion is certainly required, but so is a sense of urgency. We should be moving with deliberate speed to make our Parliament utilise the talents of its members more effectively – and then the tax-paying public can stop worrying about what's happening to their hard-earned money.



The new parliament kicked off last year with high hopes ...but is it working?

Yes, but is it **really** such a shambles?

ARG 9/9/95

■ Is parliament in chaos or is it just an end-of-term rush? PATRICK BULGER reports.

NEGATIVE perceptions about how the first democratic parliament is or is not going about its work have made headlines and cartoons typically depict the Speaker trying to wake two lone and dormant MPs to vote on a Bill.

It's rich stuff indeed and the stereotype of the freeloading MP provides perverse pleasure to an overtaxed and underserved public. But the role the legislative process as a whole plays in the political bedroom farce should not be spared closer scrutiny.

The interim constitution has taken much of the sting out of parliamentary life by threatening to strip MPs of their seats should they cross the floor to an opposition party. In this instance the ANC is assured of its majority which is 249 of the 400 members of the National Assembly and 60 of the 90 senators.

Some of the other reasons the legislature is now just another player on the political scene are: the GNU coalition in the executive, the fact that parliament is now subordinate to a Constitutional Court and has to legislate alongside statutory and influential institutions like Nedlac and the provincial governments.

Parliament is now less important than it was before and this is frustrating to MPs who had envisaged a less obstacle-bound and more obviously influential legislative course.

ON a day-to-day basis parliament is peopled by MPs and by the 1 000-odd full-time officials who service the operation. They include the service staff who perform the most menial functions and who threatened to go on strike earlier this year.

Now it is the MPs themselves who seem to be on a go-slow. An example is the failure of the national assembly defence portfolio committee to attract a quorum three times in a row. The MPs are certainly at fault because too many of them do not bother to pitch up to meetings or to even apologise for their absence.

If the principle of proportional representation is followed, the ANC must shoulder the biggest proportion of blame. In one sense there are too many ANC MPs to allow for much people-management. ANC whips admit to problems of discipline in such a large caucus and fines of R100 are levied on truants on occasion.

With the possible exception of some in the IFP, the problems of discipline do not really affect the other parties. Their members are often attorneys or professional politicians who genuinely like parliamentary work anyway.

The ANC has its own professional politicians. And even its core of about 100 genuinely productive and hardworking MPs outnumbers the full NP complement of 82 in the assembly. Beyond that core of ANC MPs are the others — mothers separated from children, quite old people far from home, an unlikely backbench of legislators which even includes a poet or two.

For many of these parliamentary work is no fun.

Conveniently then, the NP, the DP and the Freedom Front present themselves as parties of efficiency and great punctuality in a parliament drowning in a morass of Third World sloth.

APART from MPs' personal or political weaknesses, there is the matter of how parliament is organised. While the old parliament also had committees of MPs to peruse bills they were closed to the public. Now they are sites of inter-party negotiation on legislation. They conduct public hearings and amend bills. They can even delay bills. This process takes time.

But the real danger now is not in parliament "breaking down". Rather it is that ill-considered legislation will be rushed through before the deadline next Friday. In the long run this would be more damaging to parliament than the spectre of administrative chaos.

What on earth is going on?

PARLIAMENT IN CRISIS . . .



■ No quorum. Row upon row of empty parliamentary seats. Not enough MPs to pass the budget. What on earth is going on? asks **KEN ANDREW.**

(304A) ARG 9/9/95

FAILURE two weeks ago to have a quorum of members of parliament in place for the passing of the Appropriation Bill was yet another glaring indication that the parliamentary system is not working as it should be.

Many people are concerned about whether the members of parliament they elected are actually working and whether, in fact, parliament is functioning at all.

In many respects, the new parliament is far better than the old. It is more transparent, far more inclusive, there is greater public access and more open-minded approach. But the political machinery is not working.

There are a number of reasons for this.

Most importantly, there is insufficient leadership and no hands-on approach because the complexity of parliament has been underestimated by the government. For instance, the two people most crucial to the process are severely constrained by other obligations. The leader of the house, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manual, holds an extremely demanding porfolio and cannot devote enough time to his other duties. Likewise, the Rev Arnold Stofile, chief whip of the majority party, is frequently away or occupied with other responsibilities.

As a result of the poor and somewhat chaotic management of parliament, there is an enormous amount of time and effort wasted and it is little wonder that members are becoming demoralised and cynical. This has contributed to the poor attendance at both the National Assembly sittings and committee meetings.

The problem is compounded by the fact that neither the president nor his deputy are available and prepared, in practice, to be answerable to members in the national assembly. This conveys the distinct impression to members that national assembly sessions are considered by the cabinet to be routine gatherings which have to be tolerated.

The result is that parliament has drifted and floundered and tripped as the pressure has mounted. These problems will not go away, and we need a fundamental rethink of the system rather than tinkering with what we have.

IT is vital to reorganise our parliament so that it's members can do the job they were elected to do. Fundamental changes are necessary, both in the mindsets of Members of parliament and in the rules of parliament.

It is a fallacy to believe that MPs are only working when they are occupying seats in the national assembly or committees. In fact, any MP who sits in the national assembly day in and day out, irrespective of the debate being conducted, it almost certainly not being productive.

MPs have a myriad of tasks aside from debating legislation. They should also be researching and keeping up to date in particular fields of interests, networking, assisting individuals and communities with problems they may have, and taking initiatives to improve the quality of life of ordinary people by improving the quality of performance of government.

But the theoretical power of members to perform any role at all has to a large extent become empty, because there are inadequate backup resources. parliament will not function satisfactorily for as long as members have workloads and demands which they cannot cope with.

In New Zealand each member has a fully equipped parliamentary office, a full-time executive parliamentary secretary, a constituency allowance covering the cost of a constituency agent and a fully equipped office and an allowance for constituency newsletters. There is an allowance for researchers amounting to one researcher for about every five members.

The South African system, which does not even permit a full secretarial allowance, is laughable by comparison and it is vital that this situation be improved.

MPs have critical functions to perform, but they cannot do this under the pressure of their enormous workloads. They must have time available to do adequate research and spend time assisting voters and attending parliamentary committee meetings.

The Australian parliament sits four days a week with a pattern of two weeks on and two weeks off and we believe a similar arrangement should be followed here.

But these measures will be useless unless parliamentary procedures are organised more efficiently. Committees, for instance, play a crucial role in enabling the legislature to study bills in depth and improve them, in providing ordinary members of parliament an opportunity to make pro-active, constructive contributions and in giving society an opportunity to have its voice heard. But a plethora of committee meetings, up to 27 a day, are held on sitting days, and more often than not they encroach upon the sitting times of the National Assembly. This means it is impossible to get the full benefit from the committee system.

IT is our view that the leader of the house should be a cabinet minister who has no other portfolios and further that the chief whip of the majority party be available on a full time basis. This would give both the capability to manage the working of parliament effectively.

Parliament also needs to become more releveant by being seen to be addressing the topical issues of the day. This can be achieved by having ministers reply to oral questions without notice on a daily basis and providing time for a short, unstructured debate on any issues members wish to raise just before parliament adjourns each day.

Some problems have little to do with failings of the machinery of parliament, however. It is a disgrace that few, if any, committee meetings or meetings of the national assembly start on time and bells frequently ring for 20 minutes or more. This sloppiness cannot be attributed to any of the defects already discussed and it is the responsibility of every MP to stop this. While many members are extremely busy, there are too many who are absent from parliament because they "clock in" and disappear. It is the personal responsibility of members to ensure that this does not happen.

These proposals are not comprehensive, but could provide a basis for substantial improvements. Further discussion is certainly required, but so is a sense of urgency.

We should be moving with deliberate speed to make our parliament use the talents of its members more effectively — and then the tax-payers can stop worrying about what's happening to their hard-earned money!

■ Ken Andrew is a Democratic Party MP and DP spokesman on finance.

(304A)

Inquiry probes its own investigator

ST 10/9/95

By RAY HARTLEY

AN INVESTIGATION aimed at improving the management of Parliament has run into an unexpected snag — allegations of financial impropriety.

Deputy Secretary to Parliament Chris Lucas confirmed this week that a problem had arisen with "the financial status" of one of the members of a consortium hired to conduct the investigation.

Mr Lucas would not name the company connected to the "financial problem" or divulge details of the alleged irregularities, saying only: "We just felt that we should sort out the matter of the personal financial position of the members on the crew."

He said a letter had been sent to the person concerned, requesting an urgent meeting.

"It is a matter of the legitimacy, the validity, the value of such a report on the management structure of Parliament being prepared by someone who may have a financial problem," Mr Lucas said.

The management project is part of an R82-million effort to improve Parliament initiated by Speaker Frene Ginwala and Senate President Kobie Coetsee.

Funding from European countries has apparently already been obtained for projects to improve the support services for MPs and committee chairmen.

But funding is still being sought for other projects.

Ms Ginwala's spokesman, Lawson Naidoo, said further details of the projects would be made public this week.

GERMANY TO ACT 'AS BIG BROTHER'

Kohl to sign deal with SA

CT 11/9/95 (346) (304A)

THE German chancellor's visit to SA this week will boost investor confidence, says **ANTHONY JOHNSON.**



TAKING A BREAK: German Chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl took time out yesterday to visit Signal Hill with his entourage before embarking on a punishing schedule today. He is to address Parliament, among other appointments. He arrived in the city on Saturday. PICTURE: AP

DR HELMUT Kohl's visit to South Africa sparked official hopes at the weekend that the current strong man of European politics will act as "Big Brother" for SA interests in the European Union.

Expectations were also raised that the historic first visit to the country by a German chancellor, accompanied by leaders of German banking and industry, would spearhead a fresh wave of investment and technical assistance from the richest and most powerful nation in Europe.

Special relationship

Government officials and diplomats in both countries characterised the five-day visit as part of a far more assertive drive by Germany to forge a "special relationship" with SA, as well as other members of the Southern African Development Community.

At a meeting with President Nelson Mandela this morning Dr Kohl will sign a confidence-building investment protection agreement and a technical co-operation agreement, which includes a major vocational training programme.

Details of these and other agreements will be fleshed out today by the chancellor, Deputy Presidents Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

To further cement ties between SA and its major trading partner, Chancellor Kohl is expected to invite Mr Mandela to pay an official visit to Germany. No date has been set for such a visit but SA embassy officials said March/April next year was a possible date.

Dr Kohl has invited the cream of Germany's banking, industrial and business community to join him on this visit.

The delegation includes top executives from Mercedes Benz, Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, the public sector trade union and the steel giant Thyssen.

Dr Kohl said at the weekend that he was prepared to use his good offices to improve SA's relations with the EU, which last year accounted for 44% of this country's total trade.

Market access

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Aziz Pahad had said on the eve of Dr Kohl's visit that he hoped Germany would support the improved conditions of access to the European market SA has been pushing for in negotiations with the EU.

The head of the German/SA Chamber of Commerce, Mr Klaus Schuurman, said the chancellor's visit was "a sign of German confidence in SA and will give a clear sign to German business already in the country to increase its stake." Germany has 360 major companies in South Africa that employ 60 000 people.

Today's signing of an investment protection agreement would, he said, add to foreign investment confidence and address questions such as the free transfer of capital.

South Africa's ambassador to Bonn, Ms Lindiwe Mabuza, was equally bullish about the benefits that could flow from Mr Kohl's visit. She said the twinning of German federal states with SA provinces — an issue high on the Chancellor's agenda — would lead to management, technological, cultural and other exchanges.

Informal twinning agreements already exist between Bavaria and the Western Cape, Lower Saxony and the Eastern Cape and North-Rhine Westphalia and the Northern Transvaal. A delegation from Baden-Wurttemberg is expected to sign a twinning agreement with another province next month.

The visit will be followed by a high-powered German economic ministry delegation to ensure proper follow-through and put more meat on the bones of agreements made during this week's visit.

Provinces to get new powers

ARG 11/9/95 (304A)

☐ *Mandela makes big concession to federalists*

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has opened the door for greater powers for provinces in the new constitution.

In a major concession by the leader of a party which has taken a strong centralist line in constitutional talks, Mr Mandela emphasised he was prepared to be flexible about increased powers for provinces.

The federal character of the constitution would be widened if it could be proved this would improve peace and stability.

Mr Mandela made the remarks during a joint doorstep press conference at Tuynhuys with visiting German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

A top delegation would be sent to Germany to study its federal constitution.

Its report would be carefully studied.

Dr Kohl said every possible assistance would be given to the delegation.

Mr Mandela and Dr Kohl witnessed the signing of agreements on reciprocal encouragement ,and protection of investments and a framework agreement on technical co-operation.

The agreement on reciprocal investment protection and encouragement signals an intensification of economic co-operation and is an attempt to create favourable conditions for investment by citizens and companies of both countries.

The agreement will protect investors from expropriation and nationalisation. It will be retrospective, applying to investments made before the signing.

Dr Kohl said he regarded Germany's contribution to education and vocational training as a key element of his visit.

Germany had a lot to offer to give young people better prospects of improving their lives.

He was convinced that South Africa and Germany would take an important step forward in fostering relations.

Dr Kohl paid tribute to Mr Mandela and to South Africa for the achievement of democracy.

Mr Mandela, noting Germany's status as a leading trading partner, said twinning agreements between provinces and German federal states was adding a new dimension to relations between the countries.



GERMAN ACCORD: Trade and and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel, left, President Nelson Mandela and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl after signing agreements at Tuynhuys today.

Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus.

NEWS NATIONAL

'Whites still ruling the roost'

In spite of changes, white people still dominate in most life's spheres

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST apartheid was not over and could be illustrated in the nursing strike which crippled major Gauteng hospitals this week, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told the Black Editors Forum in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Mbeki said the management of South Africa's economy remained in predominantly white hands, adding that whites dominated many professions, including journalism.

"The newspapers and magazines are, despite protestations to the contrary, predominantly white-owned, edited by whites and largely written by people drawn from the same sector of our population."

He said tertiary institutions did not reflect the demographic composition of the population, both in terms of race and gender.

The homeless, unemployed and illiterate remained predominantly black and the realities of apartheid's legacy were still experienced by most.

He said the "architects of apartheid" left the country with a huge public debt and little to spend on development and the delivery of services. It left those working in the bottom and middle echelons of public service badly paid.

Mbeki referred to a National Party Member of Parliament, whom he did not name, making a speech in which he (the MP) quoted Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma as saying nursing was not a profession and nurses could be replaced by any man in the street.

The MP said the statement was inflammatory and caused a tense atmosphere in the nursing fraternity.

Mbeki said Zuma had never made such a statement.

"The statement was fabricated in its entirety by those who wanted to see the eruption among the nurses which we are now experiencing in some of our health facilities". – *Sapa.*

Parliament may ignore convention

(3049)

Tim Cohen BD 12/9/15

CAPE TOWN — Parliament will make a second attempt to pass wide-ranging constitutional changes today after failing to gain the necessary majority last week, but will first have to suspend certain parliamentary rules.

Experts in parliamentary procedure said yesterday that it was a convention that Bills presented but rejected could not be retabled during the same session without substantial changes. And legislation presented to Parliament first had to be referred to parliamentary committees for debate.

Parliamentary officials confirmed it was intended that both houses should agree to suspend the rules.

Because the constitution is silent on what happens when legislation is not agreed, officials are unclear on the implications of a second vote. One official said it had not been fully appreciated that the constitution represented SA's supreme law. He said the constitution implied that laws presented but not passed could not be tabled again. Only the Constitutional Court could decide.

The Constitution Second Amendment Bill will allow staggered local elections and the payment of traditional leaders at national level.

Provinces may get more powers

Star 12/9/95

Cape Town – The Government was prepared to consider giving provinces more powers to ensure peace, President Mandela said yesterday. But IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi appeared to reject Mandela's offer, saying he wanted the ANC to live up to its agreement on international mediation.

Yesterday's clash between Mandela and Buthelezi on the federal issue took place at separate meetings with visiting German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Germany has long served as a source of ideas for South Africa's constitution makers. But ties between the IFP and Kohl's Christian Democratic Union are seen as an obstacle to advice on federalism.

But after seeing Kohl, Mandela undertook to send a delegation to Germany. – Political Correspondent.

(SOUA)

► EU push – Page 6

Kohl backs federalism, says Kriel

ARG 12/9/95

304A

Political Correspondent

GERMAN chancellor Helmut Kohl today endorsed federalism as the best system for South Africa, said Western Cape premier Hernus Kriel.

Mr Kriel was speaking after talks with Dr Kohl at the close of the chancellor's visit to Cape Town.

The undertaking by the central government to send a study group to Germany to examine its federal system was cause for optimism, Mr Kriel said.

President Mandela said yesterday that consideration could be given to expanding the powers of provinces if this would bring peace and stability.

Mr Kriel said South Africa's interim constitution had no more than a whiff of federalism.

"In my discussions with Dr Kohl it became clear he is among a number of people who believe South Africa would be best governed by federal structures.

"He is a committed federalist, as is the National Party."

Mr Kriel said Dr Kohl had told him he could not see how South Africa could succeed with any system other than a federal one.

Mr Kriel said the Western Cape government had not been approached yet to join the delegation to Germany, but would accept an invitation if one was offered.

He and an adviser had visted Germany to study the workings of its constitution.

"I'm convinced that strong powers to the provinces is the only way we can govern this country successully."

A shortage of human resources in some provinces should not hold back the implementation of a federal system, Mr Kriel said.



MADE IT: ANC MP Mr Dave Dalling was wheeled into Parliament yesterday so he could vote on constitutional changes. Behind him is his wife, Zelda. *PICTURE: NICK BOTHMA*

30HA CT: 13/9/95

MP wheeled in to vote

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

ANC whip Mr David Dalling, who is recovering from a major operation on his ankle, was brought into Parliament yesterday in a wheelchair to vote for the amendments to the constitution.

Mr Dalling, who was operated on in May but had to be re-operated on last month after his wounds turned septic, is recovering at his home in Stellenbosch.

Mrs Adelaide Tambo, who was recently admitted to hospital with pneumonia, also got up from her sickbed to vote.

Their votes enabled the ANC and NP to achieve an overwhelming majority of 376-30, well over the two-thirds necessary to amend the constitution.

Mr Dalling said afterwards: "I think it is essential that all members should be here for this important vote."

He said he had hoped to return to Parliament at the end of July, but after the setback with his first operation he intended returning next year.

The veteran MP, who played wing for Northern Transvaal u-19, said he had no cartilage left on his ankle and the bones on his leg had had to be fused with metal bolts. "I think I played too much rugby when I was young," he said.

WALTONS STATIONERY REF. W 79

Parliamentarians putting in overtime on late legislation

BD 13/9/95 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — After trickling in throughout the current parliamentary session, a flood of legislation hit Parliament yesterday, including laws to reform the stock exchange and legislation intended to cut through red tape for development projects.

Sixteen pieces of legislation were debated or were due to be debated in Parliament yesterday, four days before the legislature was scheduled to adjourn.

Included among them were the Labour Relations Bill, the Development Facilitation Bill, the Stock Exchanges Control Amendment Bill, the Financial Markets Control Amendment Bill and the State of Emergency Bill.

Much of the legislation was debated well into the evening, and will be voted on by the National Assembly today and by the Senate tomorrow.

The National Assembly was split into two extended public committees so that different legislation could be debated simultaneously.

The Stock Exchanges Control Amendment Bill will allow fundamental changes to the JSE, including screen trading and dual capacity trading, to begin as scheduled on November 8.

The National Qualifications Framework Bill, which will allow students to transfer credits from one type of academic institution to another, was debated in the Senate, with four opposition parties indicating their opposition to the Bill. The NP, IFP, DP and Freedom Front complained that the Bill, linked to the equally controversial National Education Policy Bill, was being "steamrollered" through Parliament without the necessary consultations.

Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu said the fears raised by the Committee of University Principals were unfounded because the constitution protected academic freedom.

Other Bills discussed by either the Senate or extended public committees were the State of Emergency Bill, which was intended to clarify the powers of the President during states of emergencies, and the Liquor Amendment Bill.

This Bill will establish new liquor boards in line with the new provinces and allows some supermarkets to continue selling beer in some of the former homeland states.

Electoral college for traditional leaders

BD 13/9/95 (304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — MPs hope to conclude today their side of the consultative process for the establishment of the council of traditional leaders which would, among others, help determine chiefs' salaries throughout SA.

The parliamentary constitutional development committee was unable to dispense with the issue yesterday, as intended, because it failed to achieve a quorum.

A constitutional development department spokesman said government hoped to establish the council by year-end.

The council's "advice" would be sought on a range of issues including the role of traditional leaders in local government, he said.

The council would also be consulted on the "application" of the controversial Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act, which allowed for President Nelson Mandela, and not provincial governments, to determine chiefs' salaries. The IFP vehemently opposed the Bill.

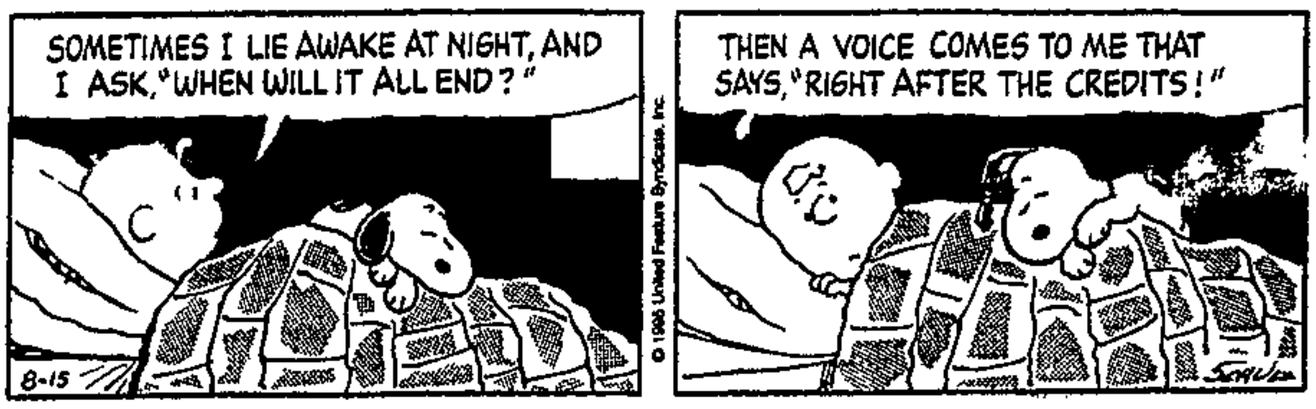
The interim constitution stipulates that any Bill dealing with traditional issues must be referred to the council before it can be passed by both houses in Parliament. The council would not, however, have veto powers. It would, at most, be able to hold up legislation pertaining to traditional matters for a maximum 60 days.

Political parties will today discuss draft rules for the establishment of an electoral college whose job it would be to elect the 20-member council. However, Mandela, in terms of the Act, is not bound by any recommendations made by the select committee for the establishment of the electoral college.

The council would comprise three representatives from each of SA's six provincial houses of traditional leaders — KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Free State, Northern Province, North West and Mpumalanga.

Two extra council members would represent all six provincial houses.

PEANUTS By Charles Schulz



WALKOUT BY IFP: 'WON'T BE TAINTED'

Parliament uproar over new poll bill

CT 13/9/95 (30HA)

MINORITY PARTIES yesterday accused the ANC of using the "bulldozer" methods of the previous regime to push through controversial legislation at the end of the parliamentary session. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports.

THE ANC and the National Party yesterday brushed aside an IFP walkout from Parliament and a barrage of opposition party objections to force through a constitutional amendment allowing local government elections to be staggered.

The passage of the controversial Constitutional Second Amendment Bill — which also allows the President to decide which traditional leaders should serve on local government bodies — came amid a headlong rush by lawmakers to pass at least 36 pieces of legislation before Parliament goes into recess tomorrow night.

As parliamentarians laboured late into the night, sitting simultaneously as three separate extended committees to accommodate the 11th-hour avalanche of legislation, smaller parties claimed the ANC had resorted to the same "bulldozer" tactics as the previous regime to push the laws through.

It is understood that the cabinet will decide today whether Parliament will be forced to reconvene for yet another short session in November.

In a day of high drama in Parliament yesterday, MPs and senators grappled with a wide range of contentious measures, including a bill to revamp the education system and one that changes the face of labour relations in South Africa.

During the heated debate on the amendment that allows third-tier elections to be staggered, Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala was forced to repeatedly call for order to allow speakers to be heard.

'Gulf too great to bridge'
– See Page 4

The measure was re-introduced, over strenuous opposition objections, after the ANC and the NP failed last week to muster the required two-thirds majority needed to change the constitution.

After some opposition MPs charged that the larger parties were "raping" the constitution and flouting the rules of Parliament, the Constitution Second Amendment Bill was eventually passed to cheers and cries of "viva" from ANC benches.

ANC and NP whips were able to muster 376 votes for the amendment against 30 from the Freedom Front, Democratic Party, PAC and African Christian Democratic Party.

Before leading a walkout of IFP MPs and senators from the joint sitting, Inkatha chief whip Mr Koos van der Merwe said his party refused to be tainted by "the politics of expediency".

The ANC labelled the protest part of the IFP's "secessionist agenda" while the NP accused Inkatha of running away when it failed to get its way.

The national assembly debated both the Labour Relations Bill and the Development Facilitation Amendment Bill, a pivotal piece of legislation designed to cut through red tape holding up the delivery of vital RDP projects.

The assembly also debated seven other bills and will debate 15 more today, while the senate raced through seven pieces of legislation, with another five on today's order paper.

WALTONS STATIONERY REF. W 79

Parliament passes amendments allowing for staggered

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Parliament yesterday easily passed constitutional changes which would allow staggered local government elections as the IFP walked out of the highly charged debate.

The debate was a sequel to a failed attempt to pass the wide-ranging constitutional changes last Thursday. It resulted in a clear victory for the ANC and NP which jointly polled 376 votes against 30. But the victory was gained at the expense of invoking the ire of all other parties who either voted against the constitutional amendments or staged a walkout.

Before the vote was taken, the parties voted to suspend certain rules of Parliament which prohibit the same legislation from being retabled during a single sitting. Last week the ANC and NP were defeated when Parliament failed to pass the constitutional changes which also covered traditional leaders' payments. The two parties failed to get the two-thirds majority required for constitutional changes, partly because of absenteeism.

All parties other than the ANC and NP voted against this proposal, which effectively allowed the amendments to be voted on for a second time without being redebated by parliamentary committees.

Opposition spokesmen were scornful of this procedure. Freedom Front MP Joseph Chiole described it as "a total manipulation" of parliamentary procedure while DP MP Douglas Gibson described the event as "a disgraceful display of ineptitude".

PAC MP Richard Sizani said his party was never particularly enamoured by the interim constitution, but one had to question what was being done to the constitution by the very people who wrote it. Replying, ANC MP Pravin Gordhan described the parties' positions as "facile and opportunistic", saying they were short-sighted and "playing to the gallery". They were being petulant by opposing suspension of the rules because they had not got their way and were being short-sighted because amendments were vital for local government elections.

When the vote on the constitutional changes was proposed, IFP MP Koos van der Merwe told the joint sitting that his party could not participate in the "rape" of the institution of Parliament. He then led the walkout.

NP MP Fanus Schoeman said IFP members were behaving like small children — running away if they did not get their way.

See Page 2
Comment: Page 12

Constitutional Bill sparks protest

304A

Star 13/9/95

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town – The IFP staged a protest walkout of a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday as the ANC and NP rallied their members to pass a disputed constitutional amendment that was rejected last week.

The Constitution Second Amendment Bill amends the constitution to allow for staggered local government elections and will also enable President Nelson Mandela to sign the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill.

It was, however, passed amid accusations of constitutional gerrymandering.

The amendment passed by 376 votes to 30 as opposed to the 302 to 64 result of the vote on the same Bill on Thursday last week, easily meeting the requirement that constitutional amendments be passed by a two-thirds majority.

The National Assembly and the Senate had to meet separately before the joint sitting to agree to reintroduce the Bill. Usually, a rejected Bill cannot be brought before Parliament again during the same session unless both houses agree otherwise, which they did.

The motion to reintroduce the Bill sparked a rowdy debate.

The NP's Gerhardus Oosthuizen moved the motion in the National Assembly to reintroduce the Bill, arguing that the local government elections would be in jeopardy without the amendment.

He was immediately opposed by IFP chief whip Koos van der Merwe, who argued that the rules of Parliament did not allow for the Bill to be tabled during the same session in which it was rejected.

The Bill had to be tabled by the minister and had to return to the portfolio committee on constitutional affairs before it could be tabled again, he said.

"The Government is now, together with the NP, effectively suspending the rules of Parliament," Van der Merwe said.

He was supported by the DP's Douglas Gibson, the PAC's Richard Sizani and the Freedom Front's Corne Mulder.

After the assembly voted to reintroduce the Bill, Van der Merwe said the IFP would not lend legitimacy to the "tyranny of the majority". The party's members then walked out.

Star 13/9/95

Cabinet acts on state assets

(304A)

■ BY BRUCE CAMERON

The cabinet will appoint about six high-level task teams within the next ten days to investigate different sectors of state-owned assets for re-organisation and possible sale.

The reports of the task teams have to be completed in time for the last cabinet meeting in December.

The task teams will include representatives of the ministries of public enterprises, finance, and possibly trade and industry, as well as chairmen of those enterprises, but will exclude management and labour "at this stage".

R10-million will be allocated to appoint consultants to the task teams. Jeff van Rooyen, a special adviser to the minister of public enterprises, said research still had to go into the reorganisation of state assets as well as the possible sale, either partial or total, of assets.

Areas where there was no clarity of policy included possible limitations on the percentage-stake a foreign investor could hold in a sold asset, and how individuals could be given a stake in the enterprises.

The government had to ensure the correct regulatory regime was created to prevent a public-sector monopoly from becoming a private-sector monopoly.

Van Rooyen said the state needed more money than could be provided by the Budget to meet its needs, including those of the RDP.

State assets were being divided into three categories: assets which were required to fulfil government policy, assets where government policy was not critical, and assets which were of no concern to the state.

IFP walks out in protest

THE Constitution Second Amendment Bill, which allows staggered local government elections, was passed at a joint session of Parliament yesterday after the Inkatha Freedom Party staged a protest walkout.

The Bill failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority last Thursday, when the African National Congress and National Party – the only two parties supporting the measure – could not summon enough MPs and Senators for the vote. But yesterday they mustered 376 votes against 30 from the Freedom Front, Democratic Party, Pan Africanist Congress and the African Christian Democratic Party.

A minimum of 327 of the 490 MPs and Senators have to vote in favour of a constitutional amendment. The Bill provides for staggered local government elections and for the President to decide which traditional leaders should serve ex-officio on local government bodies.

IFP's Mr K van der Merwe said his party's abstention was to show its objection to the "policies of expediency". – *Sapa.*

'Attack' on Kluever slated

ET 14/9/95

THE NP urgently requested a debate in the national assembly last night on alleged attacks against auditor-general Mr Henri Kluever by Public Service Minister Dr Zola Skweyiya.

Mr Kluever recently told a parliamentary committee that affirmative action was harming the public service's ability to deliver.

Dr Skweyiya subsequently described his statements as "unfounded, destructive and uncalled for", accusing Mr Kluever of having a political agenda. — Sapa



Rememberance ... Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo lays a wreath at the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem.

PICTURE: AFP

Nzo looks at double accord

(304A) Star 14/9/95

Jerusalem – South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo signed a co-operation accord with Israel yesterday, setting up joint committees on science, culture, trade, ecology and agriculture.

"Our interest in bilateral relations is to ensure the building of relations that can benefit our peoples," he told reporters after talks with his Israeli counterpart Shimon Peres.

Nzo, who laid a wreath at Israel's Holocaust memorial, is to meet PLO chairman Yasser Arafat in the autonomous Gaza Strip tomorrow and sign a similar co-operation agreement.

According to Israel state radio, Nzo told Peres he intended to meet Palestinian leaders in east Jerusalem.

Peres sought to dissuade Nzo, the radio reported.

Israel strongly opposes such meetings and tries to limit Palestinian political activity to the autonomous areas. The government says they undermine the Jewish state's sovereignty.

No major foreign power has recognised Jerusalem as Israel's capital following the 1967 annexation of the eastern sector.

The Palestinians demand to have east Jerusalem as the capital of their own future state.

The issue is to be part of negotiations on the final status of the Palestinian territories scheduled to start by next May.

Nzo, who was to meet President Ezer Weizman, is to tour a kibbutz and the country's leading scientific institute today before talks with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in Tel Aviv tomorrow. – Sapa-AFP.

Civil servants to stand for election?

Sowetan 14/9/95

(25) (30(4)A

All candidates will have to meet stringent criteria before qualifying

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

A BILL TO AMEND THE LOCAL Transitional Government Act to enable civil servants to stand as candidates for local government elections will be debated today, spokesperson for the Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, said yesterday.

In the event of this Bill being made law, this will mean that people in the employ of Government – including teachers, police and nurses – will become eligible to become councillors, Izaak Retief said.

The latest development comes at a time when the electoral process is tapering to a close, with candidates and parties gearing to begin with the election campaign. Nominations for candidates and parties close on September 22 .

A day after the closure of nominations, a list of parties and ward candidates will be published, spokesperson for the Electoral Task Force, Mr Paddy Roome said.

However, Roome warned that people hoping to stand as candidates will have to meet certain stringent criteria. These include being up to date with their residential tariffs.

They should be South African citizens and be 18 years old or over.

Roome disclosed that members of Parliament and provincial legislatures are barred from standing as candidates, and so are people who have been declared unrehabilitated insolvents.

Other categories of people who will not be allowed to stand as candidates include the following:

- People who have been declared "mentally unsound";
- People who have been convicted of murder, rape and other serious criminal acts; and
- People detained under the provision of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act.

Roome said ward candidates would have to be supported by at least two percent of the electorate in their respective wards to qualify to become candidates.

Meanwhile the supplementary registrations giving people who did not vote a chance to do so, reopened this week and will close on September 25.

"The supplementary registration process has been put in place in order to help people who did not register an opportunity to do so.

"We are hoping the process will boost the registration figure and contribute to giving the process credibility," Roome said.

Spokesman for the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government Dr Warrick Doring said supplementary registration would take place in the province despite the fact that elections would not be held in the region.

National Parliament this week amended the constitution allowing for staggered elections to take place. This allows provinces that are unable to hold elections by November 1 to have them before the end of March 1996.

Parliament must 'shape up' — MPs

(3044)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CT 15/9/95

AS parliamentarians last night wrapped up the 1995 session with a flurry of lawmaking, MPs from across the political spectrum acknowledged that a major task lay ahead to improve the image and efficiency of Parliament.

During a snap debate on the negative image of Parliament, MPs admitted that a number of teething problems had arisen but rejected suggestions that the institution was in a shambles.

Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala said some media criticism of Parliament was true, but reports of chaos were not.

She announced that the cabinet had approved an additional R82 million for Parliament to function more efficiently. An extra R9m had been allocated to the committee section and R15,7m for support services for MPs.

Of the 95 bills received by the national assembly this year, 88% were approved.

Dr Ginwala said Parliament's critics should remember that nazi Germany had prided itself on its trains being on time, but "we should be proud of our democratic performance".

However, NP speakers were more critical of the functioning of Parliament. Deputy leader of the House Dr Dawie de Villiers said the management of Parliament was in need of major repairs.

"We need to put our house in order. We are perceived as a lazy, undisciplined and disorganised lot — dealing with important matters of state in an often irresponsible manner," he said.

NP chief whip Mr Hennie Smit said the negative image created about the functioning of Parliament was affecting investor confidence.

IFP chief whip Mr Koos van der Merwe admitted that Parliament had been beset by a number of problems during the year, but said it was "balderdash" to suggest that the institution had degenerated into chaos.

● A number of parliamentary portfolio committees will meet during the recess. Meetings of the constitutional assembly committees will also take place before Parliament reconvenes early in February.

SA, Russia strengthen ties

CT 15/9/95 (30A)

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

RUSSIA's policy towards Pretoria was one of "support and applaud", Russian chargé d'affairs Mr Andrei Kushakov said at the Russian embassy yesterday.

He told a symposium hosted by the Centre for Russian Studies at UCT that conditions were improving for the strengthening of ties between the two countries.

The symposium was organised to celebrate the launching of a book on SA/Russian relations, Russia in the Contemporary World.

President Nelson Mandela is expected to pay an official visit to Russia early next year.

Mr Mandela yesterday appointed ANC senator Mr Sidney Makana as South Africa's ambassador to the Russian Federation.

Mr Henning Pieterse, former SA diplomat to Moscow, said relations between Russia and SA had moved from a period of "romanticism and honeymoon" to realism.

Skweyiya reprimanded

(304A) (250)

BY BRUCE CAMERON

CT(BR)15/9/95 POLITICAL EDITOR

An all-party parliamentary committee has taken the unusual step of criticising a Cabinet minister for attacking Henri Kluever, the auditor-general.

In a report to parliament, the joint standing committee on public accounts had in effect accused Zola Skweyiya, the minister for the public service, of contravening the constitution for his criticism of Kluever.

Kluever had warned that the public service was, like the Titantic, heading for an iceberg. Skweyiya rejected Kluever's claims about the perilous state of the public service.

In its report, the committee said the constitution stated that no organ of state and no member or employee of any organ of state, nor any other person shall interfere with the auditor-general in the exercise of his powers or functions.

The committee expressed its concerns at the allegations levelled against the office of the auditor-general by Skweyiya and reaffirmed "its full confidence in the ability and integrity of the auditor-general".

It also recognised "the importance of the role of the office of the auditor-general in an open and democratic society and of the need to do everything possible to promote the independence, impartiality, dignity and effectiveness of this office".

THE STAR / FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 15 1995

It's not as bad as media makes out, say MPs

Millions will be spent to jack up Parliament

Star 15/9/95 (304A)

Cape Town – The Cabinet has approved an additional R82-million for Parliament to function more efficiently, Speaker Frene Ginwala announced yesterday.

She was speaking at the end of a special debate on Parliament's negative image, called for by NP chief whip Hennie Smit.

MPs from all parties agreed that action had to be taken to solve problems afflicting Parliament's smooth running, but a number said these hitches were not as bad as made out in some media reports.

These MPs argued that allowance had to be made for the fact that many new parliamentarians were inexperienced in parliamentary procedures and that Parliament had been underfunded by the previous government.

Allowance also had to be made for the new dimension added by the heightened importance of parliamentary committees.

Deputy leader of the House Dr Dawie de Villiers said ministers should not make unreasonable demands on Parliament by hiding behind legal advisers when their legislation was not ready. The NP believed there was a need for a full-time chief whip of Parliament.

Smit called for a greater degree of discipline to be inculcated among MPs.

ANC whip Jannie Momberg said the motion was an "extremely transparent" way of accusing the ANC of inefficiency. But the NP, he said, had been "extremely efficient" – in the exploitation of blacks, advancing white interests and making SA a polecat.

IFP whip Koos van der Merwe said that despite teething problems stemming from inexperience among many MPs and officials; "we have done a very good job in the past 18 months. Watch Parliament next year."

DP whip Douglas Gibson called for a conference of all concerned – from the president down – to devise a plan to solve Parliament's problems.

ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile said shorter debates could be considered.

The leader of the House, Trevor Manuel, said constructive suggestions made during the debate should be examined during Parliament's recess. – Sapa.

Parliament bo

R82m grant to improve efficiency, support for MPs

304A
ARG 15/9/95

TYRONE SEALE
Political Staff

THE national assembly has undertaken to put an end to the image of parliament as a poorly organised, inefficient institution — and it will do so with the help of an R82 million grant from the cabinet.

Speaking at the end of a snap debate on the negative image of parliament, Speaker Frene Ginwala announced that the cabinet core committee had approved the grant on Monday.

This came soon after the National Party and Democratic Party had criticised Dr Ginwala for her handling two days ago of the passage of the National Education Policy Bill.

Dr Ginwala said that among priorities were the establishment of a human resources department, the provision of training for staff and support for MPs and committees.

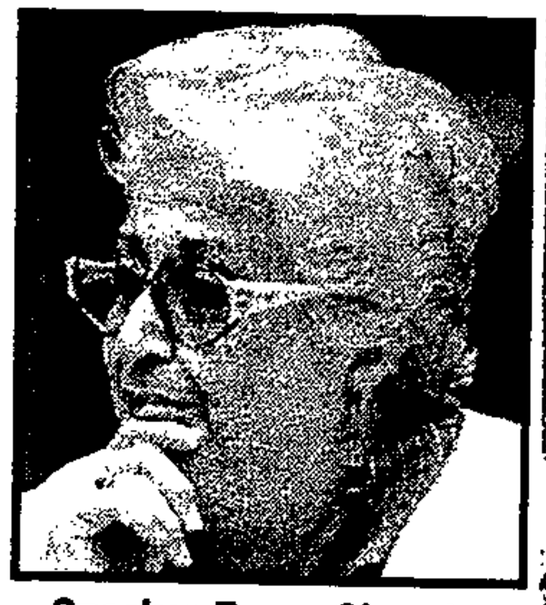
Parliament can expect R9 million for committees, a 300 percent increase, and R15,7 million in MP support.

Dr Ginwala said the new dispensation had inherited a parliament that had been starved of resources.

"Intended to be no more than a rubber stamp, it was the stepchild of the government. There was virtually no administrative back-up for senior staff. MPs were expected to function without any support services and the situation is far worse than has been depicted."

Parliament would have had a strong case in asking for a substantial increase, but it could not ignore national priorities and argue that its needs should prevail over health, housing and education.

Dr Ginwala said she was proud of what parliament had achieved.



Speaker Frene Ginwala

This year 95 new bills were introduced and five stood over from last year. By the end of yesterday, 88 of these bills would have been completed.

Earlier, parties acknowledged there were problems in the way parliament operated, but denied that perceptions were justified of lazy MPs.

ANC MP Jannie Momberg said the NP's calling for the snap debate was a transparent attempt to tell the ANC how incompetently it was running parliament and how efficient the NP had been previously.

"The NP has always been strong on efficiency, but it's not

NP youths storm offices

(B04A) BD 15/9/96

Nomavenda Mathiane

MILITANT Soweto NP youths stormed the Gauteng legislature yesterday demanding that the party meet promises made in the run-up to the November 1994 democratic elections.

The youths, wearing T-shirts marked NP — some with the face of Deputy President FW de Klerk — sang and toyi-toyied on the third floor of the building housing the NP offices. The youths refused to leave until their grievances had been met.

The group claimed the NP had reneged on promises to get them jobs and meaningful positions within the party. They said they were surprised that the party had nominated strangers to stand as candidates in their wards.

Some of the placards carried by the youths read: "We are here to correct, not to resign" and "Mr de Klerk, beware of destroyers of your leadership and vision."

The protesters said they had no problem with De Klerk.

However, they were not happy with some of the NP members who, they claimed, were dishonest.

After lengthy negotiations with NP representatives, a delegation from the township was allowed to remain in the building to discuss their grievances, while the rest of the crowd left the building.

Gauteng NP spokesman Darryl Swanepoel said his party would meet today to sort out the problem. He said that part of the problem was the fact that the party was growing too big in the townships and the youths did not know the people who had been elected as their candidates. Swanepoel said the election had been democratic and his party had no problem with their candidates.

NP youths storm offices

(B04A) BD 15/9/95

Nomavenda Mathiane

MILITANT Soweto NP youths stormed the Gauteng legislature yesterday demanding that the party meet promises made in the run-up to the November 1994 democratic elections.

The youths, wearing T-shirts marked NP — some with the face of Deputy President FW de Klerk — sang and toyi-toyied on the third floor of the building housing the NP offices. The youths refused to leave until their grievances had been met.

The group claimed the NP had reneged on promises to get them jobs and meaningful positions within the party. They said they were surprised that the party had nominated strangers to stand as candidates in their wards.

Some of the placards carried by the youths read: "We are here to correct, not to resign" and "Mr de Klerk, beware of destroyers of your leadership and vision."

The protesters said they had no problem with De Klerk.

However, they were not happy with some of the NP members who, they claimed, were dishonest.

After lengthy negotiations with NP representatives, a delegation from the township was allowed to remain in the building to discuss their grievances, while the rest of the crowd left the building.

Gauteng NP spokesman Darryl Swanepoel said his party would meet today to sort out the problem. He said that part of the problem was the fact that the party was growing too big in the townships and the youths did not know the people who had been elected as their candidates. Swanepoel said the election had been democratic and his party had no problem with their candidates.

Extra R82m raised to shore up Parliament

BD 15/9/95 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — As Parliament ended its legislative activities for the year yesterday, it became clear that more than a third of the legislation passed this year had been voted on during the past three days.

During a mostly light-hearted snap debate on the chaos in Parliament, National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala said Parliament would receive an additional R82m next year to ensure it ran smoothly.

The funds, which would come from donors abroad, would include an extra R9m — a 300% increase — for parliamentary committees and R15,7m for equipment, workshops and support staff for MPs.

Leader of the House Trevor Manuel's presentaton was interrupted by NP MP Pieter Steenkamp, who said the running of Parliament should take place in automatic, not manual.

Manuel picked up on the analogy, saying: "We are trying to find a Formula One car with a moped engine," arguing that the institutions of Parliament were incapable of dealing with the new system.

A second reason for Parliament's problems was the filibustering by those who were "change-averse".

The problems were not confined to ANC ministers, he said, pointing out that NP Cabinet Minister Chris Fismer had been unable to bring two laws on gambling to Parliament.

Ginwala said 95 pieces of legislation had been presented to Parliament and only five were being held over until next year.

In total, 36 pieces of legislation had been passed in the past three days — 27 in an extraordinary two days.

The debate was proposed by NP chief whip Hennie Smit, who said SA could not afford the adverse publicity about parliamentary procedures being sent out into the world.

PARLIAMENT AND THE NATION

Who rules the roost?

Incompetence and arrogance appears to be the parliamentary order of the day



The timing seemed fortuitously bad. The advent of Germany's Helmut Kohl upon a confused and weary parliament this week confirmed a pattern of extreme divergence between external and internal perceptions of SA.

For some the visit presaged fresh hopes of that legendary infusion of foreign investment and technology that would enable us to lift economic growth and create the jobs the masses need. Others — contemplating the interwoven crises that afflict the smooth functioning of public services, and of government itself — wondered whether Kohl's presence would not prove more symbolic than otherwise, given mounting evidence of the intractability of our problems.

Last week's failure of the ANC/NP component of the Government of National Unity (GNU) to pass the Constitution of the RSA Second Amendment Bill, by the requisite two-thirds majority of the National Assembly and Senate sitting together, has become a famous emblem of incompetence and arrogance among our rulers.

By the beginning of the week, ANC women were being flown back from Beijing, the whips were growing ferocious, and panic was the predominant mood as the next attempt to pass the constitutional amendment Bill loomed. Without that passage, the November community elections cannot be staggered — the kind of political humiliation that normally brings governments tumbling down. But we do not have a normal government.

Assured of their fixed percentages of the 490 parliamentary and senatorial seats until the expiry of the GNU in 1999, the big parties, particularly the ANC, have given every appearance that the right to govern, however ineptly, and to be paid handsomely for so doing, is an entitlement that arose in the era of the struggle.

Time and again in the legislative committees of parliament, and the talk-shops of the Constitutional Assembly, the smaller parties have faced the obdurate fact of the ANC's overwhelming numerical superiority. The Congress has 252 members in the 400-strong National Assembly, with pro rata representation in the committees, and only ANC absenteeism — which is rife — enables the smaller parties to taste a little victory and a little power.

Key legislation on education and labour was rammed through their committee stages despite opposition that — in the case of the education Bill — included a boycott by the smaller parties.



Zuma



Ginwala

Perhaps three times, South Africans have felt a different, apostolic warmth: when the 1994 elections went off without the predicted vortex of violence; when Nelson Mandela was inaugurated and it seemed that the 20th Century had finally found a politician who was also a hero; and when the Springboks won the Rugby World Cup. (The last point is not trivial; ordinary people do not glory in the abstractions of academics.)



De Klerk



Mandela

However, as anyone who has ever been in love can testify, moments of transcendence, alas, wear off. Daily life consists of getting the washing done, waiting for the doctor to see you, hoping that your children will be able to count beyond the number of their fingers when they have to work, and wondering whether the Labour Relations Act will allow you to fire the worker who has been stealing frozen chickens by stuffing them up her dress.

Our first democratic parliament has been aiming at transcendence — while neglecting the rigours of departmental housekeeping. That is an over-simplification, certainly, but public cynicism — fuelled by anger at corruption and fat-cat remuneration packages for elected politicos and unelected advisers and bureaucrats — is at its highest since the installation of the GNU 18 months ago. Where, it is everywhere being asked, is the leadership?

The virtual collapse of public health systems in Gauteng — and the possibility of wage-related strikes among hospital personnel spreading to other provinces — is one example of ministerial ineptitude. Dr Nkosazana Zuma — part of the Beijing contingent — has devoted much of her tenure to devising over-arching plans for a national health policy, neglecting the mounting discontents of the health workers.

Her mandate comes from the ANC's 1992 policy document, *Ready to Govern*: "Health and lack of health are rooted in the economic and social fabric of any society. Socio-economic circumstances are more important than medical services in ensuring good health." From this flows the impulse towards centralist control — always an ANC ambition — that takes away any medical institution's prerogative of choice in relation to the needs of its patients.

As an *FM* writer who specialises in medical reporting noted earlier this year: "The entire quality of health services in this country is premised on the fact that our academic training hospitals retain their standards of excellence." This compact — taken for granted in the past — is fraying. Zuma is displaying not leadership, but servile adherence to a dated vision of public health as a branch of social work.

Then consider labour. The Labour Relations Bill was largely negotiated outside the legislative framework, involving government, organised business and the unions beavering away in Nedlac. By the time parliament imposed its will for transparency and accountability — even as the number of

Continued on page 27

30 of 4

15/9/95

Continued from page 22

unpassed Bills was reaching bizarre proportions — the defects of the Labour Bill had become glaring.

On Monday the Democratic Party, on the basis of the public hearings, tabled 40 amendments to the Labour Relations Bill, scathingly pointing out that the alternative was to "strangle employment creation, job opportunities and the survival of small business . . ." These and other criticisms were ignored by the ANC.

A rash of labour unrest — most marked in the health sector, where it directly affects people's lives — was to be expected in advance of the passage of an entirely new regulatory framework for labour relations. But the truth is that had the Bill stood over, drowned under the sheer weight of paper that parliament has been printing — not to mention a great deal of worthy but not urgent mechanisms for national political correctness — far wider workplace anarchy could have been expected as all the ANC's electoral promissory notes fell due.

Symbolic, again, of the national inability to lead, a domino effect led to the following absurdities. While Dr Zuma — along with Frene Ginwala, the beleaguered Speaker — was concerning herself with the international rights of women in Beijing, rather than dealing with the crisis in Gauteng, it was left to Labour Minister Tito Mboweni to try to put out the emotional fires in the wards.

He, then, was not in a position to adequately defend the deficiencies of the Labour Relations Bill which, so late in the day, was left to pass, far from serenely, into being with a minimum of parliamentary scrutiny. This is *not* how the ANC promised it would lead in the GNU.

Not a Minister who normally makes much impact of any kind, Mboweni does at least have the excuse that the Labour Bill arose out of an historic tripartite agreement. His colleague in the Cabinet, Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu, also within the last cramped days of the chaotic September sitting, introduced a Bill that looked as if it had been made up by someone whose bailiwick was a small island rather than a sprawling, ethnically diverse nation the mass of whose children have had no real education since 1976.

Bengu's National Education Policy Bill (see *Current Affairs*) cannot be considered the work of a mature politician. Inasmuch as it derogates from provincial authority over aspects of education, it reveals not just the centralising principle in action once more, but is probably unconstitutional.

Yet the ANC cleared the Bill all by itself, with committee chairman Blade Nzimande muttering about "red herrings" being raised by opponents who cared nothing for black education.

Since the interim constitution of 1993 remains the guiding document of our new democracy, it is not surprising that increasing resistance to what is seen as ANC triumphalism rests upon appeals to what the basic law actually says. The Constitutional Court's work becomes ever more onerous



Mboweni



Bengu

— but that is what it is for, to curb the vaingloriousness of parliament.

In essence, without such a curb, parliament has what can only be described as a tendency towards immense folly, at its worst rule by an undisciplined majority. Frozen numerically, ideologically ossified, the ANC — not solely, but mainly — has allowed procedures to slide disastrously. Too many ministries have been late with legislation; despite lip-service to consultation and transparency, there has been deviousness and attempts to slip laws past weary scrutineers.

The Constitution Amendment Bill — which the NP's Roelf Meyer said "had" to be passed this week — does not merely facilitate the holding of community elections by deleting a random and embarrassing clause that states they must all be held on the same day. It also seeks to circumvent an appeal to the Constitutional Court on the issue of traditional leaders' pay — *the* most controversial issue in KwaZulu-Natal because it so neatly encapsulates the war between the centre and the regions.

Such a sly clause is all too reminiscent of the leadership style of the old Nationalists. Again, not what the ANC promised.

The problem is not merely the logistical one of the current parliament being able or willing to complete its work on time. It is that the ANC leadership — at times, though not always, in connivance with the NP — has by and large shown that it is not quite as democratic or pure as it would have the masses believe. It contains good and able men and women, but because it is a party locked into the socialist paradigm of the past, it cannot lead effectively.

The administrative sinkhole that parliament has become over the past few weeks represents but one outcome of this style: o approaching the daily realities of politic from a socio-economic perspective. That i why what could be termed the social min istries are floundering, and also why a deadlines near, and work mounts, author itarianism reveals itself under a veneer o liberation rhetoric.

The DP's Douglas Gibson has recommended that in the recess steps be taken to investigate and implement ways and means of rectifying the situation in order to enhance the reputation of the House.

Some will wonder if it is not too late for that. In Christopher Hibbert's study of *The French Revolution*, he notes a similar portrait of a nation in disarray — France in 1789: "[The] Third Estate contended that the credentials of every deputy should be examined at an assembly of the entire convention. They remained in the large hall in the Rue des Chantiers. No rostrum had yet been built there; and the public, who were freely admitted, crowded round the deputies, offering them advice, shaking them by the hand, clapping them on the back, cheering popular speakers, booing others. The confusion of the early debates was aggravated by the deputies not yet knowing one another, by conflicts between those who favoured conciliation and those who did not, by their disinclination to adopt any rules of procedure which might indicate that they were organised as a separate order and thus at the mercy of the voting power of



Gibson



Meyer

the privileged orders . . ."

And so it went. Out of such frivolity, incompetence and cantankerousness, far more sinister social events can coalesce. There are more than enough wretched and disappointed people around to take advantage of the GNU's fumblings and increasing tendency to cover up greed and stupidity with a ruthless facade of political correctness.

Perhaps Gibson's proposal should be taken further — it is not just a word-and-paper parliament that needs to be shaken up to work properly, but a reappraisal of the parliamentary dogmas of endless consultation and prevarication.

Leaders, after all, are elected to lead. ■

Consultants reflect Parliament's problems

(304A) WM 15-21/9/95/95

Richard Calland

THE consortium of management consultants hired by Parliament to investigate restructuring, at a cost of almost half a million rand, is racked by internal tensions, accusations against one partner of previous failures to deliver and the defection of a respected team member.

The South African firm of Kenneth Mgqamqo & Associates joined forces with the international giant Deloitte and Touche to win the tender put out by the presiding officers (Speaker of the National Assembly Frene Ginwala and President of the Senate Kobie Coetsee) at a price of R430 000 plus direct disbursements.

In the lead-up to the presentation of an interim report last week, "significant differences of approach" emerged between the partners. A source close to Kenneth Mgqamqo and Associates revealed that it was unhappy with the rigidity of Deloitte and Touche's approach.

"They are trying to impose their set methodology on the problem as if Parliament was just another corporate job. But it is not. It is unique and needs a more flexible approach."

An informant close to the Speaker's office told the *Whip* that Ginwala was "not entirely happy with the way things were going" and conceded that the process "was a bit of a mess. They are trying to apply rigid systems on a flexible situation. Parliament is not a business — it is more like a university".

It is in this context that a number of senior parliamentary staff members expressed concern at the news that self-employed management consultant Tony Harper, the third element of the consortium, had left the project team. According to sources close to the Speaker's office, Harper resigned because "he felt his principles were being compromised".

The source said that Harper was "prepared to be flexible, he had built up good personal relations and had won the trust of most people. Moreover, he is committed to genuinely transforming Parliament". Harper himself would make no comment.

Another informant described relations between Kenneth Mgqamqo and Associates and Deloitte and Touche as reflecting the "cultural geography of the parliamentary system".

"The South African representatives of Deloitte and Touche are white, male Afrikaners. The people of colour on the team are all from Kenneth Mgqamqo. Thus, tensions on the ground are reflected in the consulting team."

Questions are being raised over Mgqamqo's capacity to deliver. In 1994, he was employed by the Western Cape Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) as a district electoral officer, but was dismissed on the eve of the historic April election after a bitter dispute between him and Western Cape IEC deputy director Kuleleka Lubelwana.

Mgqamqo was responsible for a team of 10 people with jurisdiction over the critical Mitchell's Plain area of Cape Town, which included Khayelitsha township. Lubelwana, who is now employed as Director of SCATT (the Social Change Assistance Trust), told the *Whip* Mgqamqo was dismissed at the end of Tuesday April 26 1994 — the special voting day for the elderly, infirm and disabled — because of his alleged failure to deliver.

Later in 1994, Mgqamqo was contracted by Lingelethi City Council — which also covers Khayelitsha — to do some organisational restructuring at a contract price of R300 000. Again, there was a failure to deliver. A senior source at Lingelethi City Council said they were "dissatisfied with the product. They seemed like they could do the work, but the problems they were hired to solve are still there".

Provincial premiers are put to the test

WM 15 - 21/9/95

(3049)

M&G Reporter

ONLY three of the country's nine premiers passed the *Mail & Guardian's* second Government Efficiency Test.

The newspaper investigated whether the premiers care enough about ordinary citizens to answer their letters. After six weeks, responses to a citizen's letter had been received only from Gauteng's Tokyo Sexwale, the Northern Cape's Manne Dipico and the Western Cape's Hernus Kriel.

The newspaper sent letters at the beginning of August to the premiers in the name of Glynnis Hutton. Hutton told each premier that she had interests in their province and was "concerned about potential conflicts of interests of those in power in the province".

"Could you please tell me if you hold any equity interests in companies, or directorships? If so, please supply me with details," Hutton asked.

Dipico responded within three weeks to say he has no such interests. Sexwale's office generated the most paper, with a note to say that our query had been received and passed on to the relevant person. Just this week, a fuller reply arrived to say that Sexwale had no directorships or equity holdings.

Kriel's office replied promptly to say he had no directorships, but did have shares in a listed company. He declined to name it, but said it did not conflict with his premiership.

At that point, the newspaper itself contacted the offices of the other six premiers to ask why they had not replied.

Raymond Mhlaba of the Eastern Cape had the post office to blame. His officials said they had replied on August 22 — and it was probably still in the post. They faxed us a copy of a letter saying he holds no directorships or equity.

KwaZulu-Natal's Frank Mdladlose blamed geography. His assistant phoned to say she had not seen the letter because she was in Pietermaritzburg and the letter had gone to Ulundi. A copy was faxed to her on Tuesday, but no reply has yet been received.



Quick reply: North West Premier Manne Dipico

The office of the Northern Transvaal's Ngoaka Ramatlhodi faxed a copy of a letter they said had been sent on August 17, saying the premier had no equity interests or directorships.

Mathews Phosa of Mpumalanga phoned personally to convey his apologies at the delay in replying. He faxed a more detailed response outlining his interests than any of the other premiers. Phosa was a board member of Mapulaneng Enterprises before 1984, but has not been able to attend a meeting since then and has received no fees.

He is a director of Small Beginnings development trust and a trustee of an old-age fundraising operation.

● In the first *M&G* Government Efficiency Test earlier this year, questions were put from a citizen to members of the Cabinet and the newspaper catalogued the slow replies from these politicians.

Holomisa faces party discipline

Star 18/9/95 (3049)

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and ANC parliamentarian Pathekile Holomisa could face party discipline after meeting with Inkatha Freedom Party-aligned chiefs on Saturday to discuss what the ANC described as "a sinister plot against the Government of National Unity".

Holomisa, who could not be contacted by The Star yesterday, has been accused by ANC colleagues of secretly taking part in the Durban meeting, which was attended by IFP chiefs including KwaZulu-Natal Traditional and Environmental Affairs MEC Chief Nyanga Ngubane and IFP South Coast chairman Chief Xhawulengweni Khawula.

The meeting was ostensibly to discuss mass marches and other strategies of opposing the Local Government Amendment Bill, which reduces the role of chiefs in rural local government, and the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill, which centralises the payment of chiefs.

Both Contralesa and the IFP oppose the Local Government Amendment Bill and Contralesa is taking legal advice on how to challenge it in the Constitutional Court. The IFP-controlled KwaZulu-Natal government is also set to challenge the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill in court.

The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal said it would provide information to the ANC's parliamentary caucus so that disciplinary action could be taken against Holomisa.

Chiefs set to join forces in protest against government

(304A) BD 19/9/95

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — ANC and IFP-aligned chiefs nationally are to join forces at a mass rally at the Union Buildings next month to protest against government treatment of traditional leaders.

They will hand a petition to President Nelson Mandela rejecting legislation on rural local government and will protest against government's alleged failure to establish the national council of traditional leaders.

The decision by the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA and IFP-aligned traditional leaders will be the first joint action by the two groups, which formed a subcommittee to start a unification process. The Contralesa delegation was led by its national deputy president, KwaNdebele's James Mahlangu, and the IFP delegation by KwaZulu-Natal traditional affairs MEC Nyanga Ngubane.

In a joint statement issued by the "department of the chief minister" in Ulundi, the parties said they would institute Constitutional Court action to nullify the constitutional amendment relating to the council of traditional leaders. In terms of this, government is not obliged to refer legislation to the council until it is functioning.

The parties will also challenge amendments to the Local Government Transition Act preventing chiefs serving on local government structures by identifying them as an interest group — with women, labourers and farmers — with limited representation.

Contralesa national executive committee member Mwelo Nonkonyane said "thousands, if not millions" of traditional leaders and their followers would gather for the imbizo to present a memorandum to Mandela.

It was important for traditional leaders, irrespective of their political affiliations, to unite in the face of a government that regarded them as "non-

Continued on Page 2

Chiefs

(304A) BD 19/9/95

Continued from Page 1

entities" and undermined their authority, Nonkonyane said.

Contralesa had been appealing to Mandela since July last year to have the council of traditional leaders established. He had failed to do so, while moving "very fast to establish a Volkstaat Council".

said central government had nothing to do with the delay in getting the council off the ground. Council members had to be drawn from provincial houses of traditional leaders which did not yet exist in the Eastern Cape and the Northern Province.

In Northern Province there appeared to be a dispute among traditional leaders on representation in the house, while in the Eastern Cape there were allegations that the provincial government was moving slowly.

Call to streamline government

(256) (304A) CT 19/9/95

PORT ELIZABETH: The national government is large, weak and unable to deliver even on its most basic promises, the leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Tony Leon, said last night.

The reason was that it did not have a focused agenda of the few matters in which government could intervene successfully, he told a local elections meeting here.

Strong, small and effective government was needed at all levels and President Nelson Mandela could consider abolishing certain portfolios, Mr Leon said.

"Perhaps the office which is most superfluous to the delivery of services is the RDP ministry whose functions should properly be subsumed by the social service and welfare portfolios which should be driving the programme." — Political Staff

SA reluctant to fulfill its role as giant in Africa, say critics

ARG 20/9/95

Africa is looking to South Africa to play a more decisive role in the continent, politically and economically, in nurturing the intra-continental shift towards democracy. But observers believe Nelson Mandela's government is being overly — if understandably — self-centred.

WHEN, after much soul-searching, South Africa joined the African Development Bank last month, there was widespread disappointment in the African business community that the stake was "a mere one percent".

This is the view of Sadikou Ayo Alao, president of Gerddes Africa, a Benin-based research and training organisation aimed at promoting democracy and development throughout Africa.

On a visit to South Africa last week, he said he and many others "would have expected that, given South Africa's status, it would have been prepared to match Nigeria's 10 percent stakeholding.

"The fact that it didn't was disappointing, and surprising."

Citing South Africa's apparent reluctance to become more involved in the Organisation of African Unity and its relatively cautious approach to the Nigerian military government's severe repression of the democratic opposition in the powerful West African state, he also sensed a distinct hesitance on the government's part to play a more decisive political role.

"The danger is that if you remain tentative, if you hesitate for too long, there will be a perception that you are taking a back seat — that you are not fulfilling your role as a giant in Africa."

Nevertheless, he understood that South Africa was devoting more attention to its own problems.

"Clearly there are internal uncertainties in South Africa which are getting all your attention."

Speaking a few days after the private visit of Doyin Abiola, wife of detained Nigerian opposition leader Moshood Abiola — who, also, has urged South Africa to be more demonstrative in its dealings with Nigerian military ruler Sani Abacha — Mr Alao believed it was quite right that Nelson Mandela's diplomats should maintain contact with the military government, "but they should also be doing much more to reinforce civil society in that country".

Mr Alao's visit was, in part, designed to draw South Africa — more especially, non-governmental organisations — into being actively involved in pro-democracy efforts elsewhere on the continent.

(304A)

Gerddes Africa, which is already allied to the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa) and the leading Zimbabwean human rights organisation Zim Rights, is establishing a network of organisations that will operate in concert to defuse African conflicts, and share data and expertise.

Significantly the organisation is also seeking to facilitate business contacts between African states, believing this is vital in "helping to integrate the continent economically and to strengthen the shift towards democracy".

The rationale is simply that growth in business development undermines authoritarianism because it empowers individuals and communities and increases their "choices".

The main challenges in most African states were overcoming the political ambitions of elites, countering partisanship and resisting military intervention in government.

Inside Parliament: Passing the buck for bad management, and the consultants who aren't delivering

Frene takes flack for the crisis

WM 15-21/9/95 (3049)

Parliamentary whip

Our continuing series of extracts from Parliamentary Whip, the publication of Idasa's Parliamentary Information and Monitoring Service (Pims), the most comprehensive Parliament-watching team

Christelle Terreblanche and Richard Calland

THE African National Congress last week rejected reports that Parliament was in crisis while, off the record, MPs and chairpersons of committees continued to relate frustrations over hiccups they have experienced this session.

The most intense frustrations of committee chairs are directed towards the Speaker, Frene Ginwala, but they also point fingers at whips and the executive.

The ANC has acknowledged that the process of getting legislation to Parliament has been too slow, but there is disagreement on the causes. Said one committee chairperson: "The vision of the ANC was to create an institution that is transparent, responsive and efficient. That implies a well-functioning committee system that can oversee the departments and, more importantly, push through the transformation processes."

'The Speaker is assuming more power than is appropriate for the position and she seems to be threatened by the committees' expanding power'

Yet some committee chairs are so upset about what they call the "bypassing of consultation" that they have alerted other ANC structures like the National Working Committee and National Executive Committee (NEC) about their concerns. They say the ruling party will have to make certain political decisions and step in.

In a range of interviews, everyone was eager to pass the buck. MPs accuse whips, whips blame the executive, the executive raises questions about the legislature and chairs of committees point fingers at the Speaker.

Chairpersons say important decisions and allocation of funds have, in some cases, been delayed for almost a year. They said that instead of making them part of her team, Ginwala "made enemies out of us".

Some chairpersons feel that the two to three million rand allocated for the committees is far too little. They say most of them have no secretarial, research or other support, and that 16 portfolio committees share only 10 committee clerks.

Those committees which have non-government organisation support staff are unable to renew their contracts because a new rule stipulates that the Speaker must first approve this. They also allege that funds are not released for them to travel to poverty-stricken, distant areas and that, consequently, it is often only lobby groups representing affluent sections of the community that are heard.

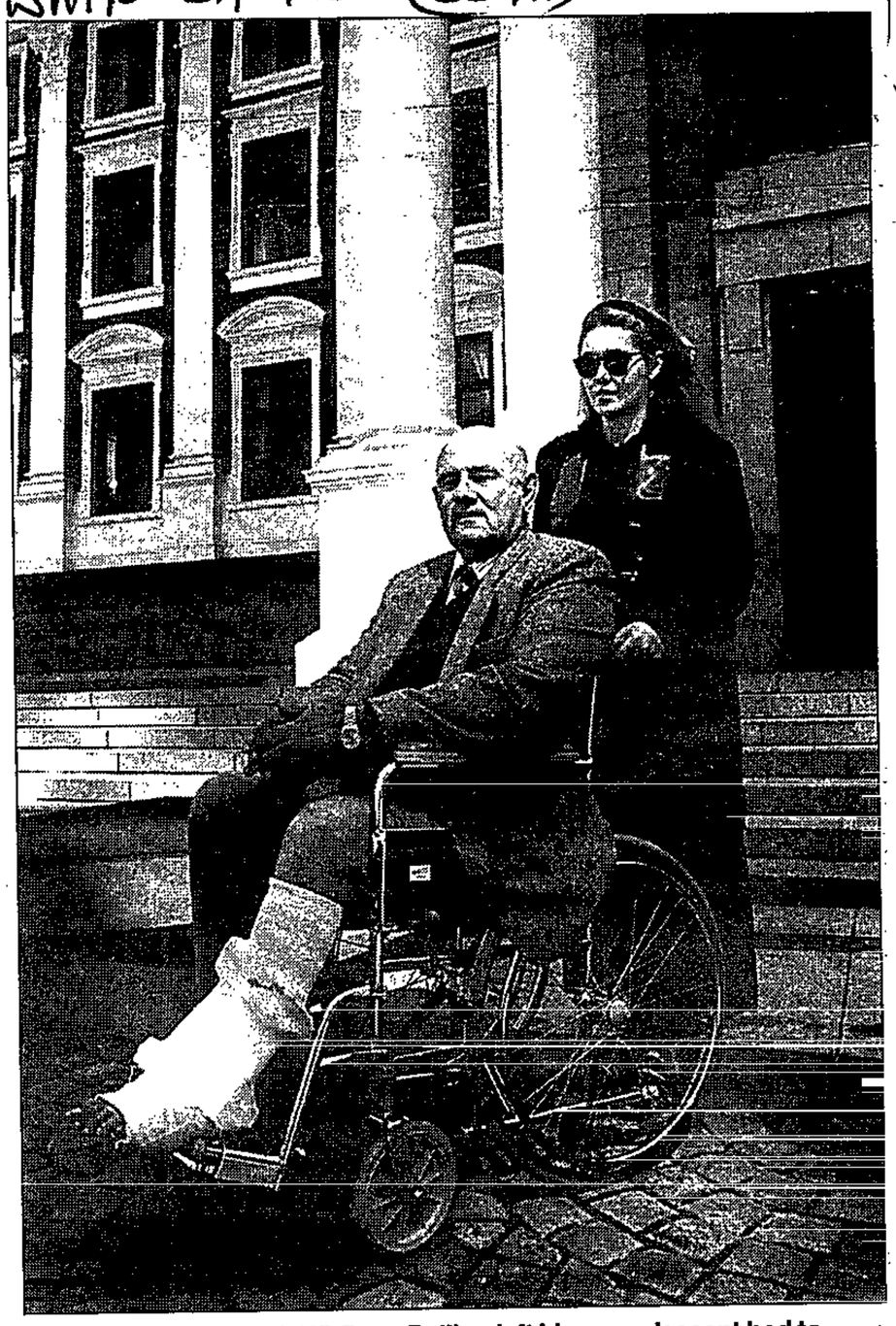
A number of MPs, mostly from minority parties, jump to the Speaker's defence. They welcome her commitment to affirmative action towards women and her determination to give minority parties a voice. MPs also applaud Ginwala's efforts to make Parliament a more people-friendly and accessible environment.

The fiercest criticism against her, however, is that many of the current problems were pointed out to her months ago and her response to proposals and criticism has been "negative" and "autocratic". A few went so far as to say that the Speaker is assuming more power than is appropriate for the position and that she seems to be threatened by the committees' expanding power.

Whips were astounded by criticisms levelled against them. They generally feel that the problem lies with departments and that Cabinet should take ultimate responsibility for getting the legislation through in time.

The team of management consultants hired by Parliament to help it solve its organisational and management problems are wrestling with a range of issues.

At the heart of the matter is the question of whether the present secretariat of Parliament should have a management function and, if so, the extent of that function. Some members of the consultancy team are arguing strongly for a new tier of management to be added to the current hierachy.



Mark me present: ANC MP Dave Dalling left his convalescent bed to appear in Parliament in a wheelchair this week to cast his vote on the crucial issue of election dates PHOTOGRAPH: RODGER BOSCH

One source from within the team said that "there is an amazing lack of understanding about what democratic management means. The fact of the matter is that the parliamentary secretariat has never had to manage before in the sense of making real decisions. In the old days, they simply did what they were told. Robin Douglas (as secretary to Parliament, its most senior employee) is trying very hard, but he is floundering".

Douglas himself accepts that he and his colleagues in the secretariat have no experience or expertise in management. "The problem with a more proactive management style," says one of the most senior members of the secretariat, "is that it takes us into the realm of political decision-making. We are in an impossible position: if we are passive we are blamed for being obstructionist; if we take decisions or make recommendations, one or other party blames us either for being 'old guard' or for being sycophantic to the majority party."

The leaders of the house, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel and Environment Minister Dawie de Villiers, will play a more hands-on role from now on to co-ordinate the management of Parliament. Manuel acknowledged that the departments' limited capacities are partly to blame for the bottleneck in Parliament.

Traditional leaders threaten boycott

BD 21/9/95 (304A)

Kevin O' Grady and Farouk Chothia

UMTATA — Traditional leaders in the Eastern Cape would boycott November's election in protest against local government proclamations, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) said yesterday.

Spokesman Chief Mwelo Nonkanyana said the decision to boycott the election had been taken after attempts to secure a meeting with President Nelson Mandela to discuss traditional leaders' concerns failed.

A subsequent meeting with Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer also failed to resolve the impasse, he said.

"We have also prepared papers and asked our lawyers to challenge the (constitutional) amendment (affecting traditional leaders and their communities) in the Constitutional Court,"

In terms of the amendment "communities organised in terms of tradition will not have representation ... they should be able to elect people of their own choice", he said.

Traditional leaders were also concerned about the "dangerous" move by local government MEC Maxwell Mamase in delegating the SA National Civic Organisation to be in charge of the whole electoral process.

The non-participation of traditional leaders would be a serious setback and a major announcement was needed to prevent it occurring.

"I can say conservatively that about 60% of the people under traditional leaders will not go there (to polling booths) if we boycott the election.

"Under me I have about 25 000 people. About 20 000 won't go, but the others might because they belong to political organisations," he said.

Meanwhile the ANC, at a meeting of its provincial working committee, yesterday called for the expulsion of ANC MP and Contralesa member Phathekile Holomisa after it received a report about his work for "the enemies of democracy in KwaZulu-Natal".

It accused Holomisa of trying to undermine the ANC, saying that over the past year he had demonstrated that he was not accountable either to the ANC or to the ANC-aligned Contralesa.

"He has arranged a number of secret meetings with the IFP and failed to involve progressive amaKhosi in the province in such discussions."

On Sunday, the ANC accused Holomisa of taking part in a meeting of IFP-aligned chiefs to muster opposition against the Local Government Amendment Bill.

Farouk Chothia reports that KwaZulu-Natal regional chairman Zibuse Mlaba said the region would break away from Contralesa if it went ahead with a joint mass rally with IFP-aligned traditional leaders at the Union Buildings on October 14.

Mlaba said the Contralesa national leadership had no mandate for an alliance with the IFP to hatch a plot to destabilise central government.



MP and ANC elections committee c isation's elections briefing unit, at a ernment election strategies were disc

DP seeks decentralisation

BD 21/9/95 (304A)

Nicola Jenvey

DURBAN — The DP would contest the coming local government elections entirely on a federal system which ensured power was brought to the communities, candidate and Johannesburg metropolitan council member Frances Kendall said yesterday.

Kendall told a DP business committee breakfast history had proved conclusively that the more diversified the political structure, the less involved government became in the economy.

This in turn stimulated economic growth, she said.

"In SA decentralised power will ensure an increased social equity between the rural and urban areas. The closer the welfare projects are to the people for which they are intended, the greater the chance of success."

Kendall said a stronger federal system within SA would encourage South Africans "to vote with their feet". This was already happening in Johannesburg where the metropolitan area had witnessed "a mass exodus" in favour of Midrand and Randburg.

A federal system would also allow parents and teachers to decide on education policies in their own schools "in contrast to the Bill being pushed through Parliament at the moment".

"In Gauteng people are already moving their children from government to private schools and laying the foundation for ghettos that suffer with poor education systems."

DP national leader Tony Leon said: "Removing education into the hands of the politicians always leads to problems. However, the current state of terrible political correctness is ensuring disastrous things are being considered in the name of politics."

Attacks aimed at police go on

(304A)

THIRTY-two police officers were killed in 252 attacks on police in Gauteng, excluding Pretoria, in the first six months of this year, SAPS spokesman Lt-Col Eugene Opperman said yesterday.

In addition, 85 police officers were injured and 46 police firearms snatched. In 223 attacks, the victims were from the uniformed branch.

More than 60% of the attacks were in or near predominantly black townships and more than 57% of the victims were black police officers. BD 21/9/95

During the same period, 137 suspects were arrested for attacks on police officers and 73 firearms, including 17 AK-47 assault rifles, were seized.

Opperman said attacks on policemen were unacceptable. He called on communities and their leaders to condemn them.

Crime disrupted community life and the police alone could not succeed in the fight against it. "We need the co-operation and understanding of the community to succeed in our efforts to fight crime.

"The police and the public need each other. It is counterproductive for any community if police officers are attacked, killed or injured. "Together we can make the lives of criminals miserable in a legal way," he said. — Sapa.

agreem ... been appointed by the police and not by

ANC to challenge opposition to disclosure

BD 21/9/95

(304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — NP and IFP opposition to full public financial disclosure by parliamentarians is set to be strongly challenged by the ANC and other parties next week at a meeting of Parliament's ethics subcommittee.

The NP argues that SA is not yet ready for a comprehensive financial disclosure code for elected officials because "we do not yet have a normal democratic situation". In its submission, it says: "There are areas in SA where political violence and intolerance are very high. This must have an impact on the extent to which public disclosure can reasonably be required."

While accepting the principle of an ethical code, it rejects public disclosure of parliamentarians' shareholdings, land and property interests and private pensions. It supports only confidential disclosure for outside employment such as directorships and consultancy fees. It says consideration should also be given to the "right to privacy and free economic activity" contained in the Bill of Rights.

The IFP rejects financial disclosure in an envisaged public "register of interests" except when relevant to a parliamentary debate, and then only to be made verbally by MPs and senators.

A senior ANC source yesterday described the NP position as "farcical" and parts of its submission "rather insulting", while the IFP stand was "totally baffling". However, the source was confident the majority position in the subcommittee would prevail.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, who chairs the subcommittee, indicated recently that most parties were in a hurry to finalise the matter in time for next year's parliamentary session. He said yesterday the joint National Assembly and Senate ethics subcommittee "hoped to

Continued on Page 2

Disclosure

(304B)

Continued from Page 1

BD 21/9/95

come up with a final decision" on financial disclosure at a meeting next Tuesday. Considerable progress had already been achieved.

The envisaged code of ethics would govern parliamentarians' outside financial interests and their duty to disclose such interests publicly.

Parties broadly agreed to a ban on lobbying, and the need to disclose gifts and sponsored overseas trips.

Another source said issues which could be finalised next week included the public register, principles governing disclosure and who would administer the register — possibly a judge, but definitely a high-profile person.

If the subcommittee finalised the matter next week, the source said, it could be put to the National Assembly and Senate rules committees in November, and Parliament in the new year for adoption.

Most new MPs 'were unprepared'

CT 22/9/95 (304A)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

MOST new MPs were not psychologically prepared for the demands of parliamentary life, which had placed at risk the marriages of some public representatives, ANC chief whip Mr Arnold Stofile said yesterday.

In a remarkably frank "self-criticism" of the ANC's performance during its first 18 months in South Africa's first democratic Parliament, the former UDF activist and minister of religion states bluntly: "Most of us had no preparation whatsoever for our new task.

"We were, as it were, thrown into the ocean without a radar."

In his end of session assessment, Mr Stofile states that the only tools the new batch of MPs from his party had when entering Parliament were "the politics of the ANC and our resolve to have the lives of our people improved".

The bureaucracy the ANC inherited was in many ways unsuited for the new dispensation. "The staff did not always know how to relate to us.

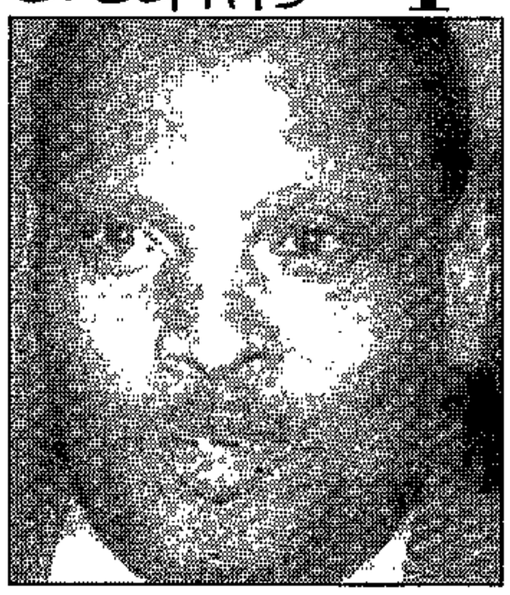
"We also were not always clear as to what relationship should exist between us and the staff," he said, adding: "This is to say nothing about our inability to locate relevant offices when we needed their services."

Mr Stofile said the support services available to MPs were "totally inadequate".

"MPs from other countries cannot believe what they see when they come to Cape Town," he said.

However, Mr Stofile said, "perhaps even more serious was the psychological unpreparedness for the new situation".

Most ANC public representatives had come from exile, prison or some other anti-apartheid background.



FRANK CRITIC: Mr Arnold Stofile

"All of a sudden we were confronted with having to run two or even three homes.

"There were no counselling services. All these exaggerated the unfriendliness of the parliamentary set-up," he said.

Mr Stofile said that all this "saw us sacrificing family time and putting some marriages at risk". But in the end the MPs' hard work and sacrifices helped build a working machinery. The staff in Parliament also soon realised that "we were not so bad after all".

Before the session ended last week, MPs succeeded in passing a number of pieces of key legislation that would change society and provide the government with the authority and framework for reconstructing the nation.

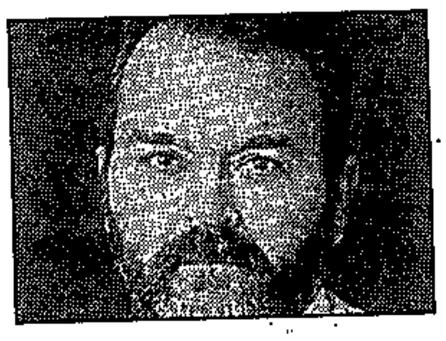
"Sometimes we had to use our numbers to prevent (resistors of change) from giving another year of life to apartheid systems."

The ANC would not hesitate to use its parliamentary majority to push through legislation to transform South African society.

Nzo successfully walks the Middle Eastern tightrope

(304A) CT(BR) 22/9/95

DIPLOMATIC VIEW



BY JEAN-JACQUES CORNISH

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo has successfully walked the Middle East tightrope. He visited Israel and the and the Palestinian Autonomous Territories last week, spoke to political leaders on both sides, signed accords and made no waves. Given the tension there and South Africa's track record with Israel, this is something of an achievement.

Over the past three years, the Israeli government has been at pains to rid itself of the baggage it carried as a strategic friend of apartheid South Africa. Indeed, it has cordial relations with the ANC-led government. But it cannot be pleased with South Africa's decision earlier this year to establish diplomatic links with the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Nor is it thrilled about South Africa's expanding economic ties with Iran.

However these matters were dealt with, Nzo came away with a promise of Israeli technical assistance for the RDP. It would seem his reassurances in Jerusalem about the importance the government placed on South Africa's small but economically powerful Jewish community has struck a chord back home. Nzo reported back on his visit to the Jewish Board of Deputies.

We can expect President Nelson Mandela to visit Israel and Gaza soon.

By refusing to back down on the PLO and Iran, Nzo has managed to build on South African credibility as a neutral party in that part of the world.

In cases like this, there is something to be said for having a low-key foreign minister. Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, Poland's visiting foreign minister, also strikes me as such a man.

With an experience of life that might challenge any expansive scriptwriter — he has been jailed by the Germans in Auschwitz and the communists in Poland — this academic came out of retirement to take the job earlier this year.

Understandably he was soon asked how he could serve in a government comprising supporters of his former jailers. They needed at least one honest man, he replied. When his colleagues complained about a perceived slight, Bartoszewski said he had not been specific about who the honest man was.

The Polish minister is also doing some bridge building in South Africa. The ANC will never admit it publicly, but Poland's speed to get involved with South Africa — they started dealing with the De Klerk government rather than wait for the democratically elected administration to appear — has kept it off the new government's list of hot favourites. Mandela could not find time to receive Poland's President Lech Walesa this year.

Bartoszewski seems to have got across his message that Poland has much to offer South Africa. His visit is bound to give relations a more favourable wind.

He is a man whose experience of life has made him an inveterate champion of

Israel cannot be pleased with SA's decision to develop ties with the PLO

negotiation. It has also given him a healthy and incurable case of political incorrectness.

If only people like him had the time to see a wider range of officials when they visited South Africa. We have had a most extraordinary stream of people visiting this country lately. Situated as we are at the foot of the continent, South Africa can never expect to enjoy the attentions of the many bright and original thinkers that pour through Europe or North America.

I wonder if we take enough advantage of the limited number who do take the trouble to come here?

I fear this isolation, once politically enforced, but now geographically maintained, though to a lesser extent, tends to favour the dull and politically correct.

In a country where relatively few people have new ideas, those who express radical thoughts stand out like ripe ears of wheat waiting for the scythe.

Too often I have seen our diplomats returning from foreign postings with bags full of new notions and concepts only to fall disappointingly into line within months of arriving home.

This happened under the apartheid government, but probably to a lesser degree. The department of foreign affairs was always a difficult place for the National Party. It was the department that harboured senior officials loyal to the former United Party government longer than any other. It was also the department that protected anti-apartheid elements better than any other.

For this, I suppose, Pik Botha, the former foreign minister, must take some credit. Here I must have a care, having irritated the man only last month.

No one ever accused him of being an anti-apartheid activist or of being low-key. History will have to balance out how well his bumptious style worked for the country. For all the accusations one heard of him playing favourites, I never once heard of him failing to protect one of the officials whose thinking had found disfavour with Cabinet colleagues.

I do not know if one could say this of Nzo. I wonder if his officials have yet put him to the test.

The election goes on, says Mandela

(304A) Star 23/9/95

By ADRIAN HADLAND

The Constitutional Court rapped both parliament and the president on the knuckles yesterday for acting unconstitutionally, but allowed sufficient leeway in a landmark judgment to permit preparations for the November elections to continue unhindered.

A relaxed President Nelson Mandela told a news conference on the lawn of his Houghton home yesterday that while the judgment had not created a constitutional or electoral crisis, parliament would have to be summoned for an urgent session. This session would pass legislation replacing presidential proclamations which the court found invalid yesterday.

"Preparations for local government elections must continue so that these elections can take place as planned," he said.

However, Western Cape premier Hernus Kriel indicated that the National Party in the province would oppose the legislation.

In its judgment yesterday in a case brought by the Western Cape government, the court ruled that all presidential proclamations issued under a local government transition act amendment were unconstitutional and therefore invalid.

Proclamations of this kind were used earlier this year by central government to intervene in a Western Cape municipal boundaries dispute. The appointment of two NP-aligned officials to a Western Cape demarcation committee had been overturned by just such a proclamation.

In his judgment Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed said the use of the proclamations constituted an "impermissible delegation of legislative powers by parliament to the president", Reuter reports.

The court, however, suspended its judgment until October 25 to allow parliament to "rectify the defect" and validate the proclamations through new legislation, court president Arthur Chaskalson said.

"It must be given the opportunity to do so if that is considered necessary; it must be given the opportunity to decide whether it wished to take the steps necessary to permit the elections to proceed on November 1 in those areas where they are scheduled to take place on that date."

Mandela said while the court had rejected the use of unconstitutional methods, it had backed up central government's right to intervene in the transition of local government.



Mandela and Mbeki yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: TJ LEMON

"The judgment reaffirms the powers of central government to ensure uniformity in, and to facilitate the organisation of, the local government elections." Far from creating a crisis, the judgment had served to confirm South Africa's new democracy was taking root and that nobody was above the law, Mandela said.

"This judgment is not the first nor will it be the last in which the Constitutional Court assists both the government and society to ensure constitutionality and effective governance."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the news conference that the presidential proclamations had been used in good faith and had been utilised on several occasions in the lead-up to the April 27 1994 general election.

The technique had allowed minor, technical changes to three Acts, including the Electoral Act, without the government having to go through the delay of passing new legislation.

"We applied the same principle here but the court says parliament didn't have the right to do that and could not delegate its rights." About 13 proclamations, including the extension of the voter registration period and the creation of rural local government district councils, will have to be in a new amendment Act.

Kriel, meanwhile, said yesterday that the National Party's six Western Cape senators could decide to exercise a constitutional veto to block parliament from adopting the proposed legislation, Sapa reports.

The constitution gave the majority of Western Cape senators the power to veto the proclamations since they directly affected the province's powers, Kriel told a media briefing.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said yesterday that as all parties, other than the Freedom Front, had supported the passage of the proclamations it was unlikely the new legislation would be held up by minority party opposition.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said parliament should be reconvened as soon as possible. In a statement, he said the court's decisions should be welcomed "as an acknowledgement of the supremacy of the constitution and the commitment of the Constitutional Court to the proper execution of its duties.

The Democratic Party described the outcome of the case yesterday as further evidence of government "bungling".

Mandela said he would be consulting the Cabinet at the earliest opportunity and would recommend the urgent summoning of Parliament.

Race to publish constitution

(304A) ARG 23/9/95

MXOLISI MGXASHE
Staff Reporter

FOR nine months they have been putting in almost 90 hours a week facilitating the process of writing the country's permanent nonracial constitution.

Their efforts may have gone unnoticed, but 60 constitutional assembly (CA) employees are determined to publish the first draft by November.

"You really do not know the strains and serious pressures we've been through for all these nine months.

"If you came to this office at eight in the evening every day of the week, you would find us all working and sweating.

"If you came at 6.30 in the mornings we would be here already. And even at 2pm Saturdays, sometimes much later, we would be here helping to make our first democratic and transparent constitution," says CA media spokesman Enoch Sithole.

Mr Sithole, who worked for the New Nation newspaper in Johannesburg and later took up a job with Armscor as a political adviser, is now on secondment to the CA.

He says it has virtually meant no communication with his wife and two year-old son, who could not sleep until he was back home at 10 or 11pm.

Throughout this period the six CA departments, located on four floors at Regis House in Adderley Street, Cape Town, have managed to process almost two million verbal and written submissions (1,9 million of them were written).

The departments include:

■ Administration and finance, which together with the secretariat and research departments are headed by deputy director Marion Sparg.

■ Media, legal services and community liaison, under Louisa Zondo.

■ Executive director Hassan Ibrahim, who holds the same rank as director general, is the head of the CA responsible to chairman Cyril Ramaphosa.

After the public has responded to the first draft, their input will then be collated for the second draft scheduled for February next year when it is expected that the real negotiations and party-politicking will take place in earnest at the CA.

By May next year it is hoped the constitution will have been finalised for adoption by the CA, with the 34 principles of the interim constitution serving as the basic guidelines.

■ Sapa reports that Cyril Ramaphosa said in Johannesburg yesterday that a working draft of the final constitution was expected to be completed in November.



Picture: HANNES THIART, Staff Photographer.

□ CONSTITUTIONAL TALK: Submissions co-ordinator Paul Davids, in front with, from left, Hilton Gallant, constitutional assembly media spokesman Enoch Sithole and Fairuz Mullagee, who have dealt with almost two million written and verbal submissions.

Row over Idasa questions to MPs

By RAFIQ ROHAN

THE NATIONAL Parliamentary Survey, a controversial questionnaire about parliamentarians, seems set to deepen divisions between the ANC and the authors of the document, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa).

ANC MPs have accused Idasa of being bullying, making untrue statements and resorting to blackmail. (304A)

The dispute follows Idasa's decision to compile a questionnaire which it says aims to "monitor parliamentary activity and to inform the public about their elected representatives".

Idasa's questionnaire was delivered to parliamentarians before the recess and contains some questions which some consider to be "of an extremely personal nature". ANC MP's are also unhappy about what they regard as a veiled threat by Idasa to those who refuse to fill in the form.

Idasa insists the exercise is voluntary but: "Where an individual MP or Senator does not respond to the survey or to a part of it, that may be publicised. Members of the public must draw their own conclusions from any gaps. We will publish the answers as they appear, whether answered or silent."

The questionnaire tells parliamentarians to answer questions like: "Have you been declared bankrupt?", "Do you, your partner or your dependent children own any shares in any business?", "Who do you hope will succeed Nelson Mandela as President?" Parliamentarians should also give a score out of 10 for cabinet ministers.

The ANC says: "One strains to make the connection between questions such as these and the transparent functioning of Parliament."

The National Party has said that it would "not encourage" its members to fill in the questionnaire while the Democratic Party, Freedom Front, PAC and the Africa Christian Democratic Party say it's up to their individual members to decide whether or not the form be filled in. CP 24/9/95

Matters came to head when Idasa issued a press release quoting its Parliamentary Information and Monitoring Services manager Richard Calland as saying that the ANC had agreed to fill in the questionnaire.

Speaking on behalf of ANC parliamentarians, Calland said that the ANC members were awaiting a caucus discussion.

Chairwoman of the ANC caucus Baleka Kgositsile, told City Press this week that Calland's comments were not true.

"The ANC caucus did not discuss this. We had a meeting with Idasa where we pointed out our disquiet at the contents of the questionnaire. Our approach is that members don't have to fill in the form."

Angry ANC MPs have since written a strongly-worded open letter to Idasa head Mamphela Ramphele saying her organisation was not being candid, was "bullying" and had resorted to "blackmail".

There were fundamental problems if information in the questionnaire is required for a watchdog body that monitors the conduct of public representatives, the letter to Ramphele states.

"Firstly, who is Idasa, to whom are they responsible, who determined their code of ethics and what action can they take if they should find that a public representative has transgressed Idasa's code of conduct?"

Assurances were given that Ramphele's response to the ANC open letter would be available, first on Wednesday, then on Thursday and then at Friday midday. It was not forthcoming.

No celebration as NP caucus meets

Sowetan 25/9/95 (304A)

Court ruling redraws power struggle battle lines within party's hierarchy

By Pamela Dube
Political Staff

DEPUTY PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has called an emergency meeting of the National Party caucus for tomorrow to discuss the ruling by the Constitutional Court last Friday.

The court ruled in favour of NP Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel, stating that Section 16(A) of the Local Government Transitional Act was unconstitutional and that all presidential proclamations in terms of this provision were accordingly invalid.

Delivering judgment, Constitutional Court President Mr Justice Arthur Chaskalson said "unless this can be rectified, the local government elections cannot proceed as planned."

The court, however, gave the Government until October 25 to rectify the mistake through Parliament, which is scheduled to reconvene on October 4.

It will, however, not be a celebration caucus that will meet in Pretoria tomorrow as the ruling has reopened old divisions within the NP, leaving Kriel matched against Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

De Klerk has come out in support of Kriel, saying the NP will fight the ANC if the proclamations affecting the boundary dispute in Cape Town are included in the planned amendments.

At a Press conference called by President Nelson Mandela, Meyer said while supporting the right of the Nats Cape branch, "you have to also look at the national interest".

He said it was obvious that "different interests are at stake within the NP".

While NP is grappling with putting its house in order, the ANC and Mandela remain adamant that they have not been defeated.

On Friday, Mandela and deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Valli Moosa said the ruling supported the right of central government to intervene in matters deemed important to the country's transition.

Mandela said the judgment, "above all, reaffirms the powers of central Government to ensure uniformity in, and to facilitate the organisation of the local government elections".

The ruling has also brought support for the NP from other political Parties, including the Democratic Party, Conservative Party and the IFP.

IFP Senator Ruth Rabinowitz said the judgment "has vindicated the IFP's consistent opposition to amendments to the Local Government Transition Act which have enabled the President to interfere counter-productively in local government affairs."

Leaked: government rules to prevent leaks

(304A) WM 25-31/9/95

Marion Edmunds

A SPECIAL National Intelligence briefing to the Cabinet on how to deal with sensitive and potentially embarrassing information and prevent leaks has been leaked to the *Mail & Guardian*.

Concern about security leaks and sabotage of government plans prompted National Intelligence to brief Cabinet on how to safeguard sensitive information. A document on safety measures was distributed in the recent Cabinet briefing, and has since then been distributed to government ministries.

The document urges civil servants to be ever-vigilant when dealing with matters that could embarrass, damage or bring down the government. In particular, it lays out guidelines for preserving confidentiality and sensitive information, which could either be contained in documents or on computers.

Implicit in the preamble is the warning that there may be forces at work to sabotage the RDP and the country's transition.

The authors of the document note that there has been an "escalation of intelligence activities by a growing number of foreign countries and other interest groups".

Apart from laying down procedures for dealing with bomb attacks and fires, the document describes the differences between "restricted", "confidential", "secret" and "top secret" information. According to the definitions, a "restricted document" contains information that could embarrass the government, a "confidential document", if leaked, could damage the government, a "secret document" might be used by opponents to disrupt the running of government and a "top secret document", if leaked, could lead to the downfall of the government, the severing of relations with another state or a declaration of war.

"Top secret" and "secret" documents have to be kept in strongrooms or vaults, whereas confidential document must be kept in reinforced steel cabinets. The Cabinet briefing document — a restricted document — also contains a number of tips about keys, fires and how to deal with suspicious-looking maintenance men.

Moe Shaik, advisor to Deputy Minister of Intelligence Jo Nhanhla, would not confirm or deny that the Cabinet briefing took place, but he did say that National Intelligence had a responsibility to protect sensitive government information.

He said that by compiling the report, National Intelligence was not suggesting the need for excessive secrecy. But, said Shaik, "our peace and emerging democracy is fragile and needs to be protected".

Shaik said that foreign countries were interested to see how South Africa was emerging as a democracy, and that there were interest-brokers who might, for their own political or economic purposes, try to access confidential information.

Shaik said that the leakage of classified documents to the media was a problem. He said that National Intelligence was concerned by recent fires in the RDP and Finance offices. It was speculated in the media that the fires could be part of a sabotage campaign.

Despite this attempt to tighten things up in government, Parliament's security remains slack. Many parliamentarians suspect their phones may be bugged and a source in the Freedom Front said this week that there were times when the party felt the need to sweep its caucus room for bugs.

A private secretary for a prominent ANC MP said that they had the sorts of conversations on parliamentary phones "that they wanted other people to hear", and the National Party said this week it had stepped up personal security over the past few weeks, "because they were aware that other parties were interested in getting their hands on confidential information".

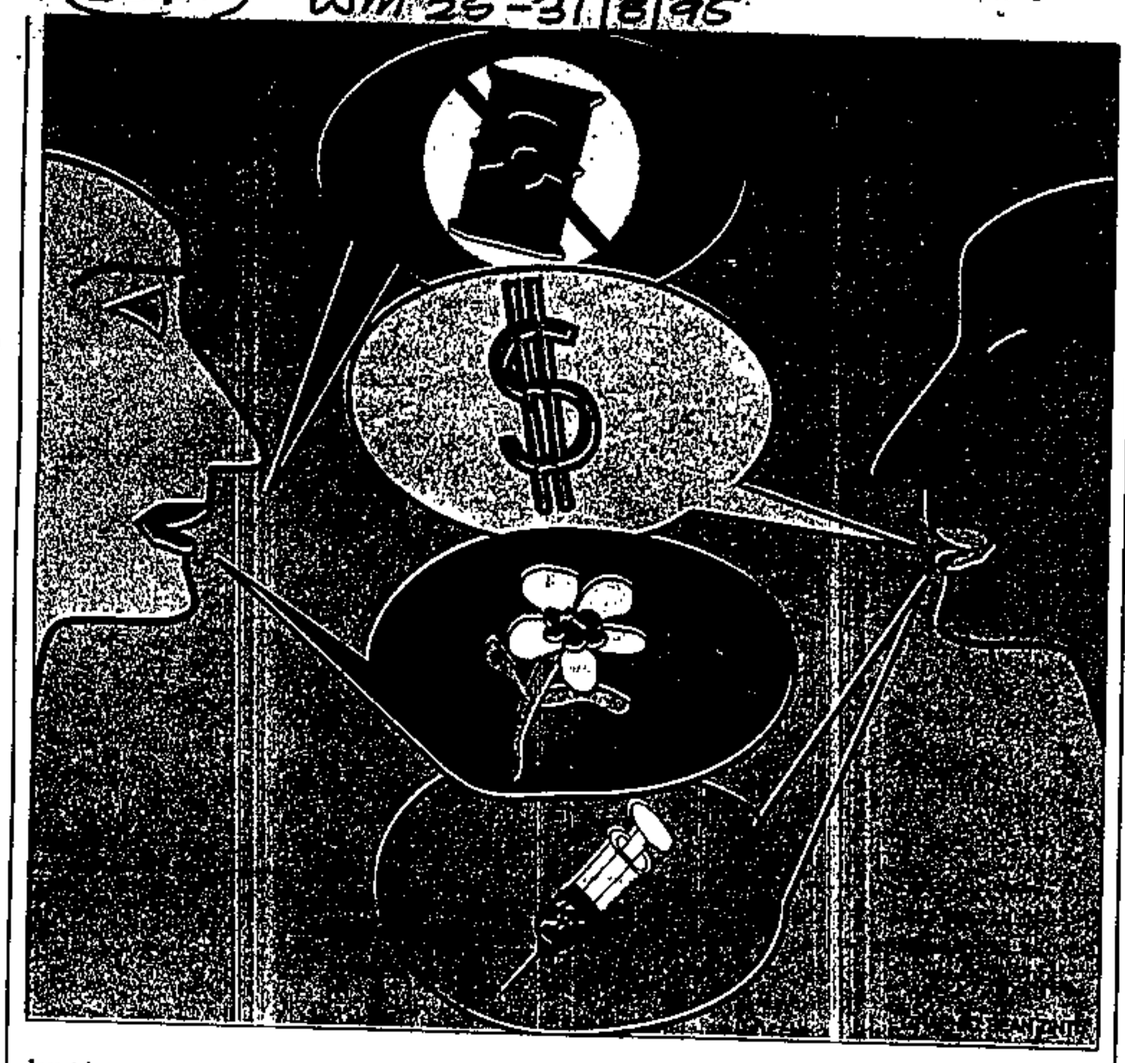
Not all infiltration is cloak-and-dagger. Common criminals are getting through the barriers. Sources in Parliament's catering department say they suspect that up to R60 000 worth of silver teapots, spoons and crockery have gone missing. A parliamentary spokesman refused to confirm the figure, saying that the tea set audit was still under way.

In the meantime, Parliament's silver has been locked away to prevent further theft and parliamentarians are being served tea in stainless steel

Realists wrestle with radicals

(304A) WM 25-31/8/95

South Africa's foreign policy is a tug of war between realists, who are concerned with getting investment, and radicals, who want us to take the moral high ground, argues international affairs expert Jack Spence



THE conventional widsom holds that a country's foreign policy requires the definition and ranking of national interests based on the "immutable facts" of geography and economic and military capability together with a flexible and skillful diplomacy.

So far, so good, but what this view leaves out of account is the Australian scholar, Bruce Miller's observation that national interest ultimately depends on the "ideas which men have of the place which they would like their country to occupy in the world ... These ideas change in time, apart from never being unanimous within a country at a given time".

This proposition has obvious relevance for the debate on South Africa's foreign policy interests currently under way, judging from recent parliamentary statements and the responses of the Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs. There is the argument advanced in the columns of the *Mail & Guardian* in particular that South Africa must take the "high ground" on issues like the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the country's role in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the utility and morality of the arms trade, and links with countries with poor records on human rights.

What appears to divide practitioners from their critics is the extent to which South Africa might fruitfully capitalise on its reputation in international society (derived from its successful transition to democratic rule and the high standing of its State President) as opposed to the need —as perceived by hard-pressed ministers — to continue to scramble for markets and investors once reputation fades following, perhaps, President Mandela's departure from the political scene, and South Africa becoming just another country.

In effect, there is a division between those who look to the rich north-west for economic and political salvation, and those who aspire to give their country a leadership role in the Third World, and Africa in particular.

The debate under way is refreshing and timely, between "realists" (for want of a better term) seemingly congregated in the Department of Foreign Affairs, and their radical critics (Peter Vale, David Figg, and others).

Deputy Minister Aziz Pahad, for example, has argued by implication that South Africa's long-term reputation depends on strengthening economic links with Western states to produce the investment and trade essential to promote growth and without which the Reconstruction and Development Programme will fail. "Our European policy is essentially an outward projection of South Africa's domestic imperatives — economic and social."

Now, a cold blooded calculation of national interest in a world determined by geo-economic realities might well give priority to enhancing traditional links with the states of Europe and North America and establishing new ones with the "tigers" of the Asia-Pacific rim. By contrast, seeking a leadership role in the OAU and the NAM might not seem worth the expenditure of the resources involved. After all, neither organisation inspires confidence: the OAU lacks financial and political muscle, while the NAM struggles to find an identity in an emerging new world order, where incorporation in a powerful trading bloc, such as the North American Free Trade Association, the European Union or the Asian-Pacific Economic Community, is a *sine qua non* for small state survival.

Yet South Africa cannot bluntly turn its back on Africa, however limited that role might have to be. It is, if nothing else, an African power

Yet despite these severe qualifications to the radical critique of "realist" policy-making, South Africa's decision-makers cannot ignore Miller's emphasis on national aspirations and their reflection in decision-making. In the past, South Africa's foreign policy was heavily elitist in concept and execution. It is also true that no government, however new, starts from scratch; it is stuck with what it has inherited. Thus, South Africa in the apartheid era strove mightily to be an outpost of the West in economic and strategic terms. True, the Government of National Unity has to take account of those links with the West, but this should not preclude recognising that South Africa is a part of Africa with at least a residual obligation to do what it can to speak and act with authority in international organisations for a continent in danger of marginalisation.

Past history and the current expectations of a generation of leaders who found succour and support in exile on the continent provide powerful imperatives, however much this has to be weighed in the balance of hard calculation about the degree to which much of Africa is important to South Africa in economic terms.

Yet South Africa — no more than Britain in relation to Europe — cannot bluntly turn its back on Africa, however limited that role might have to be. It is, if nothing else, an African power.

Both realists and radicals do, however, agree on the importance of a critical role for South Africa in the regional hinterland. Here there is a neat coincidence of sentiment and interest: no state can give up its regional destiny, although there may well be doubts about how this might be given substance. Experience suggests that structure, (supra-national institution building), follows substance as transactions of all kinds multiply across boundaries to produce a common interest in rule making and regulation, and, ultimately, their institutionalisation.

In the Southern African case, what is essential is the prior establishment of a new security regime to deal with threats which the sovereign state is ill-equipped to handle: drugs, arms smuggling, enforced migration, environmental degradation. Only when a region is tolerably secure can the serious work of integration get under way. In Western Europe, for example, Nato preceded the work of regional economic integration.

The current debate provides a degree of creative tension between the claims of morality and the constraints of *realpolitik*, which can never be finally resolved in a world where small states have so little control over their external environment, and morality often involves choosing the lesser evil. But the "trouble makers" (to use AJP Taylor's expressive phrase) deserve a hearing, if only to assert the importance of moral considerations in foreign policy.

And the decision-making process will be all the better informed if there is participation by a wider foreign policy constituency of scholars, journalists, and the interested public at large.

But note the plaintive claim in the report of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee that requests for representations from interested parties — academics, international affairs institutions, and so on — unfortunately yielded very limited contributions. Clearly, this cry from the heart needs answering if subsequent debate is to be serious and helpful to government.

JE Spence is a professor and director of studies and is currently visiting professor of International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand

MAIL & GUARDIAN
August 25 to 31 1995

Malaysia rediscovers links with SA Malays

ZOLA

Rehana Rossouw

MALAYSIA'S Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir Bin Mohamad, acknowledged Malaysian roots in South Africa when he and a powerful business delegation swept into the country on a four-day visit this week.

"The people of Malay descent in Cape Town are of some interest to us — it is good to re-establish the linkages broken many years ago," Bin Mohamad said. "But we do not intend to focus exclusively on people of Malay descent in our business with South Africa. We want to interact with everyone."

South Africa's Cape Malays are descended from slaves and political exiles brought from the East Indies by the Dutch 300 years ago. They left an indelible mark on South Africa, establishing the basis for the Afrikaans language and introducing Islam.

WM 25-31/8/95

Centuries later, Malaysian business is firmly set on leaving an economic imprint on South Africa, with trade between the two countries last year valued at more than R430-million and set to rocket this year.

During the Cape Town leg of the tour, Malaysian investment giant the Malaysian Resources Corporation Berhad (MRCB) announced plans to embark on an investment spree that will see millions of rands poured into South Africa in joint ventures with local companies.

Researcher and author Achmat Davids, who has published numerous articles and books exploring the history and contribution of people of Malay descent in South Africa, said Malays in South Africa are unique among former slave populations in the world as they have maintained their culture, some of their language and all of their religious customs despite being cut off from their homeland for centuries.

Davids' family has occupied his home in cobbled Longmarket Street in the old Malay Quarters for more than 100 years, opposite a mosque built by his great-grandfather.

"Malays have a saying that no matter where they are in the world, they never lose their culture," Davids said.



Preserving culture: Achmat Davids with documents from around 1806 showing Afrikaans written in Javanese script PHOTOGRAPH: RODGER BOSCH

Descendants from slaves succeeded in retaining their culture largely because they were literate and able to exert extensive influence over other cultures, particularly the people who are now regarded as Afrikaners, Davids contends.

He carefully handles well-preserved documents dated from around 1806 to show an early version of Afrikaans written in Javanese script. Malay slaves came to the Cape reading four languages and speaking 14 dialects, some of which live on in Afrikaans today. Words such as *sosatie*, *bobotie*, *koeksusters*, *piering*, *baklei*, *baadjie*, *baie* and *bredie* are either Malaysian or Indonesian and still in use in Southeast Asia.

"Not only did the slaves have a tremendous impact on the Afrikaans language, but some of the most elite Afrikaner families as well. Ansiela of Bangor was the owner of Kronendal and the founding mother of the Basson family and Lanzerac belonged to Louis of Bangor," Davids said.

The first school for blacks in South Africa was founded by Malays in 1793 and by 1842 the Dorp Street Madressah had 1 069 students enrolled.

The Malay community is also credited with bringing Islam to South Africa. Last year massive celebrations were held to mark the arrival of Sheik Yusuf, a Muslim political exile brought to the Cape by the Dutch in 1694.

It was only after 1990 that Malays in South Africa re-established their links with Malaysia. South Africans were restricted from visiting there during apartheid although a few managed visits while on pilgrimage to Mecca.

"When we rediscovered each other, there was total amazement on both sides that the culture had been so well preserved in South Africa," Davids said. "A Malaysian speaker at the tricentenary celebrations was so taken aback that he said he had found his lost brothers in Cape Town.

"There is a lot of curiosity among Malays in Cape Town about Malaysia and many people are interested in discovering their roots there. But wanting to experience your ancestral home does not necessarily translate into settling back there."

Government needs a clear foreign policy vision

(304A) & BD 26/9/95

GREG MILLS and JONATHAN KATZENELLENBOGEN

SA's foreign policy faces mounting dilemmas over key issue. The furore over the oil storage deal with Iran, relations with Nigerian military dictators and the dilemma over the recognition of the "two" Chinas are symptoms of a deeper malaise. Lack of principles and policy threaten to undermine SA's regional and international moral authority established by the political transition and the standing of President Nelson Mandela. This could mean a long-term loss of diplomatic status and possibly economic benefits if we are perceived as "just another country".

While SA's policy focus is directed inwardly to support the reconstruction and development programme (RDP), external relations have a key role to play in facilitating domestic and regional economic advancement. Greater export orientation and regional stability are two most critical connections between the RDP and foreign policy. A clear view of external relations can also help to set domestic priorities in development tasks as well as in defence and security.

The government of national unity has described its foreign policy as one of "universality" — the opening of doors to enable discourse. The expansion in the number of foreign missions from 31 in 1990 to 124 last year, and accession to 16 multilateral organisations since May 1994, has elevated its international profile. While these are positive developments they do not give real content or direction to foreign policy.

The lack of content is partly a result of Pretoria finding its new position in the world. In the US, for example, administrations and emphasis may change, but there is a certain continuity in foreign policy at the level of the promotion of free markets and liberal democracy. France's external relations are branded by its extreme assertion of independence; hence its perceived need for a nuclear deterrent and voluntary exclusion from Nato military structures, and a committed African policy which stands it apart from the former colonial powers. India has a foreign policy with identifiable hallmarks: independence from the superpowers and maintenance of its regional power position.

SA remains in a dilemma over some of the fundamental issues which are the basis of guiding principles. It is caught between being part of Africa, yet being part of the West in Africa. It faces a quandary over whether regional development will detract from domestic imperatives. It is trapped between a desire to assist the region, given that southern Africa's problems have domestic consequences, but does not want to appear the dominant regional power. The transition has given SA a new-found authority in the area of human rights, negotiations and peaceful resolution. This has raised the further dilemma of what the combination of guiding criteria for our external relations should be: human rights and liberal democracy, universality, or old allies and friends.

It is doubtful that the principles which underpinned our transition are in accord with the oil deal with Iran or the uncritical relations with other countries with severe human rights abuses, such as Indonesia, Sudan and Nigeria. Questions of inconsistency are also raised by the embargo of arms exports to Turkey, yet the economic benefits provided to Iran by the oil storage deal.

Principles behind recognition of Taiwan and non-recognition of the Sahawari Arab Democratic Republic have yet to be spelled out.

The lack of explanations for these decisions only undermines the credibility of the policy.

Poor co-operation between government departments further undermines eventual outcome of policy. Trade and industry, for example, was not consulted on the navy's corvette bids.

If a more consistent and reliable foreign policy is to emerge, account will have to be taken of what are likely to emerge as the key driving forces in major decisions. These driving forces are:

- First and foremost, as with post-war Japan, the need to present an image as a stable and reliable partner in diplomacy and business. To achieve this, our foreign policy should in most circumstances be non-confrontational and non-ideological, but demonstrate will and muscle where necessary;
- The pursuit of regional stability and growth;
- If our new national values are to be enhanced, foreign policy will have to be informed by human rights considerations; and
- The need for effective management and consultation in the decision-making process.

For all countries, foreign policy decision-making can be a balancing act between principles and self-interest. In this, short-term interests do not necessarily equate long-term concerns. There will always be a need to juggle economic, political and traditional security demands.

For SA, the task of formulating foreign policy is complicated by an external environment in many ways at odds with the government's initial precepts. Even the major powers have experienced difficulty grappling with the changed and complex post-Cold War world. To satisfy all the demands made in the external domain, the government will also need to continue to interact closely on policy issues with the non-governmental sector, including business, academic and other members of civil society. Only by doing so will it be possible to democratically create and sustain a foreign policy of informed national interest.

Mills is director of studies at the SA Institute of International Affairs and Katzenellenbogen a management consultant.

LETTERS

The US is not playing hardball with SA, it is simply business

(304A) (36) BD 26/9/95

SIMON BARBER in Washington

SOVEREIGNTY has always been a touchy issue for South Africans. It is entirely understandable that the new political class would be prickly about having others tell it what to do. It has only been experiencing true self-determination for 16 months or so. As for the old class, its party was not called Nationalist for nothing and resentment of uitlanders was a central feature of its cognitive map.

Add to the mix a prolonged absence from normal relations with the rest of the world, and it is not surprising to find the new government, both because it is new and inexperienced and because it contains so much of the old one, misreading US intentions on certain issues.

In three matters — the intellectual property dispute, the stalled negotiations over a new bilateral air services agreement and the prolonged deadlock of resolving Armscor's 1991 indictment for gross violations of US export controls — ambassador Franklin Sonn and his masters have reacted as though SA's political independence were at stake and have complained in the language of victimhood.

They find it difficult to reconcile Washington's actions on these questions with its stated warmth and admiration towards President Nelson Mandela's SA. If the Clinton administration really felt that way, they reason, it would not allow the US trade representative to place SA on its watchlist of intellectual property offenders; the transport department would be restrained from playing hardball with SAA; and Denel would be trusted with military technology without having to submit to an on-site state department audit.

The truth is that in none of these cases is the US doing anything unusual. It has not singled SA out. Routine business is being conducted routinely in accordance with US law and national interest. There is no hidden agenda. The kind of disputes, if that is not too strong a word, the US and SA are presently engaged in, are the ordinary stuff of relations between the US and all its allies and trading partners.

Welcome, in other words, to the real world.

To be fair to Sonn and others, the idiom in which the US conducts routine business can be jarring to the uninitiated. On the intellectual property issue, the office of the US trade representative did not start out by trying quiet persuasion. It shoved SA on its latest annual watchlist (along with 23 other trading partners) and threatened retaliation under section 301 of the Trade Act if SA did not take appropriate steps by September 15. But section 301 is not to be confused with rule .303, the rule under which Breaker Morant justified shooting Boer prisoners. It is mostly all bark.

Furthermore, no US policymaker ever handed down an order to put the frighteners specifically on SA. The watchlisting, in the words of a trade representative official, was "the American regulatory system at work". The representative received complaints from McDonalds, Toys R Us and others that their trademarks were being poached in SA; it responded as prescribed by law.

The complaints are now being resolved relatively painlessly. The Supreme Court in Pretoria is expected to rule that McDonalds' rights to its SA-registered trademark are safe from George Sombonos, thereby setting an important precedent. Redgwoods, which registered the Toy R Us name as its own before the toy retailer became internationally known, is expected to purchase the Toys R Us master franchise for SA. The US trade representative and the SA registrar of patents are looking at a mechanism to deal with any other US companies that have intellectual property grievances.

In 1986 the US Congress tore up the bilateral air services agreement between the US and SA on the theory the gesture would help bring down apartheid. A new treaty is currently being negotiated. The first round of formal talks took place in May, the second at the end of July. The US side walked out of the latter having failed to obtain satisfaction on what it regards as a key point. To increase US leverage, the transport department then blocked plans by SAA to add two direct flights to the US to its weekly schedule of seven.

SAA went apoplectic, claiming it had been within its rights to increase service and had booked 6 000 passengers on the extra flights which had been due to begin at the start of the Christmas holiday season. Sonn whinged to the state department that SA was being treated unfairly. To little avail.

What he failed to appreciate fully is that the transport department is not picking on SA.

The US negotiators could not give a hoot about whether the people on the other side of the table represented the government of the saintly Mandela or the odious Mobutu Sese Seko. The Americans' interest is commercial aviation and in breaking down the petty nationalisms and regulations which they see obstructing a more open and competitive international aviation system. The SA people facing them were obstructing this goal by objecting to something called third country code sharing.

In English, what that means is that SAA does not want US carriers to be permitted to sell tickets to and from SA on other nations' airlines. Northwestern, for example, is interested in serving the SA market, not by flying its own 747s to Johannesburg, but by entering into an arrangement with KLM which would "seamlessly" transport Northwestern passengers from Amsterdam to Jan Smuts.

What SAA fears is not so much immediate competition with its New York/Miami-Johannesburg/Cape Town flights. Rather, it worries that code sharing will lead to multi-airline alliances, and ultimately to multinational airlines, able to benefit from huge economies of scale and thus price SAA out of the market. SAA feels it needs time to get into this new game.

That is a fair enough position, and many countries, including most recently the Philippines, have successfully adopted it in negotiations with the transport department. But poor-little-me-ism isn't going to get you very far in negotiations. Nor is bitching about US imperialism. The US negotiating style is poker-based. See 'em and raise 'em — if you must. Don't whine. It will make them think your hand is weak. And this isn't personal, it's business.

Finally, the Armscor mess. Part of the dispute is with the prosecutors who brought the indictment. This is not a political matter but a judicial one, as Mandela himself has acknowledged to President Bill Clinton. The two issues are distinct in the US. Then there is the question of Denel earning the privilege to obtain US military technology. This is not within the arbitrary gift of US politicians or bureaucrats. There are laws and regulations.

Pretoria huffs and puffs that on-site inspections of Denel will violate SA sovereignty. Bad luck. The state department's office of defence trade controls is charged with making sure US military technology is not used against GIs. You want the technology, you play by office of defence trade controls rules. This has nothing to do with protecting the US defence industry from foreign competition. It has everything to do with saving the lives of US servicemen and preserving US security.

Under those circumstances, there are no friendly or unfriendly countries, as relations are mutable. There is only the law, and to get a licence to obtain US military technology, the law says you must let the office of defence trade controls satisfy itself that you are both willing and able to comply. Again, there is nothing personal about this. It's the way the US does business. The sooner SA has someone over here who understands that, the better.

Mandela's 500 days in power

ARG 26/9/95 (304A)

BRENDAN BOYLE of Reuter

AFTER 500 days in power, President Nelson Mandela is striving to keep South Africa's transition from white rule to democracy on track by balancing slender financial resources against rising black expectations.

He denied his government of national unity was failing the five-to-one black majority.

"What have I ever done for whites that I have not done for blacks," he said.

"I am not at all disappointed. The transition is on track, but people are ignoring what I said before the election — that improvements would not be immediate, that it could take five years or more."

Although Mr Mandela's ANC generally presents a united front, party sources say there is rising discontent about the lack of delivery under the government's R37,5 billion Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

Mr Mandela said he was satisfied with the pace of delivery and rejected the charge that he was overreaching himself to appease whites.

"My task is to unite the country, to prevent whites from leaving with their skills, which should be put to use here.

"We are doing far more for blacks than for whites. All of our programmes are for blacks and for coloureds and, to a more limited extent, for Indians. They are not for whites."

Mr Mandela listed the delivery of electricity to 1 000 homes a day, school meals for five-million children and free health care for pregnant women and children up to six as early benefits of democracy.

He blamed the media for the impression that most of his attention was given to whites, saying white editors and owners glossed over his work for the majority and focused on gestures towards conservative whites.

"Nobody has spent more time in the informal settlements, the squatter camps than me. I have planted trees and turned sods and switched on electricity. I can't help it if the press just keeps quiet about these things.

"One must take into account that the media is controlled by whites and the element of racism is still there. Generally speaking, the press is trying to play a constructive role, but we must know the background they are coming from," he said.

Mr Mandela said security was becoming a major concern for blacks and whites and warned that increasing crime was "sending a message of ungovernability to the world".

Crime had rocketed since the iron grip of white rule was gradually eased between 1990 and last year's elections. Police reported more than 50 murders a day in 1994 and Mr Mandela said recently a serious crime was committed every 17 seconds.

"We need to spell out the consequences of violence. We don't want people to lose confidence in South Africa. The maintenance of law and order is vital," he said at the weekend.

In remote Griquastad, Mr Mandela broke away from an official function to greet surprised policemen guarding the venue.

In Bisho he disappointed nurses who greeted him with a song in Xhosa: "Mandela is bringing us money."

He praised their work and promised his support, but said there would be no immediate increase in their salaries.

He said later he found it difficult to turn down the legitimate appeals from nurses and police, but insisted there was no money to meet their demands.

Referring to a call by a parliamentary committee recently for salary increases for legislators, he vowed they, too, would have to make do and for a lot longer.

Mr Mandela reaffirmed that he would not seek re-election when the five-year transition ended in 1999. He said he would help his party's campaign and then bow out.

'My only regrets...'

HE FIGHTS for a few moments of privacy and he regrets the impact of his job on his family, but at 77, President Mandela is basically a happy man.

"Generally speaking, wherever I go, I go home with the feeling that I have done worthy work and that gives me strength I would not normally have," he said in two days of intermittent interviews.

"One gets used to it, but it destroys your family life," he said of the job he won in South Africa's first all-race elections almost 16 months ago.

In off-the-record comments he joked without implying confirmation or denial about the mystery, comparing it to his successful campaign over decades to protect the secret of which South African soccer team he supported.

"I like my privacy at night. Mostly, in the daytime I like to be with people. But sometimes I just long to be alone — really alone," he said.

He reaffirmed that he would retire at the end of the five-year transition he negotiated between his release from prison in 1990 and his inauguaration on May 10 last year.

"I will go in 1999. I won't lose interest in the organisation (his African National Congress), but I would not want to be in the way. I would not like a situation where a new president is dominated in some way by an old president. — Reuter.

Ambassador's appointment lags

■ BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

Washington – President Clinton's ambassador-designate to South Africa, James Joseph, will have his first confirmation hearing in the senate today although his appointment still remains uncertain.

Joseph, current president of the Council on Foundations, is just one of the many ambassadors whose confirmations are being held up by conservative Senator Jesse Helms, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Helms is currently effectively holding hostage the ambassadorial nominations and the ratification of several international treaties, to pressure Clinton to abolish several costly international agencies such as the Agency for International Development.

But administration sources said that Helms had at least allowed Senator Nancy Kassebaum, chairman of the Senate Sub-committee on Africa, to go ahead with Joseph's first confirmation hearing tomorrow.

This will be his first step on the confirmation road and gives an indication that the appointment might now go ahead. It means that if and when Helms decides to lift his embargo against ambassadorial nominations, the Joseph confirmation will be ready to move to the next step, a hearing before the full Foreign Relations Committee.

Some concerns have been expressed that if Joseph's confirmation does not go through this year, it might not happen at all, because ambassadorial appointments do not normally occur in a presidential election year.

Congressional sources have also indicated that Joseph will probably be confirmed without difficulty if the Helms manoeuvre is abandoned. It is not aimed at him personally and he is regarded as a politically uncontroversial nominee.

(B049) Star 26/9/95



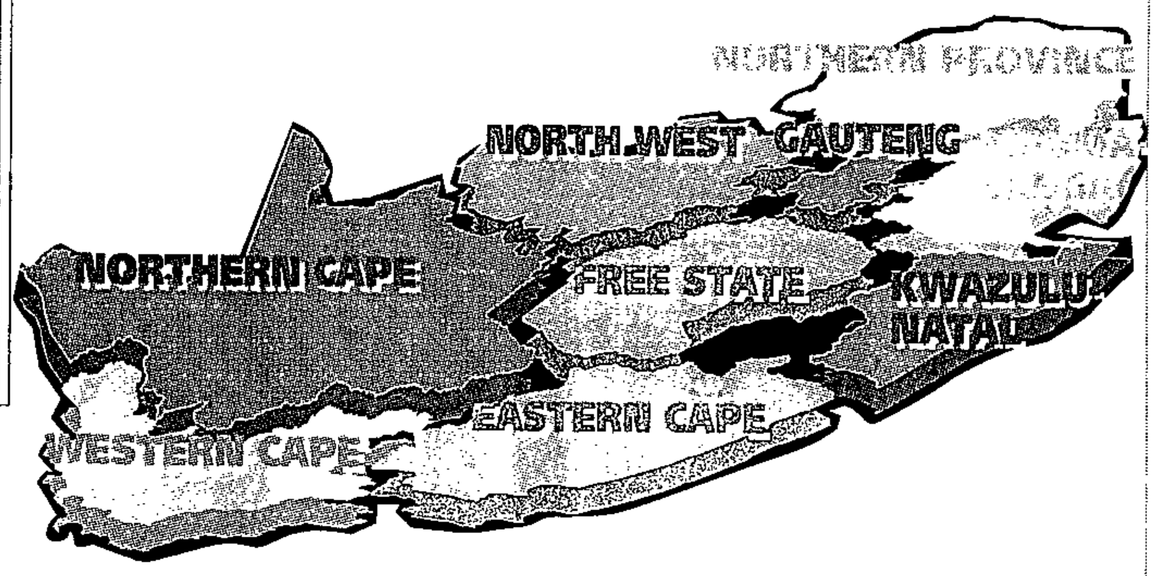
The Star's E'95 team



Peter Sullivan
Editor



Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Editor **Phone 633-2269**





Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent



Abbey Makoe
Soweto Bureau Chief
Phone 982-1528/9



Anna Cox
Sandton Bureau Chief
GAUTENG
Phone 882-0981



Karin Schimke
GAUTENG
NORTHERN PROVINCE
FREE STATE
Phone 633-2264



Jovial Rantao
MPUMALANGA
NORTH WEST
NORTHERN CAPE
Phone 633-2219



Hopewell Radebe
MPUMALANGA
NORTH WEST
Phone 633-2461



Cheryl Hunter
NORTHERN PROVINCE
WESTERN CAPE
Phone 633-2523



Shirley Woodgate
FREE STATE
Phone 633-2246



Mondli Makhanya
KWAZULU-NATAL
WESTERN CAPE
EASTERN CAPE
Phone 633-2506



Bongiwe Mlangeni
NORTHERN CAPE
Phone 633-2621



Lorna Zokufa
EASTERN CAPE
Phone 633-2641

THE EDITORS



Andrew Walker
Night Editor



Arthur Maimane
Day Editor



Alex Ball
Chief Sub-Editor



Robin Comley
Picture Editor



Gail Irwin
Art Director

ON THE NEWS DESK
Phone 633-2411/0



Sol Makgabutlane
News Editor



Eric Janssen
Deputy News Editor



Robert Brand
Day News Editor



Brendan Templeton
Night News Editor

Step 2 on democracy's road

Star 26/9/95 (304A)

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL EDITOR

On Wednesday, November 1, adult South Africans will take to various polling stations throughout the country to complete the democratisation process which began slightly more than five years ago. As in April last year, they will have their collective fate in their hands.

We at The Star recognise the importance of these elections, and have therefore marshalled all our resources to give you, our readers, the best possible coverage. Today, as we unveil our plans to cover the elections, we give you a taste of what is to come over the next eight weeks.

We will tell you about what the political leaders have to say during their campaigning — but we will do more. We will also tell you more about interesting candidates and their wards, about the communities and their reactions to the political hardsell and about the issues on which the elections will be fought. In short, better, balanced coverage.

We begin today, with a comprehensive package on the local government elections. In the stories below we answer some of the questions you may have. Go on, cut this page out and keep it for future reference — after all, we are not radio or television: you are in control of the information we give you.

We also introduce the men and women who will ensure that we give you the best possible coverage, ranging from the editors who do the planning, through to the foot-soldiers. Finally, we give you their telephone numbers so you can contact them with information or questions.

■ BY KARIN SCHIMKE
POLITICAL STAFF

Until the local government elections take place, South Africa's spectacular transition to a fully fledged democracy is not really complete.

But local government elections are in many ways more involved than last year's general election because of the complications of transitional authorities, the addition of six so-called metropolitan councils, and the establishment of district councils to act on behalf of people spread across rural areas and who have had limited access to government structures of any kind.

Before the Government of National Unity was born, local government was fragmented with racially exlusive local authorities being established for the different racial groupings in urban areas. This election is all-important in balancing the scales and, while many people may wish to abstain because of the daunting nature of the election process, their votes will be felt very close to home.

Homes – and living standards – are directly linked to this election. People are voting for refuse removal, for sanitation, for water, for electricity – for the things that just make living generally more pleasant.

The change from racially-based local government to democratic local government should, according to the Local Government Transition Act, take place in three phases. The November 1 elections will end the pre-interim phase which was characterised by a process to legitimise local government.

The next phase, called the interim phase, will have current Transitional Metropolitan Councils (TMCs) and Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) replaced by elected members who will serve for between three and five years, until the Interim Constitution has been revised into a final version.

Transitional councils take on a different form in different areas and it is important for voters to know what structure they are electing people to. In metropolitan areas like Johannesburg, there will be two levels of local government, namely TMCs and Transitional Metropolitan Substructures (MSSs). Johannesburg is divided into four substructures. Powers and duties of local government will be shared between the two.

In non-metropolitan areas there will be only one elected transitional council known as a transitional local council (TLC). Voting stations on election day will be equipped in such a way as to easily distinguish which authority you are voting for.

Of the representatives chosen to TLCs and MSSs, 40% will be elected by proportional representation and will be party members. But parties are not restricted to political parties and can include any local organisation, body or voluntary association which has purposes related to local government.

Seats will be allocated to each party according to the proportion of the total vote it receives, and filled in priority order from the list of party members proposed as candidates by each party.

The other 60% of the representatives will be elected directly from candidates standing in each individual ward by voters registered in that ward.

On election day separate ballot papers will be used for these two types of elections: a white one for the election of ward candidates and a yellow one for the proportional representation vote.

For TMCs, 40% of the representatives will be elected by proportional representation by all the voters registered in the metropolitan council area. Voters will vote for the party of their choice and seats will be allocated to each party according to the proportion of the total number of registered voters within the TMC area. Each MSS must have at least one appointed representative on the TMC.

On election day a separate ballot paper – a green one – will be used for the TMC proportional representation election.

Ward candidate ballot papers will be printed on white paper and will contain the name of each candidate for the ward in alphabetical order. If that candidate has chosen a distinguishing symbol, that will be printed against his name on that paper.

Ballot papers for proportional representation election for a TLC or MSS will be printed on yellow paper and the names of each party – in an order determined by a draw – with their distinguishing symbols will appear on it.

Ballot papers for a proportional representation election for a TMC are in the same format, but printed in green.

On election day in Gauteng, November 1, voting stations will be open from 7am until 10pm.

Inside the voting station voters identity documents will be checked, as well as their names on the voters roll for that voting station.The election official will issue the voter with two ballot papers: a white one for the ward candidate and a yellow one for the proportional representation vote.

Before handing over the papers, the official will write the voter's voters roll serial number on the ballot paper counterfoil, place the official mark on the back of the paper, fold each paper lengthwise and breadthways so that the mark is showing, unfold the paper and then show the voter how it must be folded along those line before he or she leaves the voting compartment.

The voter enters the voting compartment, makes his selection and marks it with a cross. Each ballot paper is then folded separately with the vote hidden inside and the official mark showing outside.

Leaving the compartment, the voter shows the mark to the official monitoring the ballot box and places the folded paper in the box. Unless the voter is registered in a ward where TMC voting is being conducted, he or she then leaves the voting station.

In voting stations where an election for a TMC is also taking place, instead of leaving, the voter will be directed to a separate area. The same procedure takes place again, this time with a green ballot paper. After placing this ballot paper in the ballot box, the voter leaves the station.

Unlike the national election, there will be no monitors from an independent group watching over the voting station to see that all proceeds in a legitimate way.

However, the voting process will be protected in a number of different ways. Party agents and candidates who can challenge the elegibility of any voter to vote will be present. The possibility of people voting twice will be ruled out by the marking through of their name on the voters' roll.

All election officials, candidates, party workers and security staff will be sworn to secrecy before they enter the voting station and there will be legal penalties for attempting to influence or force anyone to vote in a particular way.

The result of the election may also be challenged in court afterwards.

At the close of voting, each voting stations's ballot boxes will be sealed and the election material will be checked, reconciled and packed for delivery to the designated counting centre.

When the boxes arrive at the counting centre, the returning officer, assisted by counting officers, checks the returns of the presiding officer to make sure that all ballot papers and other material used at the voting station has been accounted for, before the ballot papers are accepted for counting.

Counting starts only once all the election material from all voting stations in the transitional authority area have been received. Each type of ballot paper is counted separately for each individual voting station. The counting for a TMC is separate from that for MSSs.

Counting officers will open the sealed ballot boxes and firstly separate the ballot papers according to their colours.

They will then check that the number of papers returned from each station is correct and put aside those ballot papers that do not carry the official mark. Papers where it is not clear which candidate or party was voted for will also be put on this pile.

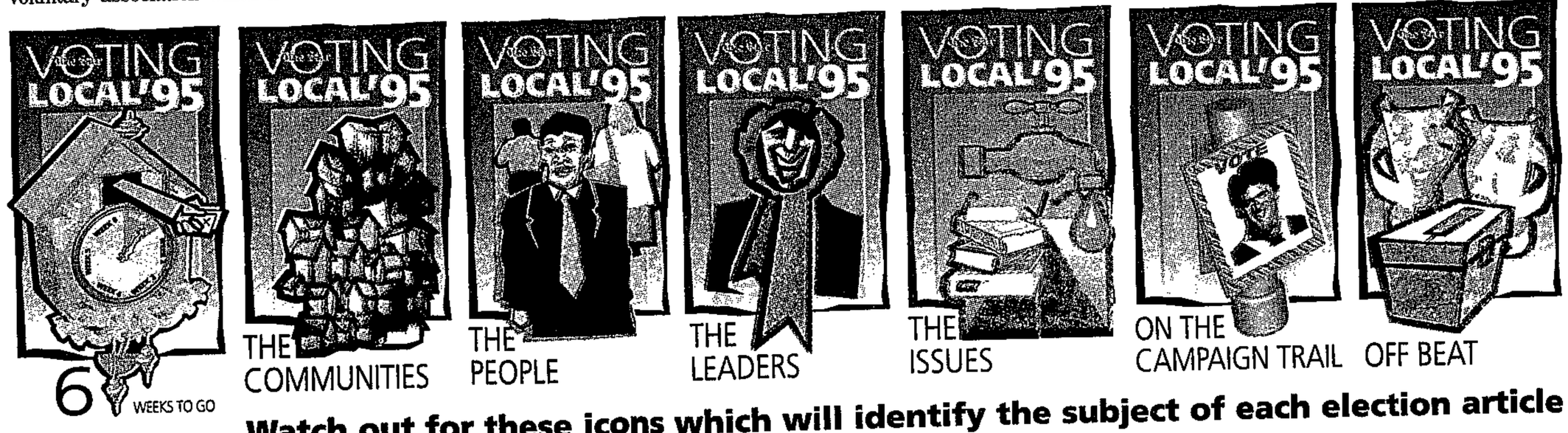
Candidates and their agents, or political party agents, will be present during the count and can challenge the acceptance or rejection of any ballot paper.

The votes accepted are then counted. For the ward elections, the total votes for each candidate are counted. The candidate with the highest number of votes in the ward is elected.

For the proportional representation elections (for TLCs, MSSs and TMCs), the returning officer uses a formula set by the election regulations to determine the number of votes each party must receive to have a candidate on its party list elected, and allocates seats to parties on the basis of this formula.

After all this has been done, the returning officer completes a declaration of results form.

Results are expected to come dribbling in from midnight November 1 and election officials think the final result may be available within 24 hours after close of voting stations.



Watch out for these icons which will identify the subject of each election article

Parties divided on disclosure of MPs' interests

BD 27/9/95 (304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Parliamentarians would in future have to publicly disclose financial interests such as property, shareholdings and directorships, a majority of parties in Parliament's ethics subcommittee agreed yesterday.

The agreement was reached despite strong opposition from the NP and IFP.

Elated committee chairman, ANC MP Kader Asmal, said afterwards: "This has gone way beyond my expectations." However, some important details, such as where to draw the line between public and confidential disclosure, still had to be hammered out.

Asmal hinted at seeking a compromise deal. He was confident though that the envisaged code of ethics/conduct — including a register of members' financial interests — would be ready for implementation when Parliament met in February.

Other financial categories to be included in the register were outside employment, consultancies, sponsorships and gifts worth more than R350.

The ad hoc subcommittee will meet again in a bid to finalise matters before reporting to the rules committees of the National Assembly and Senate.

Asmal said the "reservations and disagreements" expressed by the NP and IFP were to be expected because public accountability in the form of a code of conduct was a "new world" to them. Parliament had been grappling with the issue for only four months, while it had taken the ANC three years to draft a party code of conduct.

Asmal said, "much was accepted" at the meeting. There was agreement on the fundamental principal of disclosure, most of the content of the envisaged code and its operating structures.

A parliamentary committee would be established to monitor the code's implementation and hear grievances

Continued on Page 2

Disclosure (304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 27/9/95

against MPs and senators.

Asmal warned that if the NP and IFP persisted with their hard line, "we will have to take a majority decision". The most likely place for such a showdown would be the rules committees, where the ANC has a majority.

The NP argued that SA was not yet ready for a comprehensive public financial disclosure code because "we do not yet have a normal democratic situation". It said consideration should also be given to the "right to privacy and free economic activity" contained in the Bill of Rights, while the IFP rejected disclosure in a public register except when relevant to a parliamentary debate, and then only to be made verbally by MPs and senators.

The issue of public pensions, and whether parliamentarians should disclose what they received, proved to be the most contentious issue. The ANC and PAC were isolated in calling for full public disclosure.

NEWS - POLITICS

Chiefs vote for boycott

(304A) (Sec 2)

Vendas and Shangaans ready to go to court for equal representation

Sowetan 27/9/95

By Khathu Mamaila

THE ESTABLISHMENT of the house of traditional leaders in the Northern Province suffered a major setback when the Venda and Shangaan chiefs resolved to boycott the process at the weekend.

The decision was taken at a meeting of chiefs in the former Venda and Gazankulu homelands on Sunday.

The chiefs have vowed to boycott all processes aimed at establishing the house unless the provincial government accedes to their demands for equal representation.

The provincial government had offered chiefs in the former Lebowa homeland a total of 19 seats, while Venda and Gazankulu were allocated 10 and 11 seats respectively.

The failure of the Government to allocate an equal number of seats to the three main tribes in the province has fuelled accusations that the Government favours Northern Sotho chiefs.

Chief Cedrick Mhinga's right-hand man, Mr George Rhangane, said yesterday the Venda and Tsonga-Shangaan chiefs intended seeking legal advice from a well known advocate Mr Dikgang Moseneke.

Rhingani said the meeting between the chiefs delegation and Moseneke would take place this week.

He added that the chiefs were also contemplating going to the constitutional court in a bid to resolve the crisis.

Approached for comment, spokesman for premier Mr Ngoako Ramatlhodi, Mr Jack Mokobi, said commissioner on tribal authorities Mr Benny Boshielo was best qualified to talk on the subject.

Attempts to get Boshielo proved fruitless yesterday.

Earlier Boshielo had said more seats had been allocated to the Northern Sotho chiefs because there were more than 130 Pedi chiefs, while there were only 28 Venda chiefs and 33 Tsonga-Shangaan chiefs.

This explanation has been rejected by the Venda and Tsonga-Shangaan chiefs, who maintained that chiefs were the custodians of culture and that different traditions were equal.

Public stays cynical about politicians

BD 27/9/95 (304A)

Mduduzi ka Harvey

ALTHOUGH a national survey conducted by Research Surveys indicates that 97% of potential voters countrywide are now aware of the November 1 local government election, there is still widespread cynicism among all race groups about the performance and credibility of politicians.

Research Surveys accountant director Justine Loebel said politicians were linked to non-delivery of promises in the past and this view could affect the final turnout at the polls.

Apathy and the belief among white voters that their vote would not make a difference were other negative factors affecting the vote.

Announcing survey results conducted for the Local Government Elections Task Group, Loebel said 80% of potential voters saw the elections as being neccessary for the provision of jobs, housing and essential services. She said there was more awareness of the need for essential services, with rural respondents heading the list.

The survey, which involved interviews with 1 720 different respondents in the provinces, also indicated that of the 73% of voters registered, 80% had indicated their intention to vote.

Remaining concerns about registration included 9% of potential voters who thought they were registered, but who then later found out they were not.

In addition, 60% of those who mistakenly thought they were registered still planned to vote.

Local Government Elections Task Group co-chairman Khehla Shubane explained that voters who had not registered would be allowed to register, but they would not vote in the election. He said their names would be entered on voters' rolls for the next local government elections.

Asked about their satisfaction with government, most race groups had indicated their dissatisfaction. This was substantially more for white potential voters and although the majority of respondents had no specific fears about polling day, the fear of violence did feature, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng.

Reasons cited for not registering included: too busy, no trust, not interested and no progress. Reasons for an intention to vote included: duty, improvement of living standards and meeting the needs of the community.

Reasons listed for perhaps not voting included fear of violence, corruption and intimidation.

yesterday, comfort each other after hearing about her death. Photographs were [illegible] PIC: VELI NHLAPO
attacked.

GNU endangered

(Sowetan) Late Edition 27/9/95

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE CABINET meets today in a do-or-die session that is certain to test the survival of the Government of National Unity.

At centre stage are the African National Congress and National Party, both of whose leaders admit there will be a showdown in Pretoria today over the passing next week of legislation amending the Local Government Transitional Act.

The NP may also appeal to the Constitutional Court again if the ANC pushes through legislation to enforce "controversial" local government proclamations, party leader and Deputy President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Yesterday the NP's caucus met in Pretoria in an effort to put up a united front at today's Cabinet meeting following divisions within the party.

De Klerk said the decision to consider another court intervention was unanimously agreed to by NP leaders at the heart of the local government dispute, including Western Cape premier Mr Hernus Kriel and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer. They had decided that the party would support legislation necessary to allow local elections to take place on November 1.

However, the NP would oppose the measure if it also covered "unnecessary" issues such as the Presidential proclamations on demarcation in the Western Cape, which were overturned by the Constitutional Court last week.

"Agreement was reached on a strategy to promote this stand," De Klerk said.

"If there is no success in making the legislation acceptable to the NP, there is a possibility that it could be tested in the court again."

The ANC has said the two contentious proclamations, R58 and R59, which deal with the Cape Town dispute, will be included in the amendments, thus setting the stage for a showdown today.

However, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday said his organisation was still uncertain about the NP's problems as the ANC intended to simply abide by the court's decision. He hoped a bilateral meeting would be agreed upon at the Cabinet meeting.

Ramaphosa, however, dispelled any inkling of a constitutional crisis.

"I believe the matters will be discussed. No, the GNU will not be forced to disband and it is still too early to say we will be forced into another round of multiparty negotiations."

The Cabinet will today set October 4 as the day for the houses of Parliament to meet to pass the revised legislation. Notice of the revised legislation is expected to be gazetted tomorrow. However, it is unclear whether it will be sufficient for the amended act to be passed by simple majorities of both houses or whether it will need a constitutional amendment, which would need a two-thirds majority.

Contradicting interpretations about how Parliament must approach the revised Local Government Transition Act could mean another Constitutional Co[illegible]. At the heart of the matter ar[illegible] NP senators from the Western [illegible]e, Cornelius Ackerman, Stanley Fi[illegible]er, CR Radcliffe, Alex van Bree[illegible], M Willey and AJ Williams, who virtually have a veto over Parliament's proceedings.

In terms of the Constitution, an amendment dealing with powers and borders of provinces has to get the consent of the majority of senators from the affected province.

The ANC's three are J Foster, Bulelani Ngcuka and Christmas Tinto. The Democratic Party's sole representative, Senator James Selfe, is likely to vote with the NP as opposed to the ANC if it comes to the crunch.

MPs' role in secret peace talks revealed

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

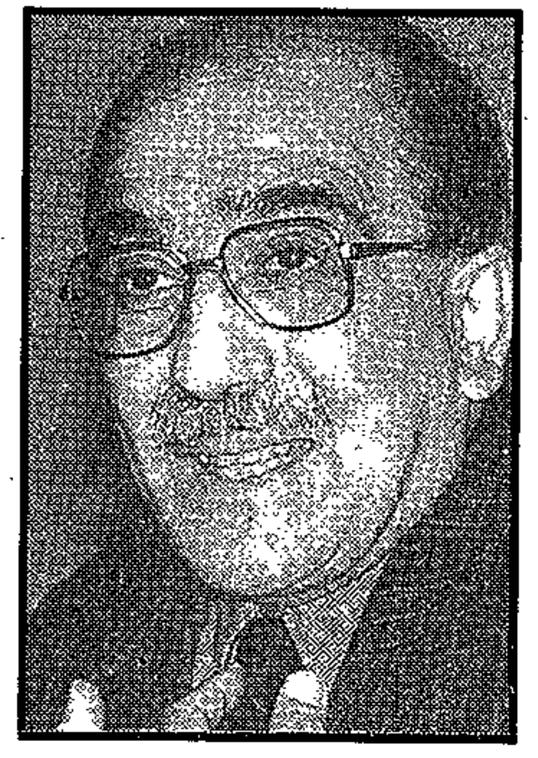
SOUTH African politicians played key roles in secret diplomacy to find peace settlements in Ireland and the Middle East.

This was disclosed by Kader Asmal, Minister of Water Affairs, in an ethics sub-committee debate on whether MPs should be forced to disclose publicly details of all overseas trips.

In recent years politicians from more than one party had been involved in missions to assist settlements in Palestine and Ireland.

There were certain areas where South Africa's role should not be identified, he said.

At yesterday's meeting of the national assembly and senate sub-committees on ethics, most parties supported the view that only trips paid for by MPs themselves should be exempted from an official register of gifts.



Kader Asmal

Dr Asmal said there were occasions on which it would not be prudent to disclose details of trips.

He proposed that final rules on disclosure accommodate a provision for confidentiality for reasons of State.

Public knowledge of such trips could influence the conduct of foreign policy, he said.

Ethics code for MPs

ARG 28/9/95 (304A)

☐ *Parties differ over disclosure of business dealings*

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

A CODE of ethics for parliamentarians could be in force by the beginning of next year — but parties are still at odds about whether MPs should declare full details of company directorships and shareholdings.

At a seven-hour meeting of the national assembly and senate sub-committees on ethics parties agreed there should be a record of MPs' interests, but disagreed on what details, if any, should be made public.

A register of gifts is to be kept.

The National Party and Freedom Front said disclosure of business details could advantage competitors and expose companies to politically-motivated industrial action.

The ANC said MPs should disclose shareholdings, including the numbers of shares held, in a parliamentary register, but was undecided about whether full details of this register should be open to the public.

The Democratic Party favoured disclosure of shareholdings, but not their value, while the PAC wanted full disclosure of shareholdings.

ANC senator Mohseen Moosa said that if MPs disclosed no more than that they were directors of companies, without saying which companies, this would make nonsense of a code of ethics.

Speaker of the national assembly Frene Ginwala criticised ANC colleagues who tried to find a compromise with the NP on disclosure of shareholdings.

It would defeat the purpose of transparency if "we end up with a book marked confidential".

It should be up to the people, and not a "little group of individuals" in parliament to decide what was acceptable, she said.

However, parties did manage to find some common ground.

Proposals, still subject to ratification by the rules committees are for the code of ethics first to be enforced as internal rules of parliament.

The code will be overseen by a multi-party committee, most likely specially set up for the purpose, distinct from the rules and disciplinary committees.

Legislation is likely to follow later.

The sub-comittees agreed MPs should have to declare gifts valued at more than R350, and gifts from the same source with a cumulative value of more than this given within a year.

Gifts given within the family will be excluded, with family ties being defined in wide terms.

Finality could not be reached on declaration of overseas trips.

While most parties argued that all overseas trips except those paid for by MPs themselves should be declared, the NP said trips paid for by members' political parties should be excluded.

Chairman of the sub-committee Kader Asmal said some trips might have to be kept confidential for reasons of state.

This could be necessary when MPs engaged in secret diplomacy.

Dr Asmal disclosed the cabinet had yet to decide on a code for its members.

A report was due to be put to the cabinet soon.

It is possible that the rules governing MPs may be extended to cabinet ministers, presiding officers and parliamentary officials.

Parties were unable to agree on whether assets of spouses and dependent children should be declared.

While the PAC and ANC favoured this, the IFP said it would cause complications because of tribal custom.

The DP said it was unsure of the legality of such a requirement.

The sub-committees will meet again in December to consider a draft report on the code of ethics and registers of gifts and interests.



FRENE GINWALA: "It would defeat the purpose of transparency if we end up with a book marked confidential".

MPs lament lack of black faces at SA embassy

(304A) ARG 28/9/95

BRUSSELS. — A delegation of South African MPs has highlighted a problem at the European Union — there is not a black face in sight.

If you walk into the South African embassy in Brussels, the receptionist is white, as are the secretaries, as are the diplomats, as is the ambassador, Neil Pieter van Heerden.

This came as a shock to the six-man delegation from the Portfolio Foreign Affairs Committee.

In a report on their visit to Brussels, sponsored by the German Friederich Ebert Foundation, the MPs note that the race balance in the South African mission "is not representative of the population".

They also note that there are just 11 staff at the mission — which makes it much smaller than most other main South African embassies abroad.

"It is essential to ensure that this mission is adequately resourced, and that it becomes more representative," the report notes.

Rob Davies, who headed the delegation, was still in Brussels yesterday, attending an assembly with European MPs and their counterparts from the developing world.

He said that the South African diplomats were not to blame for the fact that they have no black colleagues.

"They say there is a training programme, which should result in new black diplomats becoming available," said Dr Davies.

"They recognise that this is something which has to change."

He added that he and his colleagues would be seeking assurances from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that there were plans to establish "a representative embassy".

However, Dr Davies added that the mostly white situation in Brussels was not unique.

"While it is important that we have an embassy which is representative, we also need diplomats with skill and experience, and so there needs to be balance."

A similar problem exists in France, where there is a black Ambassador — Barbara Masikela — and one black diplomat.

A spokesman at the South African mission to the EU confirmed that there are no black diplomats in Brussels.

However, he said that Ambassador van Heerden had repeatedly requested additional staff, and had asked that where possible they should be black.

The report noted the key importance of the South African Mission to the EU in the coming months, as crucial negotiations on a new trade accord between the EU and South Africa continue. — The Independent, London.

Uganda, SA to set up joint body

(304A) BD 28/9/95

Bonile Ngqiyaza

A JOINT commission to look at creating a "secure and conducive" macroeconomic environment and to facilitate private sector activities and increased interaction in that sector between Uganda and SA would soon be established, the foreign affairs department said this week.

The framework for bilateral co-operation was agreed upon during an official visit to Uganda by Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo.

The two ministers had committed themselves to the "strengthening and expansion" of co-operation in all fields including information, tourism, agriculture, telecommunications, energy, transport, investment and trade and industry. They also welcomed as "a step in the right direction" the launching of Alliance Airline, co-owned by Uganda, Tanzania and SA.

Ugandan Foreign Minister Ruhakana Rugunda had accepted an invitation to visit SA at a later date.

Nzo said trade between SA and Uganda had increased from $3m to $7m last year. He said the figure this year was expected to be much higher.

He said his department was looking forward to the first round of negotiations on the proposed agreement on double taxation scheduled to take place later this year.

SA had acceded to an agreement to establish the South Centre which would operate as a policy research unit for the Non-Aligned Movement and the group of 77.

The centre would also draw up policy position papers on "issues of critical importance to the south". It would also generate ideas and proposals for consideration by governments and other institutions.

White staff only at SA's EU mission

■ BY JOHN FRASER
STAR FOREIGN SERVICE

Brussels – A delegation of South African MPs has arrived in Brussels on a high-level mission to the European Union, but there is not a black face in sight.

The delegation – here to walk into the SA embassies, as are those of other countries, and to be briefed by officials – is the first to visit the European Union capital since the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

Although the MPs' visit is not officially linked to the sanctions issue, it is clear that the EU is using the occasion to underline its concern about the situation in South Africa.

The delegation has been invited by the European Parliament's foreign affairs committee, which is expected to discuss the sanctions issue with the MPs.

The committee's chairman, Mr Egon Klepsch, is also expected to meet the delegation.

The MPs arrived in Brussels on Monday and will leave on Friday.

Their visit has been arranged by the Belgian-South African Association, which has close links with the Belgian Government.

Mr Klepsch is a member of the Christian Democratic Party, which is the largest party in the ruling coalition.

The MPs are expected to meet Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans, as well as the Belgian Minister for Development Co-operation, Mr Jean Gol.

Mr Gol is a member of the Liberal Party, which is the smallest party in the coalition.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Willy de Clercq, the European Commissioner responsible for relations with South Africa.

Mr de Clercq is a member of the Socialist Party, which is in opposition.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Leo Delcroix, the Christian Democratic Mayor of Brussels, who is also a member of the Christian Democratic Party.

Mr Delcroix is expected to host a reception for the MPs at the Brussels City Hall.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Etienne Davignon, the Vice-President of the European Commission, who is responsible for external relations.

Mr Davignon is a member of the Liberal Party.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Jacques Delors, the President of the European Commission, who is a member of the Socialist Party.

Mr Delors is expected to host a dinner for the MPs at the Commission's headquarters.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Pierre Werner, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who is a member of the Christian Democratic Party.

Mr Werner is expected to host a reception for the MPs at the Luxembourg Embassy in Brussels.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Gaston Thorn, the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, who is a member of the Liberal Party.

Mr Thorn is expected to host a dinner for the MPs at the Luxembourg Embassy in Brussels.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Wilfried Martens, the Prime Minister of Belgium, who is a member of the Christian Democratic Party.

Mr Martens is expected to host a reception for the MPs at the Belgian Embassy in Brussels.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Leo Tindemans, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, who is a member of the Christian Democratic Party.

Mr Tindemans is expected to host a dinner for the MPs at the Belgian Embassy in Brussels.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Willy de Clercq, the European Commissioner responsible for relations with South Africa, who is a member of the Socialist Party.

Mr de Clercq is expected to host a reception for the MPs at the European Commission's headquarters.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Jacques Delors, the President of the European Commission, who is a member of the Socialist Party.

Mr Delors is expected to host a dinner for the MPs at the Commission's headquarters.

The MPs are also expected to meet Mr Etienne Davignon, the Vice-President of the European Commission, who is responsible for external relations.

Mr Davignon is a member of the Liberal Party

GNU will be a spent force - Ramaphosa

Star 28/9/95

(304A)

■ BY HOPEWELL RADEBE
CITY REPORTER

The National Party and Government of National Unity will be spent forces by the time the 1999 elections come around, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told 1 000 Lenasia residents at an ANC "people's forum" on local government.

The ANC would rule successfully after the 1999 national election without the help of "temporary" NP Cabinet Ministers currently serving the GNU, he said.

Ramaphosa called on ANC members to ensure that they buried the NP and its apartheid policies by participating in the local government elections.

Deputy President F W de Klerk's position would effectively end because the presence of the NP in Parliament, provinces and local government was hindering the progress of the RDP and other changes that the ANC needed to implement, he said.

"They tried to stop the local elections by challenging the demarcation of the substructures in Greater Johannesburg and lost.

They also, together with the Democratic Party, attempted to stop changing the racist and evil education system they implemented long ago," he said. Change would happen "whether they want it or not".

Ramaphosa said last night's forum was an ANC initiative to consult with its members as an essential step of the ANC's local election drive. He then congratulated two ANC ward candidates who he introduced to the community.

Ward 26 in Dexima and Zak Park and ward 27 Lenasia South will be contested by Neil Pillay and Vish Badal respectively.

Prayers in Hindu, Arabic and Christian were delivered, and the audience was requested to observe a minute's silence in tribute to ANC leader in Lenasia Prakash Vallabh, who was gunned down in his home last week.

Code of ethics for parliamentarians thrashed out

Star 28/9/95 (304A)

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town – A code of ethics for parliamentarians could be in force by the beginning of next year – but parties are still at odds about whether MPs should declare full details of company directorships and shareholdings.

At a meeting this week of the national assembly and senate sub-committees on ethics, parties agreed there should be a record of MPs' interests, but disagreed on what details, if any, should be made public.

The National Party and Freedom Front said the disclosure of business details could advantage competitors, and expose companies to politically motivated industrial action.

The ANC said MPs should disclose shareholdings, including the numbers of shares held, in a parliamentary register, but was undecided about whether full details of this register should be open to the public.

The Democratic Party favoured disclosure of shareholdings, but not their value, while the PAC wanted full disclosure of shareholdings.

However, parties did manage to find some common ground.

Proposals, still subject to ratification by the rules committees, are for the code of ethics first to be enforced as internal rules of parliament.

The code will be overseen by a multi-party committee, most likely specially set up for the purpose, distinct from the rules and disciplinary committees.

Legislation is likely to follow later.

The sub-committees agreed MPs should have to declare gifts valued at more than R350, and gifts from the same source with a cumulative value of more than this given within a year.

The Cabinet also still has to decide on a code for its members. It is possible that the rules governing MPs may be extended to Cbinet ministers, presiding officers and parliamentary officials.

The sub-committees will meet again in December to consider a draft report on the code of ethics and registers of gifts and interests.

NEWS NATIONAL

SA embassy has only whites

BO4A) Soweton 28/9/95

SA mission appears as though no changes have taken place at home

BRUSSELS – A delegation of South African MPs has highlighted a big problem at SA's mission to the EU – there is not a black face in sight.

If you walk into the South African Mission in Brussels, the receptionist is white, as are the secretaries, as are the diplomats, as is the Ambassador Neil Pieter van Heerden.

This came as a shock to the six-man delegation from the Portfolio Foreign Affairs Committee.

In a report on their visit to Brussels, which was sponsored by the German Friederich Ebert Foundation, the MPs note that the race balance in the SA mission "is not representative of South Africa's population."

They also note that there are just 11 staff at the Mission – which makes it much smaller than most other main SA embassies abroad.

"It is essential to ensure that this mission is adequately resourced ... and that it becomes more representative," the report notes.

Dr Rob Davies, who headed the MPs delegation, was still in Brussels yesterday, attending an Assembly with European MPs and their counterparts from the developing world.

He said that the SA diplomats are not to blame for the fact that they have no black colleagues.

"They say there is a training programme, which should result in new black diplomats becoming available," said Davies.

"They recognise that this is something that has to change."

He added that he and his colleagues will be seeking assurances from the SA Ministry of Foreign Affairs that there are plans to establish "a representative embassy."

However, Davies added that the 'whites-only' situation in Brussels is not unique.

A similar problem exists in France, where there is a black Ambassador – Barbara Masekela – but no black staff.

"It is a relatively slow process," sighed Davies.

"But I do understand certain realities.

"While it is important that we have an embassy which is representative, we also need diplomats with skill and experience, and so there needs to be balance."

A spokesman at the South African Mission to the EU confirmed that there are no black diplomats there.

However, he said that Ambassador van Heerden has repeatedly requested additional embassy staff, and has asked that where possible they should be black.

The report notes the key importance of the SA Mission to the EU in the coming months, as crucial negotiations on a new trade accord between the EU and SA continue. – *Independent Foreign Service.*

Parties still split on parliament site

(304A)

☐ *Concern that cabinet may intervene*

ARG 29/9/95

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

ALL parties in the constitutional assembly continue to be divided over where the seat of parliament should be.

A new multi-party sub-committee of the constitutional assembly could be set up to debate the issue.

Indications are that this body would be given until early next year to report back.

There is wide concern that a cabinet investigation into the cost of the bi-capital system could pre-empt the constitutional assembly's decision.

This emerged yesterday at a meeting of the constitutional committee sub-committee, which is attempting to resolve deadlocks in negotiations.

Constitutional assembly chairperson Cyril Ramaphosa said: "If anyone ever wanted to divide political parties down the middle with an issue, this is it."

Democratic Party negotiator Ken Andrew said it seemed as if the cabinet was to pre-empt the constitutional assembly.

He was worried the issue would be resolved by the cabinet and that parties would then instruct their members which city to support.

Mr Ramaphosa said the cabinet would be informed that the constitutional assembly did not want the two processes to clash.

Urgent steps are to be taken to liaise with the cabinet, which earlier this year appointed independent auditors to investigate the costs of the dual system.

A report on the outcome of these discussions will be made to the constitutional committee on October 19.

A decision will then be made on whether to set up a special multi-party committee.

At one point, African National Congress negotiators questioned whether the seat of government needed to be set out in the constitution.

The National Party said it would be necessary.

Meanwhile, the sub-committee yesterday decided that the flag adopted on April 27 last year should ot be changed.

Debate on the issue lasted no more than a few minutes, with the National Party seconding an ANC proposal that the flag should stay.

However, the only party which disagrees with the retention of the flag, the Pan Africanist Congress, was not represented at the meeting.

In a written submission, the PAC said citizens should be asked to submit proposals for a new flag.

The sub-committee was unable to resolve the issue of a future national anthem.

The NP said the author of an amalgamated version of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and *Die Stem* should be asked to make a presentation to the sub-committee.

ANC negotiators questioned whether it was necessary to specify in the constitution what the national anthem should be.

This should be done by presidential proclamation, it said.

Tienie Groenewald of the Freedom Front said: "If we don't know what our symbols are to be, how can we build a new country?

"We cannot have a constitution which places everything in abeyance."

Parties agreed to tackle the issue in bilateral talks.

The sub-committee also agreed to set up a technical committee to investigate a definition for South Africa's national territory.

There was concern that the definition in the interim constitution did not describe the national territory adequately.

Foreign affairs appoints new directors-general

(304A) ISD 29/9/95

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The foreign affairs department yesterday announced the names of three new deputy directors-general — all former ANC representatives — completing the line-up of senior staff members.

The three new appointments are Thuthukile Mazibuko who will be responsible for the Middle East and Asia, Tebogo Mafole, 47, who will be responsible for Europe and the Americas; and Anthony Mongalo, 59 who will be responsible for Africa.

Mazibuko holds a masters degree in philosophy from Karl Marx University, Leipzig and represented the ANC women's section at the Women's International Democratic Federation in Berlin.

Mongalo, 59, obtained an MSc in chemical engineering in Baku in the former USSR and served as chief representative of the ANC in Italy and the former East Germany.

Mafole, 47, holds a BJuris degree and served as ANC chief representative at the UN. In May last year he was appointed chief director in Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office.

These latest appointments bring to five the number of new deputy directors in the foreign affairs department, following the appointments of Abdul Minty as head of multilateral affairs and Jan Botha as head of administration.

Foreign affairs appoints new directors-general

(304A) BD 29/9/95

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The foreign affairs department yesterday announced the names of three new deputy directors-general — all former ANC representatives — completing the line-up of senior staff members.

The three new appointments are Thuthukile Mazibuko who will be responsible for the Middle East and Asia, Tebogo Mafole, 47, who will be responsible for Europe and the Americas; and Anthony Mongalo, 59 who will be responsible for Africa.

Mazibuko holds a masters degree in philosophy from Karl Marx University, Leipzig and represented the ANC women's section at the Women's International Democratic Federation in Berlin.

Mongalo, 59, obtained an MSc in chemical engineering in Baku in the former USSR and served as chief representative of the ANC in Italy and the former East Germany.

Mafole, 47, holds a BJuris degree and served as ANC chief representative at the UN. In May last year he was appointed chief director in Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office.

These latest appointments bring to five the number of new deputy directors in the foreign affairs department, following the appointments of Abdul Minty as head of multilateral affairs and Jan Botha as head of administration.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
September 29 to October 5 1995

Politicians opt to police themselves

WM 29/9-5/10/95 (304A)

Parliamentarians may soon be governed by a code of ethics, reports **Gaye Davis**

A CODE of ethics could be awaiting parliamentarians when they return for the new session in February, following agreement this week by a majority of parties that members' financial and other interests should be disclosed.

But the code will initially be governed not by legislation but by parliamentary rules, overseen by a multi-party committee of parliamentarians. This means it will apply only to members of parliament. Chairpersons and directors of parastatals, for example, and members' spouses and other relatives, will be excluded from its ambit. Nor will it govern an MP who swops a seat in the assembly for one at a boardroom table.

Chaired by the African National Congress' Kader Asmal, who crafted and drove through the ANC's in-house code of conduct, the Parliamentary Ethics Subcommittee has come under sharper scrutiny recently since the launch of Idasa's controversial national survey of parliamentarians.

Aware that, although the exercise is voluntary, refusing to respond would be seen by a sceptical public as a poor measure of their transparency, MPs and senators opposed to the survey have defended themselves on grounds that parliament was busy drawing up its own ethical code.

During an ethics subcommittee meeting this week, the majority of parties agreed — despite Inkatha Freedom Party and National Party opposition — that there should be disclosure of members' financial interests, including land and property ownership, shareholdings, directorships, lobbying, outside employment and consultancies, trips (unless wholly private) and gifts worth up to R350.

Asmal was upbeat this week about progress made in what appears to be a tortuously long process. Minutes of the meetings show parties to have been slow to come up with positions on what should be covered, and how. Fine details have still to be settled, such as the extent to which disclosure is made public.

But the committee has been meeting for only the past four months to consider a matter other countries have taken years to achieve. Some agreement has also been reached on how the code would operate, with a multi-party parliamentary committee monitoring and hearing complaints.

The NP's position is that South Africa does not yet have "a normal democratic situation", with high levels of political intolerance and violence which "must have an impact on the extent to which public disclosure can reasonably be required".

The IFP is opposed to ordinary members disclosing their assets, but feels Cabinet ministers, presiding officers and committee chairs should. MPs and senators should declare interests where relevant in debate, but only verbally.

The Democratic Party's position is that direct and indirect interests should be declared, but not the weight of that interest. The size of members' personal wealth was their private business. "The idea is to identify actual or potential conflicts of interest, not to invade the privacy of members' financial or other affairs," the party's submission says. The ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and African Christian Democratic Party are overall in favour of broader disclosure.

Current rules bar members from being paid for personal services rendered as an MP or senator: no member may vote on any matter in which he has a direct financial interest, nor may they be compensated for promoting or opposing any matter before Parliament. The Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act provides for those convicted of any such offence to be fined not more than R2 000 and to repay the value of the reward received.

PAC manifesto vows to empower Africans

(304A) Star 29/9/95

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

Empowering urban and rural African communities and fighting crime and drug abuse by the youth form the cornerstones of the Pan Africanist Congress' manifesto for the local government elections.

In the manifesto, launched by PAC president Clarence Makwetu at the weekend, the PAC challenged African people not to "go complaining forever" but to start doing something tangible about their lives.

The party "on the side of Africans", which has a minute representation in Parliament and provincial legislatures, has promised to deliver quality community services.

It says it would embark on self-help projects to boost job creation and believes that local people should be involved in all that goes on in the economic life of the residential areas. Steps to boost community empowerment and job creation, such as allocating local tenders to resident contractors, should be considered.

On crime and the youth, the PAC says the absence of creative projects to build future leaders has resulted in the youth turning to drugs and crime.

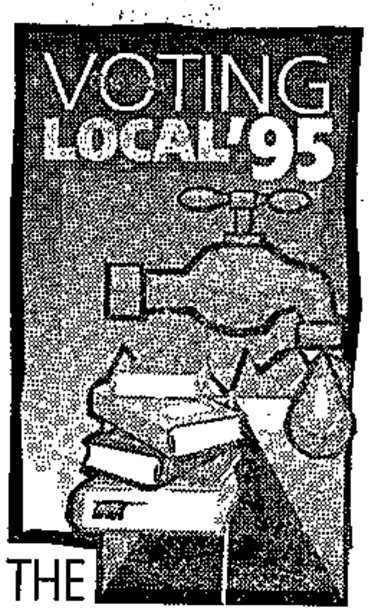
"We believe greater emphasis should be placed on providing places of recreation for this section of the community," the PAC said.

Would-be PAC councillors in rural areas have committed themselves to finding land for African farmers. The organisation wants to see traditional leaders playing a significant role in communities and remaining as custodians of cultural values and norms.

Freedom Front puts its plans before voters

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Freedom Front released its local government election manifesto yesterday saying it would campaign hard for Afrikaner interests at local level and use the results to bolster its case for an envisaged volkstaat.



FF leader General Constand Viljoen, speaking at the launch at the FF's Pretoria offices, said a total of 1 059 FF candidates would contest the election, including 353 in Gauteng, 165 in Mpumalanga, 163 in the Free State, 117 in North-West, 115 in the Northern Cape, 72 in the Eastern Cape and 71 in the Eastern Cape.

Viljoen claimed that former NP supporters were joining the FF's ranks in large numbers and said the FF would cooperate at local level with all parties that supported its volkstaat ideal.

Viljoen released a 10-point plan which will form the basis of the FF's campaigning efforts.

The plan includes equal payment for services by all, affordable rates and taxes, improved safety and security, representation at all levels of government, community councils, improved bargaining power for self-determination, effective financial management and control, maintenance of standards, economic growth and development and the promotion of Christian and family values.

The party accepted that the ANC would control "nearly every town in the country" in terms of local government arrangements agreed upon by the NP and the ANC.

Mandela, De Klerk in bitter street row

■ A tense verbal row on a Johannesburg street has highlighted the tensions in the relationship between the two men whose special bond was once hailed around the world.

BRONWYN WILKINSON
Own Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela and his deputy, F W de Klerk, were involved in an acrimonious row on a Johannesburg street last night after a black-tie dinner in the city's business district.

The argument arose after remarks by Mr Mandela in his speech at Gencor's new headquarters in Hollard Street, to which Mr De Klerk took exception.

Mr Mandela had earlier deviated from his prepared notes to address the issue of crime, telling an audience at the Gencor centenary banquet that the crime problem was one his government had inherited from the apartheid era.

A source close to Mr Mandela said the president could see from the podium that his remarks had struck a nerve with Mr De Klerk. After his speech, he asked his aides to call Mr De Klerk as he wanted to try to appease the deputy president.

Mr De Klerk was accompanied to the red carpet next to Mr Mandela's car by the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Pik Botha.

Before Mr Mandela could placate his deputy, Mr De Klerk said he was "deeply offended" by the remarks in the speech. The two men argued intensely for several minutes, waving their hands and pointing fingers at each other.

Saturday Star photographer T J Lemon witnessed the exchange. He said Mr Mandela waited on the red carpet near his car for Mr De Klerk. When Mr De Klerk first walked up to the president, the two shook hands.

Mr De Klerk immediately said he was offended and Mr Mandela ended the handshake, raising his finger to a couple of centimetres below Mr De Klerk's chin. Mr De Klerk emphasised his points with both hands.

The argument lasted several minutes. During this time, Mr Botha stood with the two leaders, but either looked at his feet or stared at the surroundings without saying anything.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said Mr Mandela had simply been frank and open about the crime situation and "if that truth hurts anyone, there is nothing the president can do".

Mr De Klerk's spokesman, Frik Schoombee, said the deputy president had no comment to make about the incident, although he would deal with it in due course.

However, a source close to Mr De Klerk said the deputy president took Mr Mandela's comments about policing in the old South Africa very personally and was deeply offended.

"Mr De Klerk takes these kinds of attacks by Mr Mandela very personally. That is what the argument was about. Mr De Klerk thought the president had gone too far and he has had enough of being attacked in public," the source said.

He said the relationship between the two men was cause for concern.

"Mr De Klerk describes it as two parents staying together for the sake of the child. In this case, the child is an 18-month-old South African toddler."

Both men have warned before that there would be sharp exchanges between them in the run-up to the local election, but that these would not affect the running of the government of national unity.

□ **FINGERED:** President Mandela wags his finger angrily at Deputy President De Klerk in a gesture reminiscent of ex-president P W Botha.



S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1995 _

~~1994~~.

OCT. — DEC.

New bilateral forum debates mooted provincial council

BD 2/10/95 (304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The public drafting of a new constitution has shifted dramatically in the past two weeks with the beginning of bilateral meetings behind closed doors between the ANC and NP.

Senior negotiators have met twice to discuss an ANC proposal to abolish the 90-member Senate in favour of a smaller 55-member "council of provinces".

Striking proof of the shift — reminiscent of the latter stages of the Kempton Park process — was evident at a meeting last week of the Constitutional Assembly's deadlock-breaking committee.

No less than three items were referred to bilateral meetings — powers, functions and duties of provinces; the national anthem; and the implementation of the country's 11 official languages.

Negotiators yesterday defended the shift, and said it was the only credible way parties could strike "compromise political deals" on difficult issues.

The bilateral format adopted by the NP and ANC is centred around a core group of top negotiators who would identify issues for referral to smaller negotiating teams. But the core group will have the final say. It includes ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer (NP), his deputy Valli Moosa (ANC), and NP MP Piet Marais.

The next round of talks is due to take place during the imminent special parliamentary session when bilateral meetings between the ANC and DP are also planned.

ANC negotiators hope to secure the support of the other parties in the Assembly for its council proposal before it is brought back to the Assembly and, thereafter, inclusion in the planned publication at the end of next month of a first draft of the new constitution.

Bilateral meetings will continue up to the finalisation of the new constitution — scheduled for next May. Parties hope, by then, to also engage the IFP which is boycotting the Assembly.

Meanwhile, Marais yesterday challenged an assertion by senior ANC negotiator Dirk du Toit that the NP and ANC had found common ground on the ANC's council proposal. Marais said talks were still at the "exploratory stage".

NP and DP negotiators previously expressed concern that the council would dilute the powers of provinces such as the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. However, most parties agree the Senate has effectively ended up as a rubber stamp of the assembly and therefore a waste of taxpayers' money.

Du Toit, the architect of the proposal, said the proposed council would give provinces, and possibly local government, an opportunity to participate in legislative, budgetary and inter-governmental processes. It would not operate as a second or upper house.

He said the ANC wanted to move away from the increasing conflictual relationship between national and provincial governments, which had resulted in "political differences" ending up in the Constitutional Court.

Comores holidays are put on hold | SA radio TV

Hostels and right wing seen as threats

Mass call-ups to bolster poll security

BD 2/10/95 (304A) (262)

Stephané Bothma and Drew Forrest

THOUSANDS of Citizen Force members countrywide have been called up for military service to help in policing next month's local government elections and to provide added security at potential flashpoints.

The response to the call-up could be severely affected by the moratorium on the prosecution of Citizen Force soldiers failing to report for duty.

However, the SA Police Service said at the weekend it was confident that, with the help of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF), it would have sufficient manpower on duty during the elections on November 1.

Far right-wing strongholds in the Northwest and Gauteng hostels were identified as potential security flashpoints, election task group co-chairman Van Zyl Slabbert said last week.

He said a National Intelligence Agency and police intelligence briefing to the task group last week indicated that very tough racist attitudes in right-wing strongholds such as Ventersdorp and Schweizer-Reneke still existed. "In Gauteng, there is a risk that long-standing hostel tensions will spill over into the campaign."

SANDF spokesman Col John Rolt said yesterday it was not yet possible to supply details of the number of call-ups as SA's 10 territorial commands still had to supply final details of their requirements to defence headquarters.

"We are not calling people up on a national basis and the planning is decentralised — depending on the needs of the individual commands."

However, it is understood that several thousand orders to report for military camps had already been sent to former national servicemen.

Military sources said it was expected that only about 10% to 15% of those called up would report for duty. "We will just have to send out call-up orders until we have enough people reporting to their commands," one said.

SAPS national safety services communications director Ray Harrald said the police service had completed comprehensive planning for policing the elections. "Provision has been made for high density patrols and the guarding of polling booths," he said, adding that voters need not fear for their safety.

It is expected that all police leave and rest days will be cancelled over the election period.

Slabbert said there was no sign that the three-cornered battle between black parties in the Northwest — the ANC and the parties of Lucas Mangope and Rocky Malebane-Metsing — would take a violent turn.

Continued on Page 2

Call-ups (304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 2/10/95

The major no-go areas were in KwaZulu-Natal, which would not be voting this year.

Slabbert said the main threat was to candidates as campaigning intensified, while polling, as "a fairly structured event", was less likely to be disrupted. A major consideration in declaring November 1 a public holiday had been the release of policemen from court duties to guard polling stations. Before the elections were staggered, it was estimated that 20 000 polling stations would be needed.

The task group's job was to monitor security and alert the provinces to incidents. Provincial authorities would in turn contact local communities.

Slabbert said election preparations were broadly on track — assuming that the current parliamentary crisis was resolved. Serious problems with voters' rolls had occurred only in Gauteng, while the fact that there had not been a scramble to register during the supplementary registration period showed "we are close to target".

Only 16 000 additional voters had registered in KwaZulu-Natal.

Local Government Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer had been "bullish" after surveying the Northern Province.

The degree of election readiness in the Eastern Cape was unclear.

Slabbert said the task group had forwarded proposals to government on how to deal with "unplaced persons" who could not be placed in a polling area because they had supplied inadequate personal particulars. There are estimated to be 60 000 such voters in the Western Cape metro area alone.

Slabbert said a central register of unplaced persons would be compiled and made available to polling stations. Unplaced voters could vote there or be redirected to another station.

urses' Forum spokesman an average of 300 hours a month.

ted

Bid to end dispute over traditional leaders' house

(304A)

Farouk Chothia

BD 3/10/95

DURBAN — The Northern Province government had decided to refer a 10-month-long dispute preventing the formation of the house of traditional leaders to the Constitutional Court, premier Ngoako Ramathlodi said.

The province's decision came against the backdrop of mounting pressure to constitute the house as failure to do so was holding up the formation of the Council of Traditional Leaders at national level.

Ramthlodi said the province needed clarification from the court.

It was not clear whether the constitution envisaged a house comprising democratically elected traditional leaders, a house that would see all traditional groups receiving equal representation, or a house in which groups would be represented in proportion to their size.

Ramthlodi's spokesman Jack Mokobi said the majority Pedi-speaking group believed that they should have representation in the house, while the minority Venda and Tsonga-speaking groups believed there should be equal representation.

Mokobi said Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer's assistance was sought in efforts to find a solution, but the deadlock has remained unresolved and traditional leaders were becoming "impatient".

Eastern Cape is the only other province where the house has not been formed.

Getting there

S A Airlink has 1

Pretoria 'unfit' for Parliament

(304A) CT 3/10/95

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

LAND claims in central Pretoria to be heard by the Land Restitution Commission should raise the alarm against parties advocating the relocation of Parliament, the Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP) said yesterday.

Management committee member Mr Clive Keegan said that the recent land claims arising out of Group Areas expropriations in Pretoria "should raise disturbing questions for those who are advocating moving Parliament to what was always the apartheid city".

He said Pretoria Capital Initiative, in its zeal to remove Parliament from "colonial Cape Town", may plunge the newly democratic legislature into a debate around historical land seizures.

"Pretoria is clearly a city with skeletons in its past and we dare not contemplate moving any of our state institutions to what now appears to be a city with tainted earth," he said.

Mr Keegan said CAP would like to again appeal to President Nelson Mandela to swiftly resolve "the disruptive and divisive" debate about the location of Parliament.

He said the parties in the constitutional committee was reluctant "to grasp the nettle".

Mr Keegan appealed to Mr Mandela to block any attempt "by a small and self-serving clique in the executive" to decide on the future of Parliament.

"The President and members of the constitutional assembly should listen to the voice of the South African people who have indicated in recent polls that they do not want Parliament to move to Gauteng," he stressed.

No conflict, says dual-role Gerwel

☐ *Chairmanship of Idasa a 'natural progression'*

ARG 5/10/95 (304A)

COLIN DOUGLAS
Staff Reporter

JAKES Gerwel, recently under fire from opposition parties for accepting the chairmanship of Idasa on top of his job as President Nelson Mandela's director-general, will not yield an inch of ground to his critics.

In an interview in his boardroom-like office alongside Tuynhuys, Professor Gerwel was adamant that there was no conflict of interest between his government job and his non-government role.

He also scotched rumours that he was considering an early departure from his post in the president's office, saying: "I certainly won't quit before my boss calls it a day — I've been appointed for five years."

Opposition politicians and Idasa-linked sources complained earlier that Professor Gerwel's new Idasa appointment could compromise the organisation's independence.

The placing of a senior civil servant at the head of such a body formed part of a dangerous trend towards greater government control of the voluntary sector, they said.

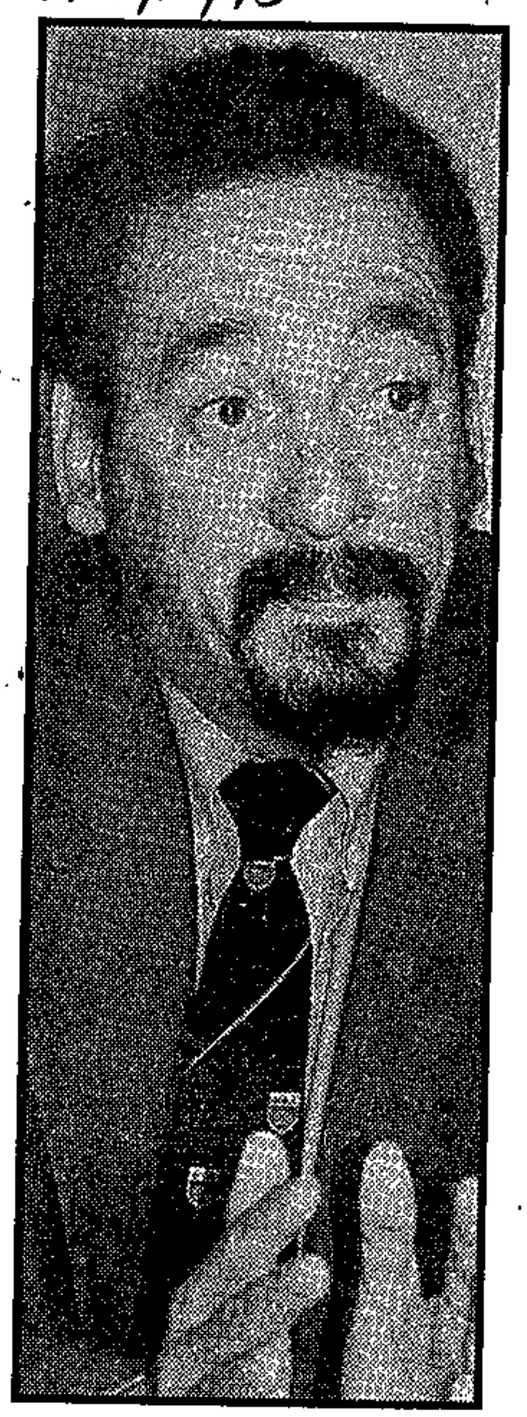
Professor Gerwel hit back: "The complaint misunderstands the role of the chair of Idasa's board.

"The board is there generally for overseeing policies and programmes — we don't actually run Idasa. The people who do are, like the editor of a newspaper, independent of the board."

He added: "I've been on the Idasa board since its inception. Being elected chair is just a natural progression, not something terribly new."

Anyway, he said, he already chaired two other non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and it was not unusual for him to hold several positions at the same time.

Professor Gerwel also dismissed criticism that his previous close association with the African



Jakes Gerwel

National Congress would undermine Idasa's non-partisan character.

"It's common knowledge that I supported the liberation movement, but I'm not a party-political person."

Asked how he saw NGOs' relationship with government in a post-apartheid South Africa, Professor Gerwel said many groups which had previously concentrated on anti-government activism were now thinking about how they could best relate to the government's reconstruction and development programme.

"South Africans will have to think through the relationship between government and NGOs; the British even have QUANGOs, or quasi-autonomous NGOs."

While there was value in having groupings that consistently watched government through a critical lens — "the Democratic Party probably represents that culture best" — there were times when criticism was made purely for its own sake.

"One can adopt criticality almost as a fetish," Professor Gerwel warned.

He compared NGOs' new situation to that of universities, a topic on which — as former rector of the University of the Western Cape — he speaks with familiarity.

"South African universities have put great stock in their independence, but if universities are to change from serving minority interests they will have to negotiate a new contract of autonomy and accountability.

"People talk so glibly about autonomy in a fetishised, abstract way, but the government funds universities.

"In this new phase in developing our society, there will have to be a greater measure of co-ordination."

Similar logic applied to NGOs, he said: "We must expect that if we, as NGOs, are funded by the state, there's got to be a regulatory procedure.

"Like universities, we've got to co-ordinate some things, but within that, NGOs should be careful in their negotiations to guard their vibrancy.

"Universities, likewise, should negotiate to retain their freedom."

Professor Gerwel said he saw Idasa's role not simply as a watchdog of the political process, but also as an educator of the public.

"I, and Idasa, want to nurture democracy. The watchdog idea is a simplification of Idasa's role — we want to educate, providing reliable information in the spirit of our constitution."

Although there was a temptation for South Africa to follow an authoritarian route to development, Idasa was committed to ensuring the country stuck to the democratic path, he said.

Would-be voter chaos seen for November poll

ARG 5/10/95 (304A)

Political Correspondent

LOCAL government elections on November 1 face severe disruption at the polls from unregistered would-be voters determined to cast their ballots.

Many expect that something will be done to accommodate them, in spite of the law requiring those not on voters rolls to be turned away.

There is widespread ignorance of where to vote, with some people believing they will be able to vote at any polling station, as was the case in last year's election.

Most voters do not know the names of candidates.

These are among results of a survey by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) conducted in rural areas of the Eastern Cape, North West, Northern Province and the Free State, and in metropolitan areas in Gauteng.

The Western Cape and Kwazulu-Natal were not included in the poll.

Director of Idasa's public information service Dr Mamphela Ramphele said a large turnout was expected.

Voter education had been a relative success, with most people aware of the importance of voting.

Some 83 percent of those who had registered intended turning out to vote.

Dr Ramphele said political parties did not seem to have paid much attention to publicising the names of candidates.

"Parties rather than personalities are being flashed in front of voters."

Bob Mattes, project manager of Idasa's public information service, said while the turnout would be large, it would not match that of last year's national and provincial elections.

He said 27 percent of those ineligible to vote had said they intended to go to the polls.

This would mean "massive disappointment" when they were not allowed to vote.

"Especially if younger people try to go and vote and get told 'your name is not on the list, you must go home'," Dr Mattes said.

Only seven percent of those surveyed knew that people whose names were not on the roll would be turned away.

Dr Mattes said the figures about people being confident of knowing voting procedures might present too optimistic a picture.

"We didn't ask them where they would vote, only if they thought they knew where — and where they have in mind could be wrong."

Eighty-one percent of those surveyed could not name a single candidate.

The Free State was the most extreme case, with 100 percent of those polled unable to say who was standing for election. Dr Mattes emphasised that this figure applied only to rural areas in the Free State.

NP, ANC differ on constitution policy

BD 5/10/95 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

THE National Party has signalled potential disagreements with the ANC in the writing of the new constitution, with proposals which differ significantly in key areas such as the powers and functions of the provinces, minority protection and the role of the Senate.

Released earlier this week, the document is, according to NP leader and Deputy President FW de Klerk, still a discussion paper. It will now be canvassed in all the party's structures.

In contrast to the ANC, the NP has called for the Senate to be retained in the form provided for in the interim constitution. The ANC has proposed to the Constitutional Assembly that the Senate be scrapped. Its replacement would be a so-called "council of provinces", for which the ANC is seeking other opposition parties' support.

The NP has also proposed that Senate powers be strengthened, so that senators would, effectively, have a veto over provincial legislation. Also, the NP has called for the retention of the clause which requires that a majority of senators from a province must approve legislation which specifically affects that province's interests.

Senate powers to stall "money bills" with which it disagrees should also be enhanced, according to the NP document. Currently the Senate can delay, but not veto, money bills.

The document also suggests that the Senate's function as the protector of provincial interests will be enhanced if all legislation affecting the provinces is introduced to the Senate first.

The NP has also proposed the scrapping of the controversial section 43b of the interim constitution which stipulates that MPs and members of regional legislatures forfeit their seats if they change political allegiance.

This leaves the ANC isolated as the only party supporting the summary exclusion from Parliament of any MP who leaves the party for which he or she was elected.

The ANC has consistently argued that if a system of proportional representation is used, whereby MPs are elected through party lists, the clause preventing them from crossing the floor should be retained.

NP constitutional architects, under the leadership of Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, have also proposed increased protection for minorities which they suggest should be constitutionally enshrined.

Many of these suggestions are entirely new, and have not been floated in any of the Constitutional Assembly's theme committees.

Among them is the proposal for cultural councils by "minorities that feel strongly about their cultures and need a collective voice on matters dear to them". These councils, which should be non-discriminatory and open to all bona fide members of the minority, should be "competent to advise and make recommendations to any government body on cultural, religious, language and other minority interests."

A cultural affairs commission has also been suggested. Such a commission, the NP says, should have the same status as the Human Rights Commission, as provided for in the interim constitution.

Declaration

This commission should be able to make recommendations to any public body on minority rights, should have the power to investigate complaints and be able to refer matters to the constitutional court.

SA should also, the NP believes, become a signatory to the International Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religous and Linguistic Minorities. The declaration should be signed as a matter of urgency, and it should be mentioned in the new constitution, it said.

A further controversial suggestion in the document is the proposal to increase provincial powers, by addition of land affairs, water, forestry, public works and publications control — all at present central government functions. This proposal would restrict areas where central government can override provincial legislation.

Coloured vote based on racism 'is a myth'

(304A) ARG 6/10/95

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

IT is a myth that coloured people in the Western Cape support the National Party because of racism, says a political analyst working for the Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

Writing in the Idasa publication Opinion Poll, Bob Mattes said the survey showed that coloured support for the NP was based on class, ideology and perceptions of past peformance.

He said many people on the left had said anti-black racism was the reason for coloured support for the NP.

Those on the right had put it down to coloured people's cultural proximity to whites, particularly Afrikaners.

"While widely believed, both these explanations are deeply flawed, and have dangerous implications."

Assumptions about the electoral impact of anti-black racism among coloureds had contributed to strong pressure in the Western Cape ANC to de-emphasise attempts to win coloured supports, and to concentrate efforts in black townships.

The perception of a "natural" coloured-white alliance had led many in the NP to throw enormous resources into the demarcation battle to preserve the party's lock on Cape Flats suburbs.

Analysing the class factor, Dr Mattes said coloured people who owned businesses had supported the NP.

The rest of the middle class — civil servants, teachers and professionals — supported the ANC or had no party political allegiance. This category made up only 16 percent of the middle class.

Ideologically, those on the middle and on the right supported the NP.

Dr Mattes said people's perceptions of the past had been the most important factor.

"Among the great bulk of coloured voters who thought things had remained the same or were getting worse, the NP was ahead by large margins."

Thirty percent of coloured people thought the De Klerk government had done a good job, and 25 percent said it had done a very good job.

NP demands minority rights

(304A) sowetan. 6/10/95

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE National Party is to press for the entrenchment of the protection of ethnic minorities in South Africa's final constitution.

The NP, which is led by Deputy President FW de Klerk, this week released a discussion document in which it again raises the question of minority rights, an issue which was the cause for heated debate between the NP, its allies and black political organisations – African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress – during multiparty negotiations.

The ANC and PAC had contended that the protection of minority rights as proposed by the NP and its allies smacked of old-style apartheid ethnicism and an attempt to maintain the status quo.

In its proposals, the NP maintains that the role played in Parliament and provincial legislatures by minority parties and committees should be recognised by the constitution and that the legislative process should be structured accordingly.

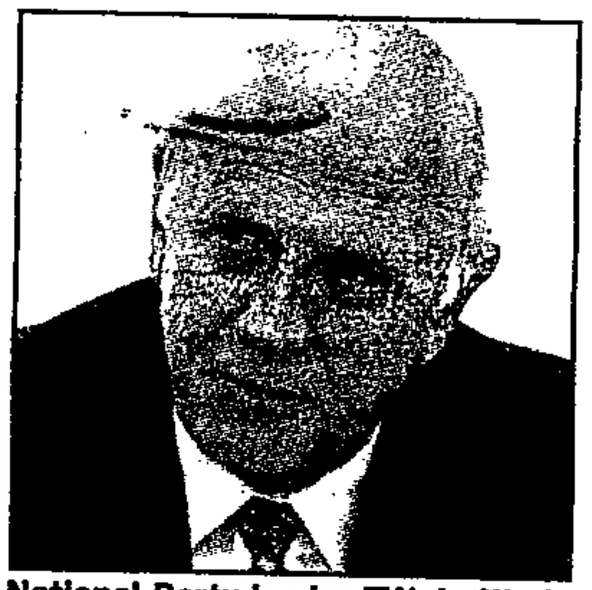
"Minorities should be able to establish statutory cultural councils that can exercise decision-making powers over cultural matters, speak on behalf of minorities...

"In addition to the language, cultural, religious and educational rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, South Africa should become a party to the International Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities."

The party also proposes that a special commission on cultural affairs should be established to serve as a watchdog over the protection of minorities in terms of the constitution and the international declaration.

The composition of the Constitutional Court should be adapted to provide for effective minority representation, the NP says.

In the document, the NP recommits itself to federalism and says the status of the provinces and the distribution of powers between provincial and national governments "determine the very form of our state".



National Party leader FW de Klerk

Diplomats to get R7,2m in 'hardship pay'

BD 6/10/95 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The foreign affairs department will pay "hardship allowances" totalling R7,2m this year to 251 foreign representatives to compensate them for such trials as poor sanitation and cultural isolation.

The department said yesterday an average of R28 000 a year an officer would be paid for these discretionary "special allowances".

Foreign affairs director-general Rusty Evans said although the payments were under review, he thought the principle was warranted. Some incentive should be paid to representatives to encourage them to accept posts where living conditions were difficult.

However, certain foreign postings where hardship allowances were paid probably ought to be revised, he said, singling out Taipei and Moscow as possible candidates.

The special allowances formed only a small part of the total foreign allowances paid to SA's representatives abroad, he said. Provision was made for spending of R153m for total allowances in respect of the department's 1996/97 budget. These allowances would be paid to SA's 660 foreign representatives, suggesting that an average of R232 000 would be spent on each representative.

All allowances were based on information provided by a consultant body, the Employment Conditions Abroad, which specialised in the remuneration of employees abroad.

The most common factors identified in the payment of hardship allowances were the costs of procuring clean drinking water, medical supplies not locally available, and the cost of importing consumer goods. Factors which would be taken into account in future would include sanitation standards, absence of normal amenities, geographical and cultural isolation, personal security risks and climatic factors.

De Klerk attacks 'lightweight' Tokyo

De Klerk lashes back at 'lightweight' Tokyo

(30/4) S.T. 8/10/95

NATIONAL PARTY leader F W de Klerk, incensed after being branded a traitor by Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale, has hit back by calling the ANC provincial leader a "lightweight" who should be sent to a finishing school in Switzerland to learn good manners.

Mr de Klerk's comments were the latest in a series of bitter personal attacks exchanged by South Africa's top politicians in an increasingly acrimonious local government election campaign.

"I really do not want to scratch around in the same mud in which he is swimming," Mr de Klerk said of Mr Sexwale at a meeting in Welkom on Friday.

Earlier in the day Mr Sexwale had said in Johannesburg that Mr de Klerk was undermining the government of national unity.

"Like a traitor, he will agree to certain things when he is with the president but he goes out and says something altogether different," Mr Sexwale said at a breakfast meeting.

His attack on the deputy president came after a week in which the NP leader tried unsuccessfully to secure a meeting with President Nelson Mandela to discuss their deteriorating relationship. The two leaders fought publicly after a business banquet last weekend at which Mr Mandela said he had inherited South Africa's crime problem from the National Party. Mr de Klerk accused the president of misusing the platform for party political purposes.

Mr Mandela's focus on crime is aimed at undermining one of the main thrusts of the NP's local government campaign — the ANC's inability to deal with the problem since it came to power.

Speaking in Secunda yesterday, Mr Mandela again insisted he had inherited the country's crime problem.

He said that, by focusing on suppressing political activity instead of crime, the NP had allowed criminals to become a law unto themselves.

POLITICAL STAFF

The previous government had deployed 80 percent of police and police equipment in white areas, he said.

Mr Mandela added, however: "It is our responsibility to lead our country and to stop saying it is because of apartheid that we have problems."

In a series of meetings in the Free State, Mr de Klerk sought to focus attention on the ANC's inability to deal with crime and its failure to deliver on its RDP promises.

"The problem lies not with the plan but with ANC ministers . . . they talk and talk and talk instead of acting," he told 500 NP supporters at an election campaign meeting at Bronville township in Welkom.

"The ANC cannot run away from its responsibility for non-delivery. The ANC and its allies are to blame for serious delays and the loss of talent from the civil service."

Addressing a crowd of about 600 in Rustenburg last night, Mr De Klerk said the ANC was "cracking under the pressure of government".

He said the civil service was heading towards a crisis because of affirmative action. He accused the ANC of living in the past and being "obsessed" with racial conflict."

Launching his party's election manifesto at a Johannesburg hotel yesterday, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthlezi also focused attention on crime and the failure of the RDP, blaming both on the result of the ANC's fixation with centralised power.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki stayed out of the fray, cautioning that differences of opinion between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela were not a sign that the government of national unity was in crisis.

"There is no crisis and no conflict which might result in a crisis. It is inevitable that in an election campaign differences are stated more vigorously and with more heat," he said in London yesterday.

Families 'adapting'

By THAMI NGIDI (3049 ef 8/10/95)

THE BLACK FAMILY in South Africa is not in a state of breakdown or disintegration – but is adapting to the change in political conditions "by transforming" itself.

This is the conclusion of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) study carried out in Durban on 40 youths.

Released recently, the study took 20 males and 20 females between the ages of 17 and 23 years and tested their responses to questions relating to the role of the family in shaping their identity.

According to the findings the township family is redefining its "relevance to present South Africa" – and the youth beginning to question the role of their parents in their lives.

Dr Catherine Campbell, author of the research findings, says that the structure and composition of the family "is changing" in the township.

Campbell says that the youth are redefining family relationships in response to the change in South African society.

"However despite the youths' determination to shape many of its recipes for living,- the family remains an extremely influential and highly valued membership group for the youth in South Africa," writes Campbell.

The study found that there were several differences in which the family was viewed by female respondents and their male counterparts.

Campbell concludes that the family has more restrictive influence on the female and allowed men greater independence.

This, Campbell said, played the role of maintaining the dominance of men.

"In this sense social identity plays an important role in the maintenance of patriarchal control," she says.

Campbell also came to the conclusion that it was "too early" to argue that the woman's position in township society had improved to any large extent.

IFP outgunned in week of high jinks

BY CYRIL MADLALA

EVERYTHING seemed to go horribly wrong for the ruling Inkatha Freedom Party in the Kwazulu Natal legislature this week.

As it pushed for the restoration of an autonomous kingdom of Kwazulu Natal, the party found itself on the brink of a calamitous confrontation with the opposition parties. At the end of the week, it was a politically battered IFP that retreated to lick its wounds.

It had survived a vote of no-confidence in premier Frank Mdlalose and his cabinet, but it was accused of corruption, treachery, untrustworthiness and inability to govern by the other parties who walked out in disgust at what they called the IFP's "deceit".

Perched at the back of the public gallery watching the proceedings were IFP constitutional advisor Dr Mario Ambrosini and hard-liner Walter Felgate — the two men being blamed for bedevilling relations between the IFP and the other parties in the provincial government.

Things went wrong from Tuesday, the first day of the session.

The IFP's Maurice MacKenzie moved that the parliamentary committee drafting a constitution for the province should work within the IFP's 12 constitutional principles detailed by its so-called Green Paper.

The chief whips of all the parties had earlier agreed that no controversial issues would be tabled on Tuesday, as members of the National Party would be away in Johannesburg for a party meeting.

Lone NP member Brian Edwards watched in amazement as the IFP introduced the motion. The debate that ensued contained a blistering attack on the IFP from all fronts for dishonouring the undertaking to the NP and for attempting to subvert the work of the constitutional committee.

The multiparty committee had, over many months, worked to reach consensus on constitutional principles that would be acceptable to all, they said. Now the IFP wanted to undo all that, and impose its own constitutional principles as a basis for a new constitution.

While the parliamentarians squabbled, members of the Unemployed Silent Majority Organisation sneaked in and staged a sit-in in the House. Police had to remove them.

After this intermission, the ANC, NP, Democratic Party, Minority Front and the Pan-Africanist Congress all refused to vote, and walked out. In their absence the IFP adopted the motion.

The following day the ANC was back with a vengeance to debate a matter of public importance: corruption and mismanagement of provincial public funds. The payment of more than R5-million to self-protection unit members was used to attack Dr Mdlalose who had assured the legislature that he led a clean government.

The NP's Mr Edwards said a Midlands farmer had told the NP that last week he had cashed cheques on behalf of two known self-protection unit members.

Dr Mdlalose again promised that the results of the auditor general's investigations would be tabled before the legislature.

On Thursday it was the DP's turn to take centre stage. Chief Whip Roger Burrows proposed a motion of no-confidence in Dr Mdlalose and his cabinet. After 17 months in office, violence was spiralling — there was no law and order in Kwazulu Natal. He said the Reconstruction and Development Plan could stand for "Relay and Delay Plan," in the province.

Instead of the premier taking the lead to ensure that there was a provincial constitution with appropriate autonomous powers as provided for in the national constitution, "the IFP moans, complains and snivels about the lack of provincial competencies ", he said.

"Instead of doing something about it, they act out the type of farce which we saw in this house on Tuesday, effectively alienating parties such as the DP and other minorities which could help to achieve that goal."

He went on: "Substantial and specific evidence of cheques drawn on the police vote and cash given to a driver to hand out to self-protection units is divulged in this house. And we are expected to have confidence in the cabinet?"

"A ruling party, the IFP, which runs around threatening to table motions of no-confidence in its own cabinet is not a government," he said.

Having provincial ministers in the cabinet, and therefore being lumped together with the IFP in the no-confidence motion, the NP and the ANC closed ranks and proposed the motion be amended to censure only the IFP for failure to provide leadership in the province.

In the end, the IFP weathered the storm by passing an amendment to the DP motion reaffirming the legislature's confidence in the premier and cabinet.

On Friday a new fight broke out in the legislature.

IFP Chief Whip Mike Tarr tabled a motion to change the composition of the provincial committee by increasing his party's representation at the expense of the minority parties.

He proposed that the DP, PAC, African Christian Democratic Party and the MF should be represented by two members, with the unrepresented parties taking part but not voting.

This would have given the IFP free rein to push through its controversial Green Paper principles. IFP secretary general Dr Ziba Jiyane explained: "The IFP is not comfortable that, as the majority party, it is not able to drive the constitutional process."

However, opposition parties once again stood firm and threatened to boycott the committee.

In the end the IFP withdrew the motion and settled for an amendment that resolved to defer all contentious issues concerning the committee to the legislature for a final decision.

The IFP had been outgunned — for now.



ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL . . . Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the IFP president and Minister of Home Affairs, greets the Rev Rajwili, who led the opening prayers at the start of the Inkatha Freedom Party's local government election campaign in Johannesburg yesterday. The IFP unveiled its election manifesto, which emphasises the need to fight crime, create jobs and improve services. Chief Buthelezi said the IFP supported the goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, but they could be achieved only through initiatives from local government — not through the centralist approach of the ANC. He told supporters and provincial council members that the RDP's acronym was parodied as 'Rumours, Dreams and Promises' Picture: JOE SEFALE

Poll battles

Politicians open campaigns with vicious personal broadsides

turn bitter

(3044)

Star 9/10/95

TIT-FOR-TAT war of words erupts between Tokyo Sexwale and FW de Klerk

■ STAFF REPORTERS

Rising tempers and bitter accusations at the weekend marked the start of the local government elections campaign, with the three major parties firing verbal broadsides in their battle for the hearts and minds of Gauteng voters.

At the centre of battle were NP leader and Deputy President F W de Klerk and Gauteng ANC leader and Premier Tokyo Sexwale, who traded political and personal insults.

Sexwale yesterday repeated accusations that De Klerk was betraying the Government of National Unity, adding that the deputy president represented the "deepest, darkest cloud" of National Party history.

The NP leader had earlier said the premier was a "lightweight" politician who needed to learn lessons from a Swiss finishing school.

Not to be kept waiting in the wings, IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi began his party's Gauteng campaign yesterday at Orlando Stadium attended by a crowd estimated at more than 10 000.

He told the audiece, many of them in traditional costumes and carrying weapons – that it was important for the IFP to be victorious in Gauteng, but it was more important for the people of Gauteng to recognise their right for provincial power.

Gauteng, like the other provinces, had been reduced to a mere instrument of the central Government and had no real powers to make autonomous decisions, he said.

He drove the crowd into a frenzy when he asked: "Where are the houses they promised to build? Do you see them?"

He accused the central Government of spending 90% of its budget to run itself and only 10% for actual services and products for communities.

The central Government had no right to dictate to Gauteng voters how to organise their waste management, electricity, water reticulation and "any other matters that are the prerogative of local government".

Gauteng voters should rather embrace federalism.

The latest and greatest "enemy of the people" was the ANC's thirst for power and its desire for control of society", he added.



(3044)

Keep Parliament in Cape — Tutu

CT 11/10/95

ANTHONY JOHNSON

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday issued an impassioned plea to the government to let Parliament stay in Cape Town "so that the miracle of our new rainbow nation can persist".

The positive spirit of nationhood that had gripped South Africa since the elections would only endure if the country's resources were shared equitably, he told a wide cross-section of politicians, diplomats, business leaders and celebrities at his Bishopscourt home.

Speaking as a "Gautenger" who will be returning to Soweto when he retires next year, Archbishop Tutu said: "We should work hard together to build this wonderful country.

"But this will not happen if one part of the country, which has tremendous reserves, is seen to want to hog everything."

Archbishop Tutu assured the Cape Town-based Citizens Alliance for Parliament that he would support its bid to retain Parliament.



SUPPORTER: Archbishop Desmond Tutu says the seat of Parliament should remain in the Mother City.

The retired mayor of Bonn, Mr Dieter Diekmann, said Cape Town's bid to host the 2004 Olympics would be adversely affected if the city lost the seat of Parliament.

ARG 11/10/95

Parliament move could hit taxes (304A)

Political Correspondent

TAXPAYERS may have to fork out billions of rands in compensation to Cape Town if parliament is moved elsewhere.

A precedent has been set in Germany, where Bonn is to be paid a huge sum in lieu of its loss of status as preparations continue to move parliament to Berlin.

Other implications include that Cape Town could fail in its bid for the Olympics if its loss of parliament is seen as a national vote of no confidence in the city.

If parliament moves, Cape Town's only hope could be to wrest a concession similar to that in Germany, where some federal government ministries are to stay in Bonn.

Dieter Diekmann, former chief executive of Bonn and a leading player in ensuring that Bonn keeps some ministries, said yesterday that decentralisation of government functions was the modern trend.

Speaking at a briefing for political and business leaders in Bishopscourt, Mr Diekmann said sentiment in Germany had turned against the 1990 decision for the post-unification capital to be Berlin.

"We were told the move would require no more than giving the buildings in Berlin a lick of paint."

Instead the operation would cost R10 billion, and the deadline for the move had had to be postponed twice.

Three factors were crucial in deciding where a legislature should be — decentralisation of functions, time management and the opportunity for people to take part in government.

A decision on moving parliament should not be high on South Africa's agenda, because the country faced other more urgent issues, he said.

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu reaffirmed his support for parliament remaining in Cape Town.

Parliament should stay in Cape Town as part of the process of national reconciliation, he said.

Chaos after speaker rules on chiefs' pay Bill debate

BD 10/10/95 (304A)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Four opposition parties walked out of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature yesterday after speaker Gideon Mdlalose reversed an earlier ruling and allowed debate to take place on two Bills intended to prevent the Zulu monarch and other traditional leaders from accepting central government remuneration.

Mdlalose then proceeded to allow one of the Bills to be put to the vote, but nullified the vote when it emerged that the 38 IFP MPs present failed to make a quorum.

The legislature degenerated into chaos.

Angry ANC and IFP MPs toyi-toyi-ed, moved tauntingly towards each other, hurled insults, and shouted at each other to "get out".

IFP MPs Khayelihle Mathaba and Blessed Gwala were present with their shields and sticks. Mathaba brandished his stick at ANC MPs.

The ANC, NP, DP and PAC staged a walkout in protest against Mdlalose's decision to discard the legislature's rules by yielding to the IFP's demand that the Bills be debated.

One Bill aimed at preventing chiefs from accepting payment from central government, while a second imposed similar restrictions on King Goodwill Zwelithini and his family.

The ANC, NP and DP mustered the required one-third of signatures to petition Mdlalose to have the Bills referred to the Constitutional Court on the grounds that that they violated the rights of traditional leaders to earn an income from other sources.

IFP chief whip Mike Tarr said a one-third minority could not have a veto power, and the legislature should debate the Bills.

ANC chief whip Ina Cronje disagreed, arguing that the legislature's rules clearly stated that debate could not take place on a matter which was sub judice.

In his initial ruling, Mdlalose said he "morally" supported the IFP view that the debate take place, but the legislature had to first suspend the relevant rule.

The rule could be suspended only with a two-thirds majority.

NP chief whip Rudi Redinger challenged the IFP to introduce a motion to have the rule suspended, knowing that the IFP would be defeated as it fell far short of a two-thirds majority.

But premier Frank Mdlalose said he understood the speaker's ruling to mean that the debate could proceed without the rule being suspended, while local government MEC Peter Miller (IFP) said he was "somewhat confused" by what the speaker had said.

"Clarifying" his ruling, the speaker then said that in the absence of a motion to suspend the rule, the debate could proceed.

This triggered chaos, forcing the speaker to adjourn the legislature for about an hour.

He returned to say that the initial ruling did not accurately reflect his position. He had meant to say that the debate could continue as the Bills were not sub judice and there was no need to suspend the rules.

The speaker finally decided the Bills would be put to the vote at the next session of the legislature. This session ended yesterday.

Taxi drivers in appeal for registration

BD 10/10/95

Theo Rawana

TAXI drivers were insecure, exploited and underpaid players in an industry that refused to recognise them as full-time, permanent employees because they were not registered, a taxi driver told the National Taxi Task Team in Johannesburg yesterday.

Pleading with government to speedily "formalise the taxi industry" and register drivers, Gadi Sibanyoni of the 5 000-strong National Taxi Drivers' Organisation said drivers were sometimes driven to pocket a fraction of the day's takings because they found it difficult to make ends meet on R100 to R150 a week.

The task team, set up by Transport Minister Mac Maharaj to investigate problems in the taxi industry and formulate solutions for recommendations to him and his provincial counterparts, was in Johannesburg yesterday in the first of a three-day session which was part of a national process of public hearings.

Led by national transport management and support services chief director Dipak Patel, the task team was scheduled to complete the hearings on December 6.

Sibanyoni said: "Taxi drivers are people who are not recognised by anyone, looked down upon as daily workers whom owners can get rid of any time.

"We cannot even apply for loans from the banks or open accounts at shops because we are not seen as full-time employees. And we are the first in the line of fire in the event of violence."

Caught between owners who demanded a high fixed turnover at the end of each day, passengers who complained of overloading, the prospect of loading potential hijackers, a Road Transportation Board which did not build loading or off-loading zones and traffic officers who penalised drivers, the driver always suffered from stress, Sibanyoni said.

Traffic officers would penalise a driver for the unroadworthy condition of a vehicle, only for the owner to tear up the ticket and throw it away, knowing that the driver would be the one stopped and locked up for the offence — and the owner would easily get another driver, he said.

"We need to be given security, full employment with all benefits such as medical aid — and we need training so that taxi driving can become a career," Sibanyoni said.

FW MAY LOSE KEY POSITION

Debate threat to unity government

(304A) CT 12/10/95

ACRIMONY between the ANC and the NP over amendments to local government legislation erupted yesterday, and Deputy President F W de Klerk was accused of threatening to stage a coup. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports.

A HEATED row that could test the viability of the unity government erupted in Parliament yesterday when Transport Minister Mr Mac Maharaj accused Deputy President F W de Klerk of threatening to stage a coup.

The charge — angrily dismissed by the National Party leader as "devoid of all truth" — capped a day of high drama and bitter exchanges in the national assembly which saw MPs last night approving crucial local government legislation by 237 votes to 102.

The Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Bill, which goes to the senate today, will ensure that most municipal elections go ahead on November 1. It should also see Khayelitsha becoming part of Tygerberg local authority instead of the city.

After an acrimonious five-hour debate that the ANC warned could mark the end to the co-operative relationship in the government, the ANC, DP, PAC and ACDP supported the bill. The NP, IFP and Freedom Front opposed it.

Mr Maharaj quoted a weekend newspaper article which reported that Mr De Klerk had said he could still be president "because I could bring in the army".

He said to cheers from ANC benches that the NP leader should be removed from his position as chairman of the powerful security and intelligence committee because the government could not afford "a trojan horse".

Mr De Klerk, who stalked out of the chamber, later told the national assembly in an unscheduled appearance that he rejected "with contempt" any inference that he had threatened "to call in the army".

With MPs in ANC benches shouting "Sit! Sit!" and the Speaker appealing for order, Mr De Klerk said he had been misquoted.

Returning to the podium amid a deafening chorus of cheers from the ANC, Mr Maharaj acknowledged that Mr De Klerk had been misquoted but refused to apologise, insisting that there could be no public trust in the security forces as long as the NP leader chaired the pivotal cabinet committee.

Last night senior NP and ANC sources said they believed efforts would be made soon to strip Mr De Klerk of his committee post — a move that could threaten the NP's participation in the government.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Valli Moosa said the "laws of natural justice" dictated that since the NP had reneged on agreements on the composition of provincial committees deciding on demarcation issues, the ANC felt no obligation to fulfil "our side of the deal".

Mr Moosa, who piloted the legislation on behalf of NP Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, warned: "We no longer need to deal with a partner in the government but a destructive and hostile opponent of the government and the democratic transition process."

A downcast Mr Meyer, under the watchful eye of NP colleagues, eventually voted against the legislation appearing in his name.

Earlier, ANC ministers and MPs accused Mr De Klerk and his party of racism, treachery, spreading lies, and having "the collective wisdom of street sweepers".

NP speakers charged that the "greedy and power-hungry" ANC was run by communists bent on destroying Mr De Klerk's image.

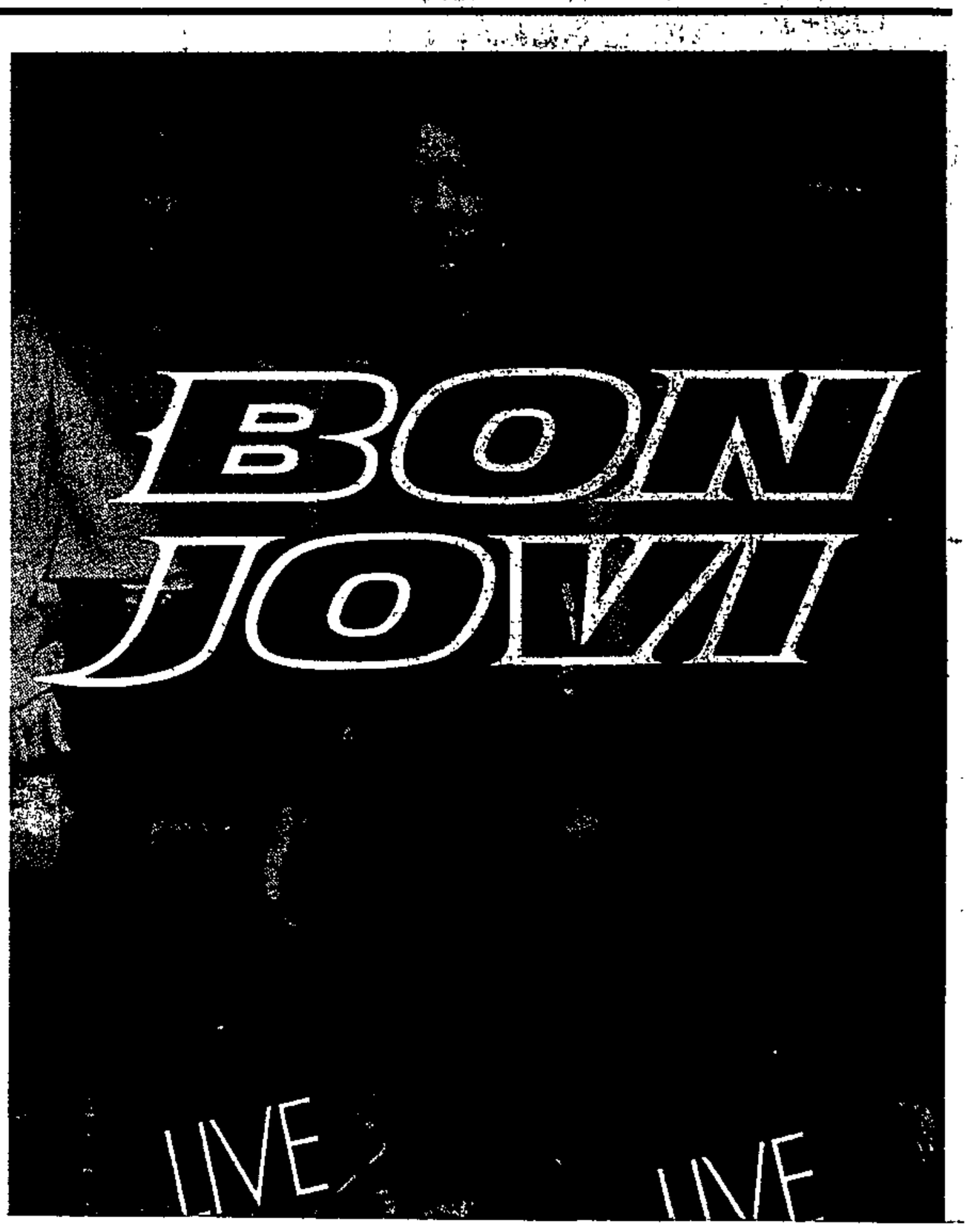
The bill is expected to be signed into law by President Nelson Mandela early next week.

● Late last night the ANC said it supported Mr Maharaj's call to relieve Mr De Klerk of the chairmanship of the security committee.

A statement said he was "playing a dangerous game" by threatening to call for action by the security forces against the government.

It said if Mr De Klerk had been misquoted, he should have immediately denied the report.

● See Page 4



Time to jack up foreign policy

(3049) Star 12/10/95

Many questions, some of them posed in these pages, have been raised recently about the content and ambition of our foreign policy.

At one level the substance of our foreign policy is easy to determine, notably through the expansion in bilateral and multilateral ties since 1990 and in our much higher international profile. Yet this process of expansion – coined "universality" by the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) – masks the dilemmas present in our foreign policy choices today.

In this way, universality and the cataloguing of new ties could be interpreted as merely an excuse for lack of content.

Many of the dilemmas present in our foreign affairs can be contained within the broad rubric of "principles versus self-interest".

This is partly a result of South Africa finding its new position in the world.

These dilemmas raise questions about what the guiding criteria for South Africa's external relations should be: what (or combination) of human rights/democracy, universality, old friends (both of the old government and the liberation movements) and/or national interest should be? In this there have been many contradictions – from the principled stand over Cuba (as an old friend), to a presumed focus for some on national interest in the case of Taiwan (for others, as an old friend), to some ambiguity in human rights over relations with, inter-alia, Indonesia, Morocco, Burma, Sudan and Nigeria.

Inevitably, then, critical discussion about the nature of foreign policy raises the question about "what should our foreign policy be?"

Foreign policy will always be a balancing act: between the need to fulfil national interests, but not losing sight of the moral imperatives that drove apartheid out and contributed to our status as a regional and international authority.

This has also led to a debate around what constitutes South Africa's national interest.

Is it for example, in our best interest to take a morally principled stand over Nigeria, French nuclear testing and other issues, or should we be guided first by our best economic interests?

In order to construct and deliver an effective and balanced foreign policy, South Africa needs to observe, first, that while it is hesitant to over-commit resources and give leadership to the region and sub-continent both for reasons of history and domestic expediency, this is expected by those outside.

The time for sensitive hesitancy is over, and South Africa needs to take a pivotal stance on key issues such as what to do with Nigeria, peacekeeping, the Angolan impasse, the Comores coup, and so on, mindful also of the fact that what occurs in Africa today, could roost in South Africa tomorrow.

Now that the Abacha regime's timetable has been exposed as the sham that many suspected it would be all along, President Mandela needs to take off the kid gloves with Nigeria and give leadership on an issue of vital importance to the continent, thereby displaying the willingness of Africa's leaders to engage in problems without waiting for the West to intervene.

If necessary, as in the case of Nigeria and the Comores, strong words must be backed up by strong action.

Yet leadership does not necessarily have to be financially expensive, though it is currently overdue.

Second, the government must allocate resources (and representatives) in foreign affairs in a manner that reflects our national interest.

In this, Africa, East Asia and Latin America are emerging markets, while obvious importance should be attached to South Africa's traditional trading partners – the European Union, North America and Japan.

Part of the problem here is that South Africa has only finite resources. Of the R1,13-billion foreign affairs budget presented this May, nearly R92-million is allocated to administration, and just over R1-billion to "foreign relations".

Yet of the latter amount, R944-million is spent on the maintenance of actual relations (for instance, embassies, personnel and so on), while considerable amounts are expended on "image building" (R11-million) and external broadcasting (R33,5-million).

Given our priorities elsewhere and especially in Africa, the Government must cut back on such apartheid legacies and redirect money, for example, towards peacekeeping, humanitarian operations, and possibly even regional development assistance.

Third, given the need to be seen to be formulating policy both democratically and, almost paradoxically, efficiently and with decisive assertiveness, the DFA should utilise outside non-governmental structures which have an established expertise and legitimacy, and a constituency of their own.

In this regard, recent moves to set up a Council on Foreign Relations policy interface is a welcome step.

Support for this and external training programmes for candidate diplomats will greatly assist the transformation of the DFA.

Finally, it should always be recognised that the maintenance of our international position, and, indeed, the process of democracy in South Africa is dependent on domestic (and by implication, regional) transformation.

Economic development necessitates that South Africa direct its foreign policy energies towards securing a profitable role in the global economy which will greatly enhance the possibility of greater stability in southern Africa.

■ *Dr Greg Mills is the director of studies at the South African Institute of International Affairs. He writes in his personal capacity.*

SA must take a tough line and not hesitate when it comes to key issues in the international arena, writes ***Greg Mills***

Mac Maharaj hauls FW over the coals

(304A) Star 12/10/95

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town – Transport Minister Mac Maharaj told Parliament yesterday that he would call for Deputy President F W de Klerk's resignation as chairman of the Cabinet's security committee.

His announcement was the latest chapter in the rapidly deteriorating ANC-NP relationship, which is under severe strain as election fever hots up.

Maharaj accused De Klerk of threatening to call in the army to reinstate himself as president. He was quoting from a report in the City Press newspaper which had apparently misquoted De Klerk, who had actually said that as the state president he could have clung to power by using the army if he had chosen to do so.

De Klerk shook his head repeatedly as Maharaj spoke and walked out of the chamber after the attack.

He returned to the chamber a little later to take the place of another NP speaker who was due to speak in the second reading debate to pass the Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Bill.

"We could have clung to power for maybe another five or 10 years. We, out of our own volition, decided this would lead to a devastating conflict in this country," he said.

De Klerk said the NP had changed its policies in 1986, and if he and Mandela had not taken the lead in their respective parties to initiate negotiations, there would not have been a change in government. "Any inference that I am threatening a coup is devoid of all truth," he said.

De Klerk said the NP intended "cutting the ANC down to size – not through force, but by the ballot box".

Maharaj conceded that the newspaper report had misquoted De Klerk, but said he would continue to call for his resignation from the committee.

ANC, NP clash as local government Bill is passed

Wyndham Hartley BD 12/10/95 (304A) (252)

CAPE TOWN — ANC and NP relations in the government of national unity plunged to new lows last night — with attacks from the ANC on Deputy President FW De Klerk — during the debate which saw the National Assembly approve legislation allowing the November 1 elections to go ahead.

Transport Minister Mac Maharaj (ANC) said he would ask President Nelson Mandela to have De Klerk removed as cabinet security committee chairman. He claimed as his justification a newspaper report quoting De Klerk as saying he could use the military to regain power in SA.

He said, before launching a furious attack on De Klerk and the NP, that he had agonised all night over whether to approach Mandela. De Klerk chairs the cabinet committee in which all sensitive security matters are discussed. Maharaj said if De Klerk could contemplate maintaining rule through military means he was unfit to chair the committee. De Klerk rebutted Maharaj, saying that he had been misquoted. He had said that when he was president the NP could "have clung to power" with the use of the military. Instead the NP had believed this would have resulted in a devastating conflict and had decided it had to change.

He said Maharaj's accusation that he was threatening a coup was "devoid of all truth" and denied it with contempt. He accused Maharaj of political mischief and asked why he would say something which undermined everything he had done since 1989. The NP would deal with the ANC through the ballot box and not through force.

Maharaj then refused to apologise and said he would pursue his approach to Mandela. De Klerk, he said, had shown that he lacked the responsibility to chair the security committee.

The debate was characterised by fe-

Continued on Page 2

Elections (304A) (252)

Continued from Page 1 BD 12/10/95

rocious clashes between the ANC and the NP. Four ANC ministers lashed the NP, particularly in the Western Cape, for being racist and trying to derail local government democratisation.

The Bill was approved by 237 votes to 102 as the ANC used its muscle to defeat the combined opposition and send the Local Government Transition Second Amendment Bill to the Senate today. Only Senate approval and the signature of the President stands between the Bill becoming law.

□ Sapa reports that an organisation representing Northwest farmers has applied for a court interdict to stop local government elections in the province. The Transvaal Municipal Association applied for the interdict following local government MEC Darkey Africa's proclamation of five district councils, which are umbrella bodies covering rural and urban councils.

Association president Ben van den Berg said his organisation objected to the fact that district councils would not represent farmers.

ANC threatens disciplinary action against members

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — ANC MPs who join the growing opposition to the party from civic associations and traditional leaders in the local elections and action will face the full force of disciplinary possibly expulsion from Parliament, ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile told reporters yesterday.

Mr Stofile said the ANC has been "in serious consultations" with the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco), but were elected under the ANC banner, could not take part against Stofile said any MPs campaigning conduct "invoked against them". The ANC would have its code of opposing one another.

In the name of Sanco, which has been rejected it has been and when one has been resubmitted to former Cape and Transkei officers and MPs who belonged to the ANC have been delivered on lists to two lists. In Mpumalanga, in the Free State, in the Northern Cape, in the Eastern Cape and from widespread, national level that is serious concern at ANC national there is undertood that ANC members opposing one another.

It is understood that the ANC's code provides for transgressors to appear before a disciplinary committee which determines the penalty if the member is found guilty.

ANC local government elections said Mazozoma said MPs were briefed on dealing with disputes within the ANC alliance when disputes were referred to their "constituencies", not asked to explain his role in the Holomisa was a legitimate ANC candidate in the election. He gave the assurance that at the end of the process it would be clear who was in breach of the code and which required disciplinary action.

Stofile said any MP who belonged to the ANC, or have registered as independents to run against the ANC, would be in breach of the code of conduct.

Eastern Cape, where traditional leaders were campaigning for a poll boycott. Holomisa heads an alliance with the Contraleso, which has a loose alliance with the ANC over conflict of traditional leaders in the rural local government model.

'Contradiction in SA politics'

(304A)

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

CT 13/10/95

SOUTH AFRICANS will have to deal with the contradiction between the commitment to democracy and the entrenchment of traditional leadership in their political system.

This was said yesterday by the director of Idasa's public information centre, Dr Mamphela Ramphele.

"A commitment to democracy carries with it the implication of an accountable, democratic process of electing leaders and the possibility of replacing those leaders if they fail to meet expectations," she said after the centre released the results of survey on attitudes to traditional leaders.

"The proposal to institutionalise traditional leaders at a level removed from local accountability systems begs the quesion: By what mechanism, and by whom, are these leaders going to be held accountable?"

n

Business as usual as storm over FW abates

Star 13/10/95 (3049)

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town – Deputy President F W de Klerk yesterday took his usual place as chairman of the Cabinet's security committee, as a threat by Transport Minister, Mac Maharaj to have him unseated failed to materialise.

After a day of drama in Parliament on Wednesday, which led to wild speculation that the Government of National Unity was about to collapse, political temperatures cooled yesterday, prompting one observer to refer to the controversy as "the storm before the calm".

Maharaj, quoting an erroneous report from City Press newspaper in the National Assembly on Wednesday, said De Klerk was "not fit" for the security post.

The report quoted De Klerk as saying he would call in the army to reinstate himself as president. What he had actually said was that, as state president in the past, he could have used the army to cling to power for another five or 10 years.

Maharaj, who conceded that the report was incorrect, told the assembly he would nonetheless ask President Nelson Mandela to unseat De Klerk.

Yesterday, however, De Klerk chaired the committee as usual and nothing was said about the Maharaj threat. A source close to the committee said Mandela attended the two-hour meeting and that he and De Klerk had a cordial exchange.

Earlier, key market indicators dipped briefly after rumours in London that De Klerk would quit his post as deputy president of the GNU. De Klerk's office denied the speculation and the markets rebounded.

Political observers concluded that the controversy was part of an electioneering build-up in anticipation of local government elections. Mandela seemed to take the same view.

In an apparent reference to the controversy, Mandela said: "You know only too well the passions that a democratic contest arouses".

He was addressing members of the board of the Associated Press news agency.

In remarks quoted by AP reporter Tom Cohen, Mandela said: "Mr de Klerk and I understand that we need each other. It is not a question of personal likes. It is of an absolute necessity that we be together."

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (3044)

Now or never

FM 13/10/95

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon has set the party a clear-cut task: to demonstrate that it is a viable political force. And the local government elections will provide a tough testing ground for his leadership.

Leon, who took over from Zach de Beer after the DP polled a minuscule 1,7% of the poll in the April 1994 general election, is confident that the party will prove that it has the tenacity to survive the pounding that it took from the ANC juggernaut and its main rivals, the NP and the IFP.

The DP has not lost support to the ANC in its traditional heartland, Leon says, defining these core pro-DP areas as the affluent, largely white, English-speaking suburbs of the main urban centres. He also maintains there has not been a massive shift to the ANC, despite the personal popularity of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.



DP leader Tony Leon . . . *going for broke*

In fact, the DP is regaining support which it lost to F W de Klerk's reformist NP during the transition to democracy. Between De Klerk's watershed speech of February 1990, and last year's general election, Leon recalls that the DP lost 50 percent of its support to the NP. "A lot of it is coming back," he says, encapsulating the cause of the swing back in two crisp sentences: "The Nats are not in opposition to the ANC. They have very little influence on the Government of National Unity."

Leon knows, however, that there is an even bigger challenge for his party than retaining or regaining its traditional supporters: it has to attract black support.

This means that, because of the legacy of apartheid, the DP will have to field candidates — and win votes — in the black townships. It is a task the party is tackling with vigour. Of the 120 DP candidates in the Johannesburg metropolis, which include Soweto, Alexandra and Lenasia, 60 percent are black. Leon puts it succinctly: "We are in the townships with township candidates."

In Soweto two of its best candidates, Dan Maluleke and Jerry Moloi, have taken up the challenge in the ANC strongholds of Orlando West and East. In Alexandra the DP charge is lead by Walter Majopelo, whose anti-apartheid credentials include incarceration in John Vorster Square as a detainee and service for the ANC as head of its "Department of Religious Affairs in East Africa."

Its candidate in a ward embracing squatter areas in Diepsloot and Zevenfontein is Victor Mayekiso, who, according to a DP flysheet, "held senior leadership positions in the Pan Africanist Congress" until he came to "recognise the divine spark which exists in all of us."

A striking feature of the DP's black candidates in the Johannesburg area is that women are well represented on the list. They include Tshidi Matsimela, Dorothy Pitso and Beatrice Mampane. Commitment to gender equality is not an ANC monopoly.

Leon compares the DP's foray into the townships in 1994 with the present situation: in 1994 the DP's township campaign in Johannesburg did not extend much beyond a trip by its largely white candidates on an open-top double-decker bus; now the DP banner is carried by township folk.

So far the DP has not run into the problem which plagued it in 1994: the break-up of its meetings by ANC zealots in townships outside Cape Town and in Orange Farm, between Soweto and Sebokeng, though its posters have been torn down and a candidate, Moloi, slapped in the face.

One reason for the less frightening manifestations of intolerance may be that the issues are perceived to be less important than last year's. Another may be that the present campaign involves fewer rallies and

CURRENT AFFAIRS

more door-to-door canvassing.

Black candidates aside, the DP presence in Soweto and Alexandra is manifest by imaginative, eye-catching posters. One reads: "Roads, not rubbish." Another proclaims: "More meat, less gravy."

The high visibility and manifest vigour of the DP campaign implies that it has financial backing. Leon is discreet (his opponents would use a harsher label) about the DP's funding. "We have the most business-friendly credentials," he says. "We have very loyal business supporters. They are not fair-weather friends. But obviously there are not enough of them." ■

FW rumours put markets in a spin

(304A)

Wyndham Hartley
BD 13/10/95

CAPE TOWN — Rumours that Deputy President FW de Klerk had resigned sent jitters through financial markets yesterday and were strenuously denied by the president's office and De Klerk's spokesman.

De Klerk and senior ANC ministers were involved in furious exchanges in the National Assembly during the debate on the Local Government Transition Second Amendment Bill.

Transport Minister Mac Maharaj called on Wednesday for De Klerk to be sacked as Cabinet security committee chairman, after he was incorrectly reported as having threatened a coup.

Frik Schoombee, spokesman for De Klerk, said he had fielded calls from finance houses seeking reassurance after hearing the rumours.

President Nelson Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said there was absolutely no truth to rumours that De Klerk had resigned.

Senior ANC sources said there was a lobby, stung by criticism of the ANC's inability to control crime, that wanted De Klerk ousted from the security committee. They accused De Klerk of hypocrisy, as he headed the committee that discussed crime prevention.

It is considered unlikely that Mandela will risk creating unhappiness in the security establishment ahead of an election by firing De Klerk.

The Bill passed through the Senate yesterday despite the IFP's attempt to have it ruled a specific provincial competence. The measure, which overturns decisions taken by the NP in the Western Cape, now requires only the President's signature to become law.

Late last night it was unclear whether either the IFP or the NP would attempt to bring a Constitutional Court action to overturn the Bill.

'Blundering diplomacy' sours ties

Ian Hobbs (304A)

LONDON — SA's "crucial relationship" with the US is deteriorating fast because of blundering diplomacy and hostile foreign policy, commentator RW Johnson said in The Times of London yesterday.

Johnson said Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo was contributing to the strained relations with Washington because he was "widely regarded as not being up to his job".

The SA-hosted solidarity conference on Cuba last weekend to oppose the US economic blockade of Cuba, at which prominent government officials including Gauteng Prime Minister Tokyo Sexwale were outspoken, had been a "virtual fete of anti-Americanism", said Johnson.

But the commentator focuses his strongest personal criticism for blunders he says are being made by Franklin Sonn, SA's "inexperienced" ambassador to Washington.

Johnson said that Sonn had won no friends in Washington by "railing against US imperialism" and the ambassador's blunders also included suggesting that he would call a meeting of African ambassadors over the "crisis" in relations between the US and SA.

BD 13/10/96

W-P premier's support grows as De Klerk despairs at lack of power

Kriel tipped to topple an ailing FW

ARG 14/10/95
(304A)

■ Hernus Kriel's prospects of taking over as National Party leader from F W de Klerk are growing as the NP becomes increasingly Western Cape-oriented. DAVID BREIER of the Political Staff reports.

WESTERN Cape Premier Hernus Kriel is now recognised as the strongman of the National Party who is being groomed to lead the NP into the next general election in 1999.

Party insiders said Nat leader Deputy President F W de Klerk is becoming increasingly unhappy as a junior partner in government after a series of humiliations including an allegation that he was threatening to stage a coup.

He may consider resigning as party leader before the next general election when the Nats are likely to lose their place in central government.

Insiders say Mr De Klerk would find it hard to stomach a major loss of status by becoming merely leader of the opposition with no cabinet position, after being a minister, president and deputy president for so long.

The government of national unity, which includes the NP, African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party, is due to disband in 1999.

Mr De Klerk is fighting hard for power-sharing to continue in a new constitution, but the African National Congress majority is determined to end compulsory power-sharing by 1999 and introduce majority rule instead.

This would end Mr De Klerk's role in government, drastically relegating him to the status of an ordinary leader of the opposition if he remained at the helm of the NP.

While this would be a major blow to Mr De Klerk's prestige, it would be a step up the ladder for Mr Kriel, who is said to be hungry for the Nat leadership.

When asked to comment on the subject, Mr Kriel merely says the NP has a "very effective leader now" and "there are no vacancies".

But respect for Mr Kriel rose sharply after his recent triumph in the Constitutional Court on the municipal boundaries issue, and he is being widely seen in Nat circles as Mr De Klerk's crown prince.

Although the ANC used its parliamentary majority this week to overturn the Western Cape victory, the fight has boosted Mr Kriel's standing in the party as the only Nat with the guts and power to take on the ANC.

The court battle also raised the prestige of Western Cape Local Government Minister Peter Marais, one of the court victors.

A likely scenario now discussed in Nat circles is that the NP will fight the next elections with a coloured candidate for Western Cape premiership — either Mr Marais or Housing Minister Gerald Morkel — in order to maximise its support among the coloured majority in the province.

This would leave Mr Kriel, a former minister of law and order, free to resume his role at national level and challenge for the NP leadership.

Nats now realise that the Western Cape has become their main power base as it is the only province they control.

Mr De Klerk, a former Transvaal Nat leader, has been forced to bow to the power of the NP in the Western Cape after he tried to cut the province down to size earlier this year by warning Western Cape dissidents not to criticise fellow Nat Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Provincial and Constitutional Affairs.

But after Mr Meyer lost the Constitutional Court case along with President Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk changed his tune and has strongly endorsed the Western Cape's victory in the court case.

The NP now stands or falls by its ability to hold on to the Western Cape, and Nats say this means their Western Cape leader enjoys special status in the party.

The current NP leader in the province is in fact not Mr Kriel but Dawie de Villiers, the Environmental Affairs Minister. But Dr De Villiers is said to have little political clout, leaving Mr Kriel as the provincial strongman set to take over the NP.



□ **POWER POLITICS:** Hernus Kriel's recent triumph in the Constitutional Court on the municipal boundaries issue earned him the reputation as the only Nat with the guts and power to take on the ANC.

ET urges Afrikaners to boycott local elections, warns of chaos

ARG 14/10/95 (3049)

BOKSBURG. — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has urged Afrikaners to boycott the upcoming local government elections, saying the poll would not benefit them.

Addressing a meeting in Boksburg this week, Mr Terre'Blanche said the elections would finally end white town councils and would lead to the disintegration of white suburbs.

"After November 1, whites will be subsidising black areas and this will lead to chaos all over the country," he told about 150 supporters.

"There is going to be chaos after the elections. It might take two months or a number of years, but the chaos will lead to the Afrikaners seizing what belongs to them," he said.

Meanwhile, the AWB has accused President Mandela of discrimination against a white prisoner formerly on Death Row.

Spokesman Fred Rundle said the AWB would take Mr Mandela to the Constitutional Court unless he released Lodewyk van Schalkwyk, who was sentenced to death for the October 2 1990 killing of a Durban computer technician with a bomb sent in a computer case.

He was also convicted of planting a bomb in Pretoria on August 11 1990. No one was killed in the blast.

The Constitutional Court set aside the death penalty earlier this year. Death sentences were commuted to prison terms.

"Mr Van Schalkwyk's co-accused, Adriaan Maritz and Henry Martin, have both been granted amnesty," Mr Rundle said in a statement.

"The continued detention of Mr Van Schalkwyk is unnecessary and legally indefensible and makes a mockery of the entire amnesty process when it is applied in such a blatantly anti-white, racist manner," he said.

He said he had written to Justice Minister Dullah Omar asking him to look into the matter and ensure Mr Van Schalkwyk's release. — Reuter.

Pallo Jordan

Fifth Column
A forum for guest writers
Today: **Clive Sawyer**

It's a success — ANC

POLITICAL temperatures in the government of national unity are soaring as local elections loom.

This week top African National Congress figures, stung by perceived betrayal by the National Party of principles agreed to at Kempton Park, were saying the NP should be stripped of positions for which there was no constitutional obligation for it to hold.

Singled out for attack was NP leader F W de Klerk, the subject of what appears likely to be an abortive bid to get him sacked from a key post at the head ofcabinet scrutiny of security and intelligence services.

But for all the mud-slinging, the ANC has issued an upbeat assessment of the GNU, though it is clear most of the achievements should be credited to the majority partner.

In a briefing for parliamentary correspondents yesterday Pallo Jordan, cabinet minister and member of the ANC's powerful national working commitee, said there had been two outstanding achievements by the GNU.

The first was the unprecedented legislative programme this year, which had had public servants and law advisers scurrying to keep up with the punishing pace.

Most of this legislation had been focussed on the transformation of South African society, and had been passed without too much opposition.

Notable exceptions had been the controversial national education policy frameworks legislation, that on payment of traditional leaders, and local government transition laws.

The tension produced by these laws - each opposed by both the other parties in the GNU - had not proved irreparable, Dr Jordan said.

"What is perhaps remarkable is that in spite of a history of a sharply adversarial relationship before the GNU was constituted, the government has been able to hold together."

The other great achievement had been the inspiration of a sense of a common national identity.

This had found expression in, among other things, the excitement about the Rugby World Cup.

Transformation, however, had produced turbulence.

This included the nurses' strike, unprecedented industrial action by police and resistance in some departments - including Dr Jordan's own - to transformation.

Crime had soared to new levels.

Dr Jordan said: "We now have a democratic constitution and there is a culture of civil liberties which our courts and police are not accustomed to administering, and this has caused a sense that we are soft on crime."

Criminals were taking advantage of the new age of civil liberties.

He ruled out any future limitations to this new culture of civil liberties.

"The shortcuts which authoritarian regimes are so fond of merely compound the situation.

"I don't think fighting crime should be an excuse for undermining our civil liberties."



Dr Jordan said fiscal discipline had been an important achievement of the GNU, which had impressed foreign countries.

This discipline had nullified prior apprehension that the government would be trapped in an inflationary spiral by giving in to expectations.

Not that people's expectations were unjustified, Dr Jordan said.

"If you live under sailcloth or in a plastic tent, it is not unjustified to want a house."

But there was a deep understanding by the people represented by the ANC that delivery would take time.

The legislative programme had largely been a success, with only some bills still being caught in the works without reaching parliament this year.

"The ANC has a strong sense we are making progress.

"The next year or two will see us refining our performance and doing a lot better."

He conceded that the ANC-initiated project to broaden consultation in the legislative process had caused problems.

Were parliamentary committees allowed to have continued as rubber stamps, legislation would have sailed through much quicker.

"The price to pay for democracy is that things move more slowly than expected."

Dr Jordan said there was no pronounced disharmony in relations between central and provincial governments, even with the two regions run by non-ANC administrations.

The pace of transformation of the public service was slow, in part because of agreements reached at Kempton Park.

The process of making the public service more representative of all South Africans would not be done in a way which would destabilise it, nor as a means of jobs for pals.

Dr Jordan said the NP had a schizophrenic role in the GNU, wanting to run with the hares and hunt with the hounds.

Examples of this schizophrenia were seen in parliament with NP backbenchers "attacking the government as if their leader were not part of it".

■ Top ANC thinker Pallo Jordan says the huge legislative programme and the building of a national identity are among the successes of the government of national unity.

(304A) ARG 14/10/95

This schizophrenia was not, however, reflected in the performance of NP ministers.

Asked whether he shared the view of Mr Maharaj that Mr De Klerk should be axed from chairmanship of the cabinet committee on security and intelligence, Dr Jordan said Mr Maharaj's view was not shared by everyone in the ANC.

"The ANC tries to speak with one voice but we are not a fascist party. We are allowed different views."

Dr Jordan said he was not aware that the issue had been discussed by the ANC caucus.

"I am sure it is a legitimate viewpoint which can be discussed at some point."

He criticised Mr De Klerk for his allegations that the government was soft on crime.

As chairperson of the cabinet security and intelligence committee, Mr De Klerk was privy to all information and policy on these matters, and had a powerful role in shaping it.

He could refer matters back to security ministries if he was dissatisfied with their approach.

"He is absolutely conversant with these matters because he chairs all the meetings.

"Being that conversant, he is the last person to suggest the GNU is soft on crime. The initiatives are processed through the committee he chairs.

"People think he is just playing politics," Dr Jordan said.

Questioned about speculation on a post-election cabinet reshuffle, Dr Jordan said this had not been discussed either by the cabinet or the ANC's national executive or national working committees.

In a discussion document released at the briefing, the ANC said problems in the areas of healthcare, education, land reform and democratisation had to be seen in the context of the ravages of the apartheid era.

The document urged the building of unity and political education, consolidation of international support for the ANC, and new efforts to build links with whites, coloureds and Indians who had been misled to identify with the apartheid establishment.

■Clive Sawyer is a Political Correspondent for Weekend Argus.

Holomisa sends memo to Nzo over alleged shabby treatment in London

(304A)

Deputy Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister Bantu Holomisa yesterday sent Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo a memorandum detailing alleged shabby treatment by officials of the South African high commission in London.

Central to Holomisa's complaint was the conduct of a man he named as Gerrit Gerber, "believed to be a deputy high commissioner", who he accused of "suffocating me with the smell of liquor" when they met.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Nicole Kritzinger said yesterday that according to the department's British desk, the deputy high commissioner is Gert Grobler. No diplomat by the name of Gerrit Gerber was known to work at the commission.

Holomisa, who visited Britain with MPs and MECs, said that after being picked up at their hotel on September 28, he and his party had arrived at the commission to find the security gates and doors locked.

They and other guests invited to a cocktail party that night by the high commissioner had had the "embarrassment" of standing outside waiting.

Eventually a "big, tall and lean man" had opened the door. The visitors were allowed in, but were then told to stand in line so they could be indentified. – Sapa

(56) (288)

Star 14/10/95

ACDP use of IEC money probed

(304A) CP 15/10/95

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

THE OFFICE for Serious Economic Offences is investigating the alleged misuse of funds supplied by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) before last year's general election.

Independent auditors are studying the books seized by the police. Their report will be sent to the auditor general of Gauteng, who will decide whether to prosecute.

ACDP spokesman Izak Labuschagne said if any of the party's officials had embezzled money they would have to face the music.

According to documents in possession of City Press, the auditors for the ACDP, Meyer, Hodgson and Company, reported that:

- Honorariums of up to R100 000 were paid to ACDP members from funds meant strictly for election expenses;
- Money was allegedly transferred from the party's bank account to the personal accounts of officials;
- R600 000 was placed in a fixed deposit instead of being used for electoral campaigning;
- Other funds from the IEC was used to buy property; and
- Cheques were issued on the signature of one official instead of two, and blank cheques were also issued in this manner.

The auditors reported that in March 1994 two deposits – of R3 910 and R2 150 – were made into the banking account of Dr Johan van der Westerhuizen at Nedbank, Epsom Downs.

The auditors said this had been "highly irregular" as no record was kept of the transactions.

The auditors reported that in January 1994 an appeal for a donation was made to the First National Bank on an ACDP letterhead. The donation was not paid into the ACDP account but into an account named "The Federal Democracy Trust".

The auditors found it strange that an ACDP letterhead had been used for a donation that was paid into a trust fund.

The auditors said the books showed money had not been controlled according to acceptable accounting standards and documents supporting transactions were not always available, or had been misfiled.

The auditors reported a claim for R33 730 had been made on November 1 1993 for an office that did not exist as the ACDP was only formed the following month.

There was no voucher to support a claim for an electricity bill for R8 842.

No receipt was available to support a claim that R34 920,30 was paid to Contracel for services rendered.

A payment of R7 840 purported to be payment to head office staff was regarded as unlawful by the auditors.

FF 'natural home for coloured people'

CHRIS BATEMAN

THE Freedom Front was a "natural home" for coloured people looking for more independence because they would sink from sight in a "new look" NP, where they would forever remain a minority group, Western Cape MPL Mrs Eleanor Lombard said yesterday. CT 16/10/95

Interviewed on the FF's party's election prospects, Mrs Lombard conceded the FF would not win control of any town, but said alliance politics would give it "great influence".

"We are very strong among some small communities on the West Coast and in several southern Cape towns," Mrs Lombard claimed, declining to name them for "tactical reasons".

The FF has 87 candidates in 30 towns in the Western Cape, compared to the DP's 83 candidates in 21 municipalities.

Mrs Lombard said her party was in constant contact with the New Labour Party and the KWB.

CITIZENS' RIGHTS SET OUT IN PICTURES

Draft constitution is 'user-friendly'

CT 18/10/95

(304A)

THE draft constitution, to be unveiled in the middle of next month, has been written in "plain and simple" language, free of legalese. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports.

A user-friendly working draft of the final constitution — complete with cartoons, graphics and illustrative stories - will be unveiled next month.

Unlike the often convoluted legalese of the interim constitution which at times baffles even lawyers, the new document will be written in "plain and simple" language.

Constitutional Assembly liaison officer Ms Katherine McKenzie said yesterday the draft constitution would appear as a 32-page supplement in newspapers across the country from November 15-19.

"The document will be both progressive and user-friendly — and a great deal more accessible than the interim constitution.

"It will serve as a report-back to the nation and is aimed at stimulating further public comment before the constitution is finalised in May next year," she said.

The constitutional committee of the Constitutional Assembly will meet tomorrow and on Friday, in a bid to iron out some of the many remaining issues, before they can be included in the final draft.

Among the "holes" or pieces of unfinished business the writers of the final constitution still have to grapple with are:

The seat of Parliament, national anthem, practical implementation of the 11 official languages policy, the right to life and the death penalty, clauses dealing with equality and sexual orientation, limitation of fundamental rights, the Presidency — Deputy President or Prime Minister, the future of the government of national unity after 1999, legislative and executive competencies of government, and powers of central and provincial government (federalism).

Zimbabwe, SA agree to co-operate over Limpopo

(R) (304A) Star 18/10/95

Harare – Zimbabwe and South Africa agreed yesterday to set up a joint water commission to oversee the issues pertaining to the Limpopo River which forms the boundary between the two countries.

"We agreed that we will establish a joint water commission which will look into the affairs pertaining to water," Zimbabwe Minister of Lands and Water Resources Kumbirai Kangai announced at a joint news conference with his South African counterpart, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal. – Sapa-AFP.

Gauteng to spend R39m on upgrading health care

BD 19/10/95

Ingrid Salgado

THE Gauteng government would spend R12,27m from RDP funds in the 1995/6 financial year to build and upgrade more than 20 clinics in the province and had allocated a further R22,98m for their running costs, the provincial health department said yesterday.

An additional R4,3m had been allocated for upgrading and maintaining existing clinics.

Maternal and neonatal units, health care centres and upgrading of equipment were also in the pipeline. Six projects in the Vaal area were planned, five each in Central Witwatersrand and the East Rand, two in Pretoria, seven on the West Rand and three on the North-East Rand.

The department had embarked on a needs analysis in identifying priority areas and extensive consultation with community organisations was used to identify facilities, it said.

Identified projects included maternal and child health, HIV/AIDS and communicable diseases, mental health, chronic disease and rehabilitation services. Projects which would cost large amounts had been prioritised and would be funded from shifts in the budget.

Additional maternity and obstetric units would result in about 15 000 women being able to have their babies delivered in their own community health centres.

Gauteng had a "major problem" with an inadequate network of clinics and health centres and this had contributed to overloading in hospitals, the department said.

Elections could be postponed in five Eastern Cape districts

BD 19/10/95 (304A)

EAST LONDON — Local government elections in five Eastern Cape rural districts could be postponed until November 29 to sort out several technical hitches which have disqualified the ANC from taking part in these areas.

The Algoa Regional Services Council has asked for the November 1 poll to be delayed for 23 000 rural voters in Alexandria, Bathurst, Albany, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

The council's application was formally endorsed by the Eastern Cape executive council yesterday.

It would now go to Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer for a final decision, Eastern Cape election manager Keith Wattrus said.

The ANC was disqualified after infringing on Local Government Transition Act regulations. In terms of the regulations, parties are required to submit a list of office bearers and their addresses in the rural districts they are contesting.

The ANC slipped up in Alexandria by giving the names of office bearers living in town instead of the adjacent rural areas. Similar mistakes were made in Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth and Bathurst rural areas.

In Albany, ANC candidates and not the party were disqualified because they stood for election to the rural council despite living in town. The regional services council had asked for the postponement in order to avoid holding an illegitimate poll. — Sapa.

Canvassers to be protected by law

(304A)

Business Day Reporter

BD 19/10/95

ANYONE denying canvassers and voter educators access to public or private property could face a fine of R60 000 or three years in jail, according to planned changes to election laws.

The new measures, aimed at providing farm workers with election information, had been circulated to provincial governments with a recommendation that they be promulgated in the provinces, a local government task group spokesman said yesterday.

Election workers in rural areas had expressed concern at problems in gaining access to farm workers, said the spokesman. With two weeks to go before the local government elections, urgent action was necessary to ensure a free and fair poll.

Canvassers do not have to give advance notice before entering property, according to the new regulations. However, they should attempt to get hold of owners or lawful occupiers of the property and supply full details of themselves and their activities.

Property owners can insist on security arrangements "normally applicable to visitors", and can deny access if there is no one to canvass or if the visitors act in an intimidatory way.

Employees cannot be addressed by party representatives and voter educators during working hours.

Rural areas worst affected

Scores of local poll candidates disqualified

(253) (304A)

Drew Forrest and Mduduzi ka Harvey BD 19/10/95

THE disqualification of scores of local government election candidates poses a mounting threat to the legitimacy and inclusiveness of the poll, particularly in rural areas.

In some rural areas, all or most ANC candidates have been rejected, raising the prospect of NP or far-right walkovers, and therefore unrepresentative structures, or the postponement of polls.

In Gauteng, the ANC has asked the provincial cabinet to address the issue. "We cannot have a situation where elected councils are unrepresentative," said ANC regional secretary Paul Mashatile. "It would affect perceptions of the election's legitimacy."

Sources said the Gauteng ANC had floated the idea of reopening registration "for a day or two" for candidates disqualified because they do not appear on the voters' roll.

The NP said yesterday it would not accept this. "We want to find solutions and ensure elections go ahead," said NP Gauteng local government head Johan Kilian. "But if the proposal is to restart registration, we would only be opening a can of worms."

There have also been suggestions of a multiparty tribunal, empowered by regulation to review individual disqualifications.

In the Eastern Cape, the provincial cabinet has endorsed a request by the rural authorities of Albany, Bathurst, Alexandria, Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth to postpone elections to November 29 after ANC party lists were rejected because candidates' addresses were incomplete.

In the Algoa regional services council area, with about 800 000 voters, 95% of ANC candidates have been rejected because their nomination forms arrived late, according to Centre for Policy Studies researcher Graeme Gotz. This cast doubt on the legitimacy of the election in that region, he said.

In Mpumalanga, 157 of the 850 candidates have been disqualified.

In the transitional local council of

Continued on Page 2

Candidates

(304A) (253)

Continued from Page 1

BD 19/10/95

Hazyview, all the ANC's candidates have been rejected after failing to hand in party lists on time. Six ANC candidates for the Volksrust transitional local council have been disqualified after registering for the neighbouring Amersfoort transitional local council.

A total of 33 ANC candidates have been debarred in the Eastern Services Council area of Gauteng because they are not registered, ensuring white control of councils in the rural towns of Bronberg, Blesbokspruit, Suikerbosrivier and Vischkuil if the election goes ahead there. Mashatile said that as a last resort, the poll in the affected towns would have to be delayed.

All ANC candidates have also been disqualified in Cullinan, Gauteng, on grounds they are in arrears with municipal service payments. Mashatile said candidates had been unable to pay because local government administration had collapsed in the area.

Many of the disqualifications are the subject of court action. ANC election spokesman Roshene Singh said legal proceedings had been filed in the five Eastern Cape rural areas, the South Cape, Northern Cape and Cullinan. In the South Cape, the returning officer had rejected party lists handed in during the supplementary registration period. Singh said the officer had applied the law incorrectly and the matter would go before the Supreme Court on October 25.

In the Northern Cape, Singh said, legal action had started yesterday on the rejection of candidates in arrears. The Hazyview disqualifications would also be challenged.

Singh said ANC lists had also been rejected in parts of the Western Cape, but the party had been included on ballot papers pending court action. If the ANC lost the case, its name would be deleted from the papers.

Other areas of concern included the Free State, where four candidates had been rejected, and Roodepoort.

See Page 5

Important issues such as role of provinces still unresolved

First draft of constitution ready

(304A) Star 20/10/95

Cape Town – Constitutional Assembly (CA) chairman Cyril Ramaphosa – in what he called a "historic meeting" – published a first working draft of a final constitution for post-apartheid South Africa yesterday.

"We are commencing quite an historic meeting in that, for the first time since we started our work 18 months ago, we have before us a composite working draft constitution that is nearly complete," he told the Constitutional Committee.

He said the draft, with revisions to be decided by the committee over the next two days, would be published formally on November 15 to allow two months of public discussion.

In terms of the Interim Constitution, the new constitution must be finalised by May 10 next year.

Hassen Ebrahim, executive director of the CA, said substantial progress had been made towards finalisation of a final blueprint for majority rule.

"While those issues which remain outstanding are substantial, it is self-evident that the CA may be able to complete its assignment in due time," he said.

If the CA fails to meet the deadline, Parliament will have to amend the Interim Constitution or allow new elections.

The 130-page draft includes options spanning political divisions and blank pages reflecting the most difficult issues still to be resolved by the 490-member Constitutional Assembly, which must ratify the work of the Constitutional Committee.

Legal advisers listed 32 contentious issues on which parties still have to achieve even an agreement in principle, and 128 issues requiring refinement by negotiators.

The draft does not include any proposal on the relationship between the central government and the governments of the nine provinces which, under the transitional constitution, are guaranteed a range of rights and powers.

The role of provinces has been at the heart of violent conflict between the ANC and Inkatha.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is boycotting the constitution-writing process to press for implementation of a pre-election promise by the ANC and the white-led National Party to submit outstanding issues to foreign mediation.

Other issues still to be addressed by the six parties in the constitution-writing assembly include the final seat of Parliament, the voting age, the role of the Senate, whether there should be a deputy president, the status of the country's 11 official languages and the role of tribal chiefs.

Ramaphosa urged negotiators to start making concessions and to move towards agreement, but debate stalled early yesterday on a proposed Bill of Rights.

National Party legislator Sheila Camerer said: "We don't agree with large parts of the draft". – Reuter.

Ministers face corruption probe

(354) (304A) MG 20-26/10/95

Gaye Davis

PAST and present National Party ministers and heads of former bantustans could be called to testify before the top-level probe into corruption and malpractice by the former South African and homeland regimes announced by President Nelson Mandela this week.

Presidential representative Joel Netshitenzhe said the commission was expected to be up and running "within a few weeks".

Former Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa, now deputy environment minister, and the National Party — both would be potential subjects of the investigation — welcomed the probe.

Mandela's announcement followed the report of the Skweyiya Commission of Inquiry into malpractices in the former Bophutatswana, which implicated ousted president Lucas Mangope and other officials in the misuse of more than R200-million of public money.

Meanwhile, the Browde Commission of Inquiry has until the end of the year to complete its investigations into irregularities in the former homelands and the republic. Its brief includes investigating promotions and salary increases public servants awarded themselves in the former Transkei and Ciskei.

Workers get a Parliamentary voice

MG 20-26/10/95 (304A) (304A)

Gaye Davis

COSATU'S decision to have a presence in Parliament — in the shape of former communications head Neil Coleman — marks a start in "peoples' access" to the institution.

For while parliamentary committee hearings are now open, those taking advantage of the opportunity to influence law and policy-making have largely been those with the resources and skills to do so.

Now Coleman will spend most of his time in Parliament, pushing the case of South Africa's workers. The tag "lobbyist" galls, although that is essentially what he will be doing.

Says Coleman: "In the South African context, lobbying has the connotation of back-room deals by elite groups. But the people taking advantage of the openness and transparency of the new democratic parliament are precisely those old elites who used to lobby in back rooms.

"Mass-based organisations have to get their act together and find the resources to meet the demands of the new democratic process. It's not good enough making broad policy statements and interacting from time to time."

Coleman's key function will be communicating Cosatu positions to the ANC, its alliance partner. "But we'll be conveying our views at an organisational level rather than trying to convince individual members of parliament —we haven't the funds to wine and dine 400. And we'll engage with other parties, if only to defuse some of the misunderstandings they have about our positions."

Being in Parliament has already paid dividends. Last week Coleman was able to spell out the federation's position and mobilise a response from its rural constituency to help put paid to a bid by the South African Agricultural Union to get farmers' representation on rural local councils increased.

"We were getting demands from Parliament, the Constitutional Assembly and provincial legislatures virtually on a daily basis to make inputs on policy and other initiatives, yet we've been at an arm's length and unable to engage directly," Coleman says.

"At the same time, other interest groups like the Chamber of Mines and Sacob have been pouring resources into doing just that. It became clear to the alliance as a whole there had to be much more intensive engagement."

Coleman said Cosatu could initiate legislation by engaging directly with ministries. It would also push for amendments to legislation already passed.

"For example, the Aliens Control Act was piloted through in what appears to be a very unsatisfactory way. There is a provision in the act forcing illegal immigrants to pay for their own deportation through docking of their wages —which turns on its head the government's official policy that employers should be penalised for exploiting illegal workers."

GNU's future far from settled

ARG 21/10/95 (304A)

■ F W de Klerk has denied spreading the false rumour about his imminent resignation as deputy president — but world reaction proved his point that confidence in South Africa could fall if he goes. **DAVID BREIER** of the Political Staff reports

DEPUTY president F W de Klerk's political shares rose the day South African shares fell on world markets after the false rumour that he was resigning from the government of national unity (GNU).

This is the view of analysts as the dust settles following last week's row over who spread the rumour.

Stellenbosch political scientist Willie Breytenbach said the plunge in the value of South African bonds when the rumour spread, proved what Mr De Klerk had said all along and what President Nelson Mandela had denied.

This is that confidence in South Africa depends, among other things, on the National Party's continued participation in the GNU.

The rumour followed the recent "street row" between Mr Mandela and Mr De Dlerk who were seen arguing bitterly on a Johannesburg pavement.

This is the second time Mr De Klerk's point has been proved this year, said Professor Breytenbach. In January there was a similar fallout between the two leaders, precipitating "panic" selling in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and overseas.

He said that Mr De Klerk had then threatened to resign and Mr Mandela had said he could go.

But then, as now, they were being kept together by the "sheer force of international opinion",Professor Breytenbach said.

The NP is delighted at the course of events following the rumour, as it has strengthened the NP's case for the GNU to be perpetuated after 1999 in the new constitution to be passed next year.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus claimed the rumour had originated in Mr De Klerk's office and was spread on the London markets by public relations guru Tim Bell. Both Mr De Klerk and Sir Tim have vehemently denied having anything to do with it.

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said Mr Niehaus and the ANC had obviously made their accusations as a red herring to hide the fact that market reaction to the rumour showed the ANC would suffer a credibility problem if it tried to govern alone without the NP.

"Mr Niehaus has been challenged to come clean on his sources, but he hasn't done so," said Mr Van Schalkwyk. This, he said, showed that the accusation was a thumbsuck aimed at diverting attention from the fact that the world reacted negatively to suggestions that Mr De Klerk would leave the GNU.

The NP is proposing that the new constitution,which is now being negotiated, should continue the system of two deputy presidents. The party suggests that for parties to qualify to sit on the GNU cabinet after 1999 they should win a higher proportion than the five percent required last year — possibly 10 percent, Mr Van Schalkwyk said.

However, the ANC insists on abolishing compulsory, constitutionally-determined power sharing in the new system. All it is prepared to consider is possibly inviting other parties to sit in the cabinet after 1999 when the interim constitution lapses.

"In principle, I don't think the NP will entertain being 'magnanimously' invited by the ANC," Mr Van Schalkwyk said.

Market jitters after the false rumour had "strengthened our hand in favour of constitutionally-determined power-sharing", he said.

The NP's argument for continuing the GNU was not only economic, he said. It was also vital to accommodate minorities and "shortsighted not to take cognisance of the special skills of other political parties".

However Professor Breytenbach says that the official "De Klerkian" view of continuing the GNU as long as possible after 1999, was losing ground in the NP and was now supported only by a minority in the party. The hand of this minority had been strengthened by negative world reaction to the rumour of Mr De Klerk's resignation, he said.

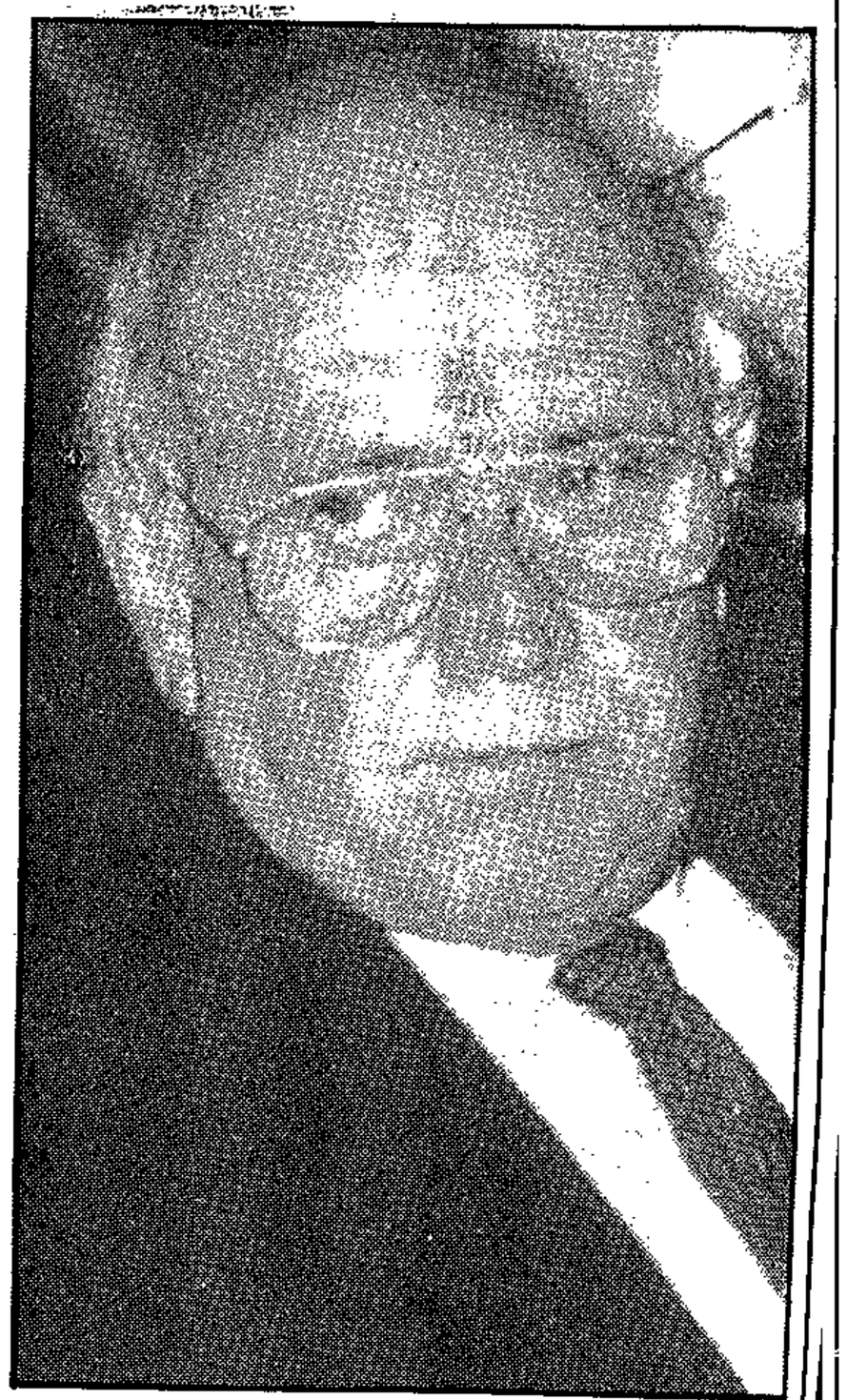
But there were a growing number of Nat MPs who believed they would do better in the "mother of all elections"— due by 1999 — as a pure opposition party rather than the NP's present ambiguous dual role of opposition and joint-ruler.

Influential Nats were now saying they no longer wanted to support the ANC by helping its "crisis management", he said.

At the same time, the ANC attitude was that it wanted to govern alone with no obligation to have another party in the GNU except by invitation, he added.

"There is an emerging consensus in the NP to take an opposition role and an emerging consensus in the ANC to govern alone," he said.

Whether this meant the GNU was doomed, depended on what happened in the next couple of years — "and two years is a helluva long time in politics', Professor Breytenbach said.



☐ **FW DE KLERK:** What reaction if he should go?

Loss of power angers chiefs

DURBAN. — Tribal chiefs from around the country are to meet at the Union Buildings to protest against local government laws which stripped them of traditional powers, a top Zulu chief said. (252)

KwaZulu-Natal's Traditional Affairs Minister Chief Nyanga Ngubane said chiefs and their subjects would hold an "Imbizo" in Pretoria on October 28 and would deliver a memorandum to President Nelson Mandela's office. (304A)

The traditional leaders oppose a recent amendment to the Local Government Transition Act which "deprives chiefs of their powers and violates constitutional principles", he said. ARG 21/10/95

They had planned the meeting at the Union Buildings on October 14 but Chief Ngubane said it was rescheduled because of "problems in other provinces".

He said chiefs, including those of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), had agreed to attend the Imbizo. — Reuter.

How 'local' will these local elections be?

(304A) ARG. 21/10/95

■ South Africa's road to democracy takes another major step with the local council elections. DANIEL SILKE — a research assistant at the Institute for the Study of Public Policy at the University of Cape Town and an independent political analyst — argues that serious questions are emerging about the potential of the elections to assist the healthy development of a multi-party political system. These point to a possible centralisation of power and authority.

THE 1995 local council elections are proving to be an unusual poll. Across the board, political parties are grappling with a variety of conflicts. Do they localise their campaign and address mundane issues or do they nationalise their efforts and turn the election fray into a vote of confidence for their leadership at a parliamentary and Government of National Unity level?

Given the peculiar postponement of voting in both the Western Cape Metropole and the entire KwaZulu-Natal, how will the results on the evening of November 1 affect these two troublesome regions in the run-up to their own elections?

In theory, local elections should promote smaller parties. South Africa's political landscape has, since the 1994 elections, been dominated by the three partners in the GNU. There has been little opportunity for the minority groupings (the DP, PAC and FF) to make their presence felt and this voting opportunity is likely to see all three parties (along with a variety of independents) raise their political voices in a desperate attempt at continued political survival.

The smaller parties are certainly advantaged in that they can capitalise on errors and inconsistencies among the GNU partners (the ANC, NP and IFP). Indeed, the DP has exploited a frustration among the township residents of Alexandra and Soweto regarding the now endemic wave of crime in the area and has been attacking the ANC on these issues.

Similarly, the PAC has been highlighting existing tensions in the Grabouw area of the Boland and will pick up votes accordingly.

However, both the NP and ANC will be seeking, in the final two weeks of the campaign, to draw voters to national issues.

The ANC will continue to argue that its national agenda — that of implementing a successful RDP — can only be secured through effective control of local structures.

The NP, in turn, will continue to accuse the ANC of being a power-hungry party which seeks to dominate all aspects of public life. In addition, the NP has sought to attack the ANC on its lack of ability in fighting crime.

These contrasting styles of electioneering will be tested on November 1. Should the ANC and NP be able to effectively "nationalise" their campaigns, the smaller parties can expect some shocks. After all, it is only 18 months since the emotional 1994 election and a residue of loyalty is still firmly entrenched in the minds of most ANC voters.

The poor performance of the NP in opposition (somewhat hamstrung by the machinations of the GNU) has left its support base soft and ripe for picking, from both the FF and the DP. A tilt to the right by the NP in the last few weeks of the campaign might restore some lost support as nervous voters return to the De Klerk fold and leave the minority parties trailing behind.

The staggered nature of this election also poses probems and opportunities for all parties. Both the IFP and NP are unable to contest their respective strongholds. This suggests that their results around the rest of the country will be patchy at best.

While the NP is likely to score successes in the voting areas of the Western Cape, Northern Cape and inselected municipalities in Gauteng, its final result will certainly not be as stunning as its victory in the Western Cape last year.

The IFP, meanwhile, is heading for a major defeat in Gauteng province — its only region of support outside KwaZulu-Natal.

For NP and IFP stalwarts going to the polls at the end of March next year, these results could seem depressing. A poor national showing by both the NP and IFP is likely to demoralise party formations in those areas and will certainly encourage the ANC and smaller parties to mobilise disaffected support.

What is certain, however, is that both the IFP and NP will be throwing everything into retaining dominance in their respective regions.

In turn, the ANC will also be out in full force and will use President Mandela to capture potential ANC votes. The ANC is likely to benefit the most from staggered elections. Their success nationally will spur them on, while they will look for every opportunity to gain at the expense of the ailing NP and IFP following their November 1 results.

If anything, the real battle for survival will only be in late March of next year. To an extent, this perverts the current campaign. Results are likely to show a trend towards the majority party and away from a multi-party orientation. This bodes negatively for the establishment of a true multi-party culture in South Africa over the short term.

The DP also faces a dilemma. Should the much vaunted (and costly) Soweto campaign of Tony Leon fail to produce a breakthrough in black support, the party's battle in the Western Cape will struggle. However, even a small increment in black representation for the party will be viewed as a rebirth of the DP in an area it desperately needs for long-term survival and growth.

The pressure at the hustings will also have a negative effect on the continued survival of the GNU. As seen over the last week, ANC revelations on the activities of senior IFP officials were perfectly timed to impact on the pending vote. It is to be expected that fresh tensions will emerge during the run-up to the March encounters which will further strain the cosy three-party agreement at a national level. This pressure has the potential to derail the GNU.

In many ways, the November 1 elections are likely to increase the centralisation of political power behind the ANC. Although a vital step in establishing grass-roots democracy, they will fail to create a democratic culture.

Wham Bam party battle



THAT'S MY BOY . . . Grace Nontozanele Lumbimbi says her son was born in Alex.

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

I'm as South African as biltong, says Rev

LP 22/10/95 304A

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

AN UNHOLY war is raging among high-ranking members of the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP).

The row started after Reverend Thamsanqa E Bam instituted a civil claim against the ACDP to be reinstated as MEC in the Gauteng Legislature.

This was after he had been expelled from the party, accused of having embezzled R31 000 of party funds. But Judge Leveson dismissed the allegations as false in the Rand Supreme Court two weeks ago.

Judge Leveson ruled in favour of Bam, that he be reinstated as he was wrongfully expelled from the party. During the hearing the ACDP's representative, Izak Hermanus Labuschagne, was not allowed to take part in the deliberations because he is not an advocate or a lawyer.

Labuschagne, who is also a spokesperson for the ACDP, told City Press this week that Bam was not a South African but originated from one of the Equatorial or north African countries.

Labuschagne said Bam was using different surnames, such as Lumbimbi, Bham or Bom and he had inquired from a Professor Taillor, a linguist at Wits University, about the origin of the surname Lumbimbi.

Bam answered that he was not an alien but was misplaced by the old apartheid order and was "as South African as pap, biltong and boerewors".

Labuschagne said that as Bam seemed to be a highly trained linguist, he could easily have infiltrated the country as a political insurgent and fitted in with the local population.

Bam answered that he was not an insurgent and had not infiltrated the country – rather, he had skipped the country in 1972 to seek political asylum on the African continent and Europe.

Bam admitted that when he was a small boy he used his stepfather's surname, Lumbimbi, but said of the two other surnames it was the usual carelessness by clerks at the pass offices.

His mother, Grace Nonozanele Lumbimbi, confirmed that her son was born in Alexandra Township in 1938 under the surname Bam.

She said his father had died when he was about three years old.

Later, Bam's mother married Samuel Lumbimbi, who raised him.

Bam's mother said later her son decided to change from Lumbimbi to his original father's surname, Bam.

2,8m voters unregistered

CT 23/10/96 (S52) (304A)

JOHANNESBURG: Fewer people would vote in the local government elections than in last year's general election, Market Research Africa (MRA) said yesterday.

According to an national survey, 16% of people who said they voted last year had not registered for November's elections.

About 2,8 million potential urban voters were not on the voters' roll when registration closed. About 1,6 million of these unregistered voters were black.

"The results of November's elections could be quite different if all those who were entitled to register had done so," MRA managing director Ms Hanna Fourie said.

"However ... the registration figure is up by 26% from an earlier study in March this year."

Almost half the black voters interviewed said local elections were of greater relevance than the 1994 election. However, only one in four of white, Indian and coloured voters agreed.

The survey showed 65% of coloureds, 68% of Indians, 76% of whites and 82% of blacks intended to vote. — Sapa

NP is using poll to build future support in black areas, says Meyer

BD 23/10/95 (304A)

Drew Forrest

THE NP was unlikely to win any wards in Soweto, but was using the local election campaign to build support for the future in black areas, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

The party had started in the same way in coloured townships, which had grown into NP strongholds, he said.

Meyer was interviewed during a campaign roadshow in Soweto.

The NP is fielding about 30 candidates in three-quarters of Soweto's wards, which are distributed across three greater Johannesburg metropolitan substructures.

In contrast with the general election — when he said there was "far less goodwill" — Sowetans were welcoming. His impression was that NP campaigners in black areas across the country had encountered a similar change in atmosphere.

Meyer's positive profile in the townships — in part the consequence of his key negotiating role at the World Trade Centre — was evidenced by the fact that he was widely and enthusiastically recognised in Soweto. A shebeen owner in Dlamini opened his bar specifically to serve him. "We don't hate him — he is Cyril (Ramaphosa's) friend," said one resident.

Meyer said the changed mood might flow from election apathy. Low turnouts in local government polls were an international phenomenon.

Disappointment with the ANC's failure to deliver on its promises was also a factor, he said. The NP's participation in the government of national unity had contributed to a new perception of the party by showing that "black and white can work together to establish a basis for peace".

Meyer said the NP's best prospects in black townships were in Gauteng, where greater political maturity gave more scope for multiparty politics. The party had established branches in black areas throughout the province.

Commenting on upheavals in the Soweto branch — the NP's first deputy mayor in the township and other members were ousted after flouting the party line on the demarcation of Johannesburg — Meyer said it would take time for local leadership contests to resolve themselves. Leadership would emerge from a new wave of NP supporters since the general election. Many NP candidates in Soweto had come forward of their own accord.

He predicted the NP would hold on to its established support among whites, coloureds and Indians in

Continued on Page 2

Meyer (304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 23/10/95

greater Johannesburg and "make progress" in black areas.

Edward West reports that Meyer was repeatedly questioned by candidates in the north Boland last week about the perceived conflict of interest between him and the Western Cape government over demarcation of the Western Cape metropolitan area.

As the responsible minister, Meyer was central to government moves to overturn Western Cape appointments to the provincial committee and controversial demarcation proposals the committee endorsed.

During a whistle-stop tour of Ceres, Prince Alfred's Hamlet and Wolseley, Meyer said: "I am both a party loyalist and responsible for my portfolio. People use this Catch-22 situation to spread rumours and create perceptions of a conflict of interest." There was no direct conflict between himself and Western Cape premier Hernus Kriel, although they represented different interests. Kriel acted for the province, while he had to look after NP interests in provinces where the party was a minority. "If (Western Cape local government MEC) Peter Marais had his way in changing the provincial committee, Dan Mofokeng would have done the same thing in Gauteng," Meyer said.

NP general assembly member Melt Hamman said he was confident the party would win majority support in the north Boland and improve its showing in last year's poll.

The area contains 25 of the 95 Western Cape towns voting on November 1.

In the three towns visited by Meyer, the white vote is split between the NP and ratepayers' associations. This could give the ANC control.

However, Meyer said traditional ANC supporters were divided between the ANC and civic organisations.

The right view of SA history

Star 24/10/95 (304A)

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

South African history, as taught to generations of white school children, is being turned on its head in a new Government publication.

Early settlers – including the Dutch who came to the Cape in 1652 and the Voortrekkers – are described in the country's official yearbook as slave traders, land grabbers, and suppressors of black people.

The new account also records how blacks were briefly, during the Anglo-South African War, able to reclaim land taken from them 50 years earlier by the Voortrekkers, only to be forced to return it prior to Union in 1910.

The yearbook's history section – which acknowledges the part played by Professor T Davenport of the University of Cape Town in its compilation – says black people were already settled in today's South Africa when the Boer farmers came across them "in land which they thought was empty".

For millions of whites, the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, the Great Trek, the Anglo-South African War, Union in 1910 and the election success of the Purified National Party (later the National Party) in 1948 were the high points of their school history lessons.

Blacks were not even considered to have played any meaningful role until whites came across them at the Sundays and Kei rivers in the Eastern Cape.

But the new version of our history states categorically that 1 500 years ago Bantu-speaking people began to work the soil and that they domesticated cattle 1 000 years ago.

The fact that there were people already living off the land by the time the Dutch settlers arrived 344 years ago, is also placed beyond dispute.

WALTONS STATIONERY REF. W 79

Meet the man who's there to protect you from the State

ARG 25/10/95 (304A)

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

Staff Reporter

IN a move to bolster people's confidence in the government, and to improve the government's administration, a Public Protector with vast powers of investigation has been appointed to act as the people's watchdog on government spending of public funds.

The Public Protector will also investigate allegations of maladminis.ration against officials.

Selby Baqwa, an advocate by profession, took up the challenge at the beginning of the month to ensure that the country was run by a good clean administration.

In the past, the office of the Advocate-General and later an Ombudsman was given the task of keeping an eye on the government, but with this new post it will be the first time that these duties will be underpinned by a Charter of Fundamental Rights.

Structures such as the Human Rights Commission, the Commission for Land Restitution and the Commission on Gender Issues are intended to support the Public Protector.

Mr Baqwa's duties will include investigating complaints either on his own initiative or after getting complaints from people on any alleged charges of maladministration in connection with the affairs of government, at any level or in any institution in which the State is the controlling shareholder.

He is also authorised to investigate the abuse or unjustifiable exercise of power or other improper conduct committed by people performing a public function.

It is his duty to investigate improper or unlawful enrichment by officials and to investigate any act or omission by a person performing a public function that will result in unlawful prejudice. The Public Protector has been given extraordinary powers of access, subpoena and seizure without hindrance, even from the president.

Upon completing an investigation and where it appears that a crime has been committed, the Public Protector will refer the matter to the Attorney-General for prosecution and is expected to report half-yearly to parliament.

Mr Baqwa said that compared to the task of his predecessor, his duties were expanded in the sense that the Public Protector would now be operating in an environment in which human rights would be very important and where the government placed specific emphasis on those rights.

"In that sense, I perceive my mandate to be broader and not because the office as such is different, but because the political climate and conditions have changed.

"Traditionally human rights — as accepted internationally — have not been a matter over which the Public Protector had been seen to have jurisdiction in the past. In the classical sense the jurisdiction was concentrated mainly on the investigation of maladministration and making recommendations regarding complaints against State institutions.

"I believe this office is increasingly regarded as an instrument that is suitable for the protection of certain basic human rights since it will become more accessible to the individual.

"However, I must state that in fulfilling this function, the Public Protector will work in co-operation with the Human Rights Commission, which is soon to be appointed. The two institutions complement each other in that this office protects the individual against vertical violation of human rights, whereas the HRC protects people against horizontal violation of human rights."

"Vertical" violation is defined as violation emanating from the State, as opposed to what the Human Right Commission is investigating, namely "horizontal" involving violations by an individual against another individual.

He said one of his first tasks in his new office would be to publicise the existence and functions of the office as much as possible.

Mr Baqwa said he felt comfortable with his new job and the powers associated with it, not because he was looking forward to using them. At least he had knowledge that if he did encounter problems he would be able to deal with them instead of throwing his hands up in the air and not being effective.

"In other words, these powers exist to assure the public that the Public Protector has the necessary muscle to deal with whoever is at fault.

"One is always aware of the potential of the closing of ranks in the public service. It is a bureaucracy whose members might for obvious reasons seek to protect one another. If there were such a closing of ranks, one would need to have powers to handle the problem.

"I do not presume that this will be the case. I would rather presume co-operation from everybody concerned."

He said his office had been effectively removed from the control of the executive giving it greater independence in cases of conflict with the government.

"People both inside and outside the government should view this office as being potentially beneficial to them. If there is a complaint against the government and they (the government) appoint an internal investigating official, there is generally an outcry.

"But, if this office finds there is no substance to the complaint, it can never be termed a cover-up because the Public Protector has absolutely nothing to gain from such a conclusion."

He said there was a need to let people know of the functions of Public Protector's office:

"Even though the office has been in operation in Pretoria for years now, many people are not aware of its existence.

"We have started a communication drive on radio, television and in the print media to foster an awareness in this regard, but at the moment there is not yet a structured publicity campaign.

"Such a structured campaign will commence shortly with a view particularly to reaching all institutions such as schools, technikons, universities, churches, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), government departments and people in the rural areas, who for most of the time are locked out of the mainstream communications in the country.

"We intend taking the concept of the Public Protector to the people, both on an informative and educative basis."

Mr Baqwa said he found his new job challenging and daunting, but also very exciting.

"I have been given an opportunity and the power to make a difference in South Africa regarding public administration. I find support in the fact that the office has been expanded — it has a presence in every province and that solves the problem of inaccessibility.

"I find further support in the fact that the Bill of Rights is contained in the Constitution and that the population now has a document which is public. People do not need to be told by this office that they have rights, and I will not let them down ... I will do my best to be equal to the job."

The Public Protector in South Africa is nominated and selected by a committee comprising representatives of all political parties in parliament.

■ The Office of the Public Protector can be contacted on ☎ 0800 11 20 40 or at P/Bag X677 Pretoria 0001.

Now is the time for SA to show the world some substance

26/10/95 CT. (BR) 304A

DIPLOMATIC VIEW



BY JEAN-JACQUES CORNISH

President Mandela's speech at the UN was not his most memorable

Nelson Mandela was cheered to the rafters when he spoke in the General Assembly this week at the United Nations 50th birthday bash.

No story.

Now if he had not been received without adoration that would have been news. Once again, the man showed he is arguably the world's most popular statesman.

But for anyone who had gone to Turtle Bay expecting some insight into South Africa's foreign policy, it would have been like going to see that rock group you have always wanted to hear and finding out they were lip synching.

Mandela has shown ever since his speech on the Parade in Cape Town on the evening of his release that he is not one of history's great orators. He has other qualities that make him such a valuable human being. Nevertheless he can hit the high spots when it is warranted. His inaugural speech in May last year is a case in point. Clearly he did not see the world organisation's big birthday as such an event.

If one accepts that there is a time for substance and a time for flowery rhetoric, then the UN General Assembly would seem to be the ideal venue for the latter.

Enough pointless hot air has been expended there to put the air ship industry back in business. I remember watching that same body give Field Marshal Idi Amin a standing ovation.

I suspect, however, the world was hoping for more from Mandela. Certainly if we have serious aspirations to be a major player, this was the occasion to post them.

Mandela's standard calls for reform would have pleased the Third World with vague and impractical urging for a new world order. But it showed South Africa is probably still not ready to cut it in the big league.

Among the reforms he called for was enlargement of the UN Security Council. I hope this does not mean he thinks South Africa should take its place in the powerhouse. It is simply not prepared.

Take, for example, the country's relations with the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The new South Africa has done more to irritate and anger the United States in the past 18 months than Washington ever did to make the apartheid regime fume. Libya's withdrawal last week from contention for an African seat on the Security Council lets South Africa off the hook on that score at least. There is no doubt the government would have stood up to United States pressure and backed the Organisation of African Unity's endorsement to put Muammar Gaddaffi's man at the table.

Washington is still raw about Pretoria's decision to send an ambassador to Havana.

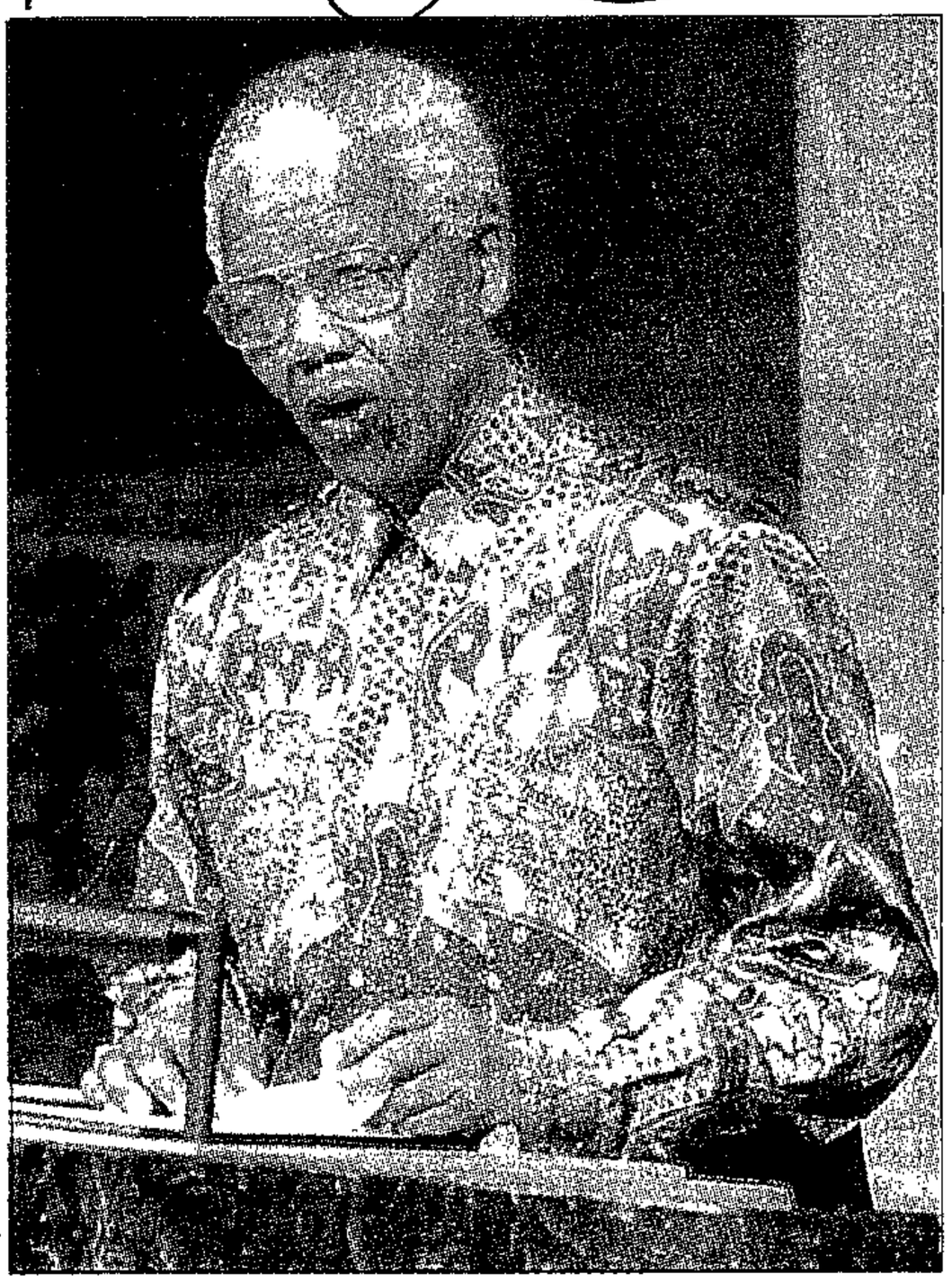
The refusal by South African companies to relinquish the American trade marks they filched during the apartheid era is causing a blockage in the flow of bilateral business dealings with this market.

The American refusal to lift the indictment on Armscor for alleged arms smuggling during the apartheid era remains an irritant.

South Africa quite correctly joined the world protest against France's resumption of nuclear explosion tests. Relations are not going to improve while the two countries work out exactly who runs what in Africa.

In its European Union role, France has been much less helpful than Pretoria had hoped in gaining access for South African goods to European markets.

There is an enormous amount of emotional baggage the government has to work through with Russia. The ANC still has difficulty dealing with an old supporter that has turned its back on the very system that many elements within the party still hold dear.



RELAXED CONFIDENCE *The President sported his colourful trademark shirt for his UN 50th birthday speech in New York.*

PHOTO AP

As for China, South Africa is still at odds with the world on establishing formal links with Beijing and relegating Taiwan to the status of major trading partner.

South Africa's relations with Britain are probably easier than with any of the other five. But there is still a lack of trust left over as a residue of the Thatcher years.

South Africa is not the only country to have problems with the big five. Indeed they have enough difficulties among themselves. But we have a lot of sorting out to do before we can sit down in the Security Council with them and make a valuable contribution.

With the UN itself, we still have not come to terms with paying our deficit dues. Calling these apartheid's debt is a cop out. This government and its successors will be paying apartheid's debts into the next century. The government would not dare refuse to pay bilateral debts incurred before last April. If it really values the UN, how can it treat it differently? This is not what a serious country should do.

There is some value to being offbeat and original. We still have currency as the miracle country of the 1990s.

This enables Mandela to tell the two Chinas to stop fighting and to urge Presidents Clinton and Castro to sit down and iron out their differences without appearing ridiculous.

There is something to be said for the man who attends a stiff lounge suit function in a colourful shirt. His relaxed confidence sends a refreshing message to those men with the button down collars and the flyaway minds.

But timing is everything in the complex business of international politics. And it is time South Africa showed more substance.

THE NATION

Farmers' blockade threat

(2) (304A)

☐ Anger at rural councils deal

ARG 26/10/95

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — As disenchanted farmers consider a mass blockade of Pretoria, the government has told organised agriculture that proposals for the representation of rural taxpayers and farmers on rural local government councils are not satisfactory.

Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development minister Roelf Meyer conceded this at a meeting this week between South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) and provincial and national government officials at the insistence of President Nelson Mandela.

The meeting was called as farmers consider mounting a blockade of Pretoria for the second time in five years to show the government that they are a force to be reckoned with in the political arena.

The proposed mass action is in protest against amendments to the Local Government Transition Act, which would give farmers 10 percent of seats on rural councils to be established in terms of the new legislation. They want 40 percent of the seats.

It will also demonstrate farmers' anger over land reform proposals, labour legislation as it affects their workers, the breakdown of law and order, cheap food imports, and the imposition of high tariffs on other imported foodstuffs and goods.

At the meeting attended by the premiers of Mpumalanga, Northern Province and Northern Cape, and Deputy Provincial Affairs Minister Vali Moosa said he would instruct officials of his department to immediately establish a negotiating forum to address local government issues, including representation.

SAAU executive director Jack Raath said after the talks that "a reasonable approach and process to solving the problem, albeit not in time for the November 1 elections, had at last been established".

Meanwhile, farmers say they will take a decision on mass action after local government elections next week.

In a bid to stave off mass action, Free State Premier Patrick Lekota has already proposed a compromise that the 40 percent representation on rural councils should be made up of farmers, small businessmen, land owners and traditional leaders while farm workers, women voters and other groups would also have 40 percent.

The remainder would be allocated on the basis of proportional representation.

'RDP Party' the choice for some

KIMBERLEY: Illiterate people living in isolated communities in the Northern Cape want to vote for the "RDP Party", baffled voter educators said yesterday.

Northern Cape election task group worker Mr Killer Modise said many isolated communities were politically ignorant and lacked information about the voting process.

Due to the province's size, he said, voter education had not reached parts of the Northern Cape.

The Northern Cape constitutes 30% of South Africa's geographic area, with only two percent of the population.

Many people had heard of "RDP promises" and had indicated they would support the RDP Party in the November 1 poll, Mr Modise said. — Sapa

CT 27/10/95

Apartheid names likely to be scrapped

304A

ARG 27/10/95

Political Correspondent

NAMES of National Party luminaries from the apartheid past — such as Eben Donges and Lapa Munnik — could soon be erased from hospitals in the Western Cape if regional Health Minister Ebrahim Rasool has his way.

He is to appoint a committee soon to look into renaming such hospitals.

Speaking at an election meeting in Laingsburg last night, Mr Rasool said it was necessary to expunge the past in order to move forward to a future of dignity, love and hope.

He told the meeting that while hospitals were now more accessible, some were still linked to "apartheid figures".

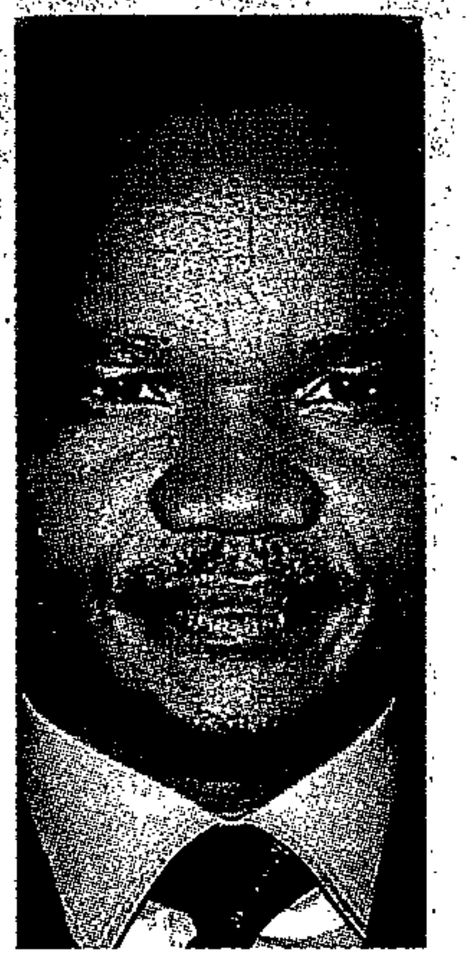
"If such individuals are linked to the apartheid past, we will, in the interim, name the hospital after the town, such as Worcester Hospital."

Singling out the hospital in Worcester — the Eben Donges Hospital — he pointed out that Donges was the Minister of Internal Affairs at the time "when our people were removed from the voters' roll".

Mandela on Commonwealth mission

(304A) Star 27/10/95

GOVERNMENT leaders are to welcome an SA president for the first time since the country's 1961 expulsion.



Frederick Chiluba... facing economic crisis and an election

Auckland – After decades of meetings dominated by the issue of South Africa's apartheid rule, the Commonwealth will next month welcome President Nelson Mandela into what used to be a British "old boys' club".

The gathering is to concentrate on ways of promoting good government.

The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) opens here on November 10, with leaders flying to the alpine Millbrook golf resort near Queenstown for a weekend retreat before returning to Auckland on November 13 for the final sessions.

At the retreat, the leaders are expected to issue a special declaration, which one official has already named "the Millbrook meander".

The Commonwealth is made up of 51 nations, all previously linked to British rule. The former French territory of Cameroon will become the 52nd member.

The issue which dominated all previous meetings was South Africa, expelled from the Commonwealth in 1961, and which often saw then British prime minister Margaret Thatcher isolated from fellow members.

Now it is the military regimes of Nigeria, Gambia and Sierra Leone in the spotlight. Fiji, ejected from the Commonwealth in 1987 after a military coup, will also feature, with much discussion expected on its racially based constitution.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials, speaking on condition they do not be identified, say nothing is certain about CHOGM declarations.

"The Commonwealth is really quite an odd animal," one official said. "It doesn't have a constitution and it is evolving around us as we are planning the meeting."

But officials say they expect a Millbrook declaration will build on the 1991 Harare Declaration, defining "certain fundamental principles". Harare focused on the promotion of democracy, democratic processes and institutions.

Since the 1991 Harare gathering, six Commonwealth countries have gone from military or one-party states to multiparty democracies.

Millbrook may go into greater detail on the Commonwealth view of good government and ways to promote it.

"A view in Singapore of good governance might be different to a view in New Zealand or a view in Kenya," an official said.

Definitions might include a statement on: the legitimacy of any government, including free elections; an independent legal system; and accountability.

General Sani Abacha of Nigeria may attend, but he can expect a tongue-lashing from other African leaders irritated by his military regime. Strong words are expected. "Some of the leaders can be brutal in private," said one official.



General Sani Abacha – will come under the spotlight.

This Commonwealth meeting will be a day shorter than previous summits, and leaders have been asked not to come with prepared speeches on the state of the world. They have been told instead to make a few impromptu remarks.

They will also contribute to a communique described by one official "as a Christmas tree where you hang all your favourite baubles".

Officials are confident there will be "strong language" in the communique condemning Chinese and French nuclear testing. – Sapa-AFP.

NP is a nonracial party in its composition and heart — FW

BD 27/10/95 (304A)

Last year FW de Klerk steered his party — the party that created apartheid — into its position as the second largest in a nonracial, democratic SA. Now he is taking the NP to the polls again. Wyndham Hartley spoke to him about its chances, about the nation and himself.

WEDNESDAY's local government elections are, as in the general election last year, unique. Politicians and commentators are casting around for a way of measuring the results in a meaningful way.

FW de Klerk agrees: "It is going to be very difficult to objectively and scientifically compare the coming results of municipal elections with those of last year's national election. Nonetheless, that will not prevent everybody from making comparisons. Hopefully knowledgeable people will find a scientific way of evaluating results.

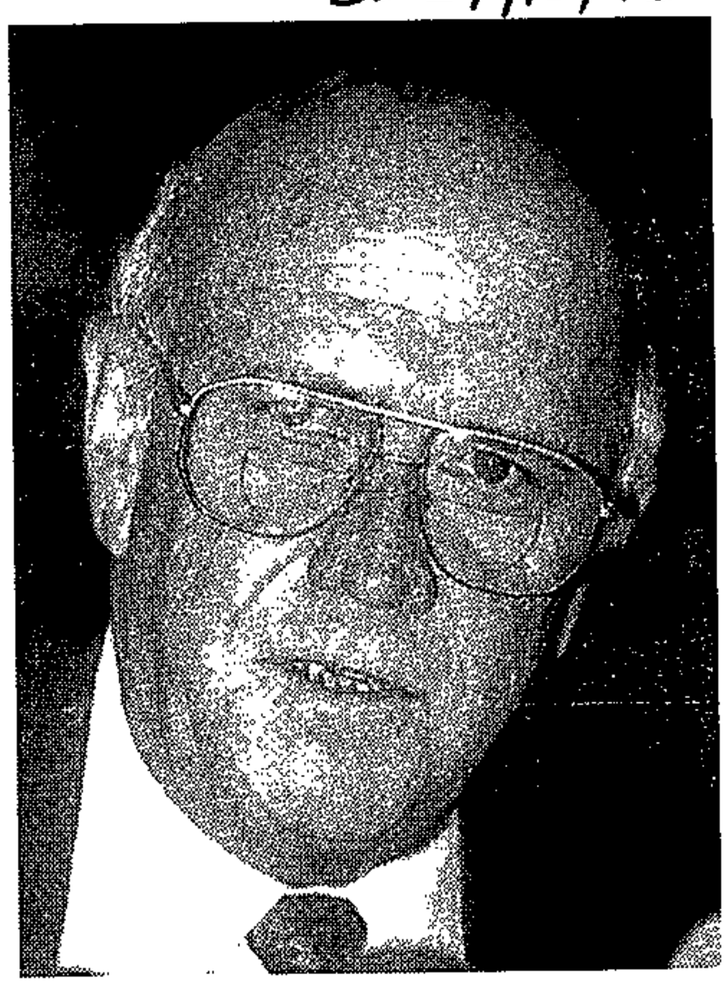
"We expect to do reasonably well. There is definite evidence of retention of overall support which we received in the general election. Although we still experience intimidation here and there we are now operating in many more black communities than was possible in the general election, and growth among black South Africans is visible."

In the election campaigns, which are being run on national political issues, the NP and other opposition parties have focused on spiralling crime rates and an apparent inability of the ANC-led safety and security ministry to do anything about it. A defensive ANC has lashed out at De Klerk, demanding his removal from the chairmanship of the cabinet committee on safety and security and intelligence. They claim De Klerk, as chairman, shares the responsibility for crime prevention.

"No, they don't have a point. The chairmanship of a committee does not put that person in charge of the ministers. Chairmanship of a committee in the government of national unity must not be confused with the chairmanship of a president over a cabinet of his own members," says De Klerk.

"In a multiparty committee, especially if you are a leader of a minority party, you are obviously in charge of the meeting and, as such, are able to influence decisions by formulating, summing up and offering solutions, but you cannot instruct ministers on what to do in their departments. The implementation of policy and cabinet decisions is the individual responsibility of the ministry concerned and his or her department. All ministers stand under the overall control of the president."

De Klerk insists he is falsely accused of adopting public positions at odds with his position in the cabinet. The NP supports the community safety plan and the goal of bringing communities and the SAPS into closer contact and co-operation. The NP's criticism is constructive as evidenced by the comprehensive plan to combat crime released by the party this week, he says.



Deputy President FW de Klerk.

"I reject the accusation that we are using crime for simple party political advantage. We are voicing issues, fears and concerns which are the main topic of discussion throughout SA among the majority of the people. It is our right and duty to do so."

Commentators, and many other politicians, have suggested that the NP remains essentially a white party which will be unable to make sufficient progress in black society to ever be an electoral threat. De Klerk rejects this perception.

"We are beginning to make a breakthrough against the constant propaganda which still tries to portray us as a white party with only tokenism in respect of being multiracial. The NP is in its heart and composition a truly nonracial party. More than 50% of those who voted for us were people of colour, and among those 600 000 to 1-million black South Africans voted for us.

"We are a democratic party and it is a fallacy that it is impossible for a person of colour to become the leader of the NP. It will be the best man or woman who will be leader of the NP. We have guarded against tokenism, and black persons holding positions in the NP are democratically elected. Only ministers and deputy ministers and some parliamentary posts are appointed."

However, in the NP there have been persistent rumours of deep divisions and reports of imminent splits. The apparent conflict between Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and Western Cape premier Hernus Kriel over boundaries in Kriel's backyard was highlighted at the recent NP congress in Cradock, where a delegate suggested Meyer should leave the party.

"We are a democratic party and the person to whom you refer was an ordinary delegate at a provincial congress and, as happens at congresses, at times people say things which do not reflect the feelings of the party as a whole. The relationship between all the key role players which have been mentioned in the past few months is sound and constructive.

"Those key role players serve together on the NP executive committee, and although circumstances have created the impression of deep conflict, and although at times there have been important differences of opinion, it has not resulted in a situation where there is tension within the party. It did exist in July when I had to speak strongly and sharply to call the party to discipline, but they have reacted wonderfully to this."

Asked about the position of Roelf Meyer — he almost had to, and might still have to, take Hernus Kriel to court to force him to comply with the recent amendments to the Local Government in Transition Act — De Klerk says the partnership in the government had thrown up difficult situations and no doubt would do so again.

"They are not intractable problems as long as there is an understanding that, for the NP, being part of the GNU does not mean we are required to become submissive to the majority party. It must remain clear at all times that we still have an opposition role to play... In the final analysis, healthy multiparty democracy is fundamental to long-term stability and to business confidence, and right now there is too much power concentrated in one party. We intend to rectify that through the ballot box."

Last year the ANC predictably swept to power on the so-called "Uhuru" vote. An almost reactionary position, in sharp contrast to the visionary position last year, has characterised the ANC in this election, prompting suggestions that "Uhuru" is fading much faster than anyone predicted.

Says De Klerk: "I expected a greater fluidity in politics and was astounded at the time at the acceptance, from people who should know better, that April 27 was not only the beginning but also the end, as if it created a permanent situation. I am pleasantly surprised that this fluidity is beginning to occur earlier than expected."

He concludes: "Although many red lights are flashing, I am confident solutions can be found, and that we will overcome the remaining obstacles standing in the way of dynamic and sustainable economic growth and the prosperity and stability which that will bring. If all role players, not only political parties, stand up for their principles and use every opportunity to influence decisions, I am convinced SA stands at the beginning of a golden era. We will, however, have to show guts, courage and dedication."

Afrikaner's role will be determined by merit

(3049) BD 27/10/95

Kevin O'Grady

THE role of the Afrikaner would no longer be determined by the power he wielded but by merit and the quality of his contribution, Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said last night.

Addressing a public meeting in Pretoria, Viljoen said this was the new challenge facing the Afrikaner.

He warned that while Afrikaners' fate was linked to the well-being of the entire country, they could not afford to be "destructively negative".

"We have a titanic task ahead of us which will demand the co-operation of all who have the interest of this land at heart. We have all contributed towards creating the problems we sit with today. Now we must all join forces and try to pull through.

"We have more than just a normal political task in our country today and short-sighted political squabbles must not be allowed to inhibit progress."

The path the Front had chosen since before last year's election was one of honesty, straightforward negotiation, stability, development, reconciliation, self-determination and co-operation.

He criticised the "uninformed and cynical for suggesting this unique approach ... was an effort to buy favours for the sake of getting a Volkstaat when it really flows from an essentially religious view of life".

He invited the ANC to develop its concept of co-operative governance into a united effort that would enable the southern African subregion to "rise from the ashes of war and conflict and build a better future for all".

Chiefs to stage march on the capital

ARG 28/10/95

(304A)

SAM SOLE
Staff Reporter

TRADITIONAL chiefs and their followers from around the country aim to bring Pretoria to a standstill today.

KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Affairs Minister Nyanga Ngubane told a news conference that chiefs and their subjects would hold an "imbizo" (gathering) at the Union Buildings and deliver a memorandum to President Nelson Mandela's office.

"It will be unwise for anyone to go to Pretoria on that day," Chief Ngubane said, predicting that chiefs would be accompanied by thousands of their followers.

The country's traditional leaders will deliver a protest against local government laws, which they say strips them of powers to which they are entitled.

The march on the Union Buildings flows from meetings held between KwaZulu-Natal chiefs aligned to the IFP and chiefs belonging to Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), which is aligned to the ANC.

The growing militancy of Contralesa is putting strain on its relationship with the ANC. This week Contralesa tried again to stop local government elections from going ahead in the Eastern Cape's rural areas on November 1.

After the Umtata Supreme Court rejected a constitutional challenge by Contralesa on technical grounds, the organisation sought an interdict to postpone the elections in rural areas on the grounds the Local Government Transition Act undermined chiefs' powers. The matter will be heard this week.

Meanwhile, Chief Ngubane has expressed unwillingness to hand over details of weapons issued by the former KwaZulu government to chiefs for their protection.

The government recently signed into law legislation which set the end of this month as a deadline for these weapons — which include shotguns and G3 automatic rifles — to be handed in.

The KwaZulu-Natal government is contesting the order, claiming chiefs will be sitting ducks for attacks if they are disarmed.

Chief Ngubane said the weapons were "licensed" and fully documented. Pressed on whether he was prepared to make this documentation available to the police, he said: "I can't say." He added he had asked for talks with Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi on the matter.

IFP chief 'most disliked' politician

BARRY STREEK,
POLITICAL STAFF

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche were the two most disliked and feared politicians in South Africa, a new poll has found.

And the DP's leader, Mr Tony Leon, is the least known — 56% said they did not know him.

These are some of the findings released yesterday of a poll conducted nationwide by Marketing and Media Research among 4 001 adults between September 26 and October 19.

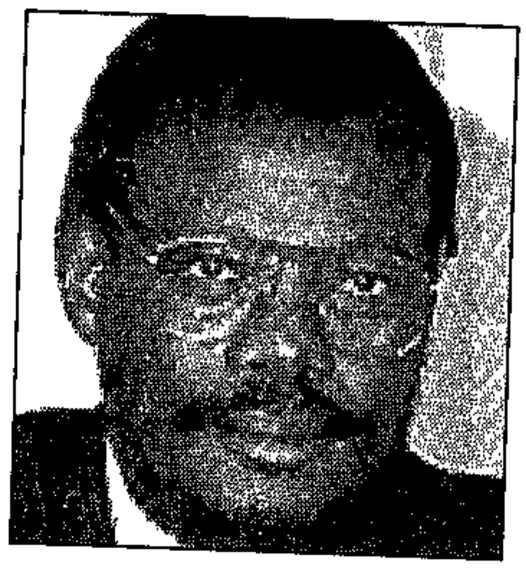
Chief Buthelezi is disliked by 59% and feared by 25%. Mr Terre'Blanche is disliked by 29% and feared by 28% of those polled.

In sharp contrast, President Nelson Mandela is trusted by 68% and respected by 76%. He is disliked by five percent and feared by one percent of respondents.

Chief Buthelezi was trusted by only seven percent and respected by 18%, while Mr Terre'Blanche was trusted by one percent and respected by four percent.

The poll also shows that Mr Mandela commands considerably more trust and respect in kwaZulu-Natal than Chief Buthelezi.

Deputy President F W de Klerk was trusted by 16%, respected by 45% and disliked by 39%. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was trusted by 25%, respected by 55% and disliked by 11%.



FEARED: IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The support for ANC secretary-general and chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, was almost the same as for Mr Mbeki: 25% trust, 53% respect and 11% dislike.

Mrs Winnie Mandela was trusted by 15%, respected by 46%, disliked by 32% and feared by eight percent, while FF leader General Constand Viljoen was trusted by four percent, respected by 13%, disliked by 36% and feared by 10%.

PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu was trusted by five percent, respected by 30%, disliked by 27% and feared by five percent.

Mr Leon was trusted by three percent, respected by 16%, disliked by 22% and feared by four percent.

CT 30/10/95 (304A)

Kriel among least trusted of premiers, survey finds

BARRY STREEK,
POLITICAL STAFF

THE least trusted of the nine provincial premiers are Mr Hernus Kriel of the Western Cape and Mr Ngoako Ramatlodi of Northern Province, a public opinion survey has found.

Mr Kriel was trusted by 18% of the people surveyed, but was respected by 42%, while Mr Ramatlodi was trusted by 14%.

The survey, whose results were released this morning, was conducted by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) and Markinor among 4 001 adults, including 2 200 blacks, 1 011 whites, 546 coloureds and 244 Indians, on a random probability basis.

The personal and telephone interviews were conducted in the respondents' home language between September 26 and October 19 this year.

Astonishingly, 18% of the respondents did not know who Mr Kriel was, 45% did not know the Mpumalanga Premier, Mr Mathews Phosa, 35% Mr Ramatlodi, 23% the Northern Cape Premier, Mr Manne Dipico, and 22% the Eastern Cape Premier, Mr Raymond Mhlaba.

The survey found that Gauteng Premier Mr Tokyo Sexwala was trusted by 52% and respected by 58% of those questioned, while Free State Premier Mr Patrick Lekota was trusted by 47% and respected by 57% and North-West Premier Mr Popo Molefe was trusted by 36% and respected by 69%.

Disliked

(304A)

The most disliked premier (29%) and the most feared (11%) was kwaZulu/Natal's Dr Frank Mdlalose, who was trusted by 21% of the respondents and respected by 44%. Mr Kriel was disliked by 23% and feared by three percent.

Mr Ramatlodi was disliked by 22%, Mr Molefe by 12%, Mr Sexwala by 11%, Mr Lekota by nine percent, Mr Mhlaba by five percent, Mr Dipico by three percent and Mr Phosa by two percent, the survey found.

CT 30/10/95

ANC will win well except in Cape — survey

ET 30/10/95

(215) (3049)

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

THE ANC will win handsomely in Wednesday's local government elections in all provinces, except in the Western Cape, a new public opinion survey has revealed.

The National Party, which was the only other political party to receive significant support, was neck and neck with the ANC in the Western Cape.

The poll found that the ANC and NP both had 29% support in the province, but the rate of people refusing to say who they would vote for (14%) and "don't knows" (22%) was highest in the Western Cape.

President Nelson Mandela was the only politician trusted to any significant degree nationally, but Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also received national support.

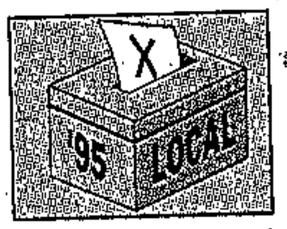
Respect for Deputy President F W de Klerk was higher among coloureds (77 %) and Indians (73%) than among whites (63%) and he received far higher trust and respect in the Western and Northern Cape.

The survey's results are bad news for minority parties, particularly for the IFP which was found to have one percent support in Gauteng and only 19% support in kwaZulu/Natal, where the ANC had 45% and the NP six percent.

The IFP did not win support in the other seven provinces.

If voting patterns in Wednesday's local government elections reflect the trends found in the survey, the ANC will dominate local government in seven of the provinces and do significantly better in the Western Cape than in the April 1994 general election.

As there are no elections in kwaZulu/Natal this week, the results of the poll there are only significant in that they show that the IFP has lost support.



See Page 5

The survey was conducted among 4 001 adults nationally, both urban and rural, by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) and Markinor.

The respondents were interviewed on a random probability basis among 2 200 blacks, including hostel dwellers and domestic workers, 1 011 whites, 546 coloureds and 244 Indians between September 26 and October 19 this year.

The poll predicted that about six in 10 people were likely to vote in the local elections, compared to the nine in 10 that voted in the 1994 national elections.

In the Western Cape, the ANC and NP each received 29% of support, the DP two percent and the ACDP and PAC one percent each.

Mbeki, Ramphosa have equal support – survey

(3049) Star 30/10/95

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa enjoy strikingly similar levels of national support, according to the Media and Marketing Research-commissioned Markinor poll.

And President Mandela remains far and away the most liked and trusted of all the political leaders, while the IFP's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Eugene TerreBlanche, are the most disliked, according to the poll.

As the country's deputy president and ANC deputy president, Mbeki is tipped to take over from Mandela. Ramaphosa, who is chairman of the Constitutional Assembly, is viewed as Mbeki's only serious competition.

Fifty-five percent of respondents said they respected Mbeki and 53% respected Ramaphosa.

Eleven percent each disliked the two men, 1% each feared them, 19% did not know Mbeki and 21% did not know Ramaphosa.

Sixty-eight percent of respondents said they trusted Mandela.

JS ON LOCAL ELECTIONS **FEATURE**

PAC destined for the scrapheap?

Sowetan 30/10/95 (304A)

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

WHEN in a mood to taunt the Pan Africanist Congress, its political opponents refer to the movement as "a one percenter".

This stems from the PAC's disastrous performance in last year's general elections in which it was eclipsed even by the Freedom Front.

Despite its renewed gusto in fighting these elections, coupled with its new slogan of "Don't be cheated twice. Vote PAC", a survey done by Media and Marketing Research portrays the organisation as headed for the political scrapheap.

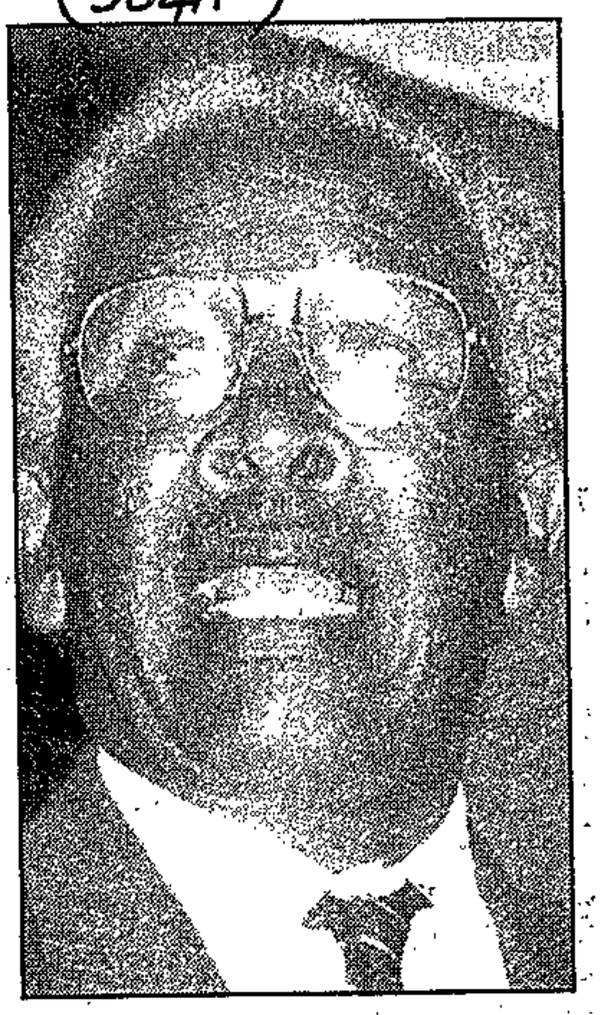
In all nine provinces, including KwaZulu-Natal where elections will not be held, the PAC is expected to average under one percent of the votes cast.

If this proves true, it suggests that support for the PAC has eroded even further after its awful performance in the April 27 1994 elections.

In the six provinces of Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Free State, North West and Eastern Cape the survey indicates that the PAC will manage to poll only one percent in each of these provinces.

A key point of the survey is that even this time around, the PAC is projected as playing second fiddle to even minority white organisations like the Freedom Front, which has clocked up two percent in Gauteng, three percent in Free State, two percent in North West and two percent in Mpumalanga.

Whereas the PAC is projected as struggling in all the provinces, the survey points to the National Party enjoying a good run in Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu, Free State, North West, Northern Cape, Mpumalanga and Eastern Cape, with 10, 29, 6, 8, 8, 28, 6 and 5 percent, respectively.



Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu

Given these statistics, it is difficult to see how the PAC could match the well-oiled machine of the African National Congress.

In Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Free State, North West, Northern Cape, Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape and Northern Province, the ANC enjoys unassailable figures of 66, 29, 45, 75, 78, 51, 76, 83 and 81 percent respectively.

PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu is himself no better than the organisation he leads.

He is trusted by five percent, respected by 30 percent, feared by five percent, disliked by 27 percent and unknown to 34 percent.

Traditional NP vote 'may swing to Freedom Front'

ARG 31/10/95 (304A)

☐ *Lower turnout than at last year's national poll predicted*

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

THE National Party could be in for a shock if their traditional white supporters, disheartened by the continuing erosion of political power, do not bother to vote tomorrow.

And the imminent arrest of former security supremos, among them former defence minister Magnus Malan, may shift votes from the NP to the Freedom Front.

These are the views of Stellenbosch academic Sampie Terreblanche, who said a poor showing in Western Cape country towns could plunge the NP into an unprecedented crisis.

The timing of the arrest of top former security force officers could prompt many people to ask why Deputy-President and NP leader F W de Klerk was powerless to stop such events.

Professor Terreblanche predicted that if international trends were followed, fewer voters would turn out than in last year's national and provincial elections.

But he said the Press had been successful in publicising the elections, although a worrying factor was that many people did not know the individual candidates.

"It seems many people will find out who the candidates are only when they get to the polling station."

The extent to which racial divisions were being perpetrated had also emerged.

There seemed to be a lack of mutual knowledge about the candidates in black and white areas.

Professor Terreblanche said the NP had continued to play the race card in its campaign.

There would have been greater awareness had the party to also contest the Cape Peninsula.

While leading ANC figures had reportedly drawn enthusiastic crowds during their tours, there were reasons why the party might not do well.

These included a lack of access of supporters to resources such as transport, and also low literacy levels.

It was not that a low turnout would harm one party or another, with both leading parties likely to be disadvantaged by voters staying away, Professor Terreblanche said.

He said the coloured vote was "the dark horse" which would play a major factor in the Western Cape.

Political scientist Susan Booysen predicted that many would vote in spite of apathy.

She told Sapa: "Voters, somewhat tired of elections and heavy party politics, have realised liberation has not quite changed things. Yet emotion driven by the the liberation dynamic is still one of the major factors."

Even so, the average voter was poorly informed on parties.

"There has been a lack of communication with voters. Candidates have not built up strong profiles," she said.

On the success of individual parties, Professor Booysen said opposition parties had not necessarily "pegged their appeal right" by focusing on the African National Congress-led government's apparent failure to deliver houses, employment and services.

Parties had campaigned on the assumption that they had something to draw voters to them, yet they did not have the standing or credibility to do so.

Soweto NP chiefs defect to ANC

CT 7/11/95 (304A)

SOWETO: Three former leaders of the NP in Soweto have defected to the ANC and accused their former party of only being interested in using them to win black votes.

"Almost all the branches have decided to leave (the) NP because we realised they are using blacks," one of the three, Mr Vronda Banda, said here yesterday.

Mr Banda, deputy mayor of Soweto and former secretary of the local NP branch, said: "When elections come, they visit Soweto, but when there is nothing they don't pay much attention to blacks."

He said the eight NP branches in Soweto were no longer functioning after the defections.

"They have collapsed. There is no more NP following in Soweto."

Mr Banda, who left the ANC to join the NP before last year's elections, said he, former Orlando West NP organiser Mr Reginald Jama, and another former NP Soweto official had defected to the NP at the time to stabilise the situation in the country.

He declined to identify the third man, saying publicity would harm his business interests.

NP spokesman Mr Daryl Swanepoel dismissed the accusation that the NP was only interested in the black vote as "nonsense".

He also denied that the party's Soweto structures had collapsed.

"All NP offices are functioning. Eighty percent of the wards in Soweto are being contested. The NP in Soweto is stronger than it ever was," he said.

Mr Swanepoel said Mr Banda's defection was sparked by his failure to be nominated as a candidate for the municipal polls.

"Mr Banda has not been active in the party for three months. He has an axe to grind with the NP because he was not nominated to any position," he said. — Reuter

ACDP 'danger to major parties'

BARR. STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

THE African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) said yesterday the local government elections in the Western Cape would show that it was growing and that it was "a powerful force to be reckoned with".

ACDP spokesman Mr Louis Green, MP, said his party was "aware of the danger it represents to the other major parties".

The party had nominated three candidates in Stellenbosch, one in Hermanus, six in Ceres — including three ministers, three in Velddrif, two in Mossel Bay, six in Worcester, four in Hopefield and one in Vredenburg.

Mr Green said the ACDP was annoyed newspaper reports conveyed the impression it was not fighting the elections in the Western Cape.

"We are a growing party and we will be on the alert for any attempt to discredit us or which sets out to block the voice of our supporters in this region," he added.

ET 1/11/95
(304A)

Consultants could have cost govt R1bn

BD 3/11/95

(3049)

Renee Grawitzky

PROVISIONAL information given to the National Economic, Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) shows government could have spent about R1bn on consultants in the past year.

The use of consultants and the packages paid by government departments — at provincial and national level — was raised by labour in Nedlac's public finance and monetary policy chamber ahead of the 1996 Budget debate.

Sources said Deputy Finance Minister Alec Erwin said "very rough" estimates indicated government could have spent about R1bn on consultants in the past year. It is understood the finance ministry has asked for an audit of all government departments to ascertain the extent of the use of consultants. The ministry could not be reached for comment.

Recent allegations that Mpumalanga's government had made excessive payments to consultant Eugene Nyati began the furore about the need for and payment of consultants.

National Tender Board sources said there appeared to be a marked increase in the use of consultants by government in 1994/95 compared to previous years. National and provincial tender board Acts specify that tenders have to be submitted for all goods and services supplied to government departments.

The tender board said there were instances where departments made appointments without approval, but could not indicate the extent of this. Where the contract was less than R75 000, its approval was not needed. However, if specialists were needed, departments could apply for exemption from tender procedures.

Tender board head Tobie Verwey said in granting tenders to consultants, the board had to ensure that all available skills in that field had been approached to tender and that tariffs proposed were market-related.

... for our political values'

(304A) ARG 4/11/95

■ President Mandela and Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo are off to Auckland, New Zealand, next week for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting where South Africa will no doubt be the toast of the 51-nation club. But this new democracy will also be the measure by which errant member states will be judged. TYRONE SEALE of the Political Staff previews the meeting.

THE world is the richer for the defeat of apartheid, not least because the transition to democracy has meant the removal of the root cause of war and instability in southern Africa.

This assessment of the regional and international consequences of the demise of legislated racism and systematic denial of human rights comes from no less eminent an observer than Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

His evaluation, published in London this week, comes on the eve of next week's Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Auckland, New Zealand, where President Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo are set for a warm welcome to the club of 51 nations — Cameroon is expected to become member No 52 next week — from which South Africa withdrew in 1962.

Two weeks after his inauguration on May 10 last year, President Mandela wrote to the secretary-general informing him of the unanimous decision of the cabinet that South Africa should apply to return to the Commonwealth.

On the strength of the consensus at the Cyprus CHOGM, supplemented by further talks with Commonwealth governments, Chief Anyaoku formally admitted South Africa to the international body with effect from June 1 1994.

South Africa is now contributing to the Commonwealth's voluntary funds and will host the Health Ministers Meeting next month.



☐ **WELCOME BACK:** Deputy President Thabo Mbeki is assisted by Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku in placing the South African among other member states' flag at last year's heads of government meeting in Cyprus.

The country has also become an important contributor to the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation and has been elected to the fund's management committee.

In his report on the Commonwealth in 1995, Chief Anyaoku says there can be no better advertisement for the Commonwealth's fundamental political values than a post-apartheid South Africa now playing a full part within the first international association to have declared apartheid incompatible with continued membership.

He suggests too that the demise of apartheid has greater gains than establishing stability in Southern Africa.

"The recovery of the South African economy should benefit the wider regional economy and help the process of successful reconstruction after the years of apartheid destabilisation.

"In concert with its neighbours in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the post-apartheid South Africa should also be a force for stability in the region.

"A beginning has already been made in Lesotho, Mozambique and Angola, and South Africa may be expected to make an increasing contribution to conflict resolution and peacekeeping in the larger African context."

Built into this endorsement is Chief Anyaoku's caution about the failure of other member states to subscribe to the Commonwealth's consensus-based quest for a pathway out of internecine conflicts, such as those affecting The Gambia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria.

On the plus side, he points out that since 1991 seven member countries have used free elections to make the transition from military regimes and one-party states to democratic, civilian, multi-party systems of government.

By mid-1995 all countries which were one-party states had either made the transition to multi-party systems or had announced timetables for doing so.

Only three military governments remained among the 51 members.

Again, Chief Anyaoku points to South Africa's first democratic elections that brought freedom to the majority population and hope for a better future to southern Africa as a whole.

And then he lists the setbacks.

In July 1994 a military coup d'etat in The Gambia overthrew the democratically elected government.

In Sierra Leone, while the military government remained committed to a timetable for transition to democracy, worsening civil conflict threatened to undermine the process and indeed the stability of the country itself.

In Nigeria, the announced time-frame for the restoration of representative governance was extended following another military takeover of government, causing widespread disappointment.

On the task for Auckland, Chief Anyaoku says at a time when differences of ethnicity, religion, race, creed and other divisive factors are at the heart of many conflicts, the Commonwealth has to examine in which way it can help the world to find a way out of internecine conflicts.

■ *Tyrone Seale will be in Auckland next week to report on the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting for the Independent Newspapers group.*

Prodigal SA back in the Commonwealth fold

■ South Africa is back in the Commonwealth fold. **LIZ CLARKE** explored the pros and cons of this emotional yet costly family tie re-established after three decades and just how effective the heads of government will be in bringing autocratic Nigeria to book.

(304A) ARG 4/11/95

THINGS will be very different at the Commonwealth's Heads of Government Meeting in Auckland next week.

The Commonwealth's prize exhibit — South Africa — will be back at the table after an absence of three decades.

Undoubtedly it will be a triumphant and emotional moment — both for South Africa, still absorbing its breathtaking transition, and for the Commonwealth who fought a relentless campaign to effect that change.

For President Mandela, himself, it will be the final confirmation that he was right to put South Africa back in the global fold.

Those welcoming him, on the other hand, may see him as the inspiration for some sort of new challenge, one that will "capture the hearts and minds of free-thinking men and women".

It's a challenge they need, for on its own admission the Commonwealth has spent the major part of its modern existence unplugging the South African apartheid regime.

Few need reminding how well the Commonwealth's anti-apartheid momentum, including the Gleneagles Agreement on sport, worked.

But a new beginning for South Africa does not mean the end of road for the democratic misfits. They are still around, especially in Africa, where the three most glaring examples are Nigeria, Gambia and Sierra Leone, whose litanies of human rights violations are well-documented.

In view of condemnatory tactics used against South Africa, one could reasonably ask why these countries are not being barred from attending Commonwealth meetings until democratic forms of government are in place.

As would be quickly pointed out, South Africa, prompted by growing world hostility, left the Commonwealth of its own accord in 1962.

As reiterated by the Commonwealth Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku at a London press briefing this week, the Commonwealth is primarily concerned with the promotion of "good governance" as laid down in the 1991 Harare Declaration.

And while some may believe that erring countries need the big stick under Mr Anyaoku's command, it's "better to heal. It's better to talk."

As a chilling rider to his ideals he circulated a personal note to the media corps regarding the sentencing to death of dissident writer and General Sani Abacha's political opponent that "I earnestly hope that the sentence on Ken Saro-Wiwa will not be carried out and I appeal to the Nigerian authorities to spare his life".

He said this step would be important in helping reconciliation and the speedy return of Nigeria to democratic rule.

Within the allotted three day time-span of the Auckland meeting there will be plenty of talking and trying to heal.

Apart from the African dilemma, the most pressing world issue is the continuation of France's nuclear blast programme in the Pacific, which, with few exceptions most Commonwealth countries condemn.

Here the main stumbling block to consensus is that Britain's Prime Minister John Major refused to censure France's President Jacques Chirac over the nuclear programme, which many member countries, including South Africa, see as a violation of their fundamental principles concerning the protection of the environment.

Some observers believe that fireworks will erupt over this issue.

Also on the discussion lists for the November 10 to 13 meeting will be:

■ A plan of world action for the acceleration of women's empowerment.

■ Debt problems faced by developing countries.

■ Addressing the on-going crisis of poorer countries' produce being shut out of lucrative international markets.

■ Dwindling finances and the need for some member countries to put more into the Commonwealth coffers.

Perhaps more important for South Africa is the question of whether the benefits derived from being a part of this global jigsaw — representing 1,5 billion people, or more than a quarter of the earth's population — outweigh the drawbacks.

The "pro" lobby will say that effort, expertise, training, funding — not gigantic in world terms — is enough to convince even the sceptics that the Commonwealth wants to assist South Africa into a new era of democracy.

At the time of the elections, 119 Commonwealth experts were on hand to lend assistance, including 33 army and police officers.

It continues to assist in the RDP programme, with youth exchange programmes, electrification schemes, funding for the creation of community police. In July nine officers from six Commonwealth countries joined British police in the field training of the first 1 700 cadets.

The "anti" lobby will say that this is like lighting a match in a tunnel. They will say that the Commonwealth is still steeped in the colonial "cucumber-sandwich" image and is too prescriptive.

They will say that the amount South Africa is expected to pay the Commonwealth Secretariat annually does not match the benefits received.

At present, South Africa contributes nearly R2 million to the Commonwealth Secretariat, more than New Zealand or India.

It is the fourth highest contributor to the Science Council, and the sixth highest payer into the Commonwealth Fund for Technical co-operation.

Those who won't agree that the price is too high, are the thousands of young South Africans, who are now able to work and live in London — as legitimate citizens of the Commonwealth.

Quote of the week came from a South African barman, who serves in a pub near the Secretariat in Pall Mall: "I'm Afrikaans. Yet I'm here. That's great." — Independent Foreign Service.

NP win makes no difference, says 'Parliament for Cape' group

CLIVE SAWYER (3047)
Political Correspondent ARG 4/11/95

THE group campaigning to keep parliament in Cape Town has refused to make political hay out of the National Party's victory in the Pretoria City Council elections, saying the win will have no impact on the future of the seat of government.

The Citizens Alliance for Parliament has resisted any temptation to point out an obvious counter to those who might want to remove parliament from Cape Town as "punishment" for the Western Cape provincial government being Nat-dominated.

Nor did it utter a word about the political counter-swing, as most major Western Cape towns this week put their future in the hands of ANC-dominated councils.

Said CAP spokesman Kevin Kevany: "The plan to move parliament from the Cape is being driven by a handful of senior bureaucrats and one or two cabinet ministers, and not by the major political parties in the country.

"We don't want to be drawn on party politics. The issue is so divisive anyway in all parties that a majority of one vote either way in Pretoria will not make any difference to the people who are driving to move parliament."

These people were a handful of senior bureaucrats and one or two cabinet ministers who did not understand that their personal discomfort was because of the transitional phase, in which people had not been allocated constituencies.

This meant the country was skewed to the Gauteng region, because most MPs still lived there.

"Once MPs are allocated constituencies and are dispersed throughout the country, the issue of the siting of parliament will disappear," he said.

During the election campaign the battle for parliament reared its head briefly.

In an election meeting in Worcester Deputy President and National Party leader F W de Klerk said that "as far as he knew" President Nelson Mandela wanted to move parliament to Pretoria.

That week Mr Mandela said on television that he was neutral about the issue.

CAP said it was heartened that Mr De Klerk had given his backing to keeping parliament in the Cape, and welcomed Mr Mandela's neutrality.

■ The NP won 21 ward seats and the ANC 21 in Pretoria, but the NP gained its majority by winning 10 proportional seats to the ANC's nine.

The remaining nine proportional seats went to the following parties: Freedom Front five, Conservative Party one, African Christian Democratic Party one, Democratic Party one and the Residents' and Ratepayers' Association one.

After three decades, SA returns to the Commonwealth fold

Star 4/11/95 (304A)

South Africa is back in the Commonwealth. LIZ CLARKE for Independent Foreign Service explores the pros and cons of this emotional family tie that has been re-established after three decades

London – Things will be very different at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Auckland next week. Its prize exhibit – South Africa – will be back at the table after an absence of three decades.

Undoubtedly it will be an emotional moment – both for South Africa, and for the Commonwealth who fought a relentless campaign to effect that change.

For President Nelson Mandela himself, it will be the final confirmation that he was right to put South Africa back in the global fold. Those welcoming him, on the other hand, may see him as the inspiration for some sort of new challenge that will "capture the hearts and minds of free-thinking people".

It's a challenge they need, because the Commonwealth has spent the major part of its modern existence unplugging the South African apartheid regime.

Few need reminding how well the Commonwealth's anti-apartheid momentum worked.

But a new beginning for South Africa does not mean the end of road for the democratic misfits. They are still around, especially in Africa, where the three most glaring examples are Nigeria, The Gambia and Sierra Leone, whose litany of human rights violations are well documented.



MANDELA: Inspiration to people everywhere

In view of condemnatory tactics used against South Africa, one could reasonably ask why these countries in question are not being barred from attending Commonwealth meetings until democratic forms of government are in place. As would be quickly pointed out, South Africa, prompted by growing world hostility, left the Commonwealth of its own accord in 1962.

The second part of the question, as reiterated by the Commonwealth Secretary General Emeka Anyaoku at a London press briefing this week, is that the Commonwealth is primarily concerned with the promotion of "good governance" as laid down in the Harare Declaration of 1991.

And some may believe that erring countries need the big stick under Anyaoku's command, it's "better to heal. It's better to talk".

As a chilling rider to his ideals, he circulated a personal note to the media corps regarding the sentencing to death of dissident writer and General Sani Abacha's political opponent, that "I earnestly hope that the sentence on Ken Saro-Wiwa will not be carried out and I appeal to the Nigerian authorities to spare his life".

He said this step would be important in helping reconciliation and the return of Nigeria to democratic rule.

Within the allotted three day timespan of the Auckland meeting, there will be plenty of talking and trying to heal. Apart from the African dilemma, the most pressing world issue is the continuation of France's nuclear blast programme in the Pacific, which most Commonwealth countries condemn.

Here the main stumbling block to consensus is that Britain's Prime Minister John Major refused to censure France's President Jacques Chirac over the nuclear programme, which many member countries, including South Africa, see as a violation of their fundamental principles concerning the protection of the environment.

Some observers believe fireworks will erupt over this issue.

Also on the discussion lists for the November 10 –13 meeting will be:

- A plan of world action for the acceleration of women's empowerment.
- Debt problems faced by developing countries.
- Addressing the ongoing crisis of poorer countries' produce being shut out of international markets.
- Dwindling finances and the need for some member countries to add to the Commonwealth coffers.

But perhaps more importantly for South Africa, is whether the benefits derived from being a part of this global jigsaw outweigh the drawbacks.

The pro-lobby will say that expertise, training, and funding is enough to convince even sceptics that the Commonwealth wants to assist South Africa into a democratic era. At the time of the elections 119 Commonwealth experts were on hand to lend assistance, including 33 army and police officers.

It continues to assist in the RDP programme, with youth exchange programmes, electrification schemes, funding for the creation of community police.

The anti lobby will say that this is like lighting a match in a tunnel. They will say the Commonwealth is still steeped in the colonial "cucumber-sandwich" image and is too prescriptive.

Quote of the week came from a South African barman, who serves in a pub near the Secretariat in Pall Mall... "I'm Afrikaans. Yet I'm here. That's great." – Independent Foreign Service

Leon roars as DP reclaims heartland

ST 5/11/95 (304A) (EEB)

By ANDREW TRENCH

THE Democratic Party has clawed itself back from the brink of extinction by winning back its English-speaking middle-class voters in Johannesburg who deserted it last year for the National Party.

"We have recaptured lost ground," said a jubilant Tony Leon, the DP leader.

In last year's general elections the NP obtained more votes than the DP in Johannesburg's eastern and northern areas, including the former stronghold of Houghton.

If Mr Leon's party was to have any future, it had to recapture its traditional heartland, and it did so.

In the east, the DP reclaimed suburbs like Houghton, Sandton, Orchards and Hyde Park.

In the northern areas, it regained control of Randburg's Ferndale and parts of Bryanston, Fourways, Blairgowrie and Greenhill.

Party members attributed this success to the DP's strong anti-crime platform. They said the DP also succeeded in showing that it was a more effective opposition than the NP.

Despite the DP's success in recapturing territory back from the NP, any post-election jubilation is likely to be tempered by some sober soul-searching.

The DP will be asking why, despite its gains, it lost the Eastern Metropolitan Substructure in Johannesburg to the ANC when the odds were in its favour.

There were more than twice as many voters registered in traditionally white areas as there were in Alexandra, the only traditionally black area in the structure.

When the votes were finally tallied, the DP had won 51 705 votes compared to the ANC's 63 450.

The DP simply failed to get enough of its supporters to the polls.

As a result it has lost possibly the only opportunity it will get until the next general election to govern a small, but important, part of the country and to put its policies into practice. Instead, the DP is left with a strong but modest platform from which to work.

The DP won a seat in Johannesburg's western substructure — an area where it has not done well in the past.

And with two seats in Germiston, one each in Benoni, Edenvale and Kempton Park, the DP has managed to establish a tiny but important new presence on the East Rand.

The party estimated that it has increased its percentage of the poll on the East Rand from 3,6 percent in last year's election to 6,2 percent.

By winning seats in Pretoria and Centurion, the DP showed it was able to attract support, albeit limited, among Afrikaans-speakers.

Mr Leon's aim for this election was to rebuild the DP, to win back support from the NP and to expand the party's base to position itself as a force for the future.

"All this is helpful," he said. "We have re-established a base. After the last election we had no base."

Mr Leon said the DP's focus now would be on gaining ground in black areas. He spoke of "realignments" to mount an "effective challenge".

The DP has a long way to go in township areas. Its most significant showing was the 500 votes DP candidate Lindah Rammutla won in Alexandra's East Bank ward.

gators he acted alone. — *Sapa-AP-AFP*

Right-wingers dream of a volkstaat lies in tatters

ST 5/11/95

(304A)

By RAY HARTLEY

THE myth of a white homeland was shattered this week when the Conservative Party and the Freedom Front suffered electoral humiliation in every major town they claim as part of a Volkstaat.

The only right-wing victory in the local government elections came in the semi-desert settlement of Orania, which was won by the Freedom Front.

The two parties failed to win a single seat in Pretoria, the city they have earmarked as the Volkstaat capital. Instead, the National Party won all the "white" wards.

And in the Free State, a traditional right-wing stronghold, the two parties won just 16 out of 840 seats.

The CP met behind closed doors yesterday morning to analyse the defeat.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said: "It is a blow for the party and it is a blow for self-determination."

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said he would send his sprinkling of councillors on a course to teach them "how to deal as Afrikaners with a situation where you are totally overpowered".

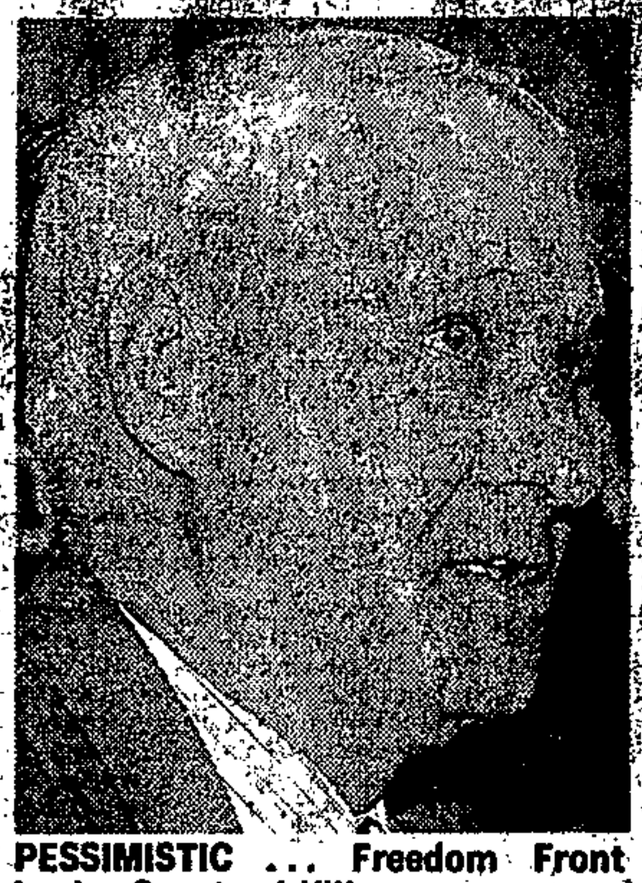
The decimation of the two parties has exposed as hollow claims that Afrikaners might mobilise in significant numbers in a "right-wing backlash" against this week's arrest of General Magnus Malan and other former military leaders on murder charges.

The ANC's Carl Niehaus said yesterday: "The indications are that people in those areas planned for a Volkstaat voted for the ANC."

The NP's Roelf Meyer was more direct, saying: "The Volkstaat idea has been killed."

While the ANC won many traditional right-wing towns, like Lydenburg, Rustenburg and Ventersdorp because of the inclusion of black voters in local elections for the first time, it was the NP that benefitted most from the CP's decline.

Outside Pretoria, the NP also trounced the right-wing parties in white wards on the East and West Rand which the CP had captured in the 80s and early 90s.



PESSIMISTIC ... Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen

At the time of going to press, the Freedom Front had polled only 3,7 percent of the 2,1 million vote count officially released by the election task group, a figure that is artificially inflated by the absence of Kwazulu Natal from the elections.

The CP polled just one percent.

The latest national results show that the ANC has 63,7 percent of all votes cast, while the NP has 19,5 percent.

The figures are close to those polled by the two parties in last year's general election, but the ANC total is expected to grow faster than the NP's as votes from administratively weak areas are tallied.

The ANC has meanwhile been buoyed by success in the Western Cape, where it lost heavily to the NP during last year's national election.

The latest figures show that the ANC improved its position by three percentage points to 36 percent compared with last year's election, while the NP dropped 10 percentage points to 44 percent. The ANC won 306 seats to the NP's 292 in the province.

ANC officials have claimed a "35 percent swing" in Western Cape voting from the NP to the ANC, a figure that has been disputed by the NP.

The ANC claims have, however, been borne out by victory in the towns of Grabouw, Knysna, Lamberts Bay, Paarl, Riversdale, Swellendam and Worcester.

With the support of independents, the ANC will also control Beaufort West, George, Mossel Bay and Stellenbosch.

Mr Meyer said the Freedom Front had paid the price for "playing political games" to win support for its Volkstaat.

He and General Viljoen cited the CP's failure to take part in last year's election as the key reason for its demise.

Said Mr Meyer: "It's absolutely fatal to boycott an election".

General Viljoen was pessimistic about the survival chances of his right-wing

To Page 2 ⇨

Volkstaat dream in tatters

⇨ From Page 1

rival.

"The CP made a terrible mistake last year by not participating in the election and we told them that. They will either disappear as a political party, or they will end up like HNP leader Jaap Marais," he said.

The Conservative Party would continue to fight for a "free volks republic", the CP's chief council decided at its meeting yesterday.

Spokesman Willie Snyman said the council believed that "all political powers" were used against the CP in the elections.

The CP lost its grip on Rustenburg, Roodepoort, Brits, Nigel, Brakpan and Barberton, which it once held as parliamentary seats. All were won overall by the ANC, with the NP leading in the white wards.

Also to go were its traditional strongholds in Uitenhage, Middelburg, Maraisburg, Parys, Stilfontein, Lichtenburg, Kuruman, Soutpansberg, Welkom, Randfontein, Schweizer-Reneke, Delmas, Smithfield, Carletonville, Potgietersrus, Nigel, Pietersburg, Sasolburg, Meyerton and Witbank.

At the other end of the political spectrum, the PAC also suffered heavy losses to the ANC, losing all 18 wards of what it claimed was its Butterworth "stronghold".

PAC assesses election loss

Farouk Chothia (304A)

BD 6/11/95

DURBAN — The PAC attributed its poor showing in last week's local elections — especially in its key area of southern Transkei — to a voter perception that one party needed to control all tiers of government for "things to happen".

PAC national executive committee member Mahlubi Mbandazayo said the PAC had "committed comrades" who had to "change guns for the hose and shovel". By assisting communities to improve their conditions, the PAC would lay the basis for a better performance in the 1999 general election.

Mbandazayo said the PAC won about 2% of the Transkei vote in the general election, and conceded this could drop to 1%. Final results were not available yesterday.

More security for Ministers

Sowetan 7/11/95 (304A)



By Chris Steyn
Spectrum

THE assassination at the weekend of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has prompted the South African Police Services to place on "maximum alert" all security personnel around President Nelson Mandela, his two deputies and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Spectrum, the investigative unit of Independent Newspapers, was told yesterday that National Police Commissioner George Fivaz had also instructed that the bodyguards of the entire Cabinet of the Government of National Unity be placed on "full alert" as well.

The assassination of Rabin has sent shockwaves throughout the security forces of the world – including the South African Police Services.

Spectrum was told that the safety of Mandela and his two deputies, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr FW de Klerk, as well as Buthelezi, was of paramount importance as it was regarded as central to the stability of the Government of National Unity. It was also regarded as a bulwark against the outbreak of widespread violence in the country.

"It will be the ultimate security nightmare to have a member of the Government of National Unity murdered," Spectrum was told.

Fivaz had been struck by "certain similarities" between the peace processes in Israel and South Africa, and felt it was necessary to take these into account in determining any possible threat analysis of especially Mandela, Mbeki, De Klerk and Buthelezi.

Fivaz reportedly said: "Rabin's assassination is a tragedy. But we must learn from it."

Furthermore, a rightwing backlash is feared after the recent and expected arrests of former security force members, including former defence minister General Magnus Malan. Fivaz felt it was the "duty" of the SAPS to be fully prepared for any act of "extremist lunacy".

Rabin's assassin, 27-year-old law student Yigal Amir, has associations with Kach and Eyal, two of the most extreme rightwing and anti-Arab parties.

The commissioner's latest intensification of the security around Mandela and other leading Cabinet members follows a recent complete overhaul of the President's safety plan – also on direct orders from Fivaz – after Spectrum exposed a major security breach when a reporter was allowed near the President with a pistol.

"Everything possible to secure the safety of Mandela, Mbeki, De Klerk and Buthelezi is in place. What is required now is maximum alertness," a source said.

● See pages 2 and 11



LEFT: President Nelson Mandela, flanked by Miss SA Bernelee Daniell, comments on the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. ABOVE: Leah Rabin, Rabin's wife (second from right) weeps with her daughter Dalia Philisoph. PIC: AP.



FAMILY'S GRIEF: Mrs Leah Rabin, widow of Israeli Prime Minister Mr Yitzhak Rabin, bows her head as the coffin is lowered at the Mount Herzl cemetery. With her are her son, Yuval (left), granddaughter Miss Noa Ben-Artzi, daughter Mrs Dalia Pelossof and grandson Mr Yonatan Ben-Artzi. *PICTURE: AP*

MANDELA: NO ONE IS SAFE

SA VIP guards on security alert

(304A)

CT 7/11/95

SECURITY STAFF protecting President Nelson Mandela, his deputies and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have been placed on full alert as a response to the assassination of Israel's prime minister and fears of a right-wing backlash against the arrests of security force members.

THE assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Mr Yitzhak Rabin has prompted the South African Police Service to place on "maximum alert" all security staff around President Nelson Mandela, his two deputies and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Spectrum, the investigative unit of Independent Newspapers, was told yesterday that national Police Commissioner George Fivaz had also instructed that the bodyguards of the entire cabinet of the government be placed on "full alert".

Questioned about his safety, Mr Mandela said yesterday he had confidence in his security staff. "If something happens, it's because no one is safe."

Mr Mandela expressed his sympathy for Jewish people across the world and said he was disappointed he could not attend the funeral as he was to leave tomorrow for a Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in New Zealand.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday the murder of Mr Rabin should serve as a warning to world leaders, including Mr Mandela. He said he had warned Mr Mandela, after the arrest last week of 11 former defence force officers on charges connected to the hit squad killings of 13 people in KwaZulu/Natal, in 1987, of possible attempts to kill him.

More pictures and reports — Page 3

Mr Rabin's assassination has sent shockwaves through the security forces of the world — including the South Africa Police Service (SAPS).

Spectrum has been told that the safety of Mr Mandela and his two deputies, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr F W de Klerk, as well as that of Chief Buthelezi, is of paramount importance and central to the stability of the government.

Mr Fivaz has been struck by "certain similarities" between the peace processes in Israel and South Africa and believes it is necessary to take these into account in determining any possible threat.

"Mr Rabin's assassination is a tragedy," he reportedly said. "We must learn from it. We cannot afford to think this is applicable only in Israel and elsewhere in the world."

A right-wing backlash is feared following the recent and expected arrests of former security force members, including former defence minister General Magnus Malan.

Mr Fivaz believed it was the "duty" of the SAPS to be prepared for any acts of "extremist lunacy". His intensification of the security around Mr Mandela and other leading cabinet members follows a recent overhaul of the President's safety plan.

"Everything possible to secure the safety of Mr Mandela, Mr Mbeki, Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi is in place. What is required now is maximum alertness," a source close to Mr Fivaz told Spectrum.

Meanwhile, Israeli Justice Minister Mr David Libai has proposed an inquiry be opened into security failures in the assassination of Mr Rabin. He says it should be established if the assassination could have been averted. — Spectrum, Sapa-Reuter

The Star ... Tuesday November 7 1995

President unmoved by right-wing rumblings

Mandela warns De Klerk and Viljoen not to use the threat of insurrection when discussing the criminal case against 11 former members of the South African Defence Force

Star 7/11/95 (30449) (3540)

By Jovial Rantao
Political Reporter

President Nelson Mandela has dug in his heels and has yet again refused to intervene in the prosecution faced by 11 former South African Defence Force members who have been charged with the 1987 murder of 13 members of a KwaMakhutha, KwaZulu Natal family.

The president has also warned deputy president FW de Klerk, in a meeting last week to discuss the generals' plight, that the National Party leader should not use the threat of right-wing violence when discussing the criminal case against the generals.

Mandela repeated this message after a meeting with Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen and FF MP Dr Corne Mulder at Mandela's Houghton residence yesterday. Justice Minister Dullah Omar and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi also attended the meeting.

The Star understands that intelligence information made available to the president indicates that while not acting under the instruction of the organised right wing, there was still a segment of the Right that was involved in the continuing violence in KwaZulu Natal.

The escalating violence in KwaZulu Natal, where a family of five was massacred this week, was believed to be one of the reasons Mandela has not changed his stand, despite mounting threats from the right wing.

After yesterday's meeting, Mandela told journalists that he was not intimidated by fears expressed by Viljoen.

"Nobody should lecture me about reconciliation. I started reconciliation in South Africa after a lot of humiliation," Mandela said. "I am the architect of reconciliation."

Mandela said although he had a lot of respect for Viljoen, calling him a man of "real honesty", reconciliation did not need a weak president.

"I must put my foot down when it is necessary. We want to create a culture of respect for law and order in South Africa," the president said, adding that the lack of such a culture in the past was why the country was in trouble today.

"My interfering in the judicial process would be undermining that process and the authority of the Attorney-General, who must remain independent," he said.

The generals were released on bail of between R4 000 and R10 000 and ordered to stand trial on December 1.

Malan and his co-accused, including four other generals and an admiral, were charged with the murder of 13 people, including 11 women and children, at a prayer meeting at the home of an ANC-aligned family in KwaZulu Natal in 1987.

IFP 'might compromise' on conditions for its return to

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The IFP might compromise on conditions it had set for its return to the Constitutional Assembly, KwaZulu-Natal sources said yesterday amid speculation that the party feared missing the constitution-making boat at national level.

IFP chief negotiator Walter Felgate said the IFP would return on condition that a constitution was adopted in KwaZulu-Natal and that international mediation went ahead.

It was learnt that the IFP had shifted on some of the hardline positions in the party's draft constitution. The sources said a compromise document, based on secret meetings between parties in the province in the past six weeks would be discussed by the IFP's national council on Friday. A similar document was discussed by the NP's federal council in Pretoria yesterday. The compromise constitutional model was "in line" with the German model.

Senior NP negotiator Danie Schutte said NP and IFP negotiators had met for eight days in the past two weeks. "We would not have lasted so long unless we were making progress." However, Felgate and Schutte stressed the process was at a "very delicate" stage.

Some contentious issues in the original IFP proposal dealt with a "sunrise provision embodying the aspiration of the province for greater autonomy"; a provincial constitutional court; a constitutional monarchy; "the protection of civil society and promotion of social and cultural pluralism"; a provincial bill of rights; and local government.

One source said a new proposal to resolve the issue of mediation had also been discussed. The proposal was that mediation would proceed only after a provincial constitution was adopted, and would be based solely on the contents of the constitution. The political effect of such an approach would be to take the heat out of issue and allow the ANC, if it wanted, not to participate.

Felgate and Schutte were optimistic that a provincial constitution "inspired by the principles of federalism and pluralism" could be finalised by year-end, as originally intended.

However, ANC provincial MP and constitutional team leader John Jeffery said IFP MP and provincial constitutional committee chairman Mike Tarr had only yesterday indicated that a provincial constitution would probably be adopted "in February".

Political observers said the IFP would not need the ANC to secure the necessary two-thirds majority in the provincial legislature to adopt a constitution if it secured the support of all other parties.

assembly
(304A)

KwaZulu-Natal probes claims of govt bribery

BD 8/11/95

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal local government and housing MEC Peter Miller said yesterday that two separate investigations were under way in the wake of allegations that officials from his department were "dishonest" and had received bribes for work done.

Miller's announcement came hard on the heels of the arrest of Ladysmith assistant town treasurer Stanley Smith on fraud charges.

Police spokesman Maj Henry Budhram said Smith — along with a second person, Martha Naude — appeared in the Ladysmith Magistrate's Court last month. The case was postponed to December 11. Smith was released on R2 000 bail and Naude on R10 000 bail.

Miller said Smith's arrest had provided a lead, and there were allegations that Ladysmith-based local government and housing department officials may have been involved in receiving bribes and kickbacks.

Miller said independent auditors were investigating the matter in co-operation with the police. The provincial auditor-general had been informed. More arrests were imminent.

Miller said irregularities had also been discovered in the administration of a housing scheme in Austerville in Durban, a project the department inherited from the former House of Representatives. Indications were that both government officials and persons in the private sector were involved in the irregularities.

Miller said he was fully committed to rooting out any cases of corruption and dishonesty in his department. The matter had been referred to the police commercial branch for investigation.

Poll 'proved Afrikaner support'

Stephané Bothma

(3049) BD 8/11/95

PRETORIA — Local election results showed that the Freedom Front had the support of the majority of Afrikaners in the country, party leader Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

He said his party would remain independent and would not form any alliances with the NP or the ANC, but talks would be held with the CP in an attempt to unite the Afrikaner.

Comparisons between the results of last year's general elections and last week's community elections showed in some cases that support for the Front had increased by up to 95%, Viljoen said.

Based on election results — despite the fact that the majority of farmers in the Northern Transvaal and Free State did not vote — the Front had received 4% of the votes. Afrikaners constituted 7% of SA's total population, he said.

The positive results confirmed his party's policy of self-determination and also finally established which party spoke on behalf of the Afrikaner.

"One of the main objectives of the Freedom Front remains to establish a political position of strength for the Afrikaner in the country, despite our small numbers, and to ensure cultural and territorial self-determination," Viljoen said.

With the local elections, the Front had established its structures countrywide with about 300 elected counsellors, FF chief whip Joseph Chiole said.

The FF estimated that in a general election it could achieve about 1-million votes.

"We believe that the remaining CP supporters will vote for the Freedom Front in a future election," Chiole said, adding that in not one instance in last week's elections did his party register a drop in support.

On the indictment of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Viljoen said that if no prima facie evidence existed, an Afrikaner backlash could be expected.

Mandela praises role of lawyers in the struggle

BD 8/11/95

Susan Russell

FEW people realised how important lawyers had been in the struggle for democracy in SA, President Nelson Mandela told senior officials from the International Bar Association and lawyers organisations from about a dozen African states when he received them at his official residence in Pretoria yesterday.

Also at the informal meeting were SA Bar Council chairman Malcolm Wallis SC and Roger Cleaver of the Association of Law Societies. The lawyers are all attending the International Bar Association's three-day conference which opened in Sandton yesterday.

Mandela was to have delivered the business law section's 25th anniversary lecture tomorrow, but is now unable to do so due to his committment to attend the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in New Zealand later this week.

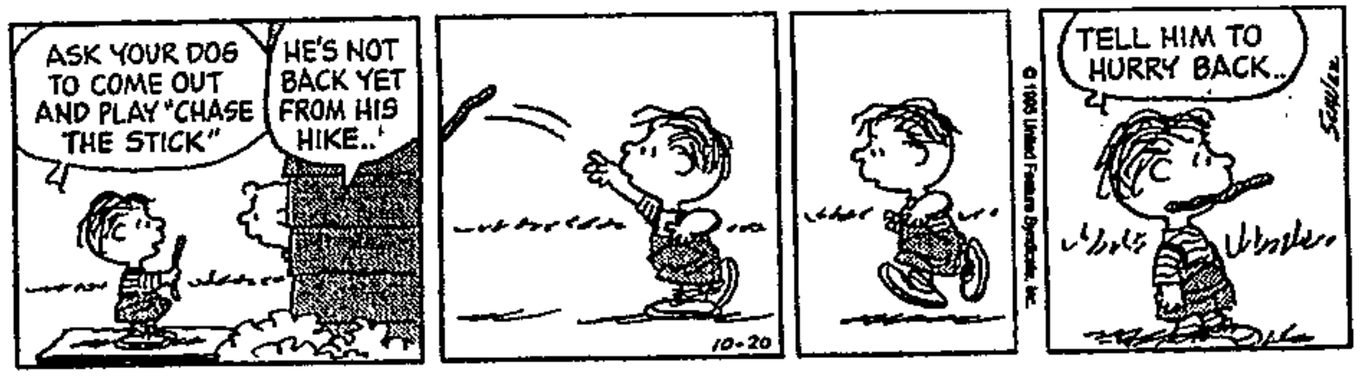
His lecture on The Rule of Law — Cornerstone of Economic Progress will be delivered by Justice Minister Dullah Omar instead.

A special session of the conference for officials from the various African Bar Associations and Law Societies on independence of the judiciary was cancelled so that the representatives from Algeria, Ghana, Malawi, Kenya, Uganda, Mozambique, Botswana Namibia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Zambia could meet Mandela — a lawyer himself — before he left for New Zealand.

The International Bar Association has invited Mandela to accept honorary life membership as well as presidency of its Human Rights Institute. It is the largest international lawyers organisation with its 165-member bar associations and law societies repesenting more than 2,5-million lawyers.

Representatives from 40 countries are attending the conference, covering a range of issues including constitutional law, joint ventures, family law and ethics, and project finance.

PEANUTS By Charles Schulz



Brenner Mills Limited
("Brenmill")
(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
(Registration No. 87/01547/06)

BRENMILL

Buthelezi 'intends to stay in central govt'

CT 8/11/95

(18B) (304A)

DURBAN: Home Affairs Minister and leader of the IFP Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday denied media reports that he was to resign from his central government position to take up the premiership of kwaZulu/Natal.

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi said the reports were "a product of imaginations of Orwellian proportions".

A report in yesterday's Natal Witness newspaper quoted "top-level IFP sources" as saying Chief Buthelezi intended resigning to stand for premier during next year's local government elections.

Chief Buthelezi also dismissed reports that the issue would be discussed at the IFP's national council meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

He said he found it disturbing that the media focused on speculation and misinformation, and failed to report on major issues such as the killing on Monday of an IFP leader in kwaZulu/Natal.

Chief Buthelezi challenged journalists to name their "so-called sources in the IFP". — Sapa



NOT RESIGNING: Chief Buthelezi.

'Freedom Front now the political home of Afrikaners'

(304A) Star 8/11/95

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The local government elections have established the Freedom Front as the authentic voice of the Afrikaners, the party declared yesterday.

FF parliamentary chief whip Joseph Chiole told a Pretoria press conference the party had obtained at least 55% of the Afrikaner vote.

He predicted that in the next general election it would take most Conservative Party support, but said the most important growth potential for the FF lay with "enlightened" National Party supporters.

He said the correct way to analyse the election results was to take into account the fact that the FF had fought elections in only those "statutory" wards "where the ideals of Afrikaner self-determination can be determined".

Contrary to the interpretation of many commentators, the FF had not dropped support in any of the municipalities in which it had taken part.

According to Chiole, the FF calculated that it would get 800 000 more votes in the next general election than it did last year, and that it would take over the CP support base.

"Furthermore, dissatisfied NP supporters will throw their lot behind the FF when it becomes apparent that the differences between the ANC and the NP are merely cosmetic and that the NP is increasingly divided by internal divisions," he said.

Chiefs declare polls invalid

(304A) BD 9/11/95

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) has declared last week's local government elections in rural areas null and void and vowed to oppose newly elected councillors in rural villages, claiming people do not know them.

At an Umtata meeting called by Contralesa yesterday, some of the province's chiefs discussed the fate of rural elected stuctures likely in areas under their jurisdiction.

Contralesa regional spokesman Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana said holding local government elections in rural areas was a waste of time as chiefs and paramount chiefs would not co-operate with the councillors.

He acknowledged attempts by the ANC and its ally, the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco), to divide Contralesa, but denied there was a rift between its members who voted and those who boycotted the elections.

Nonkonyana urged his organisation's members not to allow chiefs who had aligned themselves with the ANC and Sanco to govern their areas. He accused the two allies of undermining the role of Contralesa.

A former president of Transkei, Paramount Chief Tutor Nyangilizwe Ndamase, accused the Eastern Cape government of using delaying tactics in establishing the House of Traditional Leaders.

Ndamase said he had personally made a number of objections to Eastern Cape premier Raymond Mhlaba over issues affecting traditional leaders, but none of his complaints had been attended to.

Draft constitution out next week

(304A)

CT 9/11/95

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

SOUTH AFRICA's constitution-writers were on course to complete the final constitution by May next year, Constitutional Assembly (CA) spokesperson Ms Katharine McKenzie said yesterday.

The constitutional committee of the CA will meet for the last time this year today and tomorrow to finalise a working draft of the constitution — without the participation of the IFP.

The working draft will be published for public comment and information next week.

The document, in plain language, has 14 chapters dealing with issues like the constitution's founding provisions, the Bill of Rights, the Senate or Council of Provinces, institutions supporting constitutional democracy, local government and traditional authorities.

Areas where agreement has not yet been reached will be flagged and in some cases options will be provided.

The public will once again be invited to give their opinion on issues where no consensus has been reached or any other aspect.

The interim constitution requires that the final constitution be completed by May 9, 1996. The Constitutional Court must also have approved it by that date.

The NP has been holding discussions with the IFP in a bid to end their boycott of the constitution-making process. But sources said the IFP, which continues to insist on international mediation to deal with outstanding disputes, could use its non-participation stance to mobilise support in the run-up to local government elections in kwaZulu/Natal next year.

This could delay the finalisation of the constitution, forcing Parliament to amend the interim constitution when it reconvenes.

● **See Page 6**

The Star ... Thursday November 9 1995

Six prominent ex-NP members join ANC

(3044F) Star 9/11/95

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

Nelspruit – The National Party cannot but sink unless it takes a strong and positive stand against racism, Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa said yesterday.

He was speaking at a press conference where six former NP supporters, some of them senior members, announced they had joined the ANC. He said NP proposals for the Education Act would have been applauded by apartheid architect and former prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd.

"We took up arms, shot with AK-47 rifles and planted bombs to fight racism and the ANC will continue to oppose and agitate against all forms of racism," he said. What was good enough for one school child, irrespective of his race or colour, was good enough for the other.

"We cannot allow people in an aircraft to look down and say that's a school for blacks and the other for whites. Also, we have a duty to protect children from racism by not permitting them to attend classes in white enclaves."

The following NP members were yesterday issued with ANC membership cards:

- Jerry Lekala, former KwaMlanga district chairman.
- Masana Mabena, NP founder and executive member of KwaNdebele and former chief minister of the KwaNdebele government.
- Oupa Kekana, NP organiser for the general election.
- Jacob Kekana, NP member.
- Prince Thomas Mabana, NP member.
- Sam Lekala, NP member North West Province.

KwaNdebele PAC deputy chairman prince Solly Mabana was also made an ANC member.

SA force willing but not ready to play UN peacekeeping role – Kasrils

(304A) Star 9/11/95

By Norman Chandler
Defence Correspondent

Army Battle School, Northern Cape – South Africa's neighbours and other African countries were looking to this country's military might to play a major role in United Nations' peacekeeping efforts, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday.

However, while the Government had not ruled out the possibility, there was much to be done before South African troops could operate under the UN flag.

Kasrils was speaking at the end of the largest conventional warfare exercise held in South Africa, which was viewed by the representatives of 23 foreign governments.

The exercise entailed the deployment of 7 000 men and tons of equipment over a period of three weeks.

Kasrils said: "South Africa is not wanting to be accused of being the 'big brother' of Africa. Our African neighbours are asking us to play a leading role, but in reality we are a regional power. We have the infrastructure to assist and, above all, we have the economic might.

"The South African National Defence Force is already lending assistance to brother forces in the training of naval, air and land troops from other countries."

Kasrils said South Africa had to guard against falling into the trap of expectations, and beginning to perform as though "we are more equal than others".

The exercise, code-named Operation Southern Cross, gave international observers a rare insight into the country's military strength.

The defence attachés were able to see for themselves that the SANDF had the competency to do battle in daylight conditions, and at night.

Artillery, ground troops, engineers, the air force and the navy took part in a firepower exhibition which was eagerly filmed by the observers.

An all-night exercise demonstrated the defence force's capabilities with a bridge-laying manoeuvre, a dawn air attack yesterday and a battle exercise which utilised the world-renowned G-5 and G-6 artillery pieces as well as the air force's supersonic Cheetah fighters and Mirage aircraft.

Among the foreign governments represented were the the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, France, Belgium, Taiwan and 10 African states including Nigeria.

The exercise was also attended by Defence Minister Joe Modise and General Georg Meiring, chief of the SANDF.

Madiba steals the show

(304A) Sowetan 10/11/95

Even the Queen of England seems to have been relegated to a lesser role in President Mandela's presence, writes Political Correspondent **Rafiq Rohan**

EVEN BEFORE the biggest media event in New Zealand's history got under way, and even before he set foot in the country, it was clear who was going to be the star attraction.

Everywhere the buzz is: "Where in Nelson Mandela? When is he arriving? When is he speaking?"

Questions like these make it clear that Mandela completely overshadows other heads of state like Britain's John Major, Canada's Jean Chretien and even the Queen of England herself, the titular head of the Commonwealth.

Mandela's expected arrival was excitedly talked about, not only by the media but by the people of Auckland themselves.

Whether you are in a taxi, a bus or a restaurant and people hear you are from South Africa, you are immediately singled out as the person from "Nelson Mandela land" and hundreds of questions are fired at you.

In a taxi from Auckland Airport, the Maori driver said: "What we need in this country is a leader like Nelson Mandela to sort out our problems. If Mandela was our leader, he would sort these buggers out."

He spoke about his peoples' problems, which go back to the early days of British colonialism and why they want their land back and why the white people of New Zealand should stop discriminating against them on the basis of race.

South Africa is clearly being treated as the star of the show. It gives the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting a reason to celebrate in the face of some member countries' shocking records of human rights abuse.

Auckland is festooned with banners and bunting celebrating the meeting, but there are also posters and banners denouncing countries like Nigeria – portrayed as a country of corruption and human rights abuses – and France for its controversial nuclear tests.

Every attempt has been made to get New Zealanders excited about the meeting. But there are the cynics whose complaints range from the event being a waste of money to it causing unnecessary traffic jams.

Again comment from a most reputable source, a taxi driver. Driving from the City Hall, where the meeting is being held, Robbie Wilson asked mischievously: "Do you know what CHOGM stands for? It stands for Cheap Holidays On Government Money."

Laughing at his own joke, he added: "No, Change the word Cheap to Comfortable!" This time he almost doubled over with laughter.

To try and get the people of the city excited and less cynical, Auckland took out a full-page advert in a daily newspaper. It said the meeting represented "Our day in the sun".

"It is the most significant international event to take place in Auckland," it declared. "So what are we getting all stirred up about? Certainly there may be some problems with traffic and parking, but the benefits far outweigh these."

The next few days promise to be exciting. At least for South Africa if not Nigeria.



President Nelson Mandela is a hit at the Commonwealth meeting in New Zealand.

ANC, NP meet as IFP softens stance on negotiations boycott

Star 10/11/95 (304A)

Cape Town – The ANC and the National Party held a top-level meeting in Cape Town last night amid growing signs that the IFP might end its boycott of constitutional negotiations.

The meeting was expected to explore possible ANC concessions on federalism aimed at luring the IFP back to multiparty negotiations on a final constitution for SA.

The bilateral meeting follows the penultimate day of discussions in Parliament by the multiparty constitutional committee before a draft of the final constitution is published for public comment.

NP and IFP sources said the two parties, possibly with the DP's backing, hoped to finalise a strongly federal – as opposed to confederal – provincial constitution for KwaZulu Natal before the end of the year.

This follows surprising progress at bilateral meetings involving the NP, IFP, ANC and DP in KwaZulu Natal in recent weeks.

Last night's meeting between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and NP leader in KwaZulu Natal Danie Schutte was to discuss the provincial constitution and prospects of drawing the IFP back into discussions on the final national constitution, due to be finalised in the next few months.

Despite its stayaway, the IFP has been tracking developments in negotiations for a final constitution. Other parties believe it may be tempted to rejoin the negotiations formally if the ANC adopts a conciliatory line on the proposed provincial constitution. – Own Correspondent.

'We won't stand aside' – Mandela

(304A)

Commonwealth may decide to send eminent persons group

Star 10/11/95

Auckland – A day after Nigeria upheld the death sentence of a prominent human-rights activist, President Nelson Mandela today told the Commonwealth summit here that the world could not tolerate oppression and tyranny.

South Africans "will not stand aside when any people anywhere in the world become victim to systematic racism, oppression and tyranny," Mandela said.

Although he did not name Nigeria in today's speech, Mandela yesterday said of that country: "If, of course, persuasion does not succeed, then there will be time enough to consider other options."

The Commonwealth leaders are considering a united appeal for clemency to spare the life of prominent Nigerian playwright and political activist Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other men, and they may threaten Nigeria with sanctions.

The Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku of Nigeria, said he expected the group to come up with "a concrete action programme, not just rhetorical assertions".

New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger said the world leaders were also considering a united call for clemency.

Saro-Wiwa (54) has campaigned on behalf of the 500 000 Ogoni people who live in Nigeria's oil-rich south, who say their land and water are being destroyed by oil-industry pollution. Oil accounts for about 80% of Nigeria's export income, and critics of the industry are often silenced.

Saro-Wiwa was found guilty on October 31 of participating in the killings of four men during a political rally in May 1994 where he was to speak.

JOHN SELKIRK / AP



Formality ... Maori Elder Hugh Kawharu performs a "Hongi", a traditional Maori greeting which involves pressing noses together, with President Nelson Mandela at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Auckland earlier today.

Nigeria has not said when Saro-Wiwa and the eight other members of the minority Ogoni group will be executed.

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe said yesterday that the verdict was "shocking to everybody". He said the exclusion or temporary suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth would be discussed.

Britain condemned the death sentences and the Foreign Office said Nigeria's representative in London would be summoned on Thursday.

"It was a bad trial, a bad judgment, an unjust sentence," British Prime Minister John Major said.

Washington denounced the death sentences and said Nigeria must make a "swift and credible" move towards democracy.

The heads of state today discussed sending an eminent persons group to Nigeria.

Sources close to Mandela said the president and Mugabe were likely to be in the delegation.

■ Commonwealth officials sought today to settle on appropriate language to use to condemn French nuclear testing, after a succession of countries spoke out angrily on the first day of their summit, a Commonwealth spokesman said.

Throw Nigeria out if it won't behave – Tutu

Cape Town – Archbishop Desmond Tutu urged the Commonwealth yesterday to expel Nigeria if condemned opposition leader Ken Saro-Wiwa is not freed by the end of the year.

Tutu said in a statement the world needed to increase the pressure on Nigeria's military rulers.

"I therefore call for Nigeria to be expelled from the Commonwealth, and for that body to lead the way in imposing comprehensive economic, sporting and cultural sanctions on the military regime if it does not reverse its current policies by the end of the year.

"I appeal to the Commonwealth leaders to formulate ... an ultimatum, which would include, at the minimum, the release of Chief Moshood Abiola, General Olusegun Obasanjo and Mr Saro-Wiwa ... and a commitment to negotiate with them and other Nigerian leaders a return to democratic rule."

Tutu intervened in April to save the lives of Nigerian opposition leaders then under sentence of death.

He accused Abacha of "cocking a snoot at the Commonwealth heads of government".

"It has become increasingly clear to me ... that much stronger international pressure against the government is needed in the interests of the Nigerian people," he said. – Reuters.

Witchhunt? I don't know – Mufamadi

(304A)

ARG 11/11/95

■ Safety and Security Minister Sydnney Mufamadi has denied knowledge of police investigations of F W De Klerk, Pik Botha and Roelf Meyer.

JOHANNESBURG. — Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi has denied that he knew of top National Party leaders being investigated for hit-squad activities.

"I have taken note of speculation in the Press that Deputy President F W de Klerk, minister Roelf Meyer and minister Pik Botha are targets for possible prosecution in respect of hit-squad activities," Mr Mufamadi said.

"Nothing that I have said to the media can justify this inference," he said, adding that the reports had no foundation.

Mr Mufamadi said that while he could not predict the future, he was unaware of a police investigation of the three leaders or their involvement with criminal activities.

Finance Week magazine has published an interview with Mr Mufamadi in which he was quoted as saying he doubted that former defence minister Magnus Malan, who with 17 other people faces charges of complicity in the murder of 13 people in KwaZulu-Natal in 1987, acted alone.

"It is difficult to imagine that Malan acted on his own without the knowledge or support of not only fellow-members of cabinet on the security council, but the heads of various services such as the intelligence and police services," Mr Mufamadi is quoted as saying.

Finance Week suggested Mr Mufamadi's comments could be interpreted to mean that Mr De Klerk, Mr Botha and Mr Meyer could face charges.

In the interview with the magazine, Mr Mufamadi also said Inkatha Freedom Party officials, including party leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could also be indicted.

Mr Mufamadi said it was difficult to imagine there was no inter-cabinet discussion between the former South African government and the then government of KwaZulu.

There would be no indemnity or amnesty for those charged as they could have indemnified themselves from prosecution by testifying before the Goldstone Commission, Mr Mufamadi said.

Reacting to Press reports, the NP called Mr Mufamadi "another passenger on the murder wagon against reconciliation" and said the African National Congress's apparent witchhunt against NP members was destroying the country.

"Nobody wants everything achieved in South Africa during the past 20 months to be destroyed within two months," the NP said.

"However, the ANC is creating a climate that is making this a possibility."

The ANC later said it was highly "improbable" that the former state security council knew nothing of third-force activities.

"It is highly improbable, as suggested by minister Sydney Mufamadi, that such a strategy could have been implemented without the official sanction of the state security council, the alleged mastermind behind the total-onslaught strategy and several other nefarious projects against ANC leaders and activists," the ANC said.

The ANC said it supported Mr Mufamadi's ministry for trying to unearth criminals of the past and that investigations should be carried out "no matter how high it leads". — Sapa.

First draft of final SA constitution approved

ARG 11/11/96 B04A

POST-APARTHEID constitution writers have approved a first draft of a final blueprint for majority rule, but key issues including the powers of provincial governments remain unresolved.

The constitutional committee yesterday approved a 114-page draft for publication on Wednesday.

This will be followed by three months of public discussion.

Constitutional assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa told delegates: "This is a working draft. The words working and draft are operative, they are important. The public will have to know that this is a work in progress."

The constitutional assembly, comprising 490 members of parliament, has until May 10 next year to finalise a permanent post-apartheid constitution.

The deadline set in the interim constitution will mark the second anniversary of President Mandela's installation as the first black president.

The draft adopted yesterday was crafted and approved without the help of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, which walked out of the assembly earlier this year.

Inkatha, a partner in the government of national unity, is pressing for international mediation on its constitutional demands, which focus on provisions for virtual autonomy in KwaZulu/Natal.

The draft approved yesterday includes a detailed Bill of Rights guaranteeing racial and gender equality, the right to life and liberty, freedom of movement, expression and religion and the right to work and to own property.

But, it also includes blank pages and options reflecting unresolved differences between the African National Congress and the National Party.

Democratic Party negotiator Ken Andrew said: "This is just a discussion document.

"On every crucial issue there are either options or one or more parties has reserved its position."

This was in no way an indication of the direction in which South Africa ultimately would go, he said.

Neil Coleman, parliamentary observer for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), said the document would form the basis of extensive debate over the next three months.

"There is going to be an intense period of discussion and mobilisation between now and February. There are some hard choices that need to be made," he said.

Members of the constitutional committee, a sub-committee of the decision-making constitutional assembly, failed to reach agreement on the name, powers and functions of a second chamber of parliament to represent the interests of nine provincial governents.

The draft will be published with contradictory options reflecting the views of the ANC and the NP.

Delegates also agreed to list rival options on details of the right to own property, with the ANC proposing that compensation for expropriation should be determined partly on the basis of the State's ability to pay.

Details that have remained unresolved after nearly 18 months of negotiation include the final seat of parliament as well as the national anthem.

Mr Ramaphosa said the draft would be published in various languages and the constitutional assembly would accept public comments and submissions until February 20 next year. — Reuter.

Government not hit with English-speakers

JEAN LE MAY
Staff Reporter

MIDDLE-AGED, white English-speaking males who support the Democratic Party are less likely to be tolerant of the government messing things up than any other group.

This was found in a national poll of 4 001 urban and rural adults conducted last month for Independent Newspapers by Johannesburg-based Media and Marketing Research.

The finding will probably please SABC boss Govin Reddy, who in defending the new English-language channel on SAfm described "white, middle-class, middle-aged English-speaking males" as "birds of a colonial feather battling to come to grips with the new, non-racial SA".

The MMR poll found that DP supporters were becoming less tolerant of the government than other groups.

Eighty percent of them said the quality of their lives had deteriorated since the general election, compared to an average of eight percent of those polled. The crime problem was linked to this belief.

MMR attributed DP supporters' "higher levels of negativity" to "their very high education levels" — six out of 10 of them had post-matric qualifications compared with a national average of one in 10.

But Mr Reddy's "new, non-racial SA" did not fare too well in the poll, either.

"Voter choice appears to be mainly on a racial basis," said the report.

"A few weeks before the elections it was found that most of the larger parties appealed largely to one racial group. The exception to this was the National Party — one-third of its supporters were coloured."

Both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party had a 96 percent black support base, while the DP was 85 percent white.

Language was another powerful factor. Ninety-six percent of IFP supporters were Zulu-speaking, while Afrikaans was the home language of 80 percent of Freedom Front supporters and of 70 percent of NP supporters.

■ Eight out of 10 people polled in a national survey were prepared to give the government plenty of time to "put things right", but white English-speaking men were the least tolerant.

As for the DP, 80 percent of its supporters spoke English.

"Only the ANC appealed to a wide range of language groups — its supporters were 29 percent Xhosa, 24 percent Zulu, 13 percent Tswana, 12 percent South Sotho and 10 percent Pedi (North Sotho). The remaining 15 percent was made up of other language groups."

Gender profiles also emerged from the poll: while the ANC, the NP and the IFP attracted equal numbers of male and female, 67 percent of DP supporters and 57 percent of FF supporters were males.

The IFP had the lowest education level, with more than half their voters either never having gone to school or having dropped out of primary school.

On the whole, the electorate appeared to see the government not delivering adequately on housing and job creation.

Although people polled were relatively less concerned about schooling and crime than about housing and jobs, these perceptions were once again racially based.

Blacks and whites have the opposite views on crime and schooling. Almost half were optimistic about crime levels, saying "the police will soon be able to deal with crime properly". However, whites were far more pessimistic about crime prevention in the near future.

About six out of 10 people polled believed that "all children were now able get good schooling".

Job-creation was an issue for everybody, with only two out of 10 saying the government was doing enough.

Similarly, only three out of 10 people believed that enough houses were being built. Coloureds and Indians were less critical than whites and blacks on this issue.

Frustration as ho-hum leaders hamper PAC

(304A) ARLT 11/11/95

■ The PAC's poor showing in recent local elections has been partly blamed on its "boring" leader, Clarence Makwetu.

MXOLISI MGXASHE
Staff Reporter

PAN Africanist Congress leader Clarence Mlamli Makwetu has been dubbed one the the country's most boring leaders.

But he totally rejects claims that his party is heading for the scrapheap because of his "unimpressive and boring" leadership.

Examples of his "ho-hum" leadership include his insistence on speaking Xhosa to mainly Afrikaans-speaking audiences. And he has been accused of refusing to dance with anyone except his wife.

The accusations follow the PAC's humiliation in elections last year and this month. Many analysts inside and outside the PAC attributed this, among other things, to what they see as a weak leadership, particularly in the presidency of Mr Makwetu.

Journalists who covered last year's election often portray what they perceived to have been Mr Makwetu's "cold and uninspiring leadership" which could not match President Nelson Mandela's charisma.

This has brought on to the PAC scene a relatively unknown leadership contender, Motsoko Pheko, a former PAC chief representative at the United Nations.

Dr Pheko, on a visit to South Africa from New York, was persuaded by anti-Makwetu forces in the PAC to contest the presidency during the party's congress in Mmabatho in December last year.

Mr Makwetu, who seems to have a significant following among PAC members from the Eastern Cape including some now permanently resident in Cape Town, beat Dr Pheko, who subsequently was elected deputy president, by a narrow margin.

His re-election seemed to have added more frustration to those in the PAC who wanted him out. And his determination to remain the president of the organisation irrespective of what people think and say about him, some people feel, is "quite insensitive".

During the campaign for the recent local government elections, PAC members became disgruntled with their leaders for "not rising to the occasion".

One PAC member has talked of a fund-raising function in Steenberg where he said Mr Makwetu disappointed the big crowd by refusing a request by a woman supporter to dance, saying he only danced with his wife.



CLARENCE MAKWETU

"It's not true. Nobody can accuse me of having refused to dance. It's true I used to be a professional ballroom dancer. I did not have a wife then, so what do they mean?," responded Mr Makwetu.

Answering allegations that he spoke in Xhosa to a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking audience in Grabouw, the PAC president said Xhosa was also an official language and as such it also deserved the same prominence as the other official languages.

He, however, expressed surprise that even PAC members could say all these unfavourable things about him behind his back when the party's constitution allowed each and every member to criticise fearlessly in the open.

But a deeper analysis of the PAC problems and its poor perfomance in the post-apartheld South Africa was made by a former national executive member of the organisation who has since gone back to his former job as a university lecturer. For "tactical reasons" he preferred not to be identified.

"PAC's performance as an organisation has been, to say the least, disastrous. And the most unfortuante thing is that the organisation, at least on paper, does have very sound ideas about which was the country should move. But unfortunately it has no leadership, no public image because of its poor perfomance.

"Lots of people, who support PAC for its militant history, particularly the brilliant philosophical articulation demonstrated by a leader such as Sobukwe and Zeph Mothopeng, for instance, have been terribly let down by the negative image the organisation has.

"Some people say 'we do understand the seriousness of the issues raised by PAC sometimes', but they are not sure that PAC, if voted into power, would manage to implement what it is now saying, considering the failure by the leadership to organise," the PAC stalwart said.

But the PAC president still thinks that everybody else is merely "talking by heart". He does not seem to see the party's problems and disorganisation as a reflection of bad and incompetent leadership.

Mr Makwetu blames the media for ignoring the PAC and concentrating only on the ANC, the IFP and other smaller groups.

"For instance, on the day the budget was unveiled, the media — which had seemed interested in knowing what we thought about issues even though they may not publicise our views that frequently — passed me in the corridors while it was trying very desperately to have audience with the IFP.

"We are not unfriendly to the media, despite allegations to that effect. But we do not understand how politicians like Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who frequently attacks the press very severely, should still be seen as more of a newsmaker than us, for instance.

"Gatsha will sweat at you people, but the first thing in the morning you will be knocking at his door begging for an interview with him. What do you call that?" he asked.

He said it was evident that the media did not like the PAC and what it stood for and it was committed to promoting only those who did not serve the interests of the people of South Africa.

"Now, how do you expect the PAC to be strong and perfom brilliantly when the media shies away from it and refuse it the opportunity of letting the people know it exists and has ideas for development?"

But, according to one PAC MP, who is "sick and fed up" with the poor political performance of the PAC leadership, the problem is not with the media.

"What can the media publicise when we are not doing anything, when our leader does not give us the direction we expect from him, and who instead goes to his farm sometimes, and leaves us here sweating it out? Makwetu is one of the leading absentee members of our parliament," he said.

He said if PAC members could think of anyone who would provide better leadership they would long have removed their current president. The big problem is, they cannot find anyone else.

People like the party's former vice-president Dikgang Moseneke and others who could save the situation, some observers believe, would not want to sacrifice their lucrative jobs and financial interests for an organisation that did not seem to have much of a political future.

Volkstaters seek inspiration abroad

By CHERILYN IRETON
London

THE dream of an Afrikaner homeland lives on, courtesy of a modest input from taxpayers.

While right-wing parties were being trounced at the polls in the local elections, a team from the government-appointed and funded Volkstaatraad was travelling Europe, searching for input that would help their dream become a reality.

The four-man team, headed by chairman Johan Wingard, spent the last two weeks in Switzerland, Belgium, Germany and London, quizzing academics, politicians and constitutional experts on self-determination, ethnic minorities and conflict resolution.

They wanted ideas on how best to ease Afrikaner fears by offering self-government in a Volkstaat.

The Freedom Front, headed by Constand Viljoen, went into the local elections on a ticket promising an Afrikaner homeland. But the party failed to win a single seat in Pretoria, which had been demarcated as the Volkstaat capital, and garnered only 4,03 percent of the overall vote.

This was interpreted by most right-wing parties as a blow for self-determination, but Mr Wingard was undeterred this week.

"The election was fought on local issues. It would be different if it was a national cause," he said.

Had the question of a Volkstaat been put to voters, the results would have been sharply higher.

The Volkstaatraad is to provide the Freedom Front with a model for the homeland which will be presented at meetings with the ANC this week.

"We are also proceeding with an opinion survey in the demarcated area and will have the results later in November," Mr Wingard said. Hopes are that the framework for a homeland will be included in the new constitution.

Mr Wingard said the overseas trip was being paid for out of the Volkstaatraad's budget.

"But cost is not an issue. We have spent so little of our budget. Afrikaners are modest people and we should have small change from R50 000 after this trip," he said

His travelling companions included Professor Hercules Booysen, Piet Liebenberg and J J van der Merwe from the Department of Constitutional Development.



DREAMING OF A WHITE HOMELAND . . . Johan Wingard on the banks of the Thames Picture: DAVID SANDISON

ST 12/11/95 (30A)

HANGINGS SPARK PUNITIVE MEASURES

Tough new code for Commonwealth

BCT 13/11/95
304A

LONDON: Commonwealth leaders have drawn up a mechanism for suspending and expelling members that flout its values.

THE hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa has done more to galvanise the Commonwealth into a real enforcement of its proclaimed ideals than any declarations on good government and gentlemen's agreements to express criticism quietly.

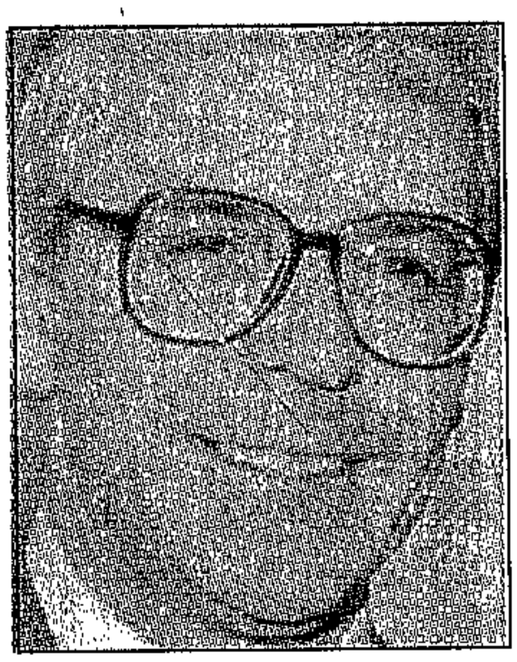
For the first time, the Commonwealth has agreed on punitive measures to be enforced against rogue states.

It has made explicit its abhorrence of all military regimes. It has drawn up a formal mechanism for suspending and expelling nations that flout its values. It has convinced even its more reluctant members that there are limits to quiet diplomacy.

The outcome will significantly change the atmosphere in the club, mostly for the better.

It will reassure public opinion in the older democracies, especially Britain, Canada and Australia, that justice is colour-blind and that no concessions on essential human rights are being made to developing countries.

The changes will also instil respect in those countries, like Gambia and Kenya, that are near



ARMS BAN: British Prime Minister Mr John Major

the thresholds of Commonwealth tolerance.

The adoption of the new code will also make the position of the Commonwealth secretariat, and especially of Chief Emeka Anyaoku, less ambiguous. Now Chief Anyaoku can simply point to the new rules in warning rogue states and junta leaders to clean up their governments.

Meanwhile, in London, President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, were the subjects of unprecedented criticism yesterday after South Africa's failure to intervene forcefully in the hanging of Nigerian activist Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other activists in Port Harcourt last week.

Commentators said they were mystified by Mr Mandela's apparent failure to exert the full weight of his authority and South Africa's influence on Nigeria's military dictators.

Mr Mandela initially said that he favoured diplomacy to try to save the men. After their executions he led calls for for Nigeria's suspension from the Commonwealth.

"Too little, too late" was the most common headline comment this weekend.

In Lagos, a defiant government-backed News Agency of Nigeria said yesterday that the Commonwealth suspension amounted to unfair meddling in the internal affairs of the West African nation.

President Sani Abacha's spokesman, Mr David Attah, told the BBC in an interview that Nigeria's commitment to democracy was "impeccable".

In fresh moves against Nigeria yesterday, Prime Minister Mr John Major banned British arms sales to Nigeria.

The European Commission suspended development aid to Nigeria and recalled its delegation chief from Lagos as well the ambassadors of its 15 member countries.

The EU is also to recommend that countries impose "further restrictive measures". — The Times, London, Sapa-Reuter-AFP

Commonwealth taken into new era – Bolger

Star 13/11/95

World body agrees on forms of disciplinary action against member states who are guilty of human rights abuses (304A)

MARTIN HUNTER/AP

THE INDEPENDENT
Auckland



Together we stand ... Nigerian human rights lawyers Olawale Fapohunda (left) and Innocent Chukwuma outside the Aotea Centre in Auckland yesterday after a press conference welcoming the Commonwealth's decision to suspend Nigeria.

The Commonwealth yesterday agreed to a package of measures which creates the framework for the expulsion of member states and for economic sanctions if they fail to meet basic democratic norms.

Agreement of some kind of human rights package was on the agenda even before the execution of the Nigerian writer Ken Saro-Wiwa on Friday. But officials admitted that his death had "galvanised" Commonwealth leaders, serving as a deadly reminder of the need to act.

The programme accepted at the resort of Millbrook in New Zealand is intended to give teeth to the Harare declaration of 1991 which emphasised the importance of human rights and democracy.

A series of Commonwealth responses could range from collective disapproval and bilateral *démarches* by member countries, to exclusion from high-level Commonwealth meetings, to suspension, sanctions and expulsion.

Eight foreign ministers will head a special group to assess infringements and recommend action.

On Saturday, Commonwealth leaders responded to the hanging of Saro-Wiwa and eight others by suspending Nigeria's membership. It is still unclear whether this will make Nigeria more malleable, or whether the country will simply decide to walk out of the Commonwealth entirely.

Nigeria has traditionally been one of the most important members of the organisation. Current Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku is a former Nigerian foreign minister.

Nigeria can be expelled in due course if more than 40 prisoners – including the apparent winner of the 1993 elections, Chief Moshood Abiola – are not released from jail.

Chief Anyaoku yesterday welcomed the actions taken by the Commonwealth against his country.

"What happened this weekend was bound to happen because the credibility of the Commonwealth was put in question," he said.

New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger , hosting the summit, said yesterday's agreement contained "far-reaching decisions" and "takes the Commonwealth into a new era".

The Millbrook Commonwealth Action Programme now defines the responses when a country is "clearly in violation" of the Harare declaration.

Delegates described the Commonwealth move as "removing Nigeria completely as a force of influence" in politics.

Constitution to be 'stretched'

(304A) ARG 15/11/95

TYRONE SEALE
Political Staff

WELLINGTON (New Zealand). — The South African government is seeking to stretch to their very limits the provisions in the interim constitution on free speech, freedom of the media and other human rights, says President Mandela.

In the keynote address at the 125th anniversary dinner of the New Zealand parliamentary Press gallery, Mr Mandela said the government prided itself on the recognition of the right to free speech, media freedom and other rights.

The government had gone further — drafting a freedom of information bill to realise its commitment to open and accountable government.

"In doing so we are, firstly, seeking to stretch to their very limits the provisions in the interim constitution. Secondly, we intend to expunge unnecessary limitations when the new constitution is drafted."

He said that if freedom of expression was to be given real meaning, people should have the right not only to hear what others said, but also to be be heard themselves.

In this context the prime challenge was to ensure a variety of voices in both the print and electronic media.

"This arises in part because we have, as in other areas of endeavour, inherited a structure of media ownership and management skewed by apartheid."

Mr Mandela paid tribute to the New Zealand media — "a distinguished part of the legion of anti-apartheid warriors" — for being "a tower of strength in the midst of adversity".

"You shared the trenches with us and ensured that a crime against humanity was buried forever."

He said that in New Zealand, South Africa had enthusiastic partners in pursuit of democracy, human rights, socio-economic advancement, peace and staunch opposition to nuclear weapons and tests.

AWB leader lashes out at GNU

ARG 15/11/95

PRETORIA. — The government's failure to deliver on pre-election promises would bring about its downfall, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said.

President Nelson Mandela, Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale and Minister Without Portfolio Jay Naidoo were not capable of keeping their promises, Mr Terre'Blance said.

"They cannot build houses and provide electricity and water to the millions they promised it to," he told a 700-strong AWB meeting here.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the government's "other main enemy" was its inability to grant the Zulu and Boer nations their independence. He said Mr Mandela had the ability to bring peace to South Africa: "He can bring peace and prosperity to the country by granting each nation its right to be free." — Sapa.

(304A)

ANC may shun constitution role

CT 15/11/95 (304A)

DURBAN: ANC negotiators, accusing Inkatha of "ramming through" a draft constitution, said yesterday they would review their participation in kwaZulu/Natal's constitutional committee.

Inkatha, which holds a slim majority in the provincial parliament and in the committee, forced a vote binding parties to consider a draft document, drawn up with the National Party, as the basis for further constitutional talks.

"We're going to review our participation," ANC MP Mr Dumisani Makhaye told the meeting.

The ANC's Mr John Jeffrey told reporters the party's future in the troubled drafting of the constitution would be discussed at a provincial caucus meeting tomorrow.

"The decision will have to come from caucus. The IFP is trying to ram through its proposals," he said.

Most of the other parties, except the NP, argued during acrimonious debate that the document was neither negotiated nor neutral.

At one stage, committee chairman Mr Mike Tarr threatened to throw out angry ANC members who shouted down arguments by Inkatha and NP members that the document be used for further discussion.

The ANC's Ms Ina Cronje said the draft was merely another version of Inkatha's strongly federalist constitutional principles, rejected by most parties in the committee earlier this year.

"You won't convince us again. We want a document that we can all buy into," she said.

Support

Mr Jeffrey reminded Inkatha members they required two-thirds support in the provincial legislature — all the other parties except the ANC — to adopt a final provincial constitution.

He said later it was unlikely Inkatha would achieve this as it was "isolating" itself.

The Democratic Party's Mr Wessel Nel said he was dismayed at the lack of progress in drafting the provincial constitution and, referring to the proceedings, quipped: "The next time Boswell (circus) comes to town, I'll save my money and come to one of these (meetings) instead." — Reuter

Concern over sponsored trips abroad for MPs

Star 15/11/95 (304A)

Call for parliamentary ethics committee to act as M-Net set to take nine MPs to Europe

BY MICHAEL SPARKS

Parliamentary watchdogs have called for the parliamentary ethics committee to address the issue of companies providing trips for MPs to travel overseas, because nine members of the parliamentary committee on broadcasting are being taken to Europe by M-Net.

Richard Calland, head of the Parliamentary Information and Monitoring Service for the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, said the trip presented a "clear conflict of interest" for those who played a role in regulating the broadcasting industry to have the entire week-long trip paid for by a major broadcaster.

"I do not criticise personally the people who are going, but it does demonstrate the urgent need for an ethics code which deals with these kind of issues where parliamentarians are in a conflict-of-interest position," Calland said.

Neil Coleman who heads the parliamentary office of Cosatu questioned what rules were in place "to prevent business interests from exercising undue influence over MPs in an area in their own interests".

He added: "It rings hollow to suggest there is no relationship between such trips and possible legislation. There is a clear relationship."

But M-Net chief executive Gerrie de Villiers denied there was anything underhand in the trip, saying the invitation had been done completely openly and had been approved by the parliamentary Speaker.

De Villiers said the trip was "an example of private industry contributing to the knowledge of an under-resourced Parliament".

Broadcasting committee chairman Saki Macozoma said from Jerusalem he totally rejected the existence of any ethical conflict.

"We are not going to the Bahamas on holiday. Our intention is to meet the European Union, mostly dealing with regulation, and to discuss directly their experiences of television without borders."

Unit will check govt discipline

BD 16/11/95(49) 304A

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Cabinet has approved the creation of an "expenditure evaluation unit" as part of its commitment to fiscal discipline in government.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel said after yesterday's Cabinet meeting in Pretoria that the objective of the unit would be to identify savings in government spending and thus support the government of national unity in achieving its fiscal goals within the budget.

He said the unit would have to evaluate budgets and functions of all government agencies which spent money "outside the normal budget cycle".

This would help the unit identify real cash savings, expenditure not aimed at reconstruction and development programme goals, duplication of expenditure or government functions, and any stumbling blocks or blockages preventing savings being made.

"The creation of this unit underlines government's continuing commitment to fiscal discipline," Gerwel said.

Gerwel also announced that the Cabinet had approved the formation of a national investment promotion agency.

The agency, to be named the Investment Centre, will be established as a section 21 company and will have as its main functions the co-ordination of investment promotion activities, the promotion of SA as an investment destination and the development of a partnership with business, labour and parastatals in devising investment promotion strategies.

Other interest groups will sit on the Investment Centre's board with government representatives.

Two White Papers — on the transformation of the public service and social welfare — were also approved by the Cabinet.

Gerwel said the public would be given lengthy periods to comment on these policy documents.

Political parties to get major financial boost

CT 16/11/95 (304A)

BARRY STREEK,
POLITICAL STAFF

A MAJOR boost in support for political parties — costing an extra R5,1 million for 122 new staff — and for staff and resources for parliamentary committees, was announced yesterday by the Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Frene Ginwala.

She also said agreement had been reached on defined terms to seek R82,5m in donor aid to promote efficiency and greater accessibility by ordinary people to the parliamentary process.

The increases to the political parties, based on the proportion of support received in 1994 elections, will result in the ANC receiving a total of R4,9m, enabling it to have an extra 51 secretaries and 26 administrative assistants.

The NP will receive a total of R1,555m, enabling it to have an extra 16 secretaries and eight administrative assistants, the IFP R777 000, an extra eight secretaries and four administrative assistants, the Freedom Front R213 000, an extra two secretaries and one administrative assistant, the Democratic Party R203 000, an extra two secretaries and one administrative assistant, the PAC and ACDP R118 000, an extra secretary and an extra administrative assistant.

Dr Ginwala told a press briefing that the committee section staff would be increased from 16 to 120 by early next year.

Priorities

This staff, to be housed in the Parliament Towers building in Plein Street, would be divided into 20 units to support the various parliamentary committees.

Important committees such as the finance and public accounts committees would get their own dedicated units of four staff members each.

For funding, Parliament had had to wait its turn in the queue of national priorities such as housing and jobs, and it had to raise donor funding.

About R82,5m would be raised over two years, under strict conditions approved by national assembly whips.

The ongoing costs of any projects would have to be phased into the parliamentary budget over three years.

A European Union appraisal team was expected in South Africa soon to investigate further support measures for Parliament and the provincial legislatures dedicated units of four staffers each.

Dr Ginwala also announced new training facilities for MPs, senators and parliamentary staff, the installation of a language laboratory by March, to enable parliamentarians to learn any of the 11 official languages, improved facilities and computer equipment in Parliament, including the introduction of e-mail, and the establishment of a human resources department.

Private funding for Parliament 'limited'

PARLIAMENT should only receive private funding for limited and short-term purposes, the whips of the political parties had decided, the Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Frene Ginwala, said yesterday.

They had decided on July 10 this year that "as a matter of policy, Parliament should be funded from the public purse".

However, while Parliament could solicit and receive private funding this should be a matter of public knowledge, for a limited period "to ensure that Parliament is not dependent on private funding", and for purposes determined by Parliament.

—Political Staff

ET 16/11/95

(304A)

R82,5-m to boost efficiency in Parliament

122 extra staff, mainly secretaries and administrative support, will be hired

(304A) Star 16/11/95

OWN CORRESPONDENT
Cape Town

Parliament is to hire 122 extra staff members as part of an R82,5-million programme to boost its efficiency. The staff, mainly secretaries and administrative support staff, will be allocated to parties proportionately.

While parties will be allowed to choose whom they hire, Parliament will vet appointees to ensure they meet public service qualification requirements. Appointments will be on contract.

Parliament has agreed to waive the principle that its running should come solely from public funds. Private donors will be sought by the Government, on the understanding that Parliament will decide how the money is used.

Other measures announced yesterday include:

- The setting up of an Office for Transformation and Democratisation of Parliament.
- The appointment of a head of an international relations department.
- A new policy on tenders, with tenders being broken down to give smaller companies a better chance, and preference being given to companies that have formed partnerships to empower the previously disadvantaged.
- The allocation of R100 000 to trade unions, for training of union staff. Parliamentary management will negotiate with unions about how the money is to be used.
- The establishment of an Office of the Leader of the House which follows difficulties earlier this year because of the too heavy workload carried by the leader of the national assembly, Trevor Manuel, who is also a cabinet minister.
- A language laboratory, to be set up by March, to allow MPs to learn any of the 11 official languages.
- Training programmes in computer skills, while parliament will get e-mail facilities and will be linked to the Internet.

Announcing the measures yesterday, Speaker of the National Assembly Dr Frene Ginwala said the new Parliament had had a problem with a lack of resources to support its commitment to transformation.

The problem could have been solved by Parliament exercising its power to "vote itself any amount of money" but this had not been done in order for it to stay within national priorities.

Ginwala said donor funding had been agreed to only under condition that it was an interim measure and that there would be no future impact on the national treasury.

Programmes, including some in addition to those disclosed, would be phased in over the next three years.

A European Union appraisal team is expected in the country soon to decide on support for national and provincial legislatures.

Ginwala said the future system for allocation of staff would be that, at the end of each election, parties would be allowed staff in proportion to their support at the polls.

Parties would have some discretion about, for example, hiring a research officer instead of two secretaries. Staff and all equipment given to parties would remain the property of Parliament.

The committee section is to be reorganised. The section, which had only 16 members at the inception of the new Parliament, will have 70 by January and 126 by next year's session.

These will be organised into units with each unit allocated to certain committees. Committees with particularly heavy workloads like the joint committee on finance and the joint committee on public accounts will have their own units.

So will the statutory committees on defence and intelligence.

Ginwala said there would be some flexibility in the system to allow for staff to be assigned to ad hoc committees. She said affirmative action had been applied in staff appointments which had been made already.

In senior management of staff already appointed, about 74% were black and about 48% were women. This was in contrast to the inherited senior staff, of whom 72% were white men.

NP congress to consider new name

BD 17/11/95 (253) (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — A new name for the NP is again on the agenda for its Western Cape congress to be held in Somerset West tomorrow.

It is almost certain that the NP will also reflect on apparent gains made in the Western Cape by the ANC in the recent local government elections.

The party's national leader, Deputy President FW de Klerk, will not be able to attend the congress as he is on official business in Europe.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who was at the centre of the demarcation row in the Western Cape which saw NP premier Hernus Kriel take the government of national unity to the Constitutional Court will be present at the one-day congress.

On the agenda is a discussion of the devolution of power to the provinces. It was the contention of Kriel's provincial government that local government regulations intruded on the constitutional rights of the provinces.

In a resolution from the Montagu branch the head council of the party was asked "to again reflect on the name of the party".

There were suggestions at the NP's recent Eastern Cape congress that a new name should be found.

However, in the past these suggestions have been rejected by the leadership of the party.

Also on the agenda for "in-depth discussion" is the crime situation in the country, the lack of economic growth and the NP's role in the government of national unity.

The PAC death trail

There are questions about the string of mysterious deaths plaguing the PAC. **Pamela Dube** and **Themba Molefe** of *Sowetan*'s Political Staff report

Sowetan 17/11/95 (304A) (25?)



On the casualty list ... former PAC leaders Zephania Mothopeng and Jeff Masemola.

"WHO IS NEXT?" That was the question doing the rounds among the young commanders of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) at the funeral of Colonel Bafana "Fani" Yose last weekend.

Many in the Apla high command expressed a sense of loss as well as fear and uncertainty about being in the new security forces.

While the official version is that Yose died in a car accident in Pretoria after he arrived from visiting family members in Lesotho last month, those closer to him refuse to accept this.

They feel that Yose, one of Apla's top intelligence officers in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), was "silenced" by those intent on continuing with secret operations of the disgraced Department of Military Intelligence.

Former Apla commander-in-chief and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) leader Mr Johnson Mlambo told mourners at Yose's funeral in Taung in the North West that his party did not accept the "accident story".

SANDF authorities, he said, "should not just dismiss Bafana's death as an ordinary car accident and should take it upon themselves to conduct serious investigations into the circumstances surrounding his sudden death".

"We cannot afford to lose any more of our commanders," Mlambo said.

Four weeks after Mdluli

Yose's death on October 30 came only four weeks after his close friend and colleague Mr Muziwendoda Mdluli, former National Intelligence Agency (NIA) security head, died under mysterious circumstances.

When Mdluli was discovered in Pretoria with a bullet wound in his forehead on October 1, the South African Police Services said that he had committed suicide.

Mdluli's death and the NIA Deputy Minister Mr Joe Nhlanhla's demand that the matter be investigated raised suspicion that the old order was still in charge.

Investigations into Mdluli's death have since been completed, but inconclusively. According to information, Mdluli did not commit suicide nor was he murdered. So what happened?

The Mdluli case is of particular significance. He was the first Apla commander in this specific chain of events to die by the gun. The PAC was, predictably, suspicious of the circumstances surrounding his death.

Its general secretary Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani contended that Mdluli was lured to his death in a "third force" orchestrated plot.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu added: "It is surprising that Mdluli committed suicide because of serious financial and personal problems. If he wanted to, he could have done so during those dark days in exile."

Yose's car "accident" raises many questions. According to reports, he was heading the NIA's investigations into the circumstances surrounding Mdluli's death.

When he suddenly died, the PAC was a lot poorer, especially because it crippled its thrust in the integration process, both in the military and in the Government.

History of mysterious deaths

The history of the PAC includes a long list of deaths. When founder president Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe died in 1978, a leadership vacuum followed because internal wrangling caused divisions in exile.

The death of Sobukwe's successor, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, after a long illness in 1992, also left the party in disarray. His death can be said to have brought an end to the PAC's true radical leadership.

While the circumstances of the two leaders' deaths could not be questioned, a series of mysterious deaths of other PAC leaders and Apla commanders followed.

Many died in car accidents. PAC leader Mr Jeff Masemola, for instance, died just weeks after his release in 1990 from Robben Island, where he was the longest-serving political prisoner after 27 years.

Called the "Tiger of Azania" by supporters, Masemola had been tipped to take over the presidency from Mothopeng. He was killed when a truck crushed his Volkswagen Beetle in Pretoria.

Apla Commander-in-Chief Mr Sabelo Gqwetha (alias Phama) died in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in a road accident two months before South Africa's historic elections in 1994 .

Phama's death reminded those in the Apla ranks of the "accident" which claimed the life of Mr Vusumuzi "Bra Jesus" Mbatha (alias Mtshelo), who died on 5 November 1984 .

The second-in-command in Apla at the time, he was killed on his way from Tanzania to Zimbabwe under circumstances similar to those of Phama's.

Many are writing off the PAC as a political force, so the question which the young Apla commanders are asking becomes even more pertinent: "Who is next and why?"

And they keep looking over their shoulders. Many of these former freedom fighters, who conquered the worst during the armed struggle, are now living in fear in the same country they fought to emancipate.



Royalty . . . President Nelson Mandela with Maori Queen Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangi Kaahu during his visit to Taurangawae wae Marae near Hamilton on Tuesday.

Mandela given royal treatment

(304A) Sowetan 17/11/95

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

AN historic meeting took place at Turangawaewae Marae this week. President Nelson Mandela, on his official tour of New Zealand, was treated to a secret Maori ceremony accorded to few non-Maoris and was the guest of the Maori queen Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangi Kaahu.

At the Marae, where no tourists are allowed, special permission was granted to the South African delegation to attend and observe the ceremony.

Entering the official tribal lands outside Hamilton, Mandela's motorcade was met by rows of Maoris, chanting and waving fresh ferns. One of the children held a poster saying "Molo Madiba". At the heavily guarded security gates, only specially accredited people were allowed in and everyone else turned back by burly guards. People with cameras were turned away because no photos are allowed on the ceremonial ground.

Queen Te Ata was not allowed to address the function. It is unlawful for women to do so in terms of Maori ceremonial custom. The male elders had to speak on her behalf.

"I am proud of my race but am not racist," an elder said in the Maori tongue. A guiding principle of Maori life is: "My family, my tribe, my nation and humanity."

A number of songs and chants followed, which tell the history of the Maori people. The elder turned to Mandela – seated on a throne-like chair – and said: "Today you grace this Marae for all those things our people stood for: peace, justice and unity."

Tears from heaven

A steady rain fell before the service began, prompting another elder to say sombrely: "Even the heavens shed tears for us and for those South Africans and Maoris who died in the struggle against injustice."

The Maori people are engaged in a bitter dispute to get back their lands which were appropriated by the British.

Amidst colourful dances by young boys and girls, Mandela was presented with gifts by different tribes ranging from paintings to a beautiful carving – reputed to be the two young lovers who started the Maori race.

Possibly the most valuable gift he received was the young dancers' singing of South Africa's national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, almost word perfect. They had apparently spent a full week rehearsing the words of the anthem.

Many of the elders saw the ceremony symbolically as one that "cements our brotherhood and sisterhood with the South African people".

Mandela said: "There are many avenues for co-operation between South Africa and New Zealand. Cultural exchange is one such instance. The Maori culture is known across the world.

"The South African people, deprived for so long of contact with your culture, welcome you with open arms. And they long for you to have closer knowledge of our own culture."

His words struck the right chord. Many Maoris brushed tears from their cheeks. At the end Mandela was treated to a sumptuous lunch with the Queen.

LOCAL ELECTIONS ANALYSIS

Delusions all round

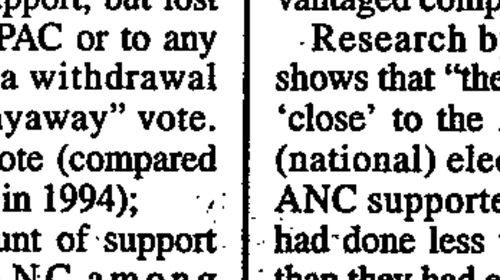
FM 17/11/95 (304A)

The first authoritative assessment of the November 1 community elections indicates that the poll was a failure for democracy, that no political party can draw much comfort from the results and that attempts to re-establish a culture of services payments are unlikely to succeed.

The ANC — which hailed the results as a triumph — actually lost support compared with its showing in 1994.

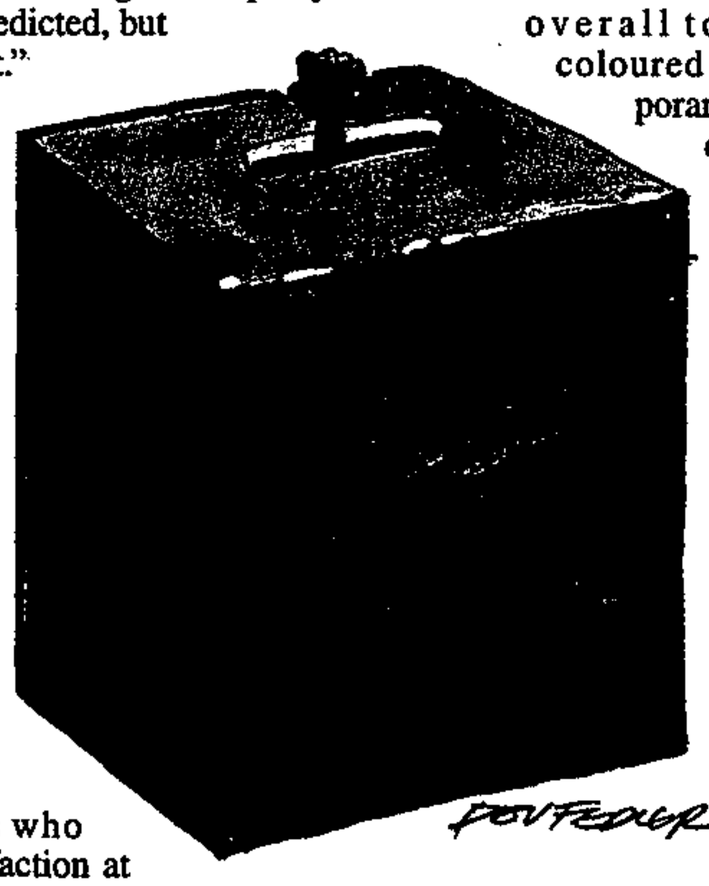
This indictment emerges from a special survey of the results by the highly respected electoral analyst Lawrence Schlemmer — former director of the HSRC and now a private consultant. It will be published in the forthcoming edition of Sacob's *Quarterly Political Notes*. The publication is produced in Cape Town by Sacob's parliamentary information centre.

The Schlemmer report is critical of the slow release of results and the inadequacies of the media in interpreting them. It twice disputes figures used by the Election Task Group and points out: "Much of the media predicted voter apathy, for which they were roundly scolded by senior politicians. In the end, the results showed even greater apathy than the media had predicted, but most failed to notice it."



Schlemmer

Schlemmer uses Central Statistical Service figures to show that, in the areas that voted, there were 17,5m potential voters, of whom 12,68m were registered, but that only 5,3m actually voted. The latter figure represents a 30% rate of participation — or 42% of those registered (the Task Group claimed 51% "... but their calculations are not clear.")



POLITICS 95

Those politicians who have "expressed satisfaction at the response of the voters are deluding themselves," the report notes. "With slightly less than one in three adult residents actually participating, the new local governments have only a qualified claim to legitimacy."

Schlemmer feels, too, that "the organisation of nearly 700 local elections on one day was an almost irresponsible undertaking, particularly when most voters had to register for the first time." He points to the complexity of making comparisons with the April 1994 election — especially the problems created by ward stratification, whereby only 40% of the seats in the new structures were based on proportional representation (PR). And, of course, major electoral contests loom in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

Nonetheless, Schlemmer uses the PR component of the November 1 poll — supplemented by a regular opinion survey conducted by MarkData — to make the following observations:

- The probability is strong that the ANC has lost a small margin of support, but lost support has not gone to the PAC or to any other party but rather into a withdrawal from participation — a "stayaway" vote. The party won 67% of the vote (compared with 72,4% in the same areas in 1994);
- The NP lost a small amount of support overall to the ANC among coloured people and has temporarily lost support to independent candidates, but its underlying national support remains static at slightly less than 20% of the vote;
- The IFP (0,7%) has lost its non-African support, but the MarkData survey suggests that it has consolidated in KwaZulu-Natal (giving it a possible 11% were a general election to be held now);
- The DP (3,2%) and the Freedom Front (4,1%) have slightly increased their national support and could use local government to strengthen their base. Unfortunately for the DP, it tends to lose voters to the NP in national elections; and
- The PAC (1,4%) remains static. To Schlemmer, this suggests that at grass-roots level voting is not about policy — where the PAC does offer a clear alternative to the ANC, vulnerable as that party is to accusations of nondelivery.

These trends predict that the ANC will remain the dominant party in future — but that it will not achieve two-thirds of electoral support. The "apathy vote" is likely to increase.

Schlemmer's report considers the effects of the low poll, which should normally benefit the smaller parties. However, "the poll was so low that one must assume that the more politically conscious and highly mobilised voters across the spectrum would have featured more prominently than was the case in the general election; and hence the ANC might not have been meaningfully disadvantaged compared with the opposition."

Research by Schlemmer (and others) shows that "the proportion of people feeling 'close' to the ANC has declined since the (national) election, and that over 40% of ANC supporters felt that the government had done less well in meeting its promises than they had expected."

The system of ward voting swung a number of towns with relatively small black populations to the ANC.

In the case of the NP's apparent losses, "at least half the 'independents' would normally support the NP in a general election, which would easily restore its support to the levels of 1994." The NP also retains the allegiance of the majority of white Afrikaners, notwithstanding Freedom Front claims to the contrary.

In essence, the Schlemmer report foregrounds the apathy factor, which the Election Task Group has not even mentioned. Schlemmer suggests the possibility of "extraparliamentary" mobilisation among those who chose not to vote, and further comments: "Since the elections were intended to achieve the restoration of the legitimacy of local administration through citizen participation, the results are not encouraging."

That is not what we have been told — until now. ■

MAKGOBA AFFAIR

FM 17/11/95

A tale of two campuses

The dispute over University of the Witwatersrand deputy vice-chancellor William Makgoba raises the question of whether

THE CONSTITUTION — 1

Vague outlines

(304A)
FM 17/11/95

It is planned to distribute 4m copies of the draft constitution scheduled for release this week.

Last week, the key working committee of the Constitutional Assembly (CA) sat for two days in a final attempt to produce a document that was not hedged about with provisos, footnotes and options. They did not succeed.

Nonetheless, the public will for the first time be able to assess the work of the CA and see — vividly — the remaining problems of what many have described as one of the world's most progressive constitutions. The public, too, is likely to pass a collective judgment on the abilities of CA chairman Cyril Ramaphosa (see next story).

Throughout last week's sittings, Ramaphosa repeatedly stressed that what the public would be getting would be a working document — in effect, the third edition of what is termed the Refined Working Draft.

And it would be made plain in an introduction that nothing has been cast in stone, which is why many clauses contain (sometimes contradictory) options, and why entire areas (like the size and functions of the National Assembly and Senate) have been skirted.

In practical terms, public debate is certain to be spurred by the working draft, not least on the burning issue of federalism. The draft also contains the Bill of Rights, though in rather more confused form than in the interim constitution of 1993. This is because the ANC would like to see certain socio-economic rights — to housing, land, education and health, for example — formulated as primary entitlements.

Financial burden

The obvious point about such specific rights is that they place an enormous financial burden on the State — and upon succeeding generations. For this reason, words have been carefully chosen to indicate that socio-economic rights are an *ideal*.

The working draft discussed last week contains this limitation clause under the right to health, food, water and social assistance: "The State must take reasonable and progressive legislative and other measures to ensure access to each of these rights."

That is intentionally vague; and vagueness is likely to be the predominant characteristic of the draft constitution.

Since the inception of the CA, the public has repeatedly been asked to make submissions on various constitutional matters — and has done so. But such submissions have been subordinated to the various party-political positions which are reflected in the working drafts.

A further period of "consultation" is unlikely to bring greater clarity on what are essentially political issues subject to negotiation and compromise.

❑ The CA will return to Cape Town on January 15 next year for further debate and tidying-up of the constitutional text. Bilaterals — inter-party dealing — will continue throughout the recess. Parliament, as such, will be formally opened by President Nelson Mandela on February 9. ■

THE CONSTITUTION — 2

Fruitless labours

The scheduled release this week of a draft constitution for public consumption would normally be taken as a good political omen for Constitutional Assembly (CA) chairman Cyril Ramaphosa. Ramaphosa's ultimate political ambition is probably the presidency — though he remains silent on the matter — and many believe he would be a good successor to Nelson Mandela (see *Leading Articles*).

However, the flaws in the draft (see previous story) are palpable. Though it will be projected as a working document to which people must respond with further guidance, it falls far short of what Ramaphosa himself would have wished.

In fact, if it is seen as a botch, Ramaphosa's reputation as a fixer will take a dive. As one of the architects of the historic Kempton Park agreement, out of which came the interim constitution and the April 1994 election, Ramaphosa's legend as a consummate negotiator is generally taken as assured.



Inkatha's Buthelezi . . . *walked out of the process*

The hard truth is that the CA has laboured to bring forth a mouse. Fundamental issues such as federalism remain to be decided, while even the Bill of Rights constitutes little more than a list of options.

A flurry of "bilaterals" last week was insufficient to attain consensus on a whole range of issues — so many, in fact, that many people might be startled to discover just how much remains to be done if the May 1996 deadline for the final text is to be met.

The key outstanding issues need high-level political resolution — and there is no sign of that yet. This indicates the extent to which Ramaphosa has inadvertently been trapped at a level of negotiation lower than that needed to produce the new constitution.

In effect, therefore, the draft constitution has been assembled without the participation of the leaders of the main parties, one of whom, Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, strongly signalled his antipathy to the process by walking out of the CA earlier this year.

In certain respects, therefore, the exhaustive labours of the CA have been fruitless other than in unveiling contradictory party positions. They have cost the taxpayer dearly — a budgeted R36m in publicity and advertising alone to May 1996, when the final constitution is meant to be adopted. Core issues like federalism and the entrenchment of socio-economic entitlements in the Bill of Rights remain unresolved.

Had the interim constitution been given to a technical committee *ab initio*, it could probably have produced a more workable document than the one about to be released for public comment.

The "right to life" clause in the interim constitution, for example, has already been interpreted by the Constitutional Court in relation to the death penalty. Yet an earlier working draft of the Bill of Rights — referred back to the experts for reconsideration — did not simply restate the principle. It contained several options (as in a primary school exam), two of which would actually reintroduce the death penalty. This week's draft constitution is likely to reflect these contradictions.

The NP (the ANC's consensual partner at Kempton Park) does, indeed, want the restoration of the death penalty. The subcommittees of the CA, evidently, could not be precise without the main parties' leaders achieving agreement. Top-level talks on the matter — with the concurrent fading away of the "theme committees" — will take place in early 1996 — if they are not already under way.

Without agreement on the extent of federalism, the future of the Senate remains in doubt.

The ANC would like to see it transformed into a Council of Provinces with a watching brief over legislation affecting regional governance. Other parties want the veto powers of the Senate to apply to all legislation as a democratic safeguard

Continued on page 59

Continued from page 55

against majoritarianism in the ANC-dominated National Assembly.

There remains, too, the question of the lifespan of the Government of National Unity. The NP continues to want it extended beyond 1999 — probably because it fears extinction at the polls in the next general election.

Voting trends in the community elections thus take on a disproportionate importance in the political weight that the main parties will bring to bear in actual negotiations on constitutional text and content.

At this stage, however, Ramaphosa's efforts to produce a credible text have been seriously compromised by a year of infighting and grandstanding. Apparently one solution being considered behind closed doors is an incremental implementation of the new constitution.

There could, for example, be agreement on the Bill of Rights before agreement on federalism. ■

Gearing up for the big head count

Star 18/11/95 (304A)

Work has already begun in preparation for a census that will at last treat SA as a single entity, reports CHRISTINA STUCKY

If you thought the national and local elections were a logistical nightmare, welcome to the world of Census '96.

For three weeks next October, more than 60 000 people, or enumerators in census-speak, will spread out across the country, distributing questionnaires to about nine million households and canvassing more than 40 million people.

The information will then be compiled in a national census that should differ significantly from the 1991 census, compiled under old apartheid guidelines.

"For the first time South Africa will be able to mirror itself in numbers, not as five countries but as one nation," says Pali Lehohla, head of the management team for Census '96 and, since the beginning of the month, chief director of demographic surveys at the Central Statistical Service (CSS) in Pretoria.

The last census was criticised on several levels.

A different methodology was used for homelands than for the rest of the country, the process lacked transparency and the census-takers conducted so-called "sweeps" that sorely lacked attention to detail.

"In the past, the census was a comfortable add-on to CSS activities," Lehohla says.

"This time we have a dedicated team that is running the census."

Action

In order to ensure that Census '96 more accurately reflects the new South Africa, "the biggest logistical operation in the country" is being rolled into action at a cost of R365-million.

For the past few weeks, a team of about 1 000 people has been out in the field demarcating areas and gathering initial information. The smallest unit to be covered in the census will consist of 100-120 households.

This census, says Lehohla, will achieve "a measure of social equity" in that it will treat informal settlements on a par with urban and rural areas.

This is part of what Lehohla calls the "nation-building emphasis" of the census, which also includes the recording of place names according to what the community calls the village it lives in.

Previously, many places were named after a nearby farm, even if the people referred to their community by another name.

"Because of the scale and magnitude of the census, we can produce a national map with names reflecting those names of villages given by the community," says Lehohla.

Census '96 will collate information on the population's age, gender, level of education, marital status and race through a questionnaire which includes about 27 questions and many more sub-questions. Illiterate members of the population will be assisted by the canvassers.

The inclusion of race "may come as a bit of a surprise in the new South Africa", Lehohla says. "But, if we are talking about the Reconstruction and Development Programme reversing the wrongdoings of apartheid, then in order to do that we must know the race. Other countries also include race in their census. Eventually we hope that race will be treated like any other variable in this country."

Lehohla says that through the census, the RDP will have tangible data with which to measure the extent of its task of rebuilding the country.

Boon

"For the first time, the RDP will know the magnitude of its challenges in terms of housing, employment and providing basic needs."

An added boon should be a smoother election process due to the demographical information provided. "We are held responsible for that," says Lehohla.

The results of the census, most of it to be published in the form of thematic maps, will be available within nine to 12 months from the end of the census-taking, with an initial headcount published about three months from the end of the canvassing, which will begin on October 10 1996.

Checks and double checks are included in a carefully devised structure to ensure accuracy.

Lehohla does not expect any astonishing revelations from the census. "There will be no major surprises. I expect we will see dramatic shifts in terms of where people were (at the time of the last census) and where people are now," he says.

"For instance, there has been a polarisation reversal from big to small towns and a shift from urban to peri-urban areas. I expect we may see an emptying out of urban areas after land has become available for settlement."

He also expects that even this carefully planned census will come under scrutiny.

"We are not under the illusion that we will not be criticised. In fact, we think it is good. It keeps us on our toes."



WHO'S COUNTING NOW: Pali Lehohla, who is heading the management team for Census '96, which takes place next October PHOTOGRAPH: TJ LEMON

Nelson rallies the top brass

ST 19/11/95

(304A) (354)

By CYRIL MADLALA

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has told the country's military generals he will not be blackmailed by threats of violent reaction to the prosecution of former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and other military and police heavyweights.

President Mandela took the extraordinary step of speaking to the military's top structure, the Defence Command Council, on the eve of his departure to New Zealand last week.

An internal defence force bulletin reported Mr Mandela as saying: "Radicalism must be avoided at all costs, irrespective of the origin thereof."

The defence force chief, General Georg Meiring, told the president there were elements trying to exploit the arrests to sow hatred and division within the force.

Such subversive elements should not be allowed to succeed.

Nevertheless, it was "a painful matter" for the council that so many former and present colleagues had been arrested in connection with alleged third-force activities, General Meiring said.

The Defence Command Council consists of the heads of the different security forces, including the army, navy and air force.

As commander-in-chief of the armed forces, Mr Mandela occasionally meets the council, but last week's meeting was one of a series of briefings with political, business and

To Page 2 ⇨

Mandela meets generals

⇦ From Page 1

church leaders on the controversial arrests.

The briefings followed an outcry from the right wing and the National Party that the prosecutions threatened the government of national unity.

General Malan and 10 other senior officers have been arrested in connection with the massacre of 13 people in Kwamakutha, Kwazulu Natal, in 1987.

General Meiring said he would believe in their innocence unless it was proved otherwise.

He assured the president the defence force would conduct itself in a neutral manner at all times.

"Nothing will be done to in any way prejudice a fair trial or to interfere with the independence of the judiciary," he said.

But a military expert said right-wing defence force members realised the process of change in the country could not be reversed, and were trying to use the prosecutions to "play a low-key stumbling block role within the army".

The defence force bulletin said Mr Mandela told the council he was "immensely perturbed" by the arrests of such prominent people.

But he would not interfere with their right to defend themselves in court.

He wanted to secure the defence force's co-operation and commitment to allow the law to take its course without damaging South Africa.

He said General Malan's trial should be looked at as being in the best interests of the whole country, and not from racial and partisan perspectives.

"Failure to do so has already led to deep divisions," Mr Mandela said.

However, the head of the parliamentary defence committee, Tony Yengeni, ruled out any serious threat from disgruntled defence force members.

General Malan and 19 others will appear in the Durban regional court on December 1 when they are expected to be served with an indictment detailing their alleged roles in the massacre.

The accused include former defence force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, former chief of the army General Kat Liebenberg and former military intelligence director General Tienie Groenewald.

(304A) (354) ST 19/11/95

Sonn is on a mission in his US job

304A

ST 19/11/95

By SIMON BARBER
Washington

AMBASSADOR Franklin Sonn is putting his stamp on South Africa's Washington embassy as he finds his feet here after nine months. His initiatives include the preparation of a mission statement and the development of a network of outside advisers, some of whom may be paid.

The mission statement, worked up at a staff retreat in August, is printed on blue cardboard and hung up around the embassy to remind diplomats of their task.

The document states: "We are driven by integrity, honesty and mutual respect, based on our common love for our country South Africa. To achieve our vision we shall cultivate a team spirit by acting with loyalty, humility and total commitment."

Five "strategic goals" are set forth. These are: stimulating trade and investment; promoting "democracy, human rights and international peace"; improving "the general quality of life" in southern Africa; fostering "a climate of safety and security in the region"; and promoting South Africa as "a politically stable and reliable economic partner".

On Professor Sonn's instructions, the embassy is deciding whether to hire outside consultants and public relations experts to assist in meeting these objectives, effectively emulating the practice of the past government.

Professor Sonn himself has been putting together what he calls a "network" of advisers. Names mentioned include South African expatriate Diana Aviv, a senior official of the Council of Jewish Federations, Gay MacDougal of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and Bill Lynch, the former deputy mayor of New York during the Dinkins administration.

Also being cultivated, according to the ambassador, are Chester Crocker, the former assistant secretary of state, and Dan O'Flaherty, head of the US-SA Business Council.

André Killian, who now serves as Professor Sonn's deputy, said there were no plans to retain consultants or lobbyists full-time, as in the past.

Meanwhile, the ambassador has disclosed that the contract of long-time embassy legal adviser, Philip Hare, is under review.

Professor Sonn has said he is looking for someone more closely associated with the liberation struggle.

NP leaders under fire at Cape congress

304A
~~253~~

ST(M) 19/11/95

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE National Party's leadership was on the receiving end of stinging criticism from members who yesterday accused it of being lacklustre, unimaginative and out of touch with followers.

One of the most outspoken critics at the NP's Western Cape congress in Somerset West was Local Government Minister Peter Marais, who said the NP had blundered by not fighting the local government elections in black townships.

Rural delegates lashed out at poor communication and NP research director Melt Hamman said the party fell flat when it came to implementing decisions.

Other delegates accused the party of not being visible enough at grassroots level.

A delegate from Wellington — who spoke on a motion similar to those from Citrusdal, Constantia and False Bay — said the NP's Head Council had to improve communication between the leadership corps, representatives and ordinary members.

They said the NP was not marketing itself aggressively enough.

Mr Tito Brink of the Wellington branch criticised the party's hierarchy for not paying enough attention to the needs of rural voters and grassroots supporters. He said there was a need for new ideas and initiatives from the party's national leadership. The NP should stop looking for "scapegoats" when it performed badly and rather examine itself to find the reasons.

Agreeing, Mr Hamman said the NP's success depended on better marketing.

"We take the right decisions but when it comes to implementing them, we fall flat," he said.

Mr Marais, a member of the Western Cape cabinet, accused his own party of being "poorly packaged and ineffectively marketed".

SA's moral authority the key to relations with US

ST (BT) 19/11/95 (304A)

FRANKLIN SONN, South Africa's ambassador to Washington, was the guest speaker at this week's Business Times' Top 100 Companies banquet. Here are excerpts of his speech on US-SA relations.



FRANKLIN SONN: Hard work will guarantee success in dealings with the world's only superpower

LET me pretend that this is a shareholders' meeting and that I am the CEO. I will tell you how my division is faring in the United States, make some observations on factors affecting our performance and venture some suggestions as to future prospects.

Firstly, the context of my comments is the understanding that everything the US does is with the American perspective in mind. The American world-view is being sold by a variety of means to the rest of the world.

Secondly, the US is far more occupied with its so-called Domestic Revolution and less interested in international matters. This is exacerbated by a presidential election campaign that has already started.

Only once there is an international cataclysmic event or a matter which directly affects American interests does America develop a real international focus.

In this sense it would be of interest to examine why South Africa is different for the US than other nations and why it still features, albeit blurred, on the American radar screen.

The US is the only real superpower and from this position legislates extra-territorially and enforces its laws on defaulting countries. Against this background it is necessary to know our strengths and our weaknesses; to be vigilant about issues of South Africa's sovereignty whilst building co-operation and friendship; to accept that we are small, but to know that our sense of self-respect and national integrity are matters of character not quantifiable by economic statistics or military might. Our newfound moral authority is paramount.

The follies of the past continue to haunt us. America considers the Mandela government as a successor to the previous regime and consequently holds it responsible for the contraventions of the apartheid government against US law.

The outstanding dispute over Armscor's alleged illegal activities under the previous government is a case in point where these elements have come together to present us with difficulties. The much-publicised contravention of the US Arms Export Control Act by Armscor is proving to be an obstacle and the irony of the Mandela governments being held liable for contraventions allegedly committed by the P W Botha government is clearly of public interest and wrongly tends to create a public image in South Africa that relationships between the US and South Africa are tense.

This is, in point of fact, not the case. This is but one disagreement that should not be allowed to cloud the constantly improving, good relationship between our two countries. South Africa's intellectual property laws are generally in conformity with those of the United States and other industrialised nations, but US companies have expressed concerns, however, that the new SA Act does not go far enough or remedy past abuses. The McDonald's issue is a case in point.

Negotiations on the conclusion of a double taxation agreement are in progress and the hope is that closure here will further stimulate investment growth.

We are hopeful that general concerns about countervailing tariffs and duties will fall away as we go about implementing our obligations in terms of the WTO.

There is also a strong sentiment in the US that the abolition of exchange controls will demonstrate the openness of our economy and there is an acceptance that we are moving in this direction.

Let me now turn to the question of the traditional relationship between the new SA government and specific sectors of the US population. The relationship of the SA representative in Washington with the African American community and the anti-apartheid groups is a natural one.

South Africa is affording Black Americans with a strongly positive sense of their heritage and connects them with their past.

There is a certain degree of uncertainty in the US on how to approach matters of race and reminders of the past demonstrated by the strongly positive reaction of blacks to the OJ Simpson verdict. There is accordingly an undoubted fascination with the manner in which South Africa is confronting the question of racial reconciliation.

Largely because of the honesty and sincerity with which we approach these matters, South Africa occupies a unique place in the hearts of Americans. Our commitment to democracy and our willingness to take a leadership role, or assume the moral high ground, in areas such as the protection of human rights have won us recognition and appreciation. All this gives depth to US/SA relations. It is a continuous matter of pride to observe in what tremendous esteem our President is held by every American, from President Clinton to the ordinary citizens.

Top 100 Sunday Times

What must also be remembered is that the distinctive relationship between the US and South Africa is determined by the commission which is co-chaired by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and vice President Al Gore. There is only one other nation, Russia, that has such a commission with the US.

There are distinctly positive trends in our relationship: Let me name a few.

The creation of a suitable platform for enticing long-term capital inflows relies on the retention of social stability. The trade unions in South Africa must be made aware of the negative effect on investment of excessive public industrial actions during wage disputes. I want to appeal to trade unions to bear this in mind.

May I also state that Reserve Bank independence is also a key factor in maintaining foreign investor confidence.

The praiseworthy management of the budget deficit, the increase in the GDP, the abolition of the dual currency, the increase in domestic investment, the momentum in the private sector towards self-improvement and the production of value-added goods have all been noted.

South Africa's corporations, particularly its utilities, are attracting growing interest in strategic partnerships and the possible privatisation of state-owned assets is seen very favourably.

Since January, I have seen an enormously positive growth in the economic relationship. The number of US companies with direct investment or employees in South Africa now stands at 206, a dramatic 29% increase from the level of just one year ago and its highest level since early 1987.

More significantly, US companies now employ approximately 45 000 people in South Africa, an increase of 36% over the previous year's level of 33 000.

IBM's and Ford's SA figures are especially significant in dollar terms. Of the companies that reported their SA sales and assets in response to IRRC's 1995 survey, IBM with $414-million in sales in South Africa in 1994 is now the largest US company in South Africa by sales, while Ford — which now has $156-million in assets — leads US companies by value of assets. The good management of these companies and the strongly progressive black advancement policies they follow are appreciated.

Sara Lee remains the biggest US corporate employer, with 4 700 employees.

The Commerce Department has declared South Africa one of the world's five big emerging markets and has launched an intensive two-year trade promotion campaign.

South Africa is the largest export market for US goods and services in Sub-Saharan Africa, accounting for 45% of total US sales in the region. In 1994 US-South Africa trade reached the $4-billion mark and is expected to top that in 1995.

Despite all these good signs, increased investment and trade will not fall from the skies. Success is guaranteed only through hard work and dogged determination.

I believe that SA business leaders are setting an excellent example to the world of how to be both good business leaders while co-efficiently taking responsibility for their society.

Census 'should highlight the new issues facing SA'

(3049) BD 20/11/95

Bonile Ngqiyaza

THE first post-apartheid census next year should highlight the new issues of SA, Central Statistics Service demographics director Pali Lehohla said at the weekend.

Lehohla was speaking after announcing a budget of R340m for preparations for the national census on October 10 next year.

He said the census would lay the basis for creating a system of regions that would fit in with the emerging geopolitical configuration of the country.

The census would also provide a system to enable the construction of wards for the 1999 national election.

Next year's census, he said, was a nation building exercise because it was the first time that SA would be enumerated as one country.

Censuses had largely ignored spatial considerations on the majority of the population and many villages and informal settlements had been grouped together.

He said 59 000 enumerators, supervised by 6 000 chiefs, would be deployed for the census.

The process of enumeration, expected to last three weeks, would take 56% of the budget.

A pilot survey to test logistics would be run in March next year.

About 50 000 households would be interviewed, he said. "This process aims to address those categories that are difficult to enumerate, such as transient populations and white farming areas."

R170m needed for Umtata Hospital

BD 20/11/95

Kathryn Strachan

UMTATA Hospital, which was described as "an affront to humanity" by a parliamentary delegation last week, needed R170m to bring it up to standard, Eastern Cape deputy permanent secretary Sipiwo Stamper said at the weekend. But the entire budget for upgrading health services in the province was only R94m.

The department would present its "master plan" for Umtata Hospital to the Eastern Cape parliament this week, and request it to seek donor funding for the five-year plan.

The parliamentary delegation said conditions at the hospital were appalling. There were broken bottles and rubbish strewn around the shed which served as a psychiatric unit, in the paediatric ward there were five babies to a cot and two babies to an incubator. The hospital lacked basic equipment.

Stamper said R12m was being spent this year on upgrading the hospital, and on building a new outpatients department.

While the delegation said terrible conditions in the hospital were a health risk and it should be condemned and a new hospital built in its place, Stamper said his department was well aware of the appalling conditions. However, the hospital did provide a service, and it was not practical to shut down the building altogether.

There were attempts to take the pressure off Umtata Hospital by rerouting patients to better-resourced hospitals in Queenstown and East London, Stamper said.

Plans for upgrading other hospitals in the province had begun.

Health services in the former Transkei were the worst victims of apartheid, said Stamper, and these were at the top of the department's list of priorities.

However, it was impossible to redress decades of neglect in 18 months, he said in response to criticism of his department's performance.

A computer system which was installed in the Umtata medicine depot earlier this month was expected to improve the supply of medicines to former Transkei clinics, which had complained of running out of essential medicines every month.

De Villiers' no to new NP name

BD 20/11/95 (285) (3044)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — A change of name for the NP without a rearrangement of its leadership would be purely cosmetic and is out of the question in the short-term, Western Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers said at the weekend.

For the second time in recent weeks, an NP branch has asked at a provincial congress that serious consideration be given to a name change. It was first mooted at the NP's Eastern Cape congress and again on Saturday when the Western Cape NP gathered in Somerset West.

NP spokesman Danie du Plessis said the congress was told by De Villiers that when the NP changed its colours and logo a few years ago the whole issue of changing the name was researched and the evidence gathered showed that the party should not change its name.

It would be pointless to have a new name for the party which had all the old faces, he said — in the future if there was a rearrangement of the party and its leadership, then a name change was a possibility.

There was considerable opposition to a name change on the basis that supporters would become confused and votes could be lost as a result.

The party leadership emerged bruised from the one-day congress. Sharp criticism from the floor of the congress said that part of the reason for the party's poor performance in the local government elections earlier this month was that the leadership was not seen enough at grassroots level.

Leaders must be seen to be involved on the ground and not purely at large public meetings, delegates told the congress. They warned that if this did not happen, it would fuel perceptions that the leadership was not interested in those they wanted to vote for them.

Doubt was also expressed about the NP's continued participation in the Government of National Unity.

PARTY NAME CHANGE WANTED

NP 'white' image under fire

ET 20/11/95 (SD) (304A)

THE NP will have to do some serious soul-searching after its branches in the province accused it of being lacklustre, unimaginative and out of touch. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

THE National Party's white image and even its name came under fire at its Western Cape congress in Somerset West at the weekend.

Provincial Local Government Minister Mr Peter Marais told the congress: "Our party is too white ... Our packaging is still too white."

MP Mr Melt Hamman revealed that in response to a questionnaire, 133 NP branches in the province had accused the NP of being lacklustre, unimaginative and out of touch with its followers and members.

Mr Hamman said marketing and propaganda were the Achilles heel of the NP.

"We take the right decisions and we have the right policy, but when it comes to implementing them, we fall flat."

Mr Hamman also said the party was developing a new strategy and marketing plan. This could include a change of name, which the congress endorsed unanimously.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, party leader in the Western Cape, warned, however, that it was not an instant solution and "an artificial change of name will have no value".

He also said that two years ago when the party had changed its colours and emblem, a change of name had been rejected.

"We want people to join the NP on the basis of our values," Dr De Villiers said.

Despite the criticism, 200 observers without speaking rights and 200 delegates attended the one-day congress.

Re-elected

It was also revealed that the party had an operational budget of R2,2 million, 81 district councils, 585 branches — an increase of 74 in the past year — and 10 000 new members in the Western Cape.

Dr De Villiers, who was unanimously re-elected, also predicted the NP would make a strong showing in the elections in the Cape Metropolitan area and in the rural councils next year.

It was clear, however, that the NP did not do as well as it expected, and claimed afterwards, in the local government elections.

Mr Marais also criticised the NP for not putting up candidates in black areas and giving the seats to the ANC. "If we are not available in black areas, how are we going to market ourselves?" he asked.

Mr David Graaff, MP, said: "The NP did not perform as well as it should have."

He said a ward in one town was lost because the NP candidate forgot to register and the mayor of the same town went overseas for a month and only returned a week before the election.



CONGRESS CHUCKLE: Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel shares a joke with NP delegates after being introduced to the party's beauty queens from Mitchells Plain during its one-day congress. MP Mr Piet Marais and Local Government Minister Mr Peter Marais join in. ***PICTURE: CLIVE SMITH***

NP looks at ways to improve its image

Star 20/11/95 (304A)

Cape Town – The National Party's image as a "white party" and even its name came under fire at its Western Cape congress over the weekend.

"Our party is too white....Our packaging is still too white," outspoken Local Government MEC Peter Marais told the congress.

MP Melt Hamman revealed that 133 NP branches in the province, responding to a questionnaire, had accused the party of being lacklustre, unimaginative and out of touch with its followers.

Despite the criticisms, 200 observers without speaking rights and 200 delegates attended the one-day congress in a five-star hotel in Somerset West.

It was also revealed that the NP had an operational budget of R2,2-million, 81 district councils, 585 branches – an increase of 74 in the past year – and 10 000 new members in the Western Cape.

It was, however, clear from proceedings that the NP did not do as well in the local government elections as it expected.

Western Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, who was unanimously re-elected, twice stressed that the separation of towns into an "uptown" and a "downtown" had to end within the NP.

Marais criticised the NP for not putting up candidates in black areas and thus foregoing seats to the ANC.

Hamman said the party was developing a new marketing plan which could include a name change. The congress unanimously endorsed the suggestion but De Villiers warned this would not be an instant solution. – Own Correspondent.

Mandela decorated by Portuguese president

(304A) BD 21/11/95

PRETORIA — President Nelson Mandela received Portuguese President Mario Soares at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday at the start of his week-long state visit to SA.

Mandela presented Soares with the Order of Good Hope: Class I (Grand Cross), while the Portuguese leader bestowed the order of Infante D Henrique (Grand Collar Class) on his host.

Thanking Mandela for the decoration, Soares said the award was a tribute to the new democratic Portugal that he represented.

Mandela said he accepted the Portuguese decoration not as an individual but in the name of all South Africans who had fought for a new democratic system.

The Portuguese instituted the award in 1960. It is reserved for foreign heads of state.

Soares was to meet Deputy President Thabo Mbeki later.

Soares will also meet Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale and Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal before receiving an honorary doctorate from Unisa.

He will then leave for Cape Town. — Sapa.

COMMITTEES TO CONTROL COMMUNAL PROPERTY

New land law will erode power of chiefs

ET 21/11/95 (B) (3049)

CONTROL of communal land may in future be held by elected committees which in turn will be accountable to the communities they represent if a new law before Parliament is passed. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

NEW legislation which puts communal property in the hands of elected committees, and which will significantly remove the power of chiefs and traditional leaders over communal land, has been tabled in Parliament.

The Communal Property Associations Bill would create a new juristic person,a committee, which could acquire property on behalf of disadvantaged communities.

A memorandum attached to the bill says it was "designed to provide a relatively simple and accessible mechanism through which group ownership systems may be recognised".

However, to qualify for these benefits, communal property associations will have to "conform to certain basic public standards of fair process, democratic accountability and equality".

The bill provides that the interim committees of the associations have to be democratically elected and once established they will have to have "fair and inclusive decision-making processes" and equality of membership among members of the communities.

Their democratic processes will have to ensure that all members of the communities concerned receive adequate notice of meetings, are able to participate in any general meetings, receive copies of minutes and inspect financial statements.

Audited

The committees of the associations will have to be accountable to its members and financial records will have to be audited annually.

The bill also provides for the monitoring and inspection of the communal property associations by the director-general of Land Affairs.

First draft constitution handed to Mandela

ST 21/11/95 (304A)

PRETORIA: President Nelson Mandela will be working almost around the clock to study post-apartheid South Africa's first working draft constitution before it is released tomorrow.

After receiving the document from Constitutional Assembly chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at his MahlambaNdlopfu residence here yesterday, the President said he would study it carefully and quipped, especially aspects that limit the powers of the President.

He applauded Mr Ramaphosa and Constitutional Assembly deputy chairman Mr Leon Wessels, saying that by subjecting the constitution to public scrutiny the two were being transparent.

We must be prepared to receive comment from those who intend to improve the constitution, he said.

Mr Mandela said it was important for every South African to have access to and to study the document, as well as to know and understand the basic laws which govern them. — Own Correspondent

30 years on, Mandela and inquisitor Percy Yutar meet for lunch

24 (304A)

High priest of the liberation movement again shows his strong commitment to reconciliation

Star 2/11/95

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The last time they met was in a courtroom in Pretoria's Palace of Justice over 30 years ago.

The one was a revolutionary on trial for plotting to overthrow the state and the other a conservative prosecutor determined to send the plotter to the gallows.

But on Thursday Nelson Mandela and 84 year-old Percy Yutar, still an occasionally practising member of the Johannesburg Bar, will meet for lunch.

According to the president's office, Mandela's lunch date with his erstwhile nemesis at the Mahlamba'Ndlopfu presidential residence is part of the leader of the nation's drive for peace and reconciliation.

"It represents the demonstration of the need for people of this country to get together and forgive without forgetting what has happened in the past," said presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana.

Yutar, who was later to rise to become Transvaal attorney-general, led the prosecution in the1964 Rivonia trial against Mandela and nine ANC and Communist Party of South Africa co-accused.

His conduct during the Rivonia trial and subsequent trials of anti-apartheid figures earned him a place as one of the anti-apartheid movement's hated enemies.



Percy Yutar ... Rivonia treason trial prosecutor went for death sentences.

Accusing the 10 men of "deceit" and "conceit", Yutar slated them for having dared to "take it upon themselves to tell the entire Bantu population of this country – and indeed the whole of the world ... that they were suppressed, oppressed and depressed".

After securing the convictions, Yutar argued strongly for Mandela and his co-accused – some of whom are today senior MPs – to be sent to the gallows and expressed regret when this did not happen.

When Yutar retired in 1976 his handling of of the Rivonia trial received praise from then justice minister Jimmy Kruger who said "it has dealt the death blow to the spirit of anarchy present at the time".

During his tenure as Transvaal attorney-general, Yutar oversaw the controversial terrorism trial of Afrikaner poet, novelist and artist Breyten Breytenbach, who was sentenced to seven years in prison.

His bid to become an advocate and join the Johannesburg Bar in 1977 faced stern opposition from many liberal lawyers, including the present Constitutional Court judge Sydney Kentridge.

But Yutar once again triumphed over his opponents and was admitted to the Bar.

His enemies and detractors will surely be grinding their teeth on Thursday when Yutar receives symbolic atonement from the high priest of the South African liberation struggle.

McBride defends his Foreign Affairs posting

(304A) Star 21/11/95

By Bobby Brown

Former ANC MP Robert McBride believes his appointment as deputy director of the Department of Foreign Affairs and acceptance as a trainee diplomat is not extraordinary.

McBride was commenting on a Sunday newspaper article, which elaborated on his past and commented that his criminal record could "cause difficulties".

"That is absolute bull. The world would not have accepted Nelson Mandela, who was the leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe, as president, if that was the case," he said.

The Rapport article, which referred to him as a "woman murderer" following his triple death sentence in 1986 for the death of three women at Magoo's Bar in Durban, was headed "McBride the bomb planter" and said he enjoyed a "meteoric rise in ANC ranks, like that of a hero, after his release".

McBride said racist members of the former apartheid government were not called racists every time their names appeared in a newspaper, even though the whole world has condemned them for committing crimes against humanity.

"The whole world found them guilty. (Rapport) is very inconsistent with reconciliation," he said.

McBride, who was made an MP in June, joined the Department of Foreign Affairs on October 30, the same day his resignation as an MP took effect. He has already started with a senior diplomat training course due to end in April.

McBride said he did not jump the queue to join the course, but instead opted for the normal channels of being interviewed with 40 other candidates

His interest in foreign affairs started in 1993 when the ANC sent him on diplomat training courses in Malaysia and Norway and when he served on Parliament's standing committee for foreign affairs last year.

Tiger talk in Wilderness

The old and new South Africa shared a sofa yesterday when President Mandela — known with affection by his clan name Madiba — came calling on former president P W Botha, known with somewhat less affection as the Groot Krokodil. Political Correspondent CLIVE SAWYER reports.

~~154~~ (304A) ARG 22/11/95



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

SMILES ALL ROUND: Former president Mr P W Botha and President Mandela share a smile during their meeting at the Wilderness yesterday.

THERE was the patronising humour which would have sparked the ire of a lesser person.

P W Botha, of his successor Nelson Mandela: "I am glad to see he still keeps Tuynhuys in good order."

There was P W the visionary Christian, calling on South Africans to repent "and kneel before someone higher than presidents, vice-presidents or ex-presidents".

And there was P W the defiant: "I am not going to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

"I am not going to repent. I am not going to ask for favours.

"What I did I did for my country, my God and my people and all the peoples of South Africa."

Records were available, of meetings of the cabinet, the state security council, in his autobiography, although the last had been bowdlerised by his successor, F W de Klerk.

Through all this, Mr Mandela listened in polite if stony-faced silence, interrupting only once, to correct Mr Botha's recollection that their first meeting had been in 1989 and not 1988.

Mr Botha's recollections were all around, with barely a square inch of the sitting room of Die Anker without some item of memorabilia.

Journalists who waited there while the meeting between Mr Mandela, Mr Botha and Constand Viljoen, which had been expected to last 90 minutes, ran to 2½ hours, found plenty to browse over.

Even though most of Mr Botha's collection of souvenirs of his state and political career have been moved to the nearby George Museum, there are still ample relics at Die Anker from the age of the securocrats — even in the most innocuous items.

The Gabriel de Jongh landscape was donated by the Defence Force; the silver plate by Armscor; even the flagpole — from which no new South African flag flies — has a base in the shape of the old defence force five-pointed "castle" emblem.

There is a profusion of jade, of mounted animal hoofprints, carvings, a small collection of traditional three-legged African stools, an ashtray given by "SWA Vriende"; and the glass cabinet holds neo-classical statuettes.

On top of the television set is a family portrait, beneath it a small pile of video cassettes, including one of daughter Rozanne's wedding and another of Mr Botha's 1989 resignation speech.

How often do they slip that one into the machine, to replay that image of defiant and bitter departure, which was followed some months later by the images of triumphal departure from imprisonment of the man who now flanked Mr Botha?

The former president opened his remarks at the post-meeting press conference by addressing Mr Mandela in Afrikaans:

"Thank you for your visit to my house in the Wilderness.

"I remind you that you are now in an area that for many years belonged to the old republic of Swellendam."

Mr Botha further reminded Mr Mandela that this republic had come about not as an act of rebellion against the British, but against the Dutch.

This showed how the Afrikaner volk, the Boere volk, would not be intimidated.

Telling of the backlash that followed the execution of World War 1 rebel Jopie Fourie — a defence force officer, Mr Botha noted pointedly — led to his warning to Mr Mandela not to awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner.

But for all the jargon familiar from right-wing usage, Mr Botha emphasised he was not a member of any political party.

Not the Freedom Front, in spite of the presence of General Viljoen, or the National Party ("That's a new National Party and I don't know where they are going to") and, perhaps not much of a revelation but merely for the record, not the African National Congress.

The leader of the ANC did not seem poised to try to recruit a member.

His business was more grave: to recruit a leader of a section of the community to the essential process of unity and reconciliation.

Mr Mandela's own remarks reflecting on the person of Mr Botha were by way of a tribute: Mr Botha, he said, was a key figure in continuing efforts to bring about peace and security.

At a meeting at the same venue just before last year's election, Mr Mandela had asked Mr Botha to help avert threats to the new democracy.

The relationship between the two men, in evidence at their first meeting in full view of the press, was patently a complex one.

It has been said that the degree of understanding between Mr Botha and Mr Mandela is higher than that in the more famous pairing, F W de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

The 79-year-old former president also showed that he shared with Mr Mandela the sense of courtesy now relegated to a past age, as the two exchanged compliments on each other's looks, and Mr Mandela admired Mr Botha's garden.

But it was at the end of the affair that the sense of the times came through.

As Mr Mandela left, the building labourers from the neighbouring site left their work and clustered at the fence, excitedly exchanging friendly greetings with the president, their smiles only for him.

Mr and Mrs Botha drew no more than a glance, perhaps because they were a familiar sight to the labourers, but posed willingly for one last photo opportunity before turning and walking slowly back into Die Anker.

PW Botha warns Mandela not to unleash the 'tiger of nationalism'

BD 22/11/95 (304A)

WILDERNESS — President Nelson Mandela had to avoid awakening the tiger of nationalism, former president PW Botha warned yesterday.

"Don't awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner. But don't awaken ... the tiger in the Xhosa people, in the Zulu people, in the Tswana people. We are a multicultural people," said Botha at a news conference with Mandela after meeting Mandela and Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen.

"The President is calm and I am calm, but he must stop the rot in this country," Botha said, stating, however, that he would refuse to testify before the truth commission.

Mandela, who called the talks to discuss the murder trial of former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 other officers, said Botha had asked him to call a moratorium on prosecutions of apartheid-era leaders until the truth commission had been established "so that people can decide what to do in regard to any allegations".

It was not the first time Botha had sought such a moratorium, Mandela said. However, "I would like to leave everything to the courts."

Botha said all the decisions of his government were recorded in archives that would prove he had nothing for which to apologise.

"I am not going to the truth commission. I am not going to repent. I am not going to ask for favours. What I did I did for my country, for my God, for my people and for all the people of SA," Botha said.

Mandela said the arrests of the 11 were initiated by police and the attorney-general, not government. "In this case I will not interfere. The independence of the courts must be respected. That is my position. It is inflexible."

The talks, which lasted an hour longer than scheduled, took place in Botha's study at his retirement home in Wilderness, Western Cape.

While there was no apparent meeting of the minds, relations between the three men appeared relaxed and after the talks, Botha slapped Mandela on the knee, saying: "I am glad you are looking after Tuynhuys."

As they left, Botha's wife, Elize, wagged her finger at a black photographer, asking: "Did you listen well?"

Malan and the other retired military men face trial on December 1 for the 1987 murder of 13 people at a prayer meeting in KwaZulu-Natal.

Malan, who retired in 1993 after he was linked to dirty tricks operations against the ANC, warned after his first court appearance on November 3 of a right-wing backlash. — Reuter

Picture: Page 2

Azapo's sights on '99

The Black Consciousness Movement, which rejected the April 1994 elections, is now keen on the decisive 1999 polls. **Joe Mdhlela** explains why

(304A) Sowetan 22/11/95

THE WORD "ELECTIONS" is readily used nowadays in Mr Mosibudi Mangena's vocabulary. But Mangena, who is president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), uses the word with circumspection, believing the organisation's decision to participate in the 1999 general elections should not be seen as an event but as an unfolding process.

He believes deep down that Azapo's participation in the elections must be preceded by a number of things, including the strengthening of the organisation's structures.

Also, Mangena strongly believes that for Azapo to perform well in the elections, it will need to engage in a process of political education "so that the masses relate more positively to the organisation".

"While it may be a good thing to talk about participation in elections, we should not place absolute importance in them – even the 1999 elections," Mangena added.

"What is important for us at this stage is to put our programmes in place so that we can begin to address the true aspirations of our people."

He went on to say: "Voting in itself has no capacity to liberate our people."

Yet, despite these pronouncements, Mangena does not want to be misunderstood: "We are especially not negative about the Government and the elections. We do not wish to be seen as rivals of the new order.

"While we wage our struggles with the ordinary people, an impression should not be created that we are anti-progress."

However, in relation to the elections, Mangena said Azapo must do what it can to capitalise on the weaknesses of the Government.

He said: "The national political picture is perhaps indicative that there is a need for another voice in the political arena. That voice, I think, is Azapo."

He said the perception that the Government was incapable of delivering on its promises "must give us ammunition to challenge it on behalf of our people".

Mangena argues that given the fact that only 32 percent of registered voters cast their vote during the local government elections on November 1, "it may well be that we are moving towards political apathy".

He maintains that this may explain why Azapo needs to reposition itself so that it can make itself accessible to "millions of people requiring its leadership".

He talks fondly about the trips he undertakes to help establish Azapo branches: "I make it a habit to travel to the most remote areas of the country to support our comrades, who are trying very hard to establish branches."



Azapo president Mosibudi Mangena ... carefully preparing for the 1999 elections.

Although Azapo has limited resources, and depends for its upkeep on membership subscriptions, Mangena is not discouraged.

"Our goal remains to liberate our people and we have to try to accomplish our mission with a limited budget," he said.

He argues that both its branches and regions are working hard, "like they have never done before, to strengthen the organisation".

In a more direct way, Mangena's views about repositioning Azapo are echoed by the regional leader of the Gauteng region, Mr Lybon Mabasa.

Said Mabasa: "For us, liberating our people is a matter of life and death. To cope, we need new strategies and plans that will enable us to be well prepared for the 1999 elections."

To back up their strategies, Mabasa said Azapo was currently putting into shape programmes that will enable the organisation to perform well in the 1999 elections.

About Azapo's 35 secretariats, which will drive the organisation's programmes, he said: "They are the engine Azapo will use to give hope to millions of black people who need sound leadership and guidance."

The secretariats will, among other things, operate in the fields of education, politics, health and housing with the aim of "getting our people out of the rut".

Azapo is also concerned about the fact that a large section of black teachers are unemployed.

"The struggle of ensuring black teachers are employed in the areas where they live will become our focal point, and must get our serious attention," Mabasa said..

Also, Azapo will continue to maintain strong links with the labour movement, and ensure a better deal for the black working class.

This weekend Azapo will hold a regional council in Gauteng, as well as regional congresses in Northern Province and Mpumalanga.

Mabasa said: "At all these meetings, Azapo will interrogate itself as to how it plans to face the future."

Privately and publicly, members of the organisation have been talking about the desire to express their will at the polling stations.

Indeed, in some townships, Azapo members were asked by their communities to stand in the recent municipal elections.

This may well be the reason the organisation is now taking a keen look at 1999. Can the Azapo leadership and its members rise to this challenge without inflicting on the organisation the internal haemorrhaging which saw the virtual demise of the Pan-Africanist Congress?

The next few months should show.

Govt may establish permanent poll body

PRETORIA: A permanent electoral commission could be established to run all future elections in South Africa, Constitutional Affairs and Local Government Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said the commission could be established after the Election Task Group handed its final report on all local elections to the government.

The Election Task Group would continue to function until after the local government elections in kwaZulu/Natal and the Cape metropole early next year, Mr Meyer said.

The decision was taken at talks here between Mr Meyer and ministers for local government.

(3049) ET 22/11/95

No peace till mediation issue resolved — Buthelezi

ET 22/11/95 (304A)

PRETORIA: International mediation remained a sore point in South Africa's constitution-making process, Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Unless it was resolved, peace, prosperity and stability could not be expected, he said here after meeting Portuguese President Mario Soares. This applied particularly to kwaZulu/Natal.

Chief Buthelezi said he mentioned the matter to Dr Soares, but the Portuguese president did not react.

"I explained to him that this was a sore point," he said.

Dr Soares is on a week-long state visit to South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said they discussed the problem of about 4,5 million illegal aliens in South Africa, mostly from Mozambique.

President Nelson Mandela strongly felt there should be a moratorium on the repatriation of aliens, Chief Buthelezi said.

"I tried to explain to the president my problem with a moratorium.

"I don't know exactly what a moratorium does: whether it suspends the laws of the land.

"Nevertheless, I underscored that our president is concerned about our brothers from Mozambique ... and that the matter has not yet been concluded," Chief Buthelezi said.

Constitution filled with options

(3044A) ARG 23/11/95

JOHANNESBURG. — The chapter on provincial and national competencies in the working draft of South Africa's final constitution is riddled with options, reflecting that this is probably the most crucial issue to be resolved when inter-party negotiations get under way in earnest early next year.

In the clause on legislative conflict between the national and provincial governmental tiers, the first option says that where there is a conflict, the Parliamentary Act will prevail where its provisions are necessary for:

— the establishment of generally applicable standards regarding services rendered by the state, the maintenance of economic unity, or the determination of national economic policies;

— the maintenance of South Africa's security; or

— the prevention of prejudice to the republic or any province caused by the activities of a province.

The option further states that a parliamentary Bill falling within the jurisdictional area of provincial functions listed in a schedule attached to the constitution, has to also be introduced in the second parliamentary House (called either a Council of Provinces or the Senate).

It has to be approved by both Houses.

A fifth of the members of the second House can also, before the Bill is promulgated, apply to the Constitutional Court to pronounce on whether it conforms to objective criteria, the option says.

Another option shifts the emphasis to the provinces.

It says a provincial Act will prevail over a Parliamentary one affecting provinces except if:

— the parliamentary Act deals with a matter which cannot be regulated effectively by provincial legislation;

— the parliamentary Act deals with a matter which must be regulated or co-ordinated by uniform management or administrative norms or standards generally applicable throughout the country;

— the parliamentary Act is necessary to set minimum standards not provided by provincial legislation for rendering public services;

— the parliamentary Act is necessary for the maintenance of national economic unity or policies; environmental protection across provincial boundaries; the promotion of inter-provincial commerce; the protection of the common market in respect of the mobility of goods, services, capital or labour; or the maintenance of national security; or,

— the provincial Act materially prejudices the economic, health or security interests of another province or the country.

The last sub-clause of this option states that "this section must be construed in terms of the principle that a power must be allocated to the level of government at which it can be exercised most effectively".

Constitution takes shape as first draft is released

304A

☐ *Milestone document the result of 18 months' work*

ARG 23/11/95

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's constitution-writing process has reached an important milestone with the release of the first full working draft of the final constitution.

The 63-page document, the culmination of 18 months' work by the Constitutional Assembly (CA) and its committees, will be subject to intensive public scrutiny in the next few months.

All contributions dealing with the draft document will be fed back to the CA, the members of which — 400 MPs and 90 senators — will early next year begin a decisive round of negotiations to finalise the constitution for adoption by the May 9 deadline.

This date, marking the second anniversary of the inauguration of the national assembly, was set by the interim constitution, which will have to be amended to allow for any extension.

The draft, written in plain English and stripped of the tortuous "legalese" which has traditionally been a hallmark of South African legislation, is divided into 15 chapters.

These are founding provisions, Bill of rights, parliament, council of provinces, national executive, courts and administration of justice, state institutions supporting constitutional democracy, provinces, provincial and national legislative and executive competencies, local government, traditional authorities, public administration, security services, finance and general provisions.

The draft reflects inter-party agreements reached earlier this year on such matters as public administration and security services.

However, various options are listed for a number of issues still in contention. These include the important chapter on provincial powers, in which up to four options are given in the section dealing with a conflict between national and provincial legislation.

Observers say provincial powers will be one of the areas subject to the toughest negotiations, with the Inkatha Freedom Party's current absence from the constitution-writing process being keenly felt.

Other issues, including the preamble, national anthem and traditional authorities, are simply left open as "still under discussion".

The size of the national assembly (300 to 400 members) and the composition of a second house of parliament (called either the council of provinces, or the senate) are among other matters still to be settled.

The working draft, published only in English at this stage and with gender equity applied throughout, will soon be available in all 11 official languages. — Sapa.

IFP asked to rejoin process

Working draft constitution is unveiled

BD 23/11/95 (304A)

David Greybe

THE release of the first working draft of the new constitution yesterday was coupled with an appeal by Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa to the IFP to return to the process.

Ramaphosa said he hoped to meet IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi soon to hand over a copy of the document and brief him about the process. It was in the IFP and SA's interests that the IFP ended its boycott of the assembly over the issue of international mediation. "The IFP has a lot to contribute," Ramaphosa said.

IFP chief negotiator Walter Felgate said the IFP welcomed "any move towards reconciliation" between the two parties. The IFP took Ramaphosa's comments seriously because he was also the ANC secretary-general, he said.

However, the ANC would "have to address international mediation" because it remained the "major stumbling block" to the IFP's return.

The NP backed the call for the IFP's return, saying the process "should be as inclusive as possible".

An estimated 4-million copies of the document will be distributed throughout the country, mainly as inserts in newspapers. Members of the public and interest groups will have until February 20 next year to make new submissions. The deadline for the completion of the new constitution is May.

Ramaphosa said that by releasing the document at this stage of the process the assembly hoped to "promote ownership" of the new constitution among all South Africans.

But he stressed the document was only "a report-back to the public" and not a draft constitution. No political party was bound by its contents. It would change quite significantly as negotiations intensified in the new year.

Ramaphosa said there were two areas where much progress had been made. They were the Bill of Rights and state institutions — such as the Human Rights Commission and Public Protector — whose job it was to protect citizens. He played down outstanding party political differences, even predicting that eventual agreement would be "easy". But he conceded the outstanding issues included some of the key issues at national political level.

DP chief negotiator Colin Eglin, in his reaction, said the working document was a pointer "in the right direction". But it needed to be fleshed out "to provide a constitutional framework for political stability, economic development and a life of dignity for all South Africans". Eglin identified four key areas which were outstanding:

Continued on Page 2

Constitution (304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 23/11/95

□ The allocation of legislative, executive and fiscal powers to the provinces and central government. The NP and DP are pushing for maximum devolution of powers to provincial and local government, together with fiscal provisions that will ensure the financial viability of the two government levels;

□ The composition and the role of the Senate or ANC-proposed Council of Provinces. The ANC wants to scrap the Senate, but its proposal is not yet supported by other parties;

□ The composition and functioning of the Cabinet. The ANC wants to do away with the government of national unity, while the NP wants to retain it in some form; and

□ Certain clauses in the Bill of Rights. These include equality, life, freedom of expression, economic activity, labour relations, property, education, academic freedom and the limitation of rights under certain conditions.

The NP said it was still at odds with certain sections of the document but would finalise its positions at a party constitutional conference planned for mid-January. It listed 14 areas of contention with the ANC, covering the Bill of Rights, Parliament, the national executive and courts and the administration of justice.

See Pages 4 and 14

Opposition to ANC proposal

(304A) BD 23/11/95

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The ANC is still in conflict with other parties in the Constitutional Assembly over its proposed "Council of Provinces" to replace the present Senate.

In the new draft constitution published yesterday two options are listed: a Senate along the lines of the present 90-member body but with considerably beefed up powers, and the Council of Provinces, which has reduced powers.

The options represent the differences between the centrist leanings of the ANC and the more federalist approach of other parties.

During the negotiations at the World Trade Centre for the interim constitution, the Senate was created to afford protection for the provinces against the national government diluting their powers and functions. Where at present the Senate is able to reject legislation and force it to a joint sitting of both houses for a decision, the ANC model calls for the creation of a mediation committee to resolve disputes between the Council of Provinces and the National Assembly.

In sharp contrast the NP model, which is basically option two in the draft, proposes that provincial legislatures must approve any legislation to do with its boundaries or powers and functions. It requires that any Bill rejected by the Senate be referred to a committee comprising all the parties represented in Parliament. This committee then reports to both houses which, sitting separately, must approve the Bill.

If the National Assembly approves the measure but the Senate still disagrees, a majority of both houses sitting together is required for it to become law, the second option says.

If a Bill fails to meet this requirement, it may not be reintroduced to Parliament for one year.

The NP option still insists that a two-thirds majority of the Senate and National Assembly sitting together should be necessary for any amendments to the constitution.

Any amendments to the chapter in the constitution dealing with the powers, functions and boundaries of the provinces should have to have a two-thirds majority in both the National Assembly and the Senate, sitting separately, and the consent of the provincial legislatures affected by the proposed changes.

Option two also gives the Senate power to refer a piece of legislation to the Constitutional Court to determine the constitutionality of the Bill.

The ANC model sees the function of the Council of Provinces to be the promotion of good governance and harmony among the various levels of government. The NP model says the Senate is to represent provinces in national decision making and to function as a second House of Parliament.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Parties split on property rights issue

BD 23/11/95 (304A)

Drew Forrest

NEARLY half the clauses in the draft constitution's Bill of Fundamental Rights are still in contention, with the right to property the issue over which parties are most sharply divided.

Releasing a working draft of the final constitution in Johannesburg yesterday, Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said that the areas of dispute were not major and that consensus could be reached "quite easily". The deadline for the finalisation of the constitution is May next year.

However, DP leader Tony Leon yesterday indicated that much hard bargaining on the Bill of Rights lay ahead. The NP was also widely at odds with the ANC on a range of clauses.

There is broad interparty agreement, sometimes with minor differences of formulation, on such issues as human dignity, freedom and security of the person, slavery and forced labour, privacy and the freedoms of religion, movement, association and assembly.

A major coup for the negotiators is the lengthy clause on states of emergency, where consensus has been reached on a range of detailed safeguards.

But different options reflecting divergent party positions are given for 15 of the Bill's 33 clauses. Leon said that even in areas where the draft document reflected substantial agreement, there was room for further debate.

The DP might, for example, revisit the labour relations clause to see whether "it does not provide greater inoculation for the unions than the Labour Relations Act". It would also push for a "much more modest" formulation of socioeconomic rights such as those relating to housing and health.

The property clause in the Bill remains the biggest bone of contention, with both the DP and NP insisting on its inclusion. Leon said ANC proposals would "render all property rights vulnerable, ring the death knell of investment and sow insecurity in the markets".

One ANC option envisages the dropping of the clause. An alternative option, Leon said, clearly exempted land reform measures from the requirement that compensation paid for expropriated property take account of its market value.

The NP said last night it viewed the property clause as one of the most fundamental in the Bill. The ANC proposal "gave government carte blanche to arbitrarily nationalise property or deprive their rightful owners of their possessions without compensation".

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa said that in the interests of land reform, the ANC wanted to ensure that the constitution did not freeze property relations. Internationally, property guarantees were not seen as an essential ingredient of a Bill of Rights, he said.

Also at issue is a clause guaranteeing freedom of economic activity, with the DP and NP insisting on its inclusion as a safeguard against excessive state interference and the ANC arguing that the constitution should not prescribe economic policy. The NP said it regarded the right as "vital to a modern democratic state".

Parties are also divided over whether the Bill should give employers' the right to lock out.

Other contentious issues include:

- The equality clause, with the DP advocating tightening of the affirmative action subsection.
- The extent to which juristic persons, like companies, should enjoy constitutional rights.
- The right to life, where the NP favours provision for the death penalty.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports the PAC said the working draft of the final constitution made no attempt to accommodate the "African experience", instead only marginalising traditional institutions, law and authority.

PAC constitutional affairs spokesman Richard Sizani said that while the draft measure was a "marked improvement" on the interim constitution, it still represented a largely classical Western liberal constitutional order.

"No serious attempt has been made to accommodate the (black) African experience, which indeed is the largest experience in the SA society.

"We call on all Africans, be they workers, peasants, students, traditional leaders, business (or) religious persons (or) the intelligentsia to make their voices heard in the Constitutional Assembly," he said.

Battle over local authorities begins

Wyndham Hartley (304A) (2nd) BD 23/11/95

CAPE TOWN — The first skirmish in the battle over whether the national government or provincial governments control the nation's newly elected local authorities was played out in Parliament yesterday.

Parliament's joint portfolio committee convened to hear submissions and opinions from a wide range of interested parties on new local government legislation which would replace the controversial Local Government in Transition Act which governed the recent third-tier elections.

The Act will cease to exist after outstanding elections, notably in KwaZulu-Natal and Cape Town, have been held. New "bridging" legislation will have to be enacted to replace it.

On the one hand ANC speakers spoke strongly in support of overriding national norms and standards to be controlled from the centre while others from the NP in KwaZulu-Natal's legislature argued that national control would leave local government hamstrung and would lead to future political problems.

Committee chairman Pravin Gordhan (ANC) said in response to a query about the absence of KwaZulu-Natal from meetings discussing new local government legislation that there were two ways of proceeding — with all role-players participating in a constructive way to establish the boundaries or for both the provinces and the national Parliament to legislate control of local government and then fight it out in the Constitutional Court.

KwaZulu-Natal has already tabled provincial legislation to govern local government in the province.

NP KwaZulu-Natal local government spokesman Gordon Haygarth told the committee they should take care in deciding what was good for local government because the answer varied according to who asked the question.

The committee also discussed a memorandum agreed on that suggests the newly elected councils should remain in place for a minimum of three years and no more than five. It also says that the "competencies" of local government should be further debated.

More questions than answers in the 'draft constitution'

(304A)

DAVID GREYBE BD 23/11/95

THE draft constitution released yesterday is neither a draft nor a constitution. It is only a working document. Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa says so.

Arguably, without Ramaphosa's recent hard-sell tactics in the assembly, the document might not have seen the light of day. Opposition hardliners agreed to its publication only after he assured them no one was bound by its contents. It would, he predicted, still be redrafted "a million times".

So why bother to publish a document which is not a draft constitution and can, at best, be described as a progress report? Evidently, as President Nelson Mandela said this week, to subject it to public scrutiny.

On receiving a copy, Mandela said it was important for every South African to have access to and to study the document, as well as to know and understand the country's basic laws. He applauded Ramaphosa and his deputy Leon Wessels, saying that by subjecting the document to public scrutiny the two were being "transparent".

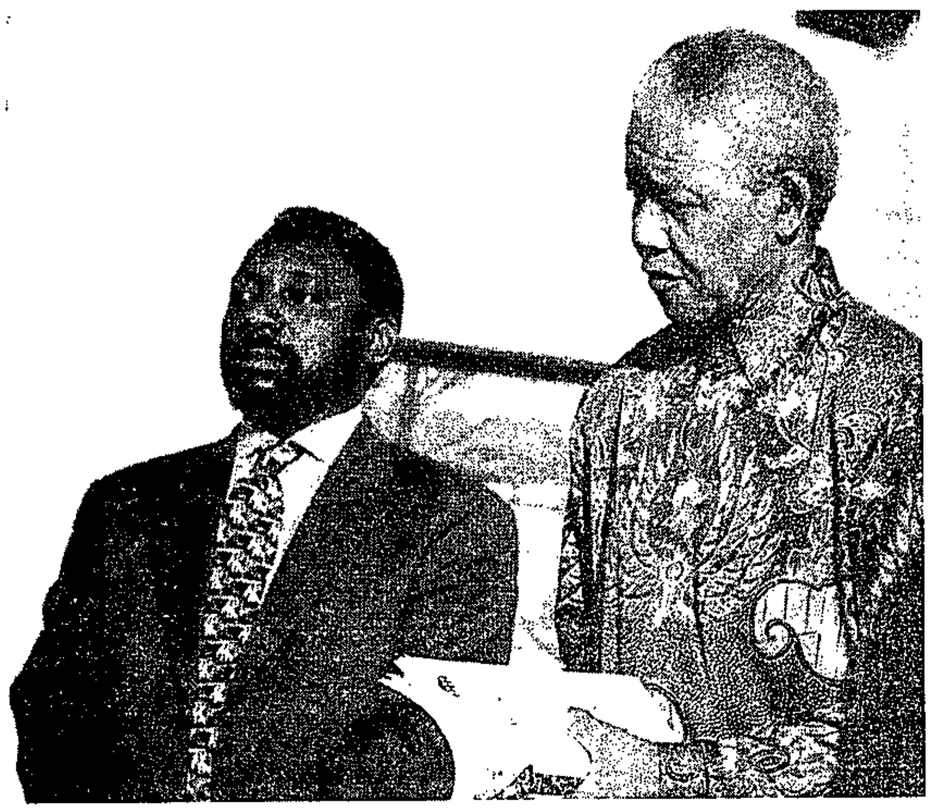
Clearly, Mandela had not yet read the document. It is difficult to believe anyone who has not followed the process closely could know what is going on from reading it.

It has, as has already been reported, more holes than answers on the most critical political issues still facing negotiators. Which, some negotiators would argue, is only to be expected after 18 months of a two-year process.

Most negotiators remain optimistic they will meet the May 1996 deadline. But that is not the issue here. What matters is: What has the public been presented with?

The document's single biggest shortcoming appears to be its failure to put the current state of negotiations into a party-political context. Where negotiators have failed to reach consensus, it merely lists various "options". It does not inform the reader which political party proposed which option, or where more than one party is supporting an option. It also does not explain the agendas motivating the different options. On top of that, most options appear in key areas.

The assembly decision to omit this kind of information was taken on the basis that the public needs to look at the options "dispassionately". But the political reality is that parties, one of which has tremendous political clout, are responsible for drafting the new constitution. Surely it must be in the interest of the public and parties' supporters to have such information.



Ramaphosa and Mandela with the draft constitution. Picture: NICKY DE BLOIS

The document kicks off with the preamble but that is "still under discussion", so the reader moves on to chapter one: founding provisions. It states that the national anthem is also "still under discussion", but the document does not expand. The fact is that the ANC wants to drop the compromise anthem under the interim constitution and replace it with Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika. That the public needs to know.

Under "Languages", the document gives three options, but again without reference to party positions. The issue at stake here, says a recent assembly document which lists more than 120 outstanding constitutional issues, is "the application of the 11 official languages".

Chapter two — the Bill of Rights — remains one of the most contentious sections. After 18 months of political haggling, mainly between the ANC, on one side, and the NP and DP on the other, negotiators have agreed on only half the 32 clauses. Predictably, there is no agreement on the toughest clauses or most sensitive subclauses.

The unresolved clauses are: equality; life; freedom and security of the person; freedom of expression; economic activity; labour relations; property; housing and land; education; academic freedom; access to information; just administrative action; arrested, detained and accused persons; limitation of rights; states of emergency; and application of the bill of rights.

NP and DP negotiators have accused the ANC of trying to water down the interim Bill of Rights with such demands as the exclusion of a right to economic activity clause; beefed up workers' rights and the omission of a lock-out clause for employers; a property clause which favours the dispossessed to the detriment of property owners; an education clause which would not permit non-discriminatory educational institutions "based on a common culture, language, or religion"; and a stricter limitation clause.

The ANC, in turn, contends that economic activity and property clauses — demanded by the opposition — do not usually feature in a Bill of Rights. It says its argument for a stricter limitation clause — that is, for the ANC, there should be looser conditions upon which exceptions to the letter of the law may be permitted — is linked to crime, and the need to limit criminals' rights if government is to reduce crime.

Chapter three deals with Parliament, where a tough debate is being fought over the future of the Senate, or second house. The ANC wants to scrap the 90-member Senate and replace it with a smaller council of provinces comprising delegates from provincial legislatures.

It says the council could possibly also represent local government at national level.

ANC negotiators maintain that such a council would better represent and protect provincial interests than the present Senate. They argue the Senate has, in effect, become an extension of the Assembly and rubber-stamps its work. The opposition parties are not yet sold on the ANC idea, arguing rather for a beefed-up Senate. A lot of hard bargaining behind the scenes obviously lies ahead.

Some opposition negotiators fear that the ANC proposal, if adopted, would weaken the powers of individual provinces because, they maintain, the council would seemingly operate on the principle of provincial majoritarianism.

However, the ANC maintains that the council would reduce tensions between central government and provinces by favouring mediation instead of confrontation through the Constitutional Court.

Most parties want a smaller assembly — at present 400-strong — but have been unable to reach agreement on its size. The document merely states the assembly will number between 300 and 400 MPs. The parties are locked in fierce debate also over the retention of the interim provision which allows 20% of MPs to have a Bill referred to the Constitutional Court to test its constitutionality before passage. The ANC is opposed to its retention in its present form.

The issue of the continuation of the government of national unity at executive level is another hotly debated issue. The NP wants it retained in some form, the ANC does not. Some senior negotiators expect the toughest bargaining ahead will revolve around the ANC demand for a council of provinces and the NP demand for the continuation of the government of national unity.

Chapter nine deals with provincial and national legislative and executive competences.

This section, more than any other, demonstrates the huge gulf between parties. If one had to factor in the IFP, which is boycotting the assembly, the gulf is a lot bigger.

Simply put, it is a battle between the ANC and the federalists and confederalists. The working document released yesterday was the third — the previous two were discussed in the Constitutional Assembly recently. The first one was silent on the matter of national and provincial powers. The only difference this time is that the chapter lists unresolved options.

Finally, it must be said it is difficult to see what effect, if any, the more than 2-million public submissions had on the working draft. It appears very little. If that is the case, why the exercise in "transparency" now?

Or is it just a ruse to get the "public participation" part of the process out of the way before the real hard bargaining begins in January? And that, we know from previous experience, will take place mainly behind closed doors.

Makings of a compromise

DAVID GREYBE

THE IFP's absence from the constitution-making process and the looming May 1996 deadline for completion of the new constitution are possibly the two biggest imponderables facing negotiators.

However, a solution may be in the making, judging from corridor talk taking place in the Constitutional Assembly.

Some negotiators and members of the assembly's technical team are proposing the implementation of the new constitution in a phased manner, instead of in one go.

Such an approach, they argue, would allow for more flexible deadlines. That would provide more time to secure the IFP's re-entry into the process following its walkout over the issue of its demand for international mediation.

The manner in which the negotiations process has unfolded in recent months could probably facilitate such an approach.

Negotiators have concentrated mainly on issues which, some argue, do not need the IFP to be present. But other issues which are dear to the IFP's heart have hardly been touched upon, and they remain far from resolved.

Political parties have been busy mainly with issues such as the Bill of Rights, Parliament, the national executive, courts and administration of justice and state institutions.

No substantial negotiations have taken place on the provinces, national and provincial legislative and executive competences, local government or traditional authorities — all of which matter a lot to the IFP. Proponents of a phased implementation of the new constitution are confident that its deadline, which is now only six months away, will not matter much if early agreement is reached on specific sections, which are then implemented.

They make the point that a constitution is a "living document" and, therefore, is always open to changes and not bound by deadlines.

The proposed strategy has something in common with the interim constitution negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

The IFP also boycotted that process, but came aboard at the eleventh hour, ostensibly to participate in the general election. However, IFP negotiators used the opportunity to win some interim constitutional compromises.

Veterans of Kempton Park expect the hard bargaining on provincial matters to begin only next year. This would assist a phased approach, giving parties in the assembly — particularly the ANC — more time to make contact with the IFP.

No one in their right mind really believes the new constitution can be produced without the IFP's participation. The diplomatic community is perhaps most aware of this.

The German government, and German institutions, have been working at bringing the main role players together. President Nelson Mandela, at the time of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit this year, accepted Kohl's offer of giving negotiators greater exposure to Germany's federal model. A conference on federalism was held earlier this month and a second is planned soon.

Senior politicians have been invited to visit Germany in January in order to take a closer look at their federal model.

Significantly, top IFP negotiators are expected to be invited as well. Some observers believe it may provide the perfect opportunity for ANC, NP and IFP negotiators to meet privately and try to establish new links which could facilitate the IFP's return to the assembly.

That still leaves the thorny issue of international mediation.

NP negotiators working with the IFP on a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal believe they have the makings of a compromise.

According to the proposal, the political heat would be taken out of mediation by relegating it to a provincial level. Mediation would only deal with the KwaZulu-Natal constitution once it was adopted in the province.

That, in turn, would allow the ANC to stay out if it chose. The ANC and IFP would save political face, and the door would finally be opened to the IFP's return to the assembly.

Bid to woo back IFP for constitutional talks

(#B) (304A) Sowetan 23/11/95

By Mzimasi Ngudle

CHAIRMAN of the Constitutional Assembly Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has invited Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to the country's constitution-making process.

Releasing the working draft of the final Constitution in Johannesburg yesterday, Ramaphosa said he would meet Buthelezi soon to hand him a copy of the draft and to discuss the IFP's return.

The IFP pulled out of the Constitutional Assembly early this year over a dispute on international mediation.

Ramaphosa said that, except for three areas, there was general consensus on all provisions of the final draft.

Host of unresolved issues in first draft of final

ET 23/11/95 (3049)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE first full working draft of the final constitution was released yesterday — with at least 20 burning issues, including the siting of Parliament and powers for provinces, still unresolved.

What was seen by some as a "cop out" constitution because of its failure to take a clear stand on contentious topics could, however, serve as a major boost for plans by both the ANC and the NP to lure the IFP back into negotiations before the May 9 deadline next year.

The many alternative formulations in the 63-page document should also encourage the public, which has already submitted hundreds of thousands of proposals to the 490-member Constitutional Assembly, to make further submissions by February 20.

The Cape Town-based Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP) last night slated the failure of the draft to specify the location of Parliament, the Appeal Court and the Constitutional Court as "either irresponsible or proof that there is still a cabal operating in defiance of the expressed opinion of the majority of South Africans".

CAP noted that three independent surveys and a 700 000-signature petition in the Western Cape had shown that the majority of MPs, leaders and business people and citizens across all political parties wanted Parliament to remain in Cape Town.

IFP INVITED TO REJOIN CONSTITUTION PROCESS
PAGE 4

Constitutional Assembly (CA) chairperson Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the launch of the document, which represents the culmination of 18 months' work by the CA, that he would seek a meeting with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to persuade him to rejoin the process.

He said there was "a lot the IFP can contribute" and noted that two issues about which the IFP felt particularly strongly — the powers of provinces and the Senate — had not yet been resolved.

"Perhaps this will also give the IFP the chance to come back into the constitution-making body so they, too, can participate in reaching a final consensus we are confident will be reached in the end."

Issues on which agreement has been reached include the principle that everyone has the right to basic education, including adult basic education, in a state or state-aided institution, as well as the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, private educational institutions.

These private institutions must not discriminate on the basis of race, must be registered with the state, and maintain standards that are not inferior to those at comparable state-aided institutions.

Parties agree on the rights of South Africans not to be subject to slavery, servitude or forced labour; to freedom of religion, belief and opinion; to an environment not harmful to their health or well-being; to have access to adequate housing, health care, food, water and social security; to use the language and participate in the cultural life of their own choice, as long as this does not violate anyone else's rights; and to have access to the courts.

There is also agreement on conditions for the declaration of states of emergency and on children's rights.

The working draft will soon be available in all 11 official languages. Its total print order is expected to be around four million.

Mr Ramaphosa said last night he was confident the CA would meet its May 1996 deadline to produce a final constitution: "We are going to meet our deadline... even if it takes locking the parties up in one room for weeks on end until they reach agreement."

constitution

Prime minister an option

CT 23/11/95 (3049)

JOHANNESBURG: The working draft of the constitution makes provision for a deputy president or a prime minister.

One option, contained in the chapter dealing with the national executive, says a deputy president (and ministers) will be responsible for the functions of the executive assigned to them by the president.

A second option spells out in more detail what would be required of a prime minister: To assist the president in the execution of government functions; to be leader of government business in parliament; to co-ordinate the work of the cabinet, and, in the absence of the president, to preside at cabinet meetings.

A third option says the cabinet will be composed in terms of "a system of government of national unity based on the interim constitution". — Sapa

ION

THURSDAY
NOVEMBER 23, 1995

Draft charter on course, says DP

CT 23/11/95

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

30LA

THE draft of the final constitution pointed in "the right direction", the DP said yesterday, but the PAC said it made no attempt to accomodate the "African experience".

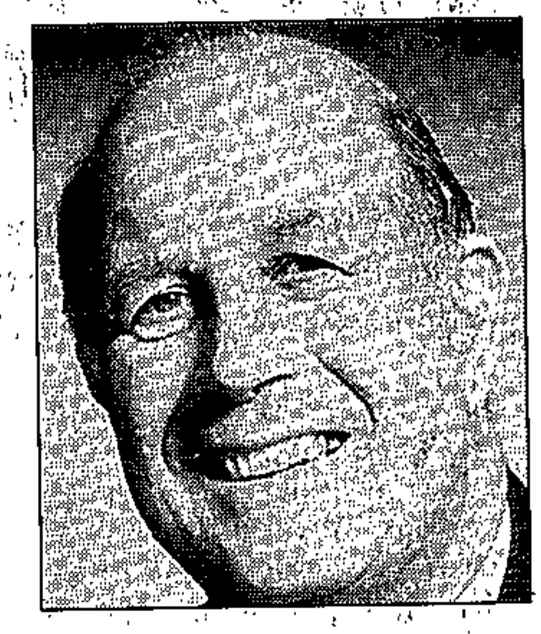
The PAC's constitutional negotiator, Mr Richard Sizani, said the draft only succeeded in marginalising traditional institutions, law and authority.

The PAC also disagreed with the draft's proposal on the future composition and role of the senate as a house of provinces, he said.

Although it had many commendable features and was a "marked improvement" on the interim constitution, the draft still represented a largely Western liberal constitutional order, he said.

Mr Colin Eglin, the DP's chief constitutional negotiator, said the draft had to be fleshed out further so that it could provide a constitutional framework for political stability, economic development and a life with dignity for all.

The DP would continue to press for provisions that would ensure the maximum devolution of powers to provincial and local government, together with fiscal provisions that would ensure the financial viability of these levels of government, he said.



'RIGHT WAY': Mr Colin Eglin

The DP would also press for open and accountable government, the independence of the judiciary, the impartiality of the auditor-general, the Human Rights Commission, the public protector and other agencies monitoring the process of government, he said.

'IN THE INTERESTS OF SOUTH AFRICA'

IFP invited to rejoin constitution process

CT 23/11/95 (HB) (304A)

JOHANNESBURG: At the formal launch of the draft constitution, the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said none of the parties in the talks "had felt threatened".

THE chairman of the constitutional assembly, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said yesterday he was seeking a meeting with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to persuade him to return to talks on South Africa's final constitution.

"I will be seeking to meet Chief Buthelezi to hand over this draft constitution to him, and once again invite the IFP to come back to the constitution-making process," Mr Ramaphosa said at the formal launch of the draft working constitution.

"There is a lot that the IFP can contribute ... the issue of the powers of provinces is a matter we have not yet finally resolved."

This would give the IFP the opportunity to help the constitution-making body reach consensus on the document.

Mr Ramaphosa said the powers of the provinces was one of three key issues yet to be resolved. The others were the powers and structure of the senate and whether the government of national unity should continue beyond 1999.

Threatened

He said he hoped to meet Chief Buthelezi in a day or so to "indicate clearly to him that no party in the constitutional assembly has felt threatened, has felt like walking out".

"I want to point out to him that it is important, it is in the interests of South Africa, that the IFP should come back into the constitution-making body.

"When they read this constitution, I am sure they will see that this is the type of constitution that is good for this country."

Chief Buthelezi led the IFP in a walkout from the constitutional assembly earlier this year after accusing the ANC of reneging on a promise to allow foreign mediation on their differences over the powers of provinces.

He is demanding that kwaZulu/Natal be allowed a wider degree of autonomy than the ANC is prepared to grant.

Mr Ramaphosa said he was confident the assembly would meet its May 1996 deadline to produce a final constitution.

"We are going to meet our deadline ... even if it takes locking the parties up in one room for weeks on end until they reach agreement." — Reuter

Plan to boost central govt control over funds for wayward provinces

BD23/11/95 (304A)

Greta Steyn

CENTRAL government will be able to stop allocating funds to provincial governments found guilty of serious or persistent maladministration, says the working draft of the new constitution.

Any action to stop the transfer of funds to a province has to be ratified by Parliament within 30 days, it says. The provision forms part of a new section on treasury control — an addition to the chapter on finance which was not in the interim constitution. The section on treasury control and the expansion of the one on budgeting enhance the principles of fiscal prudence and transparency in financial management at all levels of government.

There is much greater emphasis on transparency than in the interim constitution — which could lead to more information being made available on government's finances.

In addition, the draft finally lays to rest fears that the Reserve Bank's independence might be constrained. The wording in the draft places even greater emphasis on the Bank's autonomy than the interim constitution. It says the Bank must perform its functions independently "and without fear, favour or prejudice".

The section on treasury control provides for legislation to ensure transparency and consistency in the application of expenditure control, treasury norms and standards at all levels of government. Generally accepted accounting practices must be used. The draft says the legislation also has to prescribe the framework within which provincial treasuries must act.

The section on budgets provides for an Act prescribing the format of national and provincial budgets and the procedure to be followed when drawing them up.

"The budgets must promote transparency, accountability and effective financial management of the public sector as a whole."

The section retains the requirement that capital and current expenditure be reflected for the fiscal year.

While the draft tightens up fiscal control, it also ensures that government keeps its part of the bargain with the lower tiers. It says a province's share of revenue must be transferred "expeditiously and without deduction", except when its transgressions mean financing has to end.

Additional revenue raised by provinces may not be deducted from their share of allocations from central government, but there is also no obligation on central government to compensate provinces that do not raise revenue if they have the capacity to do so.

IFP last hurdle for the constitution

(304A)

Parties must reach consensus within four months, 'even if it takes locking them in a room for weeks'

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The draft of South Africa's final constitution was unveiled yesterday and revealed a divergence between political parties on contentious issues such as provincial powers, the form and composition of the senate and the continuation of the Government of National Unity.

But it contains no radical departures from the Interim Constitution and merely omits the transitional requirements of the present constitution. On the whole it has been welcomed by all parliamentary parties - except the Inkatha Freedom Party, which walked out of the Constitutional Assembly (CA) earlier this year.

Starting this weekend, four million copies of the draft will be distributed in all 11 official languages for public comment. The public will have until February 20 to make submissions to the Constitutional Assembly.

CA chairman Cyril Ramaphosa says he will meet IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi either today or tomorrow to present the draft constitution to him. He would try to convince him that a return to the CA would be in the IFP's interests.

Ramaphosa said parliamentary parties would be forced to reach consensus on these and other subjects during the four-month session of the assembly beginning in January.

"Even if it takes locking them up in one room for weeks on end so that they find consensus, we will do so."

Among issues still to be resolved are the seat of Parliament, which has pitched Cape Town against Pretoria; the "right to life" clause in the Bill of Rights, which effectively abolished the death penalty; and the "property clause". Ramaphosa said there was not much divergence on these questions and that most of the differences related to the wording of clauses.

The draft advocates a 300-400-member National Assembly elected for a five-year period. It would make laws together with the second house and elect a president.

The government would be headed by a president, assisted by a deputy president and a cabinet drawn from members of the National Assembly. The National Assembly now has 400 members and the Senate 90.

The other option, backed by the ANC, favours a president who is assisted by a prime minister who coordinates the business of the cabinet.

Stark differences between political parties on the composition and functions of the senate are reflected in two options for the second house. The first is the ANC-favoured council of provinces composed of delegates elected by the provincial legislatures and local governments.

This council would promote "cooperative governance" between different tiers. It would make inputs into the drawing up of national budgets and be able to block bills passed by the National Assembly.

The other option, favoured by federalist parties, envisages a more powerful 90-member senate representing the interests of provinces in national decision-making. In addition to the power to block legislation, it would take part in the nomination of ambassadors, judges, the auditor-general and the public protector.

But the true test will fall on the more contentious issue of provincial powers and competencies, in which the constitution evidently favours national overrides over provinces. The four options offered by the draft

▶ ... To Page 2

■ JUMPING JIMINY

Star 23/11/95

ANDREAS VL



The Democratic Party said it would press for maximum devolution of power. Colin Eglin said that while the draft pointed in the right direction, it had to be "fleshed out" to ensure a framework for political stability, and economic growth.

Mc
gra

IFP last hurdle for constitution

▶ From Page 1

suggest that national legislation and national executive action should prevail over provincial authority when conflict arises between a national act of Parliament and a provincial act.

The constitution also recognises the status of traditional leaders and indigenous law, but discussion on these issues has yet to be concluded.

■ Political parties yesterday reacted favourably to publication of the draft constitution and urged the public to read the document and make comments and submissions to the CA. They also vowed to use the remaining four months of constitutional negotiations to push their standpoints.

The ANC welcomed the "readability" and plain language of the document and claimed credit for having insisted it be written this way. It urged citizens to scrutinise and comment on the draft because "this constitution, in its final form, will contain the shape of our future in this country – our rights, obligations and relationships with each other".

The National Party said publication of the document would give all South Africans the chance to take part fully in the constitutional debate.

"The constitutional process will only enjoy legitimacy once all our citizens have claimed ownership by being co-authors of the constitution through their comments, participation and submissions."

The NP urged the IFP to return to the CA so that the constitutional process could be as inclusive as possible.

PAC chief negotiator Richard Sizani said the draft was an improvement, but warned that it marginalised traditional institutions, laws and authorities and failed to "accommodate the African experience".

Mandela 'ignorant', Abacha tells SA visitors

Star 23/11/95

Reports that a delegation of South African traditional leaders is in Nigeria to pledge support for junta leader General Sani Abacha has today sent political parties and staff at the Department of Foreign Affairs running around to establish details.

If they can confirm the reports, traditional leaders will be on a collision course with the ANC and other parties. (304A)

A senior member of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) said this morning his organisation was not involved.

"As far as I know, all our leaders are in the country ...," he said. A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said they had no knowledge of any South African group which has gone to Nigeria.

News agency reports from Abuja are that the group arrived in Nigeria on Tuesday and had an audience with Abacha, who then attacked President Mandela for his campaign to isolate the regime following the hanging of nine dissidents.

Abacha is reported by Agence France Presse (AFP) to have said Mandela was ignorant of some things, "because probably being incarcerated for decades, he knows nothing about modern world diplomacy".

The AFP report did not name the leader of the delegation or any of its members. And the Department of Foreign Affairs is now frantically searching for confirmation and details.

The Nigerian regime is treating Mandela as a traitor these days because he has led an international campaign to press for an oil embargo against the country in reprisal for the junta's execution of nine minority rights activists on November 10, including the writer Ken Saro-Wiwa. – Political Reporter and Sapa.

Keep parliament in Cape Town — Leon

(304A)

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party says parliament should stay in Cape Town.

Its recommendation makes it the only one of the seven political parties represented in parliament to have taken a stand on the issue.

A decision on the seat of parliament, which will be made officially by the constitutional assembly, has been put off until next year.

DP leader Tony Leon said democracy, development and national unity would be served best by a constitution which allowed as much decentralisation and devolution of power as possible. ARG 24/11/95

Other reasons for supporting keeping parliament in Cape Town included the need for South Africa to concentrate on economic growth and job creation.

"We should not be wasting our time and money having prolonged and divisive debates about the moving of parliament — still less in creating new buildings, offices and homes when these exist already in Cape Town."

'Poll problems avoidable'

ARG 24/11/95 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

MOST problems encountered in the November 1 local elections would be avoidable in future municipal polls, says Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, co-chair of the Local Government Election Task Group.

In a briefing yesterday to the parliamentary committees on constitutional and provincial affairs, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert recommended:

- Constant updating of voters' rolls, even although elections in most provinces were over for the moment; and
- The establishment of an independent commission to run elections.

He said the worst problem for the task group, which helped organise this month's elections, had been the short time in which it had to do its job.

The group's budget had not been finalised by the time registration of voters was under way.

Extension of the deadline for registration had cut into other deadlines.

Problems were worsened by political disputes about demarcations, leading to elections in the Cape Town metropole and Kwazulu-Natal being postponed.

Significant problems on November 1 had been the inadequacy of voters' rolls in Gauteng and a lack of proper administrative infrastructure in rural areas.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said there had been a low level of violence and political intolerance.

Of 116 reported "incidents" during the elections, most were administrative and not party-political.

Predictions that people would not understand the voting system had been proved wrong.

The number of spoilt papers was extremely low, adding up to about 1,9 percent of votes cast.

Counting votes had been a huge headache, with those who had run the elections having to double as counters.

"It was a common occurence that counters fell asleep on top of ballot boxes so that no-one could tamper with them," Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said.

Voter turnout had been about 51 percent, with percentage polls highest in the Western Cape.

He admitted that the dispute among academics and officials about the size of the total of eligible voters was continuing.

Bumpy road to a Constitution

(304A) Sowetan 24/11/95

The crunch will probably come later with certain clauses

By Mzimasi Ngudle

WHILE THE WORKING draft of the final Constitution reflects overwhelming consensus on a number of clauses, the crunch will come when contentious clauses have to be finalised next year.

When releasing the draft in Johannesburg on Wednesday, Constitutional Assembly chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa pointed out that drafting the new Constitution has been smooth sailing so far, with no parties adopting a rigid position.

This is understandable because the working draft has skilfully incorporated a number of options on contentious areas on which political parties differ.

Ramaphosa pointed out that there were at least three areas where parties will have difficulty in achieving consensus.

The first is section 85, which provides three options: the first two do not preclude a "winner takes all" situation after the 1999 elections, where the party with the most votes runs the government on its own.

The difference between the two options is whether a Deputy President or a powerful Prime Minister should be appointed by the President.

The third option provides for continuing the Government of National Unity, based on the interim Constitution. This apparently reflects the declared desire of the National Party for the GNU to continue.



Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa ... drafting the new Constitution has been smooth sailing so far.

Balance of power

The second controversial area is the balance of power between central and provincial governments.

When Ramaphosa meets Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, one option the Home Affairs Minister is unlikely to approve is the power of central government to override matters falling within the legislative competence of provincial government.

The draft provides that, in the event of a conflict between the Act of Parliament and provincial legislation, the former will prevail in specifically defined circumstances.

In an apparent reference to the Freedom Front's demands for a *volkstaat*, the draft says the possibility of including the right of self-determination of any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage is still being discussed.

The right of self-determination is contained in Constitution Principle 34, which was included in the interim Constitution to accommodate FF demands.

The third controversial area is the composition and role of the Senate or the Council of Provinces.

The Council of Provinces, which will represent provincial and local government at national legislative and executive level, will promote cooperative governance among the various levels of government.

The present Senate, based on a system of proportional representation as provided for in the interim Constitution, is retained.

Other controversial areas include the right to life and the right to property. The first option in the clause on the right to life expressly provides that the death penalty (following its Constitutional Court outlawing) is abolished.

The second option provides for the possibility of imposing the death penalty if an Act of Parliament so provides.

In response to the draft, the NP said it favoured the option allowing for the imposition of the death sentence.

Restitution of land

The present clause in the interim Constitution which provides for restitution of land to people who were dispossessed of land after the 1913 Native Land Act as a result of discriminatory practices is retained.

The other option says there is no property clause, opening up the debate on whether the property clause should be incorporated in the Bill of Rights.

Also in the Bill of Rights is the clause on freedom of expression, which is formulated in a way which is designed to promote national reconciliation.

While the advocates of unbridled freedom of expression might not agree, the first option nonetheless outlaws hate speech based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion.

This clause also gives the state the power to regulate media which it finances or controls to ensure it is impartial and presents a diversity of opinion.

Also of interest in the draft Constitution is the inclusion of economic rights in the Bill of Rights, which includes the right to housing, land, economic activity and social security, options which parties like the NP and Democratic Party are unlikely to accept without reservations.

With regard to the above rights, the NP supports options contained in the interim Constitution, adding some qualifications to others.

The African National Congress, on the other hand, believes that economic rights are "so crucial an element of our Constitution" that they should be entrenched in a Bill of Rights.

On the whole, the working draft constitutes no radical departure from the interim Constitution, except for the section on transitional arrangements and the simple language used.

It is a document which Ramaphosa said people would enjoy reading. Excessively technical phrases have been omitted and Latin words such as *mutatis mutandis, ex officio, bona fide* and *inter alia* have been left out.

Ramaphosa said more than four million copies of the working draft will be distributed countrywide.

He added that close to two million submissions were received by the Constitutional Assembly and that the closing date for submissions will be February 20 next year.

As all the parties agree, the working draft is neither a first nor final draft of the Constitution, merely a progress report that can still be amended.

The real battle lies ahead.

DP: Let Parliament stay

CT 24/11/95 (304A)

ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Democratic Party yesterday became the first party to formally propose the final constitution stipulate that Cape Town be retained as the seat of Parliament.

A series of independent surveys have found the majority of supporters of all political parties, parliamentarians and opinion leaders favour the Mother City remaining the legislative capital.

But until now no party has been prepared to take a formal stand on the sensitive issue and the draft constitution released this week contains a blank space when dealing with the issue of where Parliament should be situated.

Announcing his party's decision to bite the bullet, DP leader Mr Tony Leon said: "The DP believes that democracy, development and national unity will best be promoted through a constitutional system which provides for as much decentralisation and devolution of power as possible."

He called on other parties to act in a spirit of national unity and reconciliation and follow suit.

Mr Leon, who is from Gauteng, also urged Constitutional Assembly members to "put this issue behind us" and back Cape Town for Parliament.

Assembly spokesperson Ms Katharine McKenzie said yesterday most parties appeared to be divided on the issue and none had submitted proposals yet.

"The debate is expected to resume when assembly members reconvene in mid-January," she said.

ARG 25/11/95

Mandela: Whites must be pacified

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Addressing the concerns of minorities and pacifying whites was a policy to build South Africa as a nation and would continue, President Nelson Mandela told several hundred delegates at a Black Management Forum conference in Kempton Park, Gauteng.

"Why should we not pacify them?" he asked. "In putting aside the quarrels of the past we have a country which has the opportunity to acquire education, skills and expertise in many fields. We want this."

Referring to a "brain-drain" of skilled people among minorities, Mr Mandela said minorities might be fearful of being oppressed.

He said he had been surprised by the reaction and support of people who had put aside the tensions and divisions of decades to build a nation.

"Let's forget the past," he said. "Let's put down our weapons; let's turn them into ploughshares. Let's build our country."

Mr Mandela said business people were among the most important opinion-makers in the country. Since he became president, he had appealed to business to provide infrastructure for the country — such as schools and clinics — as well as to contribute to the Presidential Children's Fund, among others.

Earlier, Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale welcomed the delegates, introducing himself as a board member of "the largest and most promising company: South Africa Incorporated".

He said there had never been greater opportunity and referred to recent economic growth, falling inflation and rising foreign investment. — Sapa.

Parliament must stay put, says Leon — even if I have to schlep

(304A) ARG 25/11/95

DAVID BREIER
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT must stay in Cape Town even if it means he has to "schlep" back and forth twice a week to Gauteng at great personal inconvenience, says Joburg "boykie" Tony Leon.

Mr Leon is leader of the Democratic Party which has become the first significant political party to come out unequivocally in favour of keeping parliament in Cape Town.

The other major parties, including the African National Congress and National Party, have fudged the issue.

And the first working draft of South Africa's new constitution, published this week, leaves the future site unresolved.

But the DP has grasped the nettle and announced its policy was that parliament must stay put rather than move to Pretoria or Midrand.

The party is backed by several surveys which show overwhelming national support — even most Gauties want parliament to stay.

The DP believes the country will be best served by as much decentralisation and devolution of power as possible.

"Personally it would be obviously much more convenient for me if parliament moved to Pretoria," says Mr Leon, a bachelor who maintains homes in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

"I would lead more of a normal life instead of running two homes. Personally I am sick and tired of schlepping between Cape Town and Johannesburg, and most of my life is actually in Johannesburg," he said.

Often he commutes twice a week between the two cities — plus other flights he has to make around the country. "Almost all of that is 'dead time' in an aircraft," he said.

"But there is a great need to deconcentrate power and authority and spread our resources and infrastructure, and not just concentrate it in a 50km radius in Gauteng," he said.

"For a federal party like ours, to suggest everything be concentrated in one place, would be a mistake. As far as I am concerned, that has tilted the balance in favour of Cape Town."



☐ **JOBURG BOYKIE**
Tony Leon

With the delayed Cape metro elections due to be held in mid-1996, the DP's clear pro-Cape Town stand, could be a major boost to its campaign.

The NP has a strong pro-Pretoria element, including constitutional provincial minister Roelf Meyer.

The ANC is in favour of moving parliament to the north. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and transport minister Mac Maharaj are strongly anti-Cape Town. President Nelson Mandela is also said to support the move, although in public he remains neutral.

Other DP reasons for keeping parliament in Cape Town include the huge waste of taxpayers' money.

National unity will be promoted by spreading national institutions around the provinces, the DP believes.

"Moving parliament from Cape Town would severely damage the economy of the Western Cape, one of the few economically self-sufficient provinces, and cause increased unemployment and insecurity," Mr Leon said.

"The physical location of the legislative and executive branches of government in different places will help to give parliament a distinctive role in checking the power of the executive, thus deepening and sustaining democracy in South Africa," Mr Leon said.

Other countries that had moved their parliaments ended up paying much more than the original estimates, he said.

CROSSING THE DIVIDE



SHAKING ON IT: Presidents Nelson Mandela and Robert Mugabe greet each other on the new bridge PHOTOGRAPH: AFP

Building new links across the Limpopo

Beit Bridge – South African President Nelson Mandela and his Zimbabwean counterpart Robert Mugabe opened a new bridge across the Limpopo River yesterday, symbolising a new era of partnership between the two neighbours.

The two leaders embraced each other after cutting yellow ribbons in the middle of the 540m-long bridge, which spans the swollen waterway that marks the natural border between their two countries.

"Do you give us permission to cross," Mandela quipped to Mugabe. "Sure," the Zimbabwe leader replied.

The two men each unveiled a plaque on either side of the bridge before attending a luncheon where the crisis surrounding Nigeria was expected to be discussed, a spokesman for Mandela said.

Speaking after the opening ceremony, Mandela said the new bridge "symbolises our common effort to build our economies as partners".

The two-lane toll bridge, a private undertaking by a consortium of Bulgarian, Zimbabwean and South African companies, replaces the old single-lane Alfred Beit bridge, which was the main carrier of traffic between South Africa and Zimbabwe since 1929. The construction of the new 18m-high bridge, which boasts 16 arches, began in September 1994 and was completed on November 1 this year.

Mandela said that while South Africa did not contribute to the cost of the structure, and would not benefit from the tolls levied, "part of this bridge is on South African soil and we therefore have a vested interest in it".

"Growth and development in our region and continent require a continuous effort to build bridges between our peoples so that the unity which underpins our common efforts is deepened."

Mugabe added it had become apparent years ago that the old bridge could not cope with development in the region.

Mugabe said it symbolised a "new dynamic partnership" between the two countries. – Sapa-AFP

(3044) Star 25/11/95

Pacifying whites will help build nation – Mandela

(304A) Star 25/11/95

Addressing the concerns of minorities and pacifying whites was a policy to build South Africa as a nation and would continue, President Nelson Mandela told several hundred delegates at a Black Management Forum conference in Kempton Park yesterday.

"Why should we not pacify them?" he asked. "In putting aside the quarrels of the past we have a country which has the opportunity to acquire education, skills and expertise in many fields. We want this."

Referring to the brain-drain of skilled people among minorities, Mandela said minorities might be fearful of being oppressed.

He had been surprised by the reaction and support of people who had put aside the tensions and divisions of decades to build a nation.

"Let's forget the past," he said. "Let's put down our weapons; let's turn them into ploughshares. Let's build our country."

Mandela said business people were among the most important opinion-makers in South Africa. Since becoming president he had appealed to business to provide infrastructure for the country, such as schools and clinics, as well as to contribute to the Presidential Children's Fund, among other worthy causes.

Earlier, Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale welcomed the delegates, introducing himself as a board member of "the largest and most promising company: South Africa Incorporated".

There had never been more opportunity, he said, referring to recent economic growth, falling inflation figures and rising foreign investment. – Sapa

Spotlight: Three Television Interview this week. See page 4

PHOTOGRAPH: AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Bomb victims threaten to sue McBride

(304A) Star 25/11/95

By MARIAN MURRAY

Victims of the 1986 Magoo's blast in Durban are planning to sue convicted bomber Robert McBride for pain and suffering.

They are enlisting the aid of an international lawyer to fight their case.

The group of 30 also plans a nationwide campaign to have McBride sacked as deputy director of foreign affairs.

McBride said yesterday he did not believe he could be sued because of the indemnity granted to him in 1991. "They can bring their international lawyer. It's fine ... but I am indemnified," he said.

"People should also be reminded that I was not indemnified by President Mandela, but by the National Party government."

He said Mandela had shown the way to reconciliation and that others should follow the president's example.

"Mandela has gone to all extremes to make the rainbow nation a reality, but a significant sector of the white population has reciprocated with contempt and threats.

"But this is hardly surprising because the majority of them were weaned on apartheid mother's milk of *swartgevaar*, *rooigevaar* and racism."

The 30 survivors of the blast, who claim to have substantial support – including the backing of some parliamentarians – have vowed to fight for McBride's removal from office and to block his possible appointment as an ambassador.

The Magoo's blast, which killed three people and injured 69, has left victims bitter almost a decade later.

A spokesman for the victims, Helen Kearney (52), who was lacerated and partially deafened by flying glass, said they were all strongly opposed to McBride's recent appointment to a top post in foreign affairs.

She said they had made their feelings known to the Government, and if it did not act they would organise nationwide protests and a petition campaign to get support for their cause.

McBride was arrested and charged after a massive hunt and charged with the murders of the three women – Angelique Pattinden (22), Marchelle Gerrard (28) and Julie van der Linde (28).

He spent eight years in prison, four of which were on Death Row.

He planted a 25kg explosive in a parked car on Durban's Marine Parade that went off at 10.10pm on June 15 1986, blasting through five bars and destroying parked cars.

National Party spokesman Leslie Reynard said yesterday McBride did not have his community at heart, let alone his country.

"I don't know how a murderer can get such a post. We in the NP do not accept his position, but unfortunately there is not enough opposition in Parliament to get McBride out," she said.

Several NP parliamentarians had, however, begun a move to have McBride removed from the position.

SEE PAGE 2

Magoo's bomber to be sacked, say victims

■ The 30 survivors of the Magoo's Bar bomb blast plan to enlist the aid of an international lawyer to fight their case.

(304A) ARG 25/11/95

MARIAN MURRAY
Own Correspondent

VICTIMS of the 1986 Magoo's Bar bomb blast in Durban are planning a nationwide campaign to have Robert McBride sacked as deputy director of foreign affairs.

They also plan to sue the convicted bomber for compensation for pain and suffering and are enlisting the aid of an international lawyer to fight their case.

Thirty survivors of the blast, who claim to have substantial support, including the backing of some parliamentarians, have vowed to fight for his removal from office and to block the possible appointment of Mr McBride as an ambassador.

Mr McBride said yesterday he did not believe he could be sued because of the indemnity granted to him in 1991.

"They can bring their international lawyer. It's fine ... but I am indemnified," he said.

"People should also be reminded that I was not indemnified by President Mandela, but by the National Party government."

He said Mr Mandela had shown the way to reconciliation and others should follow his example. "Mr Mandela has gone to all extremes to make the rainbow nation a reality but a significant sector of the white population has reciprocated with contempt and threats.

"But this is hardly surprising because the majority of them were weaned on apartheid mother's milk of *swart-gevaar*, *rooi-gevaar* and racism."

The Magoo's blast, which killed three people and injured 69, has left victims bitter almost a decade later.

A spokeman for the victims, Helen Kearney, 52, who was lacerated and partially deafened by flying glass, said they were all strongly opposed to Mr McBride's recent appointment to a top post in Foreign Affairs.

She said they had made their feelings known to the government, and if it did not act would organise nationwide protests and a petition campaign to get support for their cause.

Mr McBride who, after a massive hunt, was arrested and charged with the murder of the three women — Angelique Pattinden, 22, Marchelle Gerrard, 28, and Julie van der Linde, 28 — spent eight years in prison, four of which were on Death Row.

He planted a 25-kilogram Russian explosive in a parked car on Durban's Marine Parade that went off at 10.10pm on June 15 1986, blasting through five bars and destroying parked cars.

National Party spokeswoman Leslie Reynard said yesterday that Mr McBride did not have his community at heart, let alone his country.

"I don't see how a murderer can get such a post. We in the National Party do not accept his position, but unfortunately there is not enough opposition in parliament to get Mr McBride out," she said.

Several NP parliamentarians, however, had begun a move to have Mr McBride removed from his position.

Forgive him for the blast, say parents

Own Correspondent

THE parents of Magoo's bomber Robert McBride have called for their son to be forgiven for the blast which killed three people and injured 69 on June 14, 1986.

"Robert's activities contributed positively to the way the country eventually turned out. It was his brilliance and determination that brought about the changes we see today," said his father, Derek McBride, yesterday.

Speaking from their Wentworth, Durban, home, Mr McBride's parents, Derek and Doris, said that if he was accused of being a killer, other members of the government should face the same accusations.

"Anyone who wishes to question Robert's suitability for a position just because of his political activities to overthrow apartheid must also consider the fitness of the rest of the cabinet.

"Some members of the National Party can also be implicated in violent acts of the past — it's just that they operated secretly from embassies around the world," the McBrides said.



VICTIMS SUE FOR R1m

■ The 30 survivors of the Magoo's Bar bomb blast plan to enlist the aid of an international lawyer to fight their case.

(304A) (26) ARG 25/11/95

MARIAN MURRAY
Own Correspondent

VICTIMS of the 1986 Magoo's Bar bomb blast in Durban are planning a nationwide campaign to have Robert McBride sacked as deputy director of foreign affairs.

They also plan to sue the convicted bomber for compensation for pain and suffering and are enlisting the aid of an international lawyer to fight their case.

Thirty survivors of the blast, who claim to have substantial support, including the backing of some parliamentarians, have vowed to fight for his removal from office and to block the possible appointment of Mr McBride as an ambassador.

Mr McBride said yesterday he did not believe he could be sued because of the indemnity granted to him in 1991.

"They can bring their international lawyer. It's fine ... but I am indemnified," he said.

"People should also be reminded that I was not indemnified by President Mandela, but by the National Party government."

He said Mr Mandela had shown the way to reconciliation and others should follow his example. "Mr Mandela has gone to all extremes to make the rainbow nation a reality but a significant sector of the white population has reciprocated with contempt and threats.

"But this is hardly surprising because the majority of them were weaned on apartheid mother's milk of *swart-gevaar*, *rooi-gevaar* and racism."

The Magoo's blast, which killed three people and injured 69, has left victims bitter almost a decade later.

A spokeman for the victims, Helen Kearney, 52, who was lacerated and partially deafened by flying glass, said they were all strongly opposed to Mr McBride's recent appointment to a top post in Foreign Affairs.

She said they had made their feelings known to the government, and if it did not act would organise nationwide protests and a petition campaign to get support for their cause.

Mr McBride who, after a massive hunt, was arrested and charged with the murder of the three women — Angelique Pattinden, 22, Marchelle Gerrard, 28, and Julie van der Linde, 28 — spent eight years in prison, four of which were on Death Row.

He planted a 25-kilogram Russian explosive in a parked car on Durban's Marine Parade that went off at 10.10pm on June 15 1986, blasting through five bars and destroying parked cars.

National Party spokeswoman Leslie Reynard said yesterday that Mr McBride did not have his community at heart, let alone his country.

"I don't see how a murderer can get such a post. We in the National Party do not accept his position, but unfortunately there is not enough opposition in parliament to get Mr McBride out," she said.

Several NP parliamentarians, however, had begun a move to have Mr McBride removed from his position.

Forgive him for the blast, say parents

Own Correspondent

THE parents of Magoo's bomber Robert McBride have called for their son to be forgiven for the blast which killed three people and injured 69 on June 14, 1986.

"Robert's activities contributed positively to the way the country eventually turned out. It was his brilliance and determination that brought about the changes we see today," said his father, Derek McBride, yesterday.

Speaking from their Wentworth, Durban, home, Mr McBride's parents, Derek and Doris, said that if he was accused of being a killer, other members of the government should face the same accusations.

"Anyone who wishes to question Robert's suitability for a position just because of his political activities to overthrow apartheid must also consider the fitness of the rest of the cabinet.

"Some members of the National Party can also be implicated in violent acts of the past — it's just that they operated secretly from embassies around the world," the McBrides said.



Nats

ıts at odds over

sleaze

ɔaze payments

Nappiness is . . . Michelle Bruce



ST 26/11/95

Sleaze payments

(304A)

➪ From Page 1

months immediately prior to the company's collapse in 1991.

He said he was under the impression that Masterbond had approached Dr Delport with the idea and was unaware that his colleague had admitted approaching the company.

Mr Koornhof said he reported to Masterbond on political and legislative trends.

He said his reports were delivered verbally to the top management of the company.

Mr Jonker told the Nel commission Dr Delport had suggested that Mr Koornhof's monthly fee be split with his son.

Interviewed this week, Mr Koornhof said he had also acted on behalf of one other company in a consultancy role since the Masterbond affair, but refused to disclose its name.

NP executive director Fanus Schoeman said "it was normal" for MPs to become directors of companies or to do consultancy work. "The stage where all things must be declared is when you become a member of the executive."

In 1991 Dr Delport was deputy minister of constitutional development and provincial affairs. He was appointed minister of local government and became one of the NP's chief negotiators at the Kempton Park constitutional talks.

At the talks, the Nats opposed attempts to include in the constitution a clause forcing MPs to disclose their outside earnings.

However, Professor Asmal said most parties now agreed that MPs' interests should be disclosed, but disagreed on what details should be made public.

Professor Asmal's subcommittee will report on codes including lobbying, outside employment, consultancies and financial interests at the next parliamentary session.

The sub-committee is also discussing possible disciplinary measures against offenders.

By KEN VERNON, CYRIL MADLALA and RAY HARTLEY

ST 26/11/95 (304A)

THE lid was lifted on the sleazy last days of the National Party government when a former cabinet minister admitted this week that he touted MPs' services as "political consultants" to a number of companies.

Dr Tertius Delport, a top NP negotiator at the Codesa negotiations and now an Eastern Cape MEC, said he approached companies to hire MPs as consultants to boost their salaries.

His admission follows the disclosure that Deputy President F W de Klerk's top adviser, Nic Koornhof, acted as a paid political consultant to Masterbond, which later defrauded thousands of people of their life's savings.

In a bizarre twist, some of the Masterbond money paid to Mr Koornhof was channelled to Dr Delport's son Gert, a Stellenbosch University student.

The two politicians this week contradicted each other when asked to explain the arrangement.

Mr Koornhof said he split his consultancy fee with Gert as a "gesture of goodwill" because his father had "made the connection" with Masterbond.

But Dr Delport said the money paid to his son was for holiday and weekend work the student had done for Masterbond affiliate Master Leisure.

Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, who chairs a parliamentary ethics subcommittee, said the actions disclosed this week were "dangerous to democracy" and would lead to public cynicism towards MPs.

In Britain MPs have been banned from acting as consultants.

Yesterday Dr Delport, the Eastern Cape leader of the National Party and provincial MEC, admitted approaching disgraced Masterbond chairman Chris Jonker — at present serving a 10-year prison sentence for fraud — to hire Mr Koornhof as a "consultant".

He says he did the same for other MPs but refused to name them or the companies he had approached.

He justified his actions on the grounds that "at the time new MPs did not earn anything like they do now". Then, MPs earned R108 000 a year and received a new car every four years, free air flights, subsidised rentals in the parliamentary village and a constituency allowance. Today, MPs earn R190 000 a year, but hidden perks are included in their salaries.

DP MP Ken Andrew, who has served in the old and new parliaments, said it was a "moot point" whether or not MPs earned [illegible]s under the old parliamentary system. "You must get paid what you were doing on its own merits, not on whether or not you were being paid enough."

Dr Delport is no stranger to controversy. He was closely connected to convicted Mafia money launderer Vito Palazzolo and in 1991 he offered a Sunday Times reporter investigating the Sicilian businessman R75 000.

The consultancy storm broke this week when it was revealed at the Nel commission of inquiry into the affairs of Masterbond that the organisation had paid Mr Koornhof R2 000 a month to act as a political "consultant".

Mr Koornhof admitted working for Masterbond for six

To Page 2 ➪



DIVINE INSPIRATION ... Frank Chikane has become Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's Mr Fixit

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

Why God has placed Chikane in the Union Buildings

ST 26/11/95

(304A)

By CYRIL MADLALA

JUST before his departure for Harvard University last year, the Rev Frank Chikane said he had left it to God to determine what role he would play in the service of his country.

Today, he sits in a large office in the Union Buildings in Pretoria where he formulates policies and strategies for Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

His brief is to monitor and maintain contact with international and local organisations, foreign governments and individuals about political, industrial and civilian developments, and advise accordingly.

As Mr Chikane is well aware, the image of his boss as President Nelson Mandela's "Mr Fixit" has taken a few knocks recently.

South Africa's failure to analyse and respond appropriately to the Nigerian situation led to the "quiet diplomacy" that is now being blamed for the fate of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight Ogoni comrades.

And of course, before that there was the handling of the prickly issue of Winnie Mandela's dismissal from the cabinet, and Dr Allan Boesak and the affair of the donors' money.

The general consensus is that the office of the deputy president bungled on both occasions.

Is Mr Chikane here to fix "Mr Fixit"?

Perhaps, understandably, he will not be drawn to talk about what happened before he took over, nor does he think it is fair to ask if things would have been handled differently had he been in the office before November.

Instead, he rallies to the defence of his new colleagues.

"I don't think history will judge this office as harshly as some people have tended to do. It grappled with those issues as best as it could at the time. Obviously, a need to bring in somebody like me has been identified, and I am here to help the government deliver on its promises," Mr Chikane says.

He quit as secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches after last year's elections and went to study at Harvard for a year.

Mr Mandela, he says, asked him to help the new government, but "once the election was over, I needed time to reflect after what had happened during our transition," Mr Chikane said. He went to Harvard University's J F Kennedy School of Government where he studied management of policy and its implementation in developing countries.

The University of Cape Town is committed to policies of equal opportunity and affirmative action which are essential to its mission of promoting critical inquiry and scholarship.

26/11/95

30419

Instead of seeing the May deadline as a looming threat, Mr Ramaphosa says its presence will, in fact, lead to more effective bargaining.

"If parties are put into a deadline pressure cooker, they will actually produce," he says.

Mr Ramaphosa frankly admits that, aside from the unfinished Bill of Rights, there are three critical areas on which no agreement has yet been reached among the parties: The continuation of the government of national unity; provincial powers; and the shape of the second house of Parliament.

In this week's draft, the areas are left open, with divergent "options" listed. Ever the deal-maker, Mr Ramaphosa plays down the differences.

"On the government of national unity — that's going to be resolved. On the powers of provinces — the parties are much closer to one another than would appear from the options . . ." he says, flipping through the 63-page draft constitution.

Conflict resolution will most likely take place in the bilateral meetings which will begin in earnest once the current round of public consultation over the draft constitution is over.

The fact that parties will meet behind closed doors to resolve outstanding issues seems to fly in the face of Mr Ramaphosa's 18-month crusade for public participation.

It was a crusade intended to remove the stain of elitism that came from the deal-making over the interim constitution at Kempton Park.

"We have diluted or diffused that elitism. Bilaterals are not going to be open, but people will know what's going on," he says.

The public will get another bite at the cherry in April when the official draft constitution is published in bill form for public comment.

The impending bilateral bun fight pales when it is compared to Mr Ramaphosa's other task— getting Inkatha to return to the Constitutional Assembly.

This week he announced he would personally hand a copy of the interim constitution to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and try once more to persuade him to return.

"We would like to stress to them that the process has gone on on a very constructive basis. We have not had any reason to vote, the ANC has not used its majority strength," he says.

But on the key Inkatha demand — that the ANC and NP honour an agreement to bring international mediators into the constitution-making process — Mr Ramaphosa is lukewarm.

All he will say is: "We should hear how they want to raise the question of mediation".

Also standing in the way of reconciliation between the two parties is Inkatha's desire to introduce a constitution of its own in Kwazulu Natal.

To do this, the IFP might seek a two-thirds majority in a provincial election which it could fight on a ticket of opposition to Mr Ramaphosa's constitution-making process in Cape Town.

Unfazed, Mr Ramaphosa resorts to a technical answer. A Kwazulu Natal constitution will have to be certified by the Constitutional Court, he says. Should the court turn down the certification, Inkatha's constitution would be "null and void".

"If they try to steamroller a constitution without the full participation of all parties, there could be a problem," he says, adding with a flourish: "It's interesting that they are trying to accuse the ANC of dominating the constitutional process and we have not even used a vote."

Meanwhile, the time for Inkatha to return and for negotiators to reach crucial decisions has begun to run out. Sooner or later Mr Ramaphosa will have to crack the whip and begin the decision-making process with, or without, Mr Buthelezi.

Then the ANC will have to begin casting around for the 15 votes it needs to get a two-thirds majority in the Constitutional Assembly, wearing down the keys on Mr Ramaphosa's pocket calculator.

conducted in the six months remaining for the drafting of the new constitution.

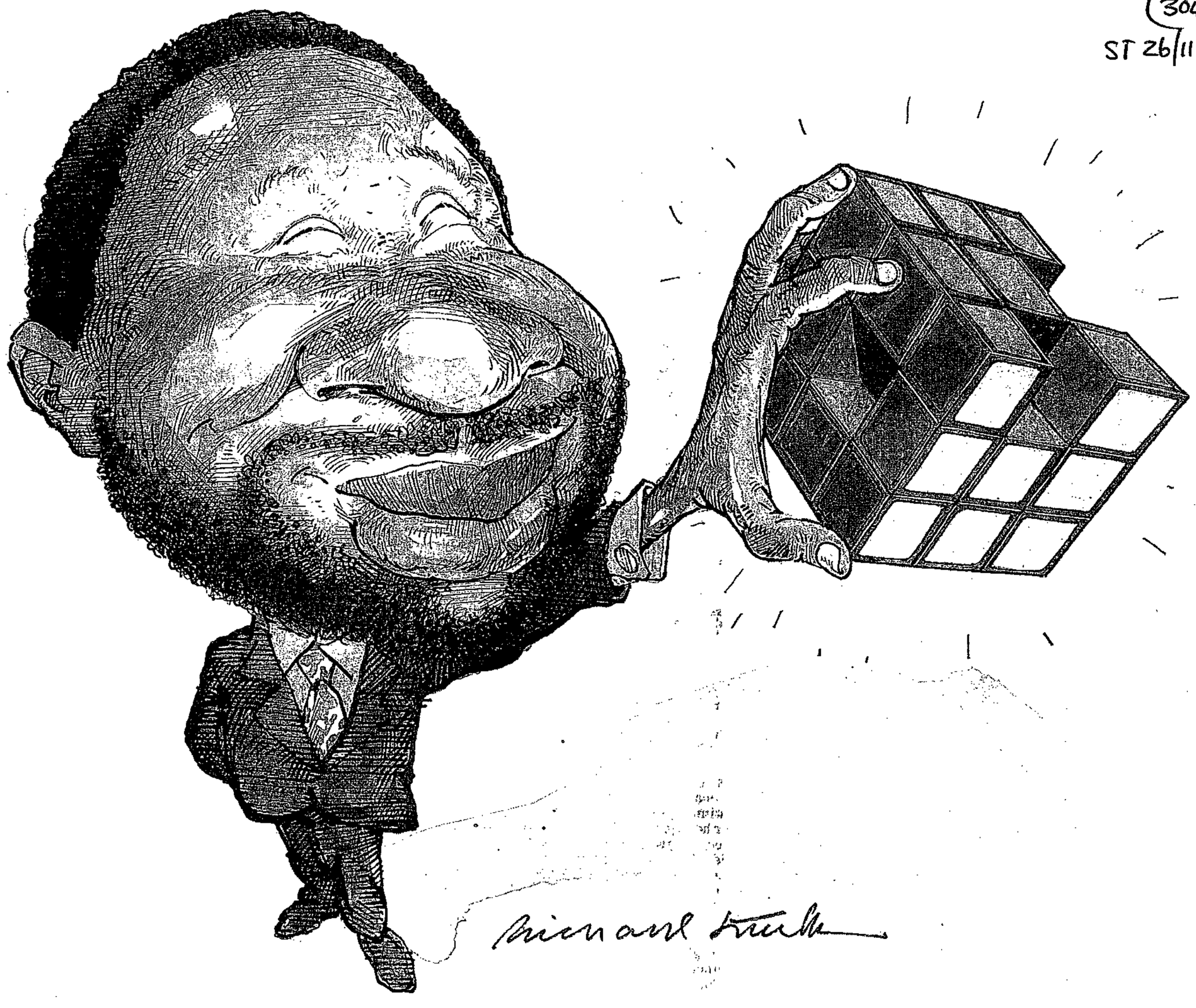
The draft keeps the quorum required for decisions on legislation at 50 percent.

Still to be decided is whether 20 percent of the legislature should have the power to refer a bill to the Constitutional Court before it is voted on.

According to this proposal, the president would have to get the agreement of the leaders of minority parties to appoint the deputy president of the Constitutional Court and other Constitutional Court judges. Should he fail, the judges would then be appointed by "a majority of at least 75 percent" of the National Assembly.

Puzzle of the Constitutional Cube

Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa talks to RAY HARTLEY about what lies ahead in the drafting of South Africa's final constitution



(304A)
ST 26/11/98

. . . and these are the problem areas

SOUTH AFRICA'S future democratic government has begun to take shape in the draft constitution released this week, but many questions remain unanswered.

At the head of government will be an executive president who will be head of state, head of cabinet and commander-in-chief of the defence force.

The president will have the power to appoint and dismiss cabinet members, convene cabinet meetings, assent to legislation and appoint commissions of inquiry.

These presidential powers could be changed if negotiators agree to an NP proposal that the government of national unity continue in some form, in which case the president could be made to consult on certain decisions.

Serving under the president could be a deputy president — an option favoured by the ANC — or a prime minister — a DP proposal — who would see to the day-to-day running of government and cabinet ministers.

Parties have agreed that the president may be removed from office on the grounds of a serious violation of the law, serious misconduct, or "inability to perform the functions of office" by a resolution in the National Assembly supported by a two-thirds majority.

They have also agreed that the National Assembly may pass a vote of no confidence in the cabinet, forcing the president to resign or call elections.

The National Assembly should consist of between 300 and 400 MPs elected for a five-year term of office.

But the parties have yet to agree on whether the assembly should sit in Cape Town

While the National Assembly has largely been agreed on, a major rift remains over the shape of the second house of Parliament, with the ANC favouring a "Council of Provinces" and other parties supporting a "Senate".

The ANC proposal would give provincial MPs seats in the upper house, and would give the provinces greater power over the national budget and recommendations of the Financial and Fiscal Commission, which decides how much money they get from central government.

But, while provinces would enjoy greater power under the new proposal, they would have to act together to achieve a majority in the proposed council. This is bad news for parties such as the IFP and the NP who only control one province.

The senate proposal would place the upper house in a more conflictual, watchdog role, giving individual provinces veto powers over legislation affecting them.

Parties have agreed to continue the judiciary in its present form, with a Constitutional Court, a Supreme Court, an Appeal Court and provincial and local divisions of the courts.

Still to be agreed on is the procedure for the appointment of judicial officers.

An option favoured by the ANC would allow the president to appoint the president and deputy president of the Constitutional Court "after consulting the judicial services commission".

An alternative supported by other parties would see the president appointing the president of the Constitutional Court and the chief justice "on the advice of the Judicial Services Commission", giv- im less discretion.

LEANING forward in his black leather chair, Cyril Ramaphosa punches the number of MPs into his calculator, then he divides this by two-thirds.

The answer that appears on the liquid crystal display is the number of votes it will take to pass the final constitution: 327 out of the 490 members of the National Assembly and the Senate.

The ANC, he points out from his office in the party's Johannesburg headquarters, has 312 votes — a tantalising 15 short of the total needed.

With just six months to go before the May 1996 deadline for the adoption of the final constitution, the question of how the "holes" in the draft constitution, released this week, will be filled has begun to loom large.

During this time Mr Ramaphosa will have to oversee an intricate web of closed meetings with parties to clear away deadlock issues.

And he will have to ensure the return of Inkatha to the constitution-making process, or come up with a credible explanation for drafting a constitution in its absence.

Against these odds, Mr Ramaphosa still doggedly maintains that he is producing a constitution "arrived at on the basis of consensus".

Behind his optimism lie what he sees as hard realities that parties must face.

"A lot is at stake if parties dig in their heels to the point where we do not reach agreement, because then the deadlock-breaking mechanism comes into play," he says.

In terms of this mechanism, a referendum would be called in which the ANC would need only 60 percent to get its way. Failing this, fresh elections would be cal'ed

Azapo branch to take part in elections

JOHANNESBURG: Azapo's Gauteng branch decided over the weekend to take part in the the 1999 general election.

This follows a similar decision by the Northern Province branch.

Regional chairman Mr Lybon Mabasa said Azapo stood a good chance to win the election because its hands were not tied to any agreements made at the Kempton Park multi-party negotiations.

But the organisation still wanted a consitituent assembly of elected people as opposed to a constitutional assembly where leaders had no mandate. — Sapa

CT 27/11/95

(3044)

Widow of DP MP gains place on ANC benches

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN human rights activist Ms Sue van der Merwe is set to become Parliament's newest MP.

Ms Van der Merwe, 41, widow of senior Democratic Party parliamentarian Mr Tian van der Merwe, who died in a car accident in May 1991, is to be sworn in as an ANC MP on January 15.

'Honoured'

A Black Sash veteran and executive assistant at the Open Society Foundation, Ms Van der Merwe said yesterday she approached her new job with some trepidation, but was honoured at the prospect of becoming a public representative.

"I would hope that I can take into my job the same values and commitment to justice that Tian stood for," she said.

"It is a terrible sadness that he was not able to take advantage of the many constructive roles the new Parliament offers."

Ms Van der Merwe is number 141 on the ANC's national list of candidates.

The first 126 candidates on the list made it into Parliament when the ANC garnered 62% of the vote in April 1994. However, a number of resignations and promotions of ANC MPs to diplomatic posts and positions on statutory bodies have seen individuals lower down the list being sworn in as MPs.

Ms Van der Merwe said her son, "JP", 12, and her daugher, Caroline, 10, fully supported her moving into the world of politics.

CT 27/11/95 (3049)



IN THE FAMILY: Ms Sue van der Merwe, who is to be sworn in as an ANC MP on January 15. ***PICTURE: NIC BOTHMA***

Parliament must stay — ANC call

THE ANC Western Cape has called on the organisation's National Executive Committee to support it in its call to keep Parliament in Cape Town. CT 27/11/95

This was one of the resolutions adopted at the ANC Western Cape provincial general council held on Saturday at Good Hope College.

The council noted that other provinces had taken initiatives to have Parliament moved to their provinces, and that no uniform position existed within the ANC nationally on this issue. It said relocation costs had not been quantified accurately, nor had the impact of moving Parliament from Cape Town. The ANC Western Cape resolved to suppport and strengthen the campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town. (3049)

Radical law to shake up government

(304A) (2) MG 27/10 - 2/10/95



A groundbreaking freedom of information Bill will guarantee public access to government meetings, writes Anton Harber

IMAGINE turning up at a government departmental meeting and demanding your right to listen in. Consider, when you have a difficulty with the way a government official operates, being able to demand to see the internal instruction memo which outlines how the task should be done.

And think about having the power, if you dispute information carried by a credit bureau or a bank about your financial history, to force them to append your correction to their records.

You will have these powers and rights if a draft Bill, about to go before Cabinet, becomes law.

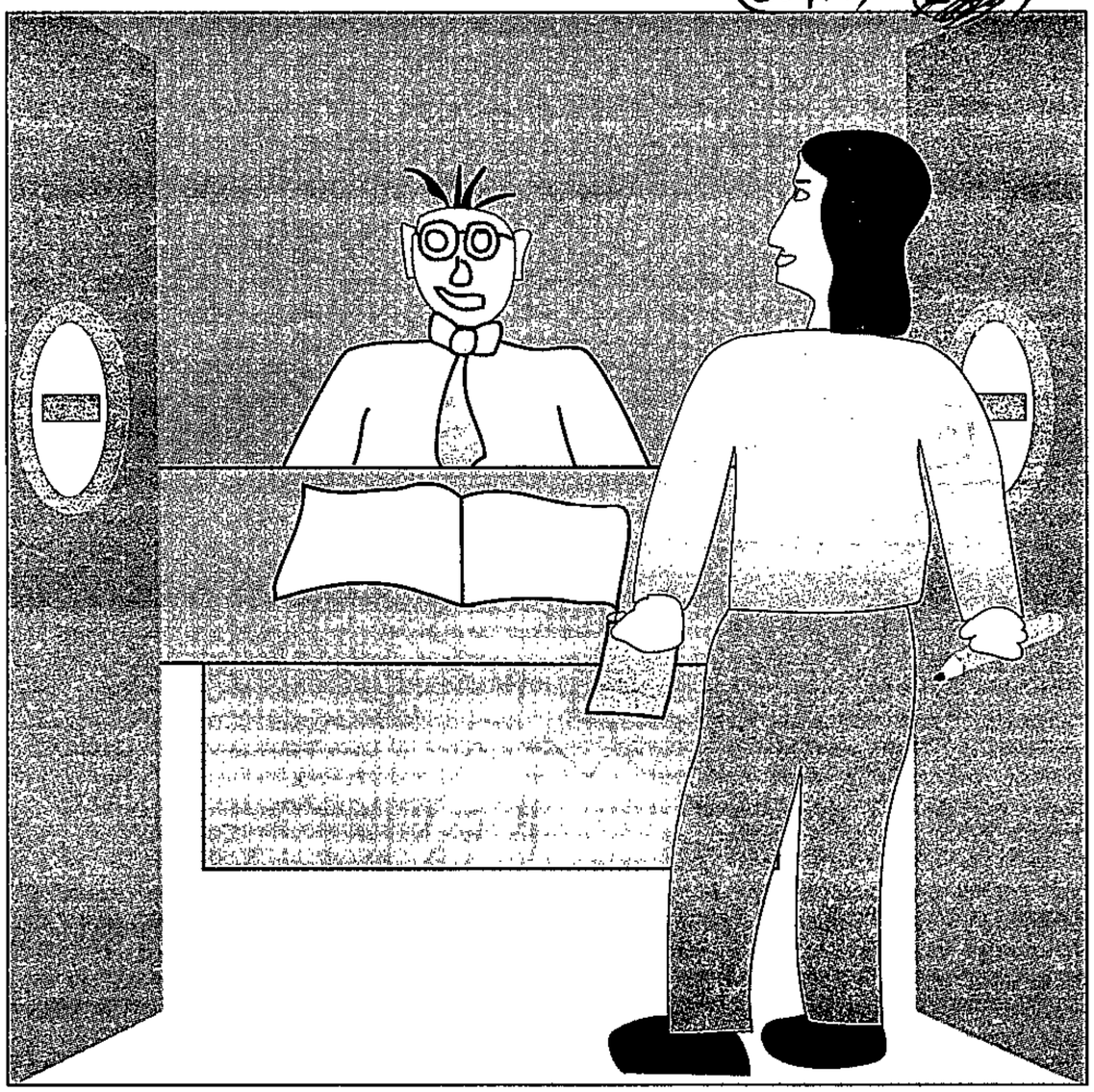
The Open Democracy Bill, which should be tabled in Parliament next year, is one of those rare, groundbreaking laws which will bring fundamental changes in the operation of government. Its purpose is to deepen democracy by enforcing the kind of public scrutiny and government openness which should significantly increase the level of accountability.

It is radical in content, establishing the individual's rights to attend government meetings, demand official documents, see the internal memos which set out how state departments work, correct misinformation about oneself in the public and private sector, and encourage civil servants to blow the whistle on corruption without losing their jobs.

It applies at all levels of the state, from the Banana Board to a local city council; from the National Intelligence Agency to the presidency; from a commission to an attorney general's office. The only blanket exclusions are meetings of the Cabinet and "judicial organs".

The ramifications are enormous. If the officials holding a meeting don't want you there, they will have to say why, show that this complies with the narrowly defined reasons outlined as acceptable in the law, and have a majority of the participants agree. If you think they have still denied you a right, you will be able to take them to a new Information Court.

The Bill very carefully sets out valid reasons for denying these rights to you, on grounds such as national security, invasion of privacy, the protection of a third party's commercial information, the obstruction of law enforcement and harm to the country's international relations or economic interests.



But the onus will be on the government officials to prove that these do in fact apply and to provide full reasons, allowing one to challenge them in court if one does not accept them.

One of the far-reaching aspects of this Bill is that a "whistleblower" — an official who exposes corruption or maladministration — gets full protection. They cannot lose their jobs, or be disciplined, for speaking out, even if by doing so they break another law, such as the Official Secrets Act.

This will fundamentally change the way government departments work, forcing them on a practical, day-to-day level to become more open and accountable, and challenging the secrecy and defensiveness which characterises most of the civil service. It will implement and make tangible our new Constitution's commitment to openness.

It will make South Africa a world leader in the implementation of democracy. Although a number of other countries have equivalent freedom of information laws — such as the US, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Scandinavia — none is as comprehensive as the Bill going before our National Assembly.

The Bill grants these rights to everyone, but in particular it will massively empower the media, giving them the right to probe where it has never probed before and gain access to information previously unavailable.

The Bill has been quietly assembled by a special task force in the office of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who bears responsibility for information matters. Headed by advocate Mojanku Gumbi, the group has so far produced nine drafts of the law after extensive, across-the-board consultation.

Some of the unusual features of the law are:

- Any person will be able to exercise these rights, not just citizens or voters.
- Every government body will have to designate an information officer to deal with these matters, and a list of these officers will have to be published in the telephone directory.
- Every state body will have to publish an index to its records.
- Formal rules for departments to give notification of meetings, to prevent them from meeting in secret to avoid scrutiny.
- A right to correct misinformation about oneself. If you discover that someone has filed wrong information about you, you can demand its correction or at least for your version to be appended to the file. This also applies to information in the private sector — such as that held by credit bureaux.
- The rules apply not just to formal government departments, but to any body delegated government powers, such as consultants and commissions.
- A quiet triumph for the rights of the disabled. All reasonable steps have to be taken to ensure that official meetings are accessible to the physically handicapped.
- Even if you are refused information on good grounds, such as national security, you can demand it if you can show that no harm will be done by its release.
- Whistleblowers can demand to be moved to another equivalent job if their position is harmed by their exposure of wrongdoing.

The Bill does have its critics , most of whom argue that it will create an expensive and cumbersome bureaucracy specialising in dealing with and circumventing demands for information and access to meetings.

But its supporters argue that, by exposing and preventing corruption and maladministration, it will save a lot more money than it costs.

In the US, which has had a similiar law for over two decades, the major problem is the abuse of the system by companies seeking information about their competitors. The task group's answer to this is to charge companies which ask for information in order to cross-subsidise the cost of finding information for individuals citizens or the media.

The Bill would put strain on government departments having to deal with its requirements and some may push for delays, although international experience appears to be that there is a gross exaggeration of the expected number of requests for information and meeting attendance.

But these are secondary problems. The real issue is whether this Bill — which will have more than its fair share of nervous enemies — will survive intact as it passes through the Cabinet, committees and Parliament.

Buthelezi rebuffs ANC

(3049)

DURBAN: Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rebuffed an ANC overture for talks about the draft constitution.

At the launch of the working draft of the constitution last week, chairman of the Constitutional Assembly Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said he wanted to meet Chief Buthelezi to urge him to end Inkatha's boycott of the writing of the constitution.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday that foreign mediation on disputed issues was still Inkatha's top priority. The ANC has ruled out mediation.

"I do not expect much to come out of a meeting (with him) at this stage," Chief Buthelezi said. — Reuter

CT 28/11/95

Parliament may stay

Politicians are starting to say they want Parliament to stay in the Cape

(3044) Bowetan 28/11/95

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

ALTHOUGH many people may not have noticed, it could just be that the battle to relocate Parliament is over.

The postponement of local government elections in the Cape metropolitan area to March next year has come as a blow to those who have been calling for Parliament to be moved from the Western Cape.

It would be political suicide at present for any political party hoping to win the votes of Capetonians to even suggest that Parliament be relocated to the North.

This realisation has clearly sunk in in political circles. The Democratic Party has just announced that it is now in favour of parliament remaining in Cape Town. Its leader Mr Tony Leon said he'd rather endure the discomfort of travelling to and from Gauteng twice a week than see it moved.

An about turn is also being made by the ANC, which stands to lose most by moving Parliament, after its dramatic voter gains in the region in the recent local government elections.

If it wants to consolidate those gains it would have to reassure its new voters that it will be acting in their interests by keeping the institution in the Cape.

For the first time there are clear moves afoot within the ANC to scrap plans to move Parliament. At its provincial general council this weekend it was resolved that divisions within the organisation be resolved by its NEC.

It also called on the NEC to ensure that it clarifies its position because "no uniform position exists within the ANC nationally on this issue".

The ANC-Western Cape pointed out that Parliament's current location contributes significantly, both directly and indirectly, to the Western Cape economy.

At the time of going to press efforts to get the National Party to state its position proved fruitless.

Holomisa exposes ANC 'witch-hunt'

Sowetan 28/11/95

(304A)

Campaign to 'sideline populists within the organisation'

By Mzimasi Ngudle

ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS Deputy Minister and former Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa yesterday exposed a "witch-hunt investigation" carried out by people in the African National Congress and South African National Defence Force against him and former Transkei Defence Force officers.

Holomisa, who scooped most votes at the ANC's last consultative conference, said the investigation was part of a wider campaign to sideline "populists" within the organisation.

Holomisa said the thrust of the investigation was to establish what help former homeland military officers gave liberation movements before the elections. He said that in the intelligence report the officers were referred to as "terrorists".

Holomisa said the intelligence report was compiled early this year and that another report was scheduled to have been discussed early this month.

Holomisa said President Nelson Mandela was probably unaware of the "dark conspiracy", carried out by Government intelligence structures under the leadership of SANDF intelligence officers Colonel D Shone and Mr "Socks" Sokupha – a former Umkhonto WeSizwe operative in the Eastern Cape's Border region who now serves in the SANDF.

Orchestrated campaign

Holomisa said Shone was the "overall overseer" of the abortive 1990 coup in Transkei.

He also took credit for mounting the "1993 military raid sanctioned by FW de Klerk personally, in which sleeping schoolchildren were coldbloodedly slaughtered".

Holomisa said the "personalised" nature of the report chimed well with the orchestrated campaign against himself and others early this year who were "castigated as populists, sadly by our own organisation".

"It is a strange coincidence that the very people who were dubbed "populists" were the very ones who were charged to mobilise support and votes for the ANC in the April 27 elections," Holomisa said.

Holomisa said the report and the campaign against "populists" by some elitists using the ANC were evidence of "a desperate bid to get rid of certain people at whatever costs".

"It becomes apparent that now that the enemy has been overcome, the ANC can afford to turn inward and ferret out elements within its ranks who are deemed to be undesirable," Holomisa said.

Five die in shack blaze

FIVE people, among them a three-year-old boy, burnt to death in Dawnpark on the East Rand when a shack caught fire early yesterday morning.

Mr Abraham Majola, his son Abe and three friends died in the fire, SABC-TV news reported.

A neighbour said the shack was ablaze when he woke up at 3am. Efforts to save the people failed because the door was locked from the inside and burglar bars covered the windows, witnesses said.

The names of the other dead, two women and a man, will be released when their relatives have been informed.

It is not known how the fire started but police have opened a murder docket.

In another tragedy, four people were killed and 11 injured in an accident on the road between Piet Retief and Ermelo in Mpumalanga yesterday.

Police said a car crashed into a stationery minibus. The names of the dead have not been released. – *Sapa.*

Setback to draft constitution progress

Star 28/11/95 (304A)

JOVIAL RANTAO,
MONDLI MAKHANYA
AND POLITICAL REPORTERS

The national constitution-making process and the prospects for a solution to the political problems in KwaZulu Natal suffered setbacks when Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said he saw no reason to meet Constitutional Assembly (CA) chairman Cyril Ramaphosa to discuss the draft constitution.

Another setback was the rejection yesterday of the truth and reconciliation commission shortlist, which IFP Senator Ruth Rabinowitz dismissed as "a political tribunal" against her party.

According to reports today, Buthelezi described the working draft of the new constitution as being "not worth the paper it's written on". He also resurrected the IFP's demands for international mediation and blamed Ramaphosa for the delay in the implementation of the mediation agreement.

The Zulu leader's rebuttal of Ramaphosa's overtures deals a serious blow to the process as all other parties are keen to get the IFP on board before the constitution is finalised early next year. This would ensure the legitimacy of the constitution across the political spectrum.

Also, moves to ensure that local government elections were held on March 27 as scheduled were jolted yesterday when KwaZulu Natal MEC for local government Peter Miller told an electoral court that it would be impossible to hold elections as scheduled. If elections were to be held on March 27, the demarcation of wards would have to be done within a week.

The court has begun a two-day hearing to resolve a dispute over boundaries of seven councils.

However, despite the problems, Mr Justice J Smalberger, who is expected to announce his verdict today, asked the ANC and IFP to compromise and remained confident that elections could be held on March 27.

On the truth commission panel, Rabinowitz told an Institute for Multiparty Democracy that not all IFP members would give evidence to the commission, once officially constituted, because there were no IFP sympathisers on the shortlist.

(304A)

Holomisa hits out at 'witch-hunt'

28/11/95

ARG 28/11/95

From page 1

an unholy alliance against Mr Sokupha's erstwhile comrades — Transkei Defence Force officers".

"I want to caution that while we all embrace the principles of reconstruction, changing of our yester-enemies will not necessarily make them today's friends."

Mr Holomisa also warned that those who allowed themselves to be part of an alliance that perpetuated smear campaigns "might suffer from their own machinations as such schemes tend to boomerang".

While some had, at the height of repression, taken the chance of creating liberated zones within enemy territory, these roles were today being undermined by a range of campaigns.

Mr Holomisa said he had not joined the ANC and helped it to victory for a political "thank-you" or to be demonised afterwards as a populist.

The personalised nature of the intelligence report on the Transkei officers' role in supporting liberation movements chimed well with the orchestrated campaign against some ANC leaders earlier this year, where they were castigated as populists "sadly by our own organisation".

This is a reference to speeches made at a memorial service for former SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani.

"It is a strange coincidence that the very people who were dubbed populists were the very ones who were charged to mobilise support and votes for the ANC in the April 27 election."

With apartheid defeated, the ANC was turning inward to ferret out elements within its ranks who were deemed undesirable.

"It was precisely for this reason that I asked the NEC (National Executive Committee) members not to consider my name when electing the national working committee members in February this year.

"The intelligence report (in question) and the malignant campaign against the so-called populists by some élitists using the organisation are evidence of a desperate bid to get rid of certain people whatever the costs."

He said former colleagues in the Transkei Defence Force and the government had nothing to hide or fear, and could rest assured they would not be distracted by spurious investigations and character assassinations.

Limited military role ratified

BD 29/11/95

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The parliamentary defence committee yesterday ratified sections of the defence White Paper which placed limitations on the role of the defence force in maintaining internal stability.

The White Paper proposes the SANDF be deployed only "in the most exceptional circumstances".

The committee agreed that resources for maintaining internal stability should be used to enhance the capacity of the police. As a matter of urgency, the defence and safety and security departments would establish a task force to devise strategies for the withdrawal of the SANDF from an internal policing role.

During its deliberations on the White Paper, the committee reconfirmed its support for the proposition that "SA does not now, and will not in the future, have aggressive intentions towards any state".

The issue of gay and lesbian soldiers in the defence force was also raised during the discussions, with ANC members suggesting their rights ought to be protected. The committee decided to discuss the issue in depth today.

The committee largely ratified a new section in the second draft of the paper on the "new world order" outlining new trends in the worldwide strategic environment.

The section stated that the vast majority of armed conflicts were taking place within rather than between states, arising from internal divisions.

There was a tendency towards greater interdependence, regionalism and internationalism. New regional blocs and international organisations had been formed with an emphasis on the facilitation of interstate trade.

The paper proposed the establishment of a regional arms register which recorded information on imports, exports, production and holdings of conventional arms and light weaponry.

It suggested that "it may be worthwhile to establish a small peace operations centre to develop and co-ordinate planning, training, logistics, communication and field liaison teams for multilateral forces".

Sapa reports the ANC and the NP clashed on a clause which required the defence force to broadly reflect the composition of SA. NP committee members argued the clause could lead to women soldiers outnumbering men. ANC members said they saw no problem with women playing a greater role.

ANC dismisses claims of 'witch-hunt'

(304A) BD 29/11/95

Ingrid Salgado

THE ANC yesterday reprimanded national executive committee member and Environmental Affairs and Tourism Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa for publicly alleging there was a "witch-hunt investigation" against "populists" within the party.

Given the seriousness of the allegation, Holomisa should have used avenues within the organisation to draw attention to his claims, the ANC said.

The ANC viewed opting for public statements before requesting investigation of such matters by the executive or national working committees in a very serious light.

Holomisa had alleged the party was conspiring to expel certain members of the former Transkei Defence Force who had been "dubbed populists".

Party spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa rejected Holomisa's allegations. There were "no factions bent on marginalising so-called populists". No internal disciplinary action against Holomisa was being contemplated, he said.

THE CAPE

Holomisa hits back at ANC assurance

(SOUR)

29/11/95

☐ *Apartheid-era 'securocrats' accused*

TYRONE SEALE
Political Staff

THE Eastern Cape is worst off among the nine provinces because it is being destabilised by "securocrats" who refuse to adapt to the new situation in the country.

So says Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and former Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Holomisa made this claim today as he refuted an African National Congress assurance that the organisation was not hounding so-called populists such as Mr Holomisa and fellow former deputy-minister Winnie Mandela.

The ANC yesterday denied the existence of cliques, factions or cabals in its ranks bent on marginalising populists.

The organisation was responding to hard-hitting allegations by Mr Holomisa that ANC élitists were trying to get rid of him and other populists by conspiring with security elements from the apartheid era.

Mr Holomisa has alleged that an intelligence investigation has been under way to establish the role Transkei military officers had played in helping liberation movements — termed "terrorists" for the purpose of the probe — before last year's national elections.

Calling on Mr Holomisa to discuss his grievances with comrades before going public, the ANC yesterday denied such an investigation was under way.

But today, in an interview from his Pretoria office, Mr Holomisa said he went public only on issues about which he could produce hard evidence.

The investigation had been launched by the Provincial Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Pico) in the Eastern Cape, comprising military intelligence, security police information services and national intelligence.

Meetings had been held at the SA Infantry Batallion in Grahamstown and a meeting scheduled for November 16, to discuss the Transkei report, had been postponed at the last minute.

Aspects of the investigation were:

- Assistance given to liberation movements by the then Transkei government and defence force.
- The prevailing situation in the former Transkei.
- Concerns about Mr Holomisa's personal assistant, Lieutenant-Colonel M Xaba, who saved the then-general's life during an abortive coup by the South African Defence Force in 1990.
- Meetings held recently between President Mandela and Eastern Cape interest groups, including senior civil servants and a lobby calling for Transkei to be established as a 10th province.

Mr Holomisa said he found it surprising that this focus on the former Transkei did not include the abortive 1990 coup and other aspects of destabilisation in the region. Mr Holomisa said that the destabilisation could be explained in terms of the retention of "securocrats" from the apartheid era.

Holomisa in R100 000 claim for defamation

ET 30/11/95 (304A) 70(2)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Independent Newspapers is seeking, in a R100 000 defamation suit brought against it, to overturn a decades-old presumption of the common law on the grounds that it is unconstitutional.

Mr Bantu Holomisa, Deputy Minister of Enviromental Affairs, is suing Independent Newspapers Ltd for an article that appeared in the Star on May 27, 1993 which alleged "military intelligence sources believed him to be directly involved in the infiltration into South Africa of Apla and Transkei Defence Force troops".

It was further alleged that the operation was "aimed at killing whites in the northern Natal region" and that the operation was also aimed at "assassinating a top South African official in Transkei".

Mr Gilbert Marcus, appearing for Independent Newspapers Ltd, said the company was applying for an exception to the particulars of Mr Holomisa's claim, because he was a public offical or figure at the time the article was written and he was still a public offical.

The common law requires Independent Newspapers to prove that what it wrote about Mr Holomisa was true, but Mr Marcus has claimed this is an unfair burden and, constitutionally, Mr Holomisa should have to prove it was false.

He said that with the introduction of the Constitution on April 27, 1994, it became clear that a public figure was obliged to yield to it, and, in the case of public figures newspapers had the inherent right to free speech and expression under section 15 of the Constitution.

"When (the article) was written he was the military ruler of the Transkei and he is now the Deputy Minister of the Department of Enviromental Affairs," he said.

Mr Marcus said Mr Holomisa's action was instituted in August 1994, "well after the coming into operation of the constitution".

Mr Dali Mpofu, for Mr Holomisa, said the constitution could not be applied to this case because it was litigation between two private persons. Mr Holomisa was suing in his personal capacity.

Judge Edwin Cameron reserved judgment.

Now Govt takes sanitation out of the closet

BY ANITA ALLEN
Science Writer

Star 30/11/95

Sanitation came out of the closet yesterday with the launch of a draft white paper which will go down in the SA record books as the first white paper to be drafted by no fewer than six ministries working together.

The aim of the paper is to change sanitation from a taboo subject to "table talk", says Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal.

Departments involved are Water Affairs, Education, Environment Affairs, Health, Provincial Affairs and Constitutional development, and Housing. For the implementation phase – which is to begin immediately – Arts, Culture, Science and Technology plus the RDP office are also included.

"Half of SA has inadequate sanitation. The subject must be discussed as openly and frankly as possible and be rectified, otherwise there will be no health, no dignity under our new democracy," says Asmal.

15% are taking big risks in the bedroom

Many people are happy to take their clothes off, but are too embarrassed to suggest using a condom

Star 30/11/95

BY JANINE SIMON
Medical Correspondent

Almost 15% of South Africans didn't use a condom when they had sex with a new or different partner this year, the first local usage and attitude study on condoms has shown just days before World Aids Day tomorrow.

Most respondents (52%) said they didn't use a condom because they didn't have one with them, and couldn't put off the moment, Peter Smith, MD of condom manufacturers LRC Industries, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

"A total of 35% of people were happy to take off their clothes, but too embarrassed to suggest using a condom!" he added.

The respondents were all aged between 18 and 45, regular committed, or occasional users of condoms, and had all bought and used a condom in the previous two months.

Researchers endured abuse, and had to approach more than 5 000 respondents to generate sufficient statistical data for the study, which was commissioned by LRC, the manufacturers of Durex condoms.

The aim was to investigate why the commercial condom market had stopped growing, or more simply, why people didn't use condoms.

The market swelled 20% in 1993, when Aids awareness programmes took off, but slowed in 1994, and flattened in 1995, Smith said.

The study showed that, despite the years of hype about Aids, more than 60% of South Africans still claimed to use condoms solely or primarily as a contraceptive.

A total of 16% used condoms as protection against sexually transmitted diseases and 22% were not concerned about Aids, disease and/or unwanted pregnancies. Indications were that South Africa remained a conservative society.

Six out of 10 people still bought condoms from pharmacies, and, unlike in Europe where women buy the condoms, in 76% of local cases, it was the men who did the buying, Smith said.

Opposition fears one-party domination

(3049) Star 30/11/95

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
Political Reporter

South Africa's fledgling democracy was being jeopardised by the domination of one political party, opposition party leaders warned yesterday.

At a World Trade Centre conference on multiparty democracy, leaders of parties ranging from the Democratic Party to the Pan Africanist Congress and the Freedom Front warned that the monopoly of power by the ANC was unhealthy for democracy.

The conference is being held under the aegis of the Dutch Foundation for a Democratic South Africa (DFSA). Among other things the DFSA funds political parties in in attempt to ensure a vibrant democracy.

Arguing that his organisation's real support was not reflected by the minuscule percentages it scored in national, provincial and local elections, PAC deputy president Dr Motsoko Pheko said the domination of the political scene by one party did not bode well for the country.

"The monopoly of power destabilises," said Pheko. He said the country needed to curb poverty so as to put an end to the crime that was breeding political instability.

His views were echoed by DP leader Tony Leon, who said "one-party domination" was one of the "dangers" which could prevent South Africa's democracy from maturing. This domination negated the concept of democracy as "a competition of ideas".

"Race and ethnicity still tend to dominate the politics of South Africa. Voting still occurs along overwhelmingly racial lines," said Leon.

IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the new constitution's working draft was a camouflage for the ANC's bid to centralise power. He said it would "put an end to constitutionality in SA for ever".

Miller 'set to amend local government Bill'

Farouk Chothia

BD 30/11/95

ULUNDI — KwaZulu-Natal local government MEC Peter Miller had agreed to amend the Provincial Local Government Bill substantially to ensure that it dovetailed with the IFP's local government model, IFP national council member Walter Felgate claimed yesterday.

But Miller refused to confirm or deny this. He said he was still to hold discussions with IFP leaders over the Bill.

Felgate and Miller held a joint news conference earlier yesterday in what appeared to be a public relations exercise to downplay the row that has strained relations between them.

The two issued a joint statement saying they had held "frank and detailed discussions" and it was agreed that amendments to the Bill would be drafted for Miller's consideration.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised Miller on Monday for "shying away" from decisions of the IFP national council and reflecting a model different to that of the IFP's in the Bill.

Felgate said in a later interview that Buthelezi's criticisms were "very helpful". It made him and Miller "sit up and take note" and ensure that the Bill met the requirements of the IFP national council.

Felgate said Miller's Bill had been drafted by "technocrats and politicos" from the "old era" who had a "natural inborn resistance" to change.

Felgate said that Miller was not like them. Miller supported IFP policy and agreed that major amendments should be made to the Bill so that rural people could be empowered.

Felgate said while all traditional leaders would have ex-officio representation on the councils, elected representatives would also serve on them.

Comment: Page 12

Mediation is first step, says Felgate

BD 30/11/95

Farouk Chothia

ULUNDI — The IFP would return to the Constitutional Assembly only after international mediation had been completed, IFP national council member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He said an undertaking from the ANC that it agreed to mediation would not result in the IFP joining the assembly. The IFP did not "trust" the ANC and believed the ruling party would renege on its word.

Felgate said the IFP's priority was to reach a constitutional settlement in KwaZulu-Natal. It was close to reaching an agreement with the NP. The IFP believed that once an agreement had been reached, Deputy President FW de Klerk would join Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the government of national unity to demand that President Nelson Mandela honour the mediation agreement.

The completion of a constitution in KwaZulu-Natal would make the issues on which there needed to be mediation "crisp and clear", Felgate said.

The IFP believed that mediation could take place in January if the ANC agreed. It would not last more then "a couple of days".

Once the IFP returned to the assembly, it would make a joint effort with the NP to prevent the ANC passing its centralised constitutional vision in favour of federal principles.

NP KwaZulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte said negotiations in KwaZulu-Natal were "very positive". De Klerk had always believed there should be mediation. The ANC's failure to honour the agreement was the underlying reason for tension in KwaZulu-Natal.

Schutte said an option was to hold mediation without the ANC. The KwaZulu-Natal constitution could be placed before mediators to see whether it was "internationally acceptable".

Schutte said there was a general feeling in the country that it was a "luxury for parties outside the ANC to be divided". There should be co-operation when parties shared basic principles.

Sources said the IFP had continued to make concessions over a KwaZulu-Natal constitution in bilateral talks with the NP.

There were indications that it would accept a militia over which both premier Frank Mdlalose and Mandela would have control. The province could summon it to assist in disasters such as a flood, while only Mandela would have the power to summon it to quell any political unrest.

SANDF set to integrate 2 000 IFP-aligned 'troops'

Stephané Bothma

BD 30/11/95

PRETORIA — About 2 000 KwaZulu-Natal IFP-aligned self-protection unit (SPU) members are to be integrated into the SA National Defence Force over the next two years.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel told a media briefing at the Union Buildings yesterday that Cabinet had approved the decision to allow the SPU members to become soldiers after discussions with the IFP.

He said 200 SPU members would be integrated during the current financial year, while the rest would join the SANDF in the next financial year.

The SANDF last night said it had agreed in principle to the integration of no more than 2 000 SPU members into the force. The integration would take place on condition that the SANDF and other relevant authorities in KwaZulu-Natal agreed on the names of the people to be integrated and that a certified personnel register be compiled as a first step.

"The process... will be done in accordance with a mutually agreed-upon procedure," SANDF communications chief Maj-Gen Gert Opperman said.

He said the exact time scales for the process had not yet been determined but would be influenced by the availability of funds.

More details would be announced in the next few days, he said.

The SANDF is currently in the process of integrating an estimated 35 000 MK and Apla non-statutory force members into the defence force.

Meanwhile, all prisoners whose death penalties had not been commuted by the previous government would have their cases referred back to their trial courts for re-sentencing, Gerwel said.

SOWETAN Monday November 27 1995

Contralesa head is suspended

(3044)

Sowetan 27/11/95

Chief Phathekile Holomisa stripped of his powers until April 1996

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

CHIEF Phathekile Holomisa, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, has been suspended by his organisation until the the next annual general meeting due probably in April1996.

The organisation also annulled Mrs Winnie Mandela's election as treasurer at its special national conference in Pretoria at the weekend.

One of the conditions of Holomisa's suspension is that he not make statements on behalf of the organisation.

The meeting also resolved that the annual general meeting at which Holomisa, Mandela, Chief James Mahlangu and Chief Cedric Mhinga were elected, be regarded as unconstitutional. This, because the meeting "was called by Holomisa without the knowledge of the entire Contralesa executive".

The meeting, which elected Holomisa and company to office, took place in Midrand near Johannesburg last December.

Contralesa general secretary Mr Victor Sifora said Holomisa was using Contralesa to advance his political ambitions, "a luxury Contralesa is not prepared to grant him".

Sifora said the move to suspend Holomisa should not be seen as a step heralding his expulsion but rather as indicative of Contralesa's desire to show that "no individual within the organisation must be seen to be holding absolute power".

He said Contralesa "wished to put on record that Holomisa is guilty of other serious offences, including unlawfully taking possession of the organisation's property".

"We also take exception to the fact that Holomisa encouraged traditional leaders to boycott municipal elections," he said. He said Holomisa had supported IFP-aligned traditional leaders in calling for the boycott of local government election.

Four Contralesa leaders, including president, axed

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has dismissed four of its leadership, including its president, Chief Phatekile Holomisa, and treasurer Winnie Mandela, by revoking as unconstitutional the meeting at which they were elected.

The decision was taken yesterday by a special meeting of the Contralesa national congress in Pretoria which also suspended Holomisa until the annual general meeting, due in April.

The chief had called the "unconstitutional" meeting at Midrand last December "without the knowledge of the entire Contralesa executive".

Its general secretary, Victora Sifora, said after yesterday's decision that Holomisa's suspension was an indication that "no individual within the organisation must be seen to be holding absolute power".

Star 27/11/95

(304A)

SOWETAN Friday November 10 1995

Holomisa to be disciplined

(304A) Sowetan 10/11/95

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

THE fate of Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA leader Chief Pathekile Holomisa is likely to be discussed when the organisation holds its special congress at an undisclosed venue in Johannesburg on November 25.

Contralesa general secretary Mr Victor Sefora said some "decisions to boycott the local government elections had been enunciated by certain members without relevant structures been involved in the process."

Sefora said certain controversial utterances which were attributed to Contralesa had in fact not been endorsed by the organisation.

This clearly relates to utterances attributed to Holomisa.

He was quoted as having said his organisation would boycott municipal elections if the Government failed to meet certain conditions demanded by traditional leaders.

ANC spokesman Ms Phumla Mtyeku confirmed Holomisa was due to face the disciplinary action.

The ANC has expressed concern about utterances attributed to Holomisa as they were seen to be contradicting the organisation's position on elections.

Some of the issues to be discussed at the conference include the role to be played by Contralesa in the reconstruction process.

ANC secretive about fate of chief Holomisa

(304A) Sowetan 30/11/95

By Joe Mdhela
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress (ANC) is vague about the suspension of Chief Phathekile Holomisa as president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) and talks rather generally about it.

Holomisa was suspended as head of the organisation in Pretoria last weekend after claims by traditional leaders that his re-election in December last year had been unconstitutional.

Contralesa general secretary Mr Victor Sifora claimed that the Midrand annual general meeting (AGM), at which Holomisa was re-elected, was unconstitutional.

He argued that "properly elected structures of Contralesa were not aware of the AGM".

ANC chief spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said: "Obviously one does not have all the facts to be able to comment authoritatively. But one fully understands the stance taken by the traditional leaders."

Non-committal

"They were unhappy about Holomisa's conduct relating to his threats to boycott the local government elections."

Niehaus was clearly being non-committal, as he did not want to give away too much on such a delicate matter.

Holomisa has already refuted claims that he has been suspended. He maintains that the weekend action at the special Contralesa conference to suspend him was unconstitutional.

Besides, he said, he had a hunch that the ANC had a hand in the suspension.

The ANC's decision to haul Holomisa before its own disciplinary committee for encouraging traditional leaders to boycott the local government elections has some tell-tale signs of its own.

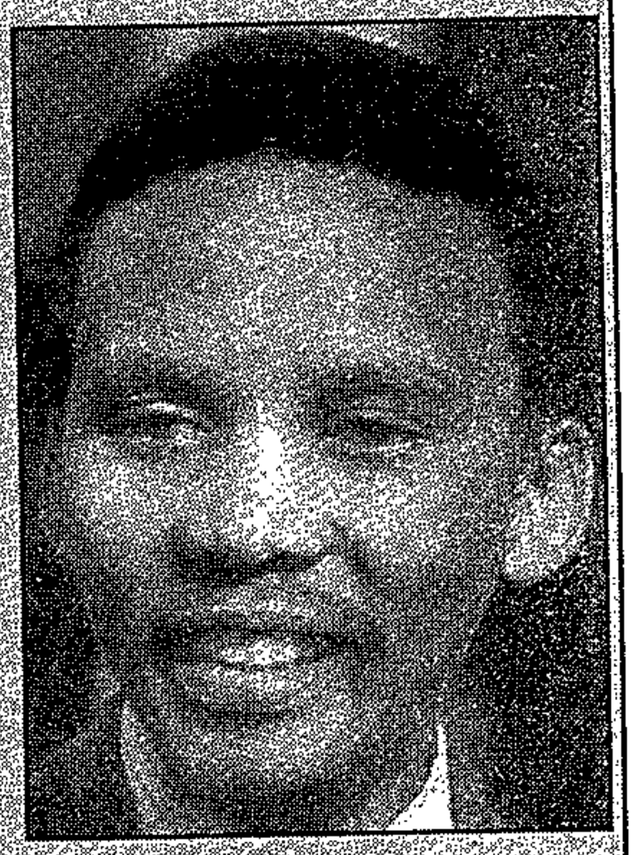
Assertion

Taken together with Holomisa's assertion that his suspension had been engineered by the ANC, a picture begins to emerge that there may have been a fall-out between him and the party.

Holomisa's chief lieutenant, Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana, is on record as saying there was an ANC plot to expel Holomisa from the organisation.

"If the ANC fires Holomisa, it will have to fire all of us," Nonkonyana told *Sowetan* last week. But of course the ANC is not gunning for all traditional leaders.

The ANC is buying time to decide what it will do with Holomisa. Despite its earlier decision to call on him to answer for his election statements, it has so far done nothing about bringing charges against him.



Chief Holomisa ... will the controversy around his suspension lead to a split in Contralesa?

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said last week: "If the ANC continues with the disciplinary hearing, it will do so by informing the concerned person."

This is an open-ended response, subject to many interpretations.

When *Sowetan* approached Water Affairs Minister Mr Kadar Asmal yesterday for comment as chairman of the ANC's disciplinary committee, it was referred to ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ramaphosa was said to be out of town on business.

Unrepentant

However, Holomisa is unrepentant despite the ripples his statements have caused within the ANC.

In a television interview this week he claimed the ANC was bedevilling relations between him and Contralesa.

He also reiterated his belief that the weekend decision to suspend him was unconstitutional and therefore invalid.

"I am still president of Contralesa," Holomisa said.

But traditional leaders who called for Holomisa's suspension were adamant they would have nothing to do with him. They will soon meet President Nelson Mandela to inform him about their stand.

The chiefs made it clear that they felt people like Holomisa were working in tandem with the enemies of the Government of National Unity.

As a result of the furore, some believe a split in Contralesa might be imminent. That Holomisa refuses to accept his suspension lends credence to the belief that conflict within Contralesa is inevitable.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT STANDS

Govt may by-pass chiefs

CT 30/11/95 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG: If traditional leaders don't establish an advisory council by February 28, 1996, the government will be able to pass laws affecting them without consulting them.

THE Constitutional Court ruled yesterday that the government could pass laws affecting chiefs without consulting their advisory council, if the chiefs fail to meet the February 28 deadline for establishing the council.

But the court also ruled that kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose could question the validity of a bill dealing with the payment of chiefs once President Nelson Mandela signs it into law.

Dr Mdlalose lost his argument against Parliament's amendment to the constitution scrapping the requirement to consult the council of traditional leaders if the council was not set up by February 28 next year.

Any legislation affecting chiefs and issues of traditional law may then become effective in the absence of the council, and stand as law until the council is established.

Constitutional Court Judge Ismail Mahomed, in a ruling agreed to by the court's 10 other judges, found there was no legal reason to bar the amendment.

But the judge said Dr Mdlalose could pursue his argument that the purpose of the amendment was to validate a bill giving the central government authority to pay chiefs.

"The suggestion might conceivably justify an attack on the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill if, and when, it is ever assented to by the President."

Inkatha halted the bill's signing into law when it argued the payment of chiefs could not be taken from the provinces and given to the government without referral to the traditional leaders' council.

The 20-member council has however not been established because two of the six provincial legislatures with chiefs have failed first to set up their houses of traditional leaders, which need to be consulted on regional laws.

Dr Mdlalose, attending a kwaZulu/Natal legislature sitting in Ulundi yesterday, said he would study the judgment before making any further decisions.

kwaZulu/Natal Local Government Minister Mr Peter Miller, who had supported Dr Mdlalose's action, said the court had rewarded the province by not ordering them to pay the costs of the hearing.

"It means ... the judges were satisfied we had a prima facie case and that it was a case well worth hearing," he said. — Sapa

Court relaxes dagga law

CT 30/11/95

JOHANNESBURG: The Constitutional Court eased the drug laws yesterday, overturning legislation that said people guilty of possessing dagga could be convicted of dealing in the herb simply because they had more than 115 grams of it.

Judge Kate O'Regan found that under the old laws, suspects could be convicted of dealing because they had more than a certain amount — even if there was reasonable doubt.

"If there is indeed doubt that the accused is a dealer, he or she is entitled to the benefit of that doubt," she said.

"It does not appear logical to presume that a person found in possession of 115 grams of dagga is more likely than not to have been dealing in dagga."

The 10 other judges agreed.

She ordered the scrapping of a section of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act, saying it infringed the rights of an individual to be presumed innocent. — Reuter

Policy-making in a new SA needs a different look

BD 30/11/95 (304A)

ANN BERNSTEIN

DECADES of minority rule and the imposition of apartheid policies had two consequences for public policy making in SA. Great expertise was acquired in criticising government policies and exposing the flaws in their implementation. This critical expertise can be overestimated as the moral critique was so overwhelming that it was generally felt unnecessary to expose the flaws of policy in any other terms.

The result was that the technical skills required to dissect a government policy and analyse why its impact on society was different from the intentions and predictions of policy makers were underdeveloped, and often deemed irrelevant, in apartheid SA.

Secondly, because of the nature of the struggle against apartheid, morality and intentions became a much larger part of the public policy debate than is desirable. Sound policies should be measured by their effect on society and citizens, and not the intentions of the policy makers.

Now that most South Africans agree on broad national goals and accept their common citizenship of the same country, a much more professional and detailed approach to public policy will be required.

This does not mean that policy should be divorced from politics. Far from it. Government policy (or for that matter the policies of any organisation) is the practical expression of political interests and ideals as applied to national challenges and problems. And in a democracy the many different influences on the public policy process are important ingredients in getting results.

It is possible, however, to distinguish between a rational, unemotional analysis of the steps involved in formulating effective policies and the political interests, ideas and often heated debate that will affect which policies are ultimately chosen and implemented by the ruling political groups.

There is a clear distinction between policy analysis and policy advocacy. People who confuse the two often believe their own propaganda.

Under apartheid, public policy was confined to a select group of insiders. The new SA must avoid similar elitism. We must ensure a much larger number of people and interests in the state, politics and civil society have the skills to pose policy questions, evaluate alternatives and anticipate the likely consequences of preferred initiatives.

The question of the SA public service provides an interesting example of some of the dilemmas of policy analysis. In a study by the Centre for Development and Enterprise, the following facts emerged: just before last year's election, the public sector consisted of about 1,9-million workers, of whom 65% were white and 35% black. In the top eight grades (200 000 positions), only about 15% of the posts were filled by blacks. Blacks occupied only 3,3% of the 5 900 jobs in the top four grades.

There is broad agreement that this distribution of top-level jobs must now change, but the desired outcome has yet to be clearly formulated in policy terms. The interim constitution suggests two points of departure which if interpreted literally would have radically different outcomes. The first calls for the "leadership of the SA government" to be "truly democratic and non-racial in spirit"; the second argues that this leadership should be "truly representative of the SA people".

Each of these statements implies a radically different outcome. The second approach with its implication of a new and more detailed race classification system conjures up nightmares of ethic inspectors checking the number and proportions of Shangaans, Pedis, Zulus, Gujeratis, Vendas and many others throughout the public service.

Leaving aside values for a moment, a kitbag of policy tools enables citizens and their representatives to evaluate objectively the practicality and ultimately the desirability of these two very different approaches to public service policy guidelines.

To avoid reliving the terrible mistakes of the past, SA policy makers need a good understanding of why previous policies worked or failed.

Apartheid involved a set of policies that made assumptions about the powers of the state to change society fundamentally; about the nature of individuals; about the role of the market. A thorough analysis of what happened in SA during that period provides important lessons for the future about what it is possible for the state and others to achieve in the future.

The capacity of the state cannot be assumed in any developing country. This is especially the case in SA where the new bureaucratic elite has in most cases been denied any previous opportunity to gain experience; and the old bureaucracy does not generally have expertise in development or social issues. Thus the reality of limited state capacity has to be a major consideration in any realistic policy formulation and implementation process.

In a democracy, open policy debate must take place. Answers must not be prejudged. Committed democrats can disagree on the best approach to dealing with a country's many challenges.

Central, local and provincial government and political parties will need to develop capacity to formulate detailed policies and, as importantly, the capacity to absorb the new ideas, comments and approaches that emerge from an honest consultative process as opposed to a public relations exercise. Are you really confident that all those public submissions on the new constitution or the numerous Green and White Papers of the government of national unity will actually be read?

A democratic policy process assumes that all interests within a society can participate in the public debate to influence government policies. But many interests in a developing society are not organised. The policy process tends to be dominated by organised middle and working class urban interests. These vocal influential groups, however, represent only a small part of the population.

Policy processes can be designed to cater for this problem (albeit imperfectly) by providing opportunities for less organised and generally ignored communities of citizens to be heard. House-to-house surveys can be done to find out what individuals in an area actually think, want or consume. Or information and consultation meetings can be held in communities (such as informal settlements) that are normally neglected in the public debate, thus providing them with a voice.

The nature of political representation will be critical here. If MPs are elected by and accountable to local communities the chances are greater that the needs and circumstances of previously neglected areas will become better known in the circles of power.

Perhaps the greatest challenge that faces the country's policy makers is accepting that while every area of policy is important it is impossible to deal with all of them simultaneously. Choices will need to be made and priorities selected. The reality of being able to implement only certain areas of policy at a time will have important implications for how policies are interpreted by citizens and the impact they have on social and economic processes.

Often the power of policy analysis and effective politics will lie not in "solving" problems defined by others but in redefining problems within a framework that makes them capable of resolution. Intervention is not always called for. Sometimes the best policy is no policy at all.

The effectiveness of the SA policy process in the future will depend on many variables. Among the most important are the capacity and willingness of the state to be realistic about its own limitations, engage outside interests, genuinely listen and quickly learn from their mistakes; the organisation of previously under-represented rural and poor urban interests; the effectiveness of the legislature and the way in which democracy operates within political parties; the sophistication, diversity and independence of the media; the quality and influence of independent policy centres; and the access of more and more South Africans to policy skills.

□ **Bernsteir is director of the Cen-**

Policy-making in a new SA needs a different look

BD 30/11/95 (304A)

ANN BERNSTEIN

DECADES of minority rule and the imposition of apartheid policies had two consequences for public policy making in SA. Great expertise was acquired in criticising government policies and exposing the flaws in their implementation. This critical expertise can be overestimated as the moral critique was so overwhelming that it was generally felt unnecessary to expose the flaws of policy in any other terms.

The result was that the technical skills required to dissect a government policy and analyse why its impact on society was different from the intentions and predictions of policy makers were underdeveloped, and often deemed irrelevant, in apartheid SA.

Secondly, because of the nature of the struggle against apartheid, morality and intentions became a much larger part of the public policy debate than is desirable. Sound policies should be measured by their effect on society and citizens, and not the intentions of the policy makers.

Now that most South Africans agree on broad national goals and accept their common citizenship of the same country, a much more professional and detailed approach to public policy will be required.

This does not mean that policy should be divorced from politics. Far from it. Government policy (or for that matter the policies of any organisation) is the practical expression of political interests and ideals as applied to national challenges and problems. And in a democracy the many different influences on the public policy process are important ingredients in getting results.

It is possible, however, to distinguish between a rational, unemotional analysis of the steps involved in formulating effective policies and the political interests, ideas and often heated debate that will affect which policies are ultimately chosen and implemented by the ruling political groups.

There is a clear distinction between policy analysis and policy advocacy. People who confuse the two often believe their own propaganda.

Under apartheid, public policy was confined to a select group of insiders. The new SA must avoid similar elitism. We must ensure a much larger number of people and interests in the state, politics and civil society have the skills to pose policy questions, evaluate alternatives and anticipate the likely consequences of preferred initiatives.

The question of the SA public service provides an interesting example of some of the dilemmas of policy analysis. In a study by the Centre for Development and Enterprise, the following facts emerged: just before last year's election, the public sector consisted of about 1,9-million workers, of whom 65% were white and 35% black. In the top eight grades (200 000 positions), only about 15% of the posts were filled by blacks. Blacks occupied only 3,3% of the 5 900 jobs in the top four grades.

There is broad agreement that this distribution of top-level jobs must now change, but the desired outcome has yet to be clearly formulated in policy terms. The interim constitution suggests two points of departure which if interpreted literally would have radically different outcomes. The first calls for the "leadership of the SA government" to be "truly democratic and non-racial in spirit"; the second argues that this leadership should be "truly representative of the SA people".

Each of these statements implies a radically different outcome. The second approach with its implication of a new and more detailed race classification system conjures up nightmares of ethic inspectors checking the number and proportions of Shangaans, Pedis, Zulus, Gujeratis, Vendas and many others throughout the public service.

Leaving aside values for a moment, a kitbag of policy tools enables citizens and their representatives to evaluate objectively the practicality and ultimately the desirability of these two very different approaches to public service policy guidelines.

To avoid reliving the terrible mistakes of the past, SA policy makers need a good understanding of why previous policies worked or failed.

Apartheid involved a set of policies that made assumptions about the powers of the state to change society fundamentally; about the nature of individuals; about the role of the market. A thorough analysis of what happened in SA during that period provides important lessons for the future about what it is possible for the state and others to achieve in the future.

The capacity of the state cannot be assumed in any developing country. This is especially the case in SA where the new bureaucratic elite has in most cases been denied any previous opportunity to gain experience; and the old bureaucracy does not generally have expertise in development or social issues. Thus the reality of limited state capacity has to be a major consideration in any realistic policy formulation and implementation process.

In a democracy, open policy debate must take place. Answers must not be prejudged. Committed democrats can disagree on the best approach to dealing with a country's many challenges.

Central, local and provincial government and political parties will need to develop capacity to formulate detailed policies and, as importantly, the capacity to absorb the new ideas, comments and approaches that emerge from an honest consultative process as opposed to a public relations exercise. Are you really confident that all those public submissions on the new constitution or the numerous Green and White Papers of the government of national unity will actually be read?

A democratic policy process assumes that all interests within a society can participate in the public debate to influence government policies. But many interests in a developing society are not organised. The policy process tends to be dominated by organised middle and working class urban interests. These vocal influential groups, however, represent only a small part of the population.

Policy processes can be designed to cater for this problem (albeit imperfectly) by providing opportunities for less organised and generally ignored communities of citizens to be heard. House-to-house surveys can be done to find out what individuals in an area actually think, want or consume. Or information and consultation meetings can be held in communities (such as informal settlements) that are normally neglected in the public debate, thus providing them with a voice.

The nature of political representation will be critical here. If MPs are elected by and accountable to local communities the chances are greater that the needs and circumstances of previously neglected areas will become better known in the circles of power.

Perhaps the greatest challenge that faces the country's policy makers is accepting that while every area of policy is important it is impossible to deal with all of them simultaneously. Choices will need to be made and priorities selected. The reality of being able to implement only certain areas of policy at a time will have important implications for how policies are interpreted by citizens and the impact they have on social and economic processes.

Often the power of policy analysis and effective politics will lie not in "solving" problems defined by others but in redefining problems within a framework that makes them capable of resolution. Intervention is not always called for. Sometimes the best policy is no policy at all.

The effectiveness of the SA policy process in the future will depend on many variables. Among the most important are the capacity and willingness of the state to be realistic about its own limitations, engage outside interests, genuinely listen and quickly learn from their mistakes; the organisation of previously under-represented rural and poor urban interests; the effectiveness of the legislature and the way in which democracy operates within political parties; the sophistication, diversity and independence of the media; the quality and influence of independent policy centres; and the access of more and more South Africans to policy skills.

□ **Bernstein is director of the Centre for Development and Enterprise.**

Councillor who switched to NP kicked off exco

ARG 1/12/95

304A

ANDREA WEISS, Municipal Reporter

A CAPE Town city councillor who crossed the floor to join the National Party has been kicked off the executive committee in a decision which could end in court.

The council yesterday voted 34 to 15 in favour of discharging David Statham, a former member of the African Christian Democratic party who has joined the NP.

But the decision will not be effected until next month's council meeting because the Democratic Party has give notice that it wants to have it reviewed and rescinded.

Mr Statham was elected a co-leader of the emergency and protective services standing committee as a representative of the non-statutory caucus when the transitional council was formed at the beginning of the year.

Yesterday's debate saw a mass walk-out of NP members when the motion was first up for debate. The ANC-alliance later left the meeting after the vote was won, but while the DP was tabling its notice.

DP leader Neil Ross slammed both the NP and ANC for their behaviour during the debate, saying that they were playing "petty politics" at the expense of completing the agenda.

Several items on the monthly agenda had not been dealt with when the motion, put by Arthur Wienburg, who is still a Democratic Party member but not a member of its caucus, came up for debate.

Mr Ross said the DP was opposed to the motion because it believed that democracy included the right to change one's mind.

He said the composition of the executive committee was "like a den of thieves" because agreements that were made were reneged on and dissidents were placed in positions on the statutory side.

"We should be building bridges and not knocking people down. If you do this to Councillor Statham, the next victim will be Councillor Keegan."

Clive Keegan, a former ANC member, is also a member of the executive committee and co-leader of the economic development committee.

An angry NP caucus leader Leon Markovitz, who returned for the major portion of the debate, told the council he had taken legal advice and that the matter could be challenged in court.

"You must take the consequences," he said.

Mr Markovitz also accused Mr Wienburg of being "hell-bent on making this council ungovernable".

Mzukisi Gaba of the SA Communist Party said the transitional council had been negotiated to include statutory and non-statutory representatives to level the playing fields.

"You cannot be a chameleon in this process," he said.

'SETBACK' FOR CAPE TOWN LOBBY

Constitution query on siting of Parliament

CT 1/12/96 (3044)

THE DEBATE over the siting of Parliament was fuelled yesterday by Transport Minister Mr Mac Maharaj. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports.

THE new constitution did not have to stipulate where Parliament should be sited, Transport Minister Mr Mac Maharaj said yesterday.

He said in an interview that the location of the legislature did not have to be settled by the 490-member Constitutional Assembly (CA).

This interpretation, if correct, could constitute a major setback for advocates of keeping Parliament in the Mother City.

Independent surveys have found that most parliamentarians believed that the institution was functioning effectively in Cape Town, while public opinion overwhelmingly favours Parliament staying put.

A sub-clause in the draft constitution released last week states that "The seat of the National Assembly is ..." The blank space was interpreted by experts as indicating that constitution writers still had to make up their minds but that, as in the past, the venue would be specified.

Clause 45(3) appears to reinforce this interpretation when it continues: "Sittings at other places are permitted only on the grounds of public interest, security, or convenience, and if provided for in the rules and orders of the Assembly."

However, Mr Maharaj — who favours Parliament moving to Gauteng — said yesterday that the constitutions of a number of other countries did not state where these countries' parliaments should be situated and there was no reason why this had to be spelt out in the South African constitution.

The head of the research department of the the CA, Mr Derek Powell, said that while "it seems clear that parties have decided to include it (the site of Parliament) as a provision in the constitution", he believed that it was "really a political decision that could ultimately be decided at cabinet level".

Rewards in return for loyal doctors — Shisana

BD 1/12/95

Kathryn Strachan

GOVERNMENT had to look at offering incentives to medical schools which produced graduates who stayed in the country, health director-general Olive Shisana said yesterday.

There had been many documentations in the SA Medical Journal that emigration was the highest among English-speaking white doctors. In finding long-term solutions to the shortage of doctors in neglected rural areas, one had to look at which students tended to emigrate.

With the great need for doctors in the public sector and in rural areas, medical schools had to find people who were committed and caring. Shisana said certain medical schools had a far higher rate of students emigrating on graduation than others.

She said the question of rewarding those medical schools who had more Afrikaans-speaking and black students was a point of discussion and not government policy. She said the idea was not discriminatory, it simply rewarded institutions who trained people who stayed in SA.

DP leader Tony Leon said yesterday that his party was appalled by government plans to shift funding from English-speaking students to black and Afrikaans-speaking students.

"The proposal, if implemented, would amount to racism and social engineering of the most blatant kind.... The real answer to the brain drain ... is for government to take urgent steps to arrest the slide towards anarchy in SA which is the root cause of professionals emigrating," he said.

Cost of free health care

Nomavenda Mathiane

BD 1/12/95

THE Gauteng health department would spend R383m on free health care for pregnant women and children, health MEC Amos Masondo said yesterday.

He was replying to questions by DP provincial MP Jack Bloom who responded that it was a large amount which still did not appear to be enough to alleviate the problems experienced by medical staff.

He said it was puzzling that only 22% (R85m) of the budgeted amount had been spent at this stage of the year.

The DP was unconvinced that an appropriate balance had been found in countering the destabilising effects of the top-down initiation of free health care categories which were in fact compounding the difficulties of restructuring the health services.

Accords to boost US-SA ties

BD 1/12/95 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Four co-operative agreements between SA and the US were due to be signed during US vice-president Al Gore's visit to SA next week, while the American and President Nelson Mandela were due to discuss the Nigerian question, officials said yesterday.

Government officials are confident that SA-US relations will be significantly boosted by the signing of the agreements, although two major outstanding problem areas are unlikely to be resolved during the three-day visit.

A finance department spokesman said a double taxation agreement between the US and SA was still under discussion, while the court case in which Armscor has been charged for violations under US sanctions legislation is still pending.

Gore and several other US officials are visiting SA at the invitation of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who is a co-chairmen of the US-SA binational commission set up during Mbeki's visit to the US in March.

The commission — one of three binational commissions set up by the US with SA, Russia and Egypt — is aimed at developing business, education and science and technology contacts.

The four agreements due to be signed deal with: the national youth development plan; a programme concerning the peace core; a framework agreement on scientific and environmental issues; and an economic and technical agreement.

Accompanying Gore will be Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary. They have visited SA before, to develop bilateral relations in their specific areas.

Also present will be Interior Secretary Bruce Babbit, Clinton science and technology aide John Gibbons, and Peace Corps representatives.

US and SA officials confirmed the issue of Nigeria will be discussed when Gore meets Mandela, but remained tight-lipped on what might be decided.

Reports from the US suggest Gore and Mandela will begin to iron out a workable strategy against the military regime in Nigeria, although the two governments are currently adopting very different stances on an appropriate response to the Nigerian question.

Mandela has been pressing the US, which buys about 40% of Nigeria's total crude oil output, to impose an oil embargo in response to the execution of writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other minority rights activists.

The US has been adopting a much softer stance, partly for fear of substantial petrol price increases in the US.

AL

SA, US sign agreement

Sowetan 1/12/95

(304A)

The United States recognises social transformation taking place in SA

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

UNITED STATES Vice-President Al Gore and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki will sign a unique cooperation agreement when they meet next week.

Invited by Mbeki, Gore arrives in South Africa for a two-day visit on Monday. South Africa will be the second country in the world after Russia to enter into such an agreement with the US.

National development

On Tuesday Mbeki and Gore will sign a pact on national development, peace corps, scientific, technological and related issues.

Mbeki said yesterday that Gore's visit was "all business" and South Africa regarded it as a milestone because the US recognised the social transformation taking place in this country.

Minister of Trade and Industry Mr Trevor Manuel will lead the South African delegation to meet Gore. Two committees from both countries will oversee the agreements to be signed.

Mbeki's spokesman, Mr Thami Ntenteni, quashed media speculation that Gore was visiting South Africa to enhance the opposition to the anti-Nigerian military regime following the execution of nine Ogoni activists two weeks ago.

'Land grab': Hot potato threatens to burn ANC

ARG 2/12/95 (304A)

DAVID BREIER
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa faces constitutional deadlock as long as the African National Congress insists on legalising land-grabs in the new constitution.

This warning has come from the National and Democratic parties amid growing fury at the ANC's hardline proposal that property can be expropriated in the name of "land reform" without paying compensation.

The property clause is shaping up as the hottest constitutional issue after the publication of the draft constitution due to be finalised next year.

The DP's Groote Schuur branch in Cape Town has launched a petition against the ANC's land-grab proposal. DP national leader Tony Leon said the party could extend the petition nationally.

Mr Leon said that even if there was consensus on every other constitutional issue, the new constitution would fail to win a two-thirds majority in the assembly unless the ANC changed its position on property rights.

The NP views the property clause as one of the most fundamental issues in the bill of rights.

The ANC option gives the government "carte blanche to arbitrarily nationalise property or deprive rightful owners of their possessions without compensation," the NP states.

■ The ANC's proposed "land grab" threatens to wreck constitutional negotiations.

The draft provides for three options on property rights.

■ The first is that there should be no property clause in the bill of rights. This is the most radical option and is favoured by the Pan Africanist Congress, which wants large scale return of land to the "original owners" — the African people.

■ The second option is favoured by the ANC, whose policy is now being driven by its hawkish "land lobby" which has prevailed over the ANC's more liberal faction.

This hardline option overrides all compensation and court procedures in the case of "measures aimed at bringing about land reform".

As land reform is aimed at redressing land imbalance in which the white minority owns most of the land, this option in effect allows for land redistribution to blacks without paying compensation to whites.

This ANC option also has a controversial provision that restricts compensation depending on "the ability of the state to pay".

■ The third option favoured by parties such as the NP and DP protects property rights and provides for expropriation for purposes including land reform, subject to "just and equitable compensation" protected by the courts.

Mr Leon said the ANC's proposal made millions of property owners vulnerable and "won't advance land refom one jot".

"It makes us uniquely susceptible to a land grab," he said. It would also discourage foreign investment.

Both the NP and DP accept the need for land reform — but insist on courts deciding on fair compensation.

Constitutional assembly sources say there is a power struggle in the ANC between more liberal ANC members who favour a more restrained property clause and the hardline ANC "land lobby", which wants to redistribute land to blacks without having to pay compensation to whites.

At present, the ANC hawks are in the ascendent although the doves are fighting back. Negotiators hope the doves will persuade the "land lobby" to soften the property clause by the time the constitution is finalised next year.

Rights for all or just SA's elite few?

(304A) Star 2/12/95

A constitution that did not include social and economic rights would also ignore the deprivation under which most South Africans live. Of what value is the right to vote without basic nutrition and water? KIM L ROBINSON wonders



DIRE STRAITS: Socially and economically disadvantaged groups have more urgent priorities than having their voting rights entrenched in the new constitution

For the final constitution to reflect the hopes of all South Africans and enable all of its citizens to participate in the emerging democracy, social and economic rights must be included.

Social and economic rights such as rights to housing, health care, education and land are internationally regarded as fundamental human rights.

In the absence of a legal commitment to meet the material needs of the majority of South Africans, the transformation of South African society will be incomplete as neither the objectives of social justice nor participatory democracy will be achieved.

If South Africa is to progress from its apartheid past, the state must be under a constitutional duty to respect, project, promote and fulfil social and economic rights.

The interim constitution is a transformation document that rejects the apartheid past and requires the building of democracy based on freedom and equality.

The legacy of state-sponsored race based deprivation of social and economic rights must be confronted with state-sponsored initiatives to restore those rights. Entrenchment of these rights in the final constitution is a critical part of that process.

The inclusion of social and economic rights in the final constitution will encourage the participation of the most disadvantaged groups in South Africa by granting them both political and legal ways to claim their rights.

If social and economic rights are excluded from the final constitution, dispossessed groups will effectively be denied full participation in the new democracy.

By exclusively recognising civil and political rights, the final constitution would ignore the history of the liberation struggle. The liberation struggle did not exclusively focus on rights such as the right to vote and the right to free speech.

Claims for rights to housing, land and education were also part of the struggle for democracy. The final constitution should reflect these values.

A constitution that did not include social and economic rights would also ignore the reality of deprivation under which most South Africans live.

Such a constitution would discriminate against poor South Africans because their ability to exercise traditional civil rights and engage the political process is severely inhibited by their struggle for subsistence.

Of what value is the right to vote without basic literacy? How important is free speech without basic nutrition and water?

A constitution that prioritised civil and political rights over social and economic rights would reflect a problematic elitism.

These rights are interdependent and South Africa's final constitution should recognise this dynamic. If social and economic rights are not included in the final constitution, debate around basic needs will become marginalised over time in the larger political debate and the full integration into society of disadvantaged groups will be less likely.

The inclusion of social and economic rights in the final constitution will not mean that a person can sue the government for, example, a house to be granted immediately.

These rights require the creation of an environment and processes which enable individuals and communities to realise these rights for themselves.

Access to adequate housing is not capable of immediate relief now. But there are many aspects of the right to housing which enable individuals and communities to fulfil the right to housing, such as security of tenure and equitable access to land, services, building materials and credit.

Over time, the right to housing may allow individual claims for access to housing by those who are in need, as the legal framework and the capacity of the state develop.

Constitutionalising social and economic rights will also not mean that the courts will take over the roles of democratically elected officials.

Parliament will still legislate, formulate policy and initiate programmes. The courts, however, can issue orders to encourage Parliament to pay attention to social and economic rights when they are violated.

The final constitution should create rights for all South Africans to enable everyone to participate in and benefit from democracy.

Without social and economic rights in the final constitution, South Africa will have justice for the privileged few: a new order that works for the already advantaged and works against the poor. This is the moment to prevent the outcome.

■ *Kim L Robinson is a Fulbright Scholar and visiting researcher at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand*



FLASHBACK . . . Al Gore talks to Nelson Mandela on his last trip to South Africa, to attend the president's inauguration Picture: JON HRUSA

Gore flies in for much ado about very little

(304A) ST 3/12/95

IF VICE-PRESIDENT Al Gore looks a little distracted when he arrives in South Africa tomorrow, there's a reason. As his senior advisers made clear last week, he has many more important things to think about than the second meeting of the US-South Africa Bi-national Commission.

By SIMON BARBER: Washington

With US troops headed for Bosnia and the White House still locked in mortal combat with the Republicans in Congress over the budget, presiding with South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki over what most people suspect will be little more than a talk shop is not what Mr Gore would be doing if he had his way.

So little enthusiasm do Mr Gore and his staff have for this trip that his top foreign policy aide arrived at a press briefing on the subject last Tuesday uncertain of the trip's dates. As far as he could remember, the party would fly out on Sunday and get back on Thursday. He wasn't sure, but it turned out he was right.

Of course, Mr Gore is not the only American luminary gracing South Africa with his presence this week. A sizeable chunk of President Bill Clinton's cabinet started arriving before the weekend: Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbit, Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary, science adviser John Gibbons and Brian Atwood, the administrator of the US Agency for International Development.

They brought in their tow scores of functionaries and businessmen, all anxious for a little sun before the US winter really sets in. But look to Ms O'Leary to have a leanish contingent — she got into trouble with Congress for sending down an advance party almost large enough to keep the peace in Bosnia before her last visit several months ago.

What will come out of all of this?

Not a bilateral tax treaty to replace the one rescinded by Congress in 1986 (the Katz commission hasn't finished its work yet); nor a bilateral investment treaty, which must wait until South Africa can give Washington guarantees that brand names like McDonald's won't be poached.

The issue that really bedevils South Africa-US relations — Armscor's refusal to settle its 1992 arms smuggling indictment — is not one of Mr Gore's talking points either. If asked, he will say it is a judicial matter. He is, however, briefed to talk to President Nelson Mandela about Nigeria.

What can be expected is a pact that will permit the Peace Corps to begin thinking about sending down well-meaning volunteers.

There will also be an umbrella agreement on scientific co-operation, although no one has been able to explain how the relationship would suffer in the absence of such a document.

Ms O'Leary will continue urging her South African counterparts to buy American technology to turn sunlight into electricity. Mr Babbit will try to define ways in which the US could help improve South Africa's environment. Mr Atwood will re-announce some already budgeted educational programmes. And Mr Brown will talk about ways of removing obstacles to trade and investment.

Oh, and it will also be revealed that the Binational Commission is being expanded to include an agriculture committee. Unfortunately, the Agriculture Secretary, Dan Glickman, is not able to make time to be in South Africa for this earth-shattering development.

South Africa was given a Binational Commission to welcome it into the democratic fold and to show just how much the US cared. At the time, Russia was the only other nation so blessed. The first meeting took place here in February. Apparently it didn't achieve very much. Now, in the words of one of Mr Gore's advisers, it is about to have the "first substantive meeting".

Furious Mandela moves to have Holomisa fired

(3049) ST 3/12/95

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

BANTU HOLOMISA, the Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs, is set to become the second "populist" ANC leader to be axed for indiscipline by President Nelson Mandela.

A top government source has disclosed that Mr Mandela and his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, want to sack Mr Holomisa. They will argue for this at a meeting of ANC cabinet ministers on Wednesday to discuss the former homeland dictator's future.

The President, who has twice warned Mr Holomisa to maintain party discipline, is believed to be furious about statements made by the former Transkei leader to the effect that intelligence services and the ANC were colluding to oust him.

Earlier this year Mr Mandela fired his estranged wife, Winnie Mandela, from her position as Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture for undisciplined behaviour. Mr Holomisa got the most votes in elections for the ANC's national executive committee at its December congress last year, while Mrs Mandela came fifth.

In another action to rid the organisation of "ill-disciplined elements", Mr Mandela is said to have taken drastic action against the ANC's militant Youth League.

Mr Mandela is believed to have issued instructions to his organisation's treasury to stop immediately stop all cheques destined for the league, effectively scuttling its congress, planned for this month.

Mr Mandela's action is said to have been sparked by a statement in which the Youth League's leader, Lulu Johnson, criticised Mr Mandela's call for the Springbok to be retained as the rugby emblem, and other statements critical of the government.

Wednesday's meeting of ANC ministers is expected to discuss disclosures in an intelligence report that Mr Holomisa, while military ruler of Transkei, had given arms to groups now involved in efforts to destabilise the Eastern Cape.

Mr Holomisa is said to have further angered Mr Mandela by publicly attacking the intelligence report and accusing the ANC of trying to purge him and other "populist leaders", including Mrs Mandela, Mr Johnson and MP Peter Mokaba.

In a statement issued this week Mr Holomisa said: "It is a matter of great importance to me and others who have been dubbed 'populists' that the ANC comes out clearly whether it is its official position to denigrate us".

Mr Mandela's decision to argue for the firing of Mr Holomisa follows a series of incidents in which the one-time military ruler has publicly criticised the government and the ANC.

Mr Holomisa received a first warning from the President to keep party discipline after he accused ANC Senator Jackson Mthembu of lying to the media.

Later in the year, Mr Holomisa called a press conference in Parliament where he disclosed details of a private discussion between himself and Mr Mandela, earning himself a second warning from an increasingly impatient President.

I'm not worried, says Bantu Holomisa

ARG 4/12/95 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER, Political Correspondent

DEPUTY Minister of Environmental Affairs Bantu Holomisa says he has been given no indication he is to be fired.

Speculation mounted at the weekend that the outspoken Mr Holomisa was to be axed, after his statement last week claiming he and others were the target of an African National Congress witch-hunt of populists in its ranks, and a subsequent meeting between him and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC confirmed the meeting but refused to confirm or deny the speculation. The president's office also declined to comment.

Reports quoting senior ANC sources claimed that ANC ministers, headed by President Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, would meet on Wednesday to decide Mr Holomisa's fate.

Mr Holomisa said he was not worried by reports that he was to be fired.

"No one has said to me that President Mandela wants to fire me.

"If he and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki wanted that, they would have written to me or telephoned me."

He said he had urged Mr Ramaphosa during their meeting to "get all the facts" about the matter.

Mr Mandela was reported to be infuriated by Mr Holomisa's claims that "sinister elements" in the intelligence agencies and the ANC were campaigning to oust him and other populists.

MONDAY
DECEMBER 4, 1995

CABINET 'MAY AXE' DEPUTY MINISTER — CLAIM

Ramaphosa has talks with Holomisa

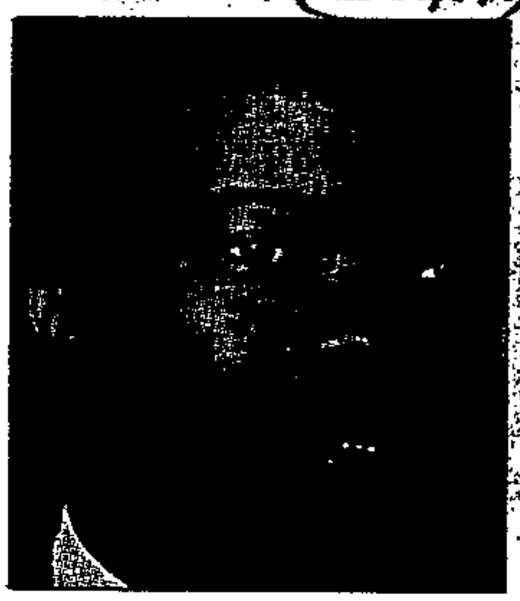
(304A) CT 4/12/95

DURBAN: The ANC has declined to confirm a report that President Nelson Mandela is to review Mr Bantu Holomisa's future.

DEPUTY MINISTER of Environment Affairs Mr Bantu Holomisa met ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday amid speculation that President Nelson Mandela had decided to axe Mr Holomisa.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said an "informal meeting" had taken place.

He said the ANC could not confirm or deny that cabinet ministers led by Mr Mandela and Deputy President Mr Thabo Mbeki would meet on Wednesday to decide Mr Holomisa's fate.



'POPULIST': Mr Bantu Holomisa

A Sunday newspaper quoted a "top government source" as saying Mr Mandela had decided to sack him.

Mr Mandela was said to be furious about Mr Holomisa's statement last week that "sinister elements" in the intelligence agencies and the ANC were trying to oust him and other "populists" from the ANC: Mr Holomisa alleged that this was being done through an investigation into arms supplied during his tenure as Transkei leader.

He was not available for comment yesterday.

Presidential spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana said the President's office had no comment.

The ANC said last week it viewed Mr Holomisa's statements as a breach of party discipline.

Although the ANC denied there was an investigation into the supply of arms to certain political groups in the Transkei, the SA National Defence Force confirmed two inquiries into weapons movements, but said Mr Holomisa was not the subject. — Political Staff

Amendment will reduce secrecy

(304A) CT 4/12/95

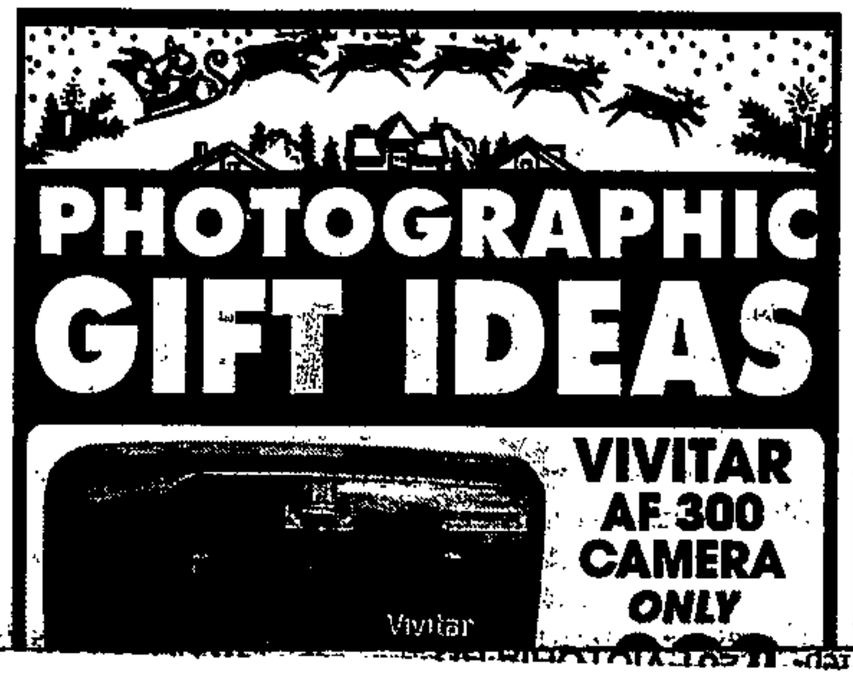
BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

AN amendment to the Archives Act next year will compel police and the intelligence agencies to store their documents in the state archives after 20 years and also to reduce the period of secrecy for state documents from 30 years to 20 years.

This was disclosed by Mr Themba Ndebele of the State Archives Service at a conference held at the University of the Western Cape on "The beginnings of the armed struggle in South Africa."

The amendments to the Archives Act would bring it in line with the Open Democracy Bill, which gives citizens access to government documents on them.

At present all files up to December 1960 were open to the public in the archives, but from January next year the files to December 1965 will be available.



XMAS SALE
ISFAHAN
PERSIAN CARPETS
TABRIZ, SHIRAZ, HAMADAN, HERIZ, KASHGAI etc
3 x 2 m - 4 x 3 m & larger
LE
25%
DISC

Holomisa meets Ramaphosa amid dismissal rumour

By Patrick Bulger

Deputy Environment Affairs Minister Bantu Holomisa met ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday amid speculation that President Mandela had decided to fire Holomisa from his post.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said an "informal meeting" took place but the ANC could neither confirm nor deny reports that ANC members of the Cabinet would meet Mandela on Wednesday to decide Holomisa's fate.

Holomisa is the ANC's leading militant and gained the top number of votes in elections for the national executive committee a year ago. But it is reported Mandela was furious at Holomisa's statement last week that "sinister elements" within intelligence agencies and the ANC were trying to oust him and other "populists" by investigating arms supplies into Transkei while he was the homeland's military ruler.

Holomisa was not available to comment yesterday and the presidential office said there was no official comment on the speculation.

(304A) Star 4/12/95

Firebrand heads Azapo assault

Sowetan 4/12/95

By Khathu Mamaila

IN preparation for the 1999 general elections, the Northern Province region of the Azanian People's Organisation has devised a new strategy known, in military terminology, as the diamond formation.

In this formation all troops direct their fire at one point to inflict maximum damage and ensure absolute victory.

In line with this new strategy, Azapo's regional congress at Jane Furse this month resolved to recall Mr Don Nkadimeng from his position as national deputy general secretary to head the region.

A lawyer by profession, Nkadimeng joined the Black Consciousness Movement in 1969 and is regarded in Azapo circles as one of the organisation's tried and tested firebrands.

The congress unanimously endorsed a proposal that regional chairman Mr Sol Makabole step down to become deputy, while Nkadimeng assumed the chairmanship of the region.

While Nkadimeng may be well-placed to challenge Northern Province premier Ngoako Ramatlho-

(3044)

di intellectually, it will take more than words to attract the 92 percent voters who supported the African National Congress in last year's elections.

But Nkadimeng is optimistic that his organisation will win the elections in the province. "Our people have realised that the Kempton Park deal was primarily to free whites," he said.

"Our chiefs are not happy. Black businessmen are not happy. Civil servants are not happy – but whites are happy. This must say something about our purported freedom."

These issues must be addressed by any party that hopes to win elections in the province, he believes.

Traditional leaders, who feel the new democracy threatens their rule in their villages, are opposed to working with the newly elected local government structures.

The chiefs continue to encourage their subjects to shun the Government and its projects in an attempt to keep their hold on the village communities.

Black business is on the retreat as well. Now that the country is supposed to be a non-racial democracy, white businesses have moved into black areas.

As many black businessmen built inferior shopping complexes, largely because of a lack of resources, their white counterparts are building much better complexes.

A case in point is a big shopping com-

SOWETAN Monday December 4 1995

plex, with many big names behind it, which is due to open in Seshego. Many believe this kind of development will effectively close down black businesses.

Civil servants, particularly in the former Lebowa, have also been demoralised by the cancellation of their promotions.

These are some of the issues that Azapo hopes will rally people around in its campaign to win the 1999 elections.

"We have a responsibility to make our people happy by reversing this situation. We must protect budding black business," said Nkadimeng.

However, Azapo needs to explain why it has now decided to join in the election race when it earlier treated elections as forbidden terrain.

Nkadimeng argues that there is a fundamental difference between the April 1994 elections and the general elections scheduled for 1999.

In 1999, he says, the sunset clauses which committed the winning party to govern with all parties which obtained more than five percent of the votes will no longer be there.

Nkadimeng says Azapo will be able to implement its policies as it will not need the approval of other parties.

However, the ANC can advance the same argument. How will Azapo deal with this?

Nkadimeng argues that the local government elections vindicated Azapo's position that the majority of people have lost faith in the Government.

"The voter apathy proved to us that our people need hope from an alternative organisation. Azapo should be a vehicle of hope for people who have lost interest in government," says Nkadimeng.



Azapo leader Don Nkadimeng ... people need hope from an alternative organisation.



Professor Tom Ranuga (third from left), at the launch of his book *The New South Africa and The Socialist Vision* last week. PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

New vision for a socialist SA

(3044) Sowetan 4/12/95

Prof Ranuga says ANC policies are tilted in favour of the owning class

By Mxolisi Mgxashe

A NEW BOOK that is likely to stimulate lively discussion on what kind of socio-economic system post-apartheid South Africa should embrace was launched last week.

The book, *The New South Africa and the Socialist Vision,* was written by a founding member of the Black Consciousness Movement, Professor Thomas K Ranuga.

In the book Ranuga, a sociology professor at Dartmouth University in Massachusettes, United States, examines the history of the various components of the liberation movement and evaluates the idéological content of their policies, programmes and statements.

He uses this study to assess the ideological depth of some of the positions embraced by the movements, and weighs their achievements against their failures and shortcomings.

He concludes that for any radical social changes to be possible, the leadership of the struggle in a post-apartheid South Africa has to be in the hands of organisations which are committed to the principles of socialism.

He is convinced, with his experiences in the world's leading capitalist country, that despite the setbacks faced by socialists globally after the collapse of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw allies, socialism is still the real answer to South Africa's social ills.

"The apologists and advocates of capitalism, and in particular those South Africans who maintain that post-apartheid capitalism will usher in the millennium of justice, equality and prosperity, must be reminded that the hopeless plight of blacks and Indians in America is allowed to happen in the richest and most powerful capitalist country in the world," he argues.

Ranuga says the failure of the US to provide lasting solutions to the poverty, homelessness and general plight of most of its population showed the "inherent nature of capitalism to maintain class privileges and unequal conditions".

He was motivated to write the book by the new political dispensation when it was still in its embryonic stages, with a large number of South Africans studying and working in the US expressing very serious reservations about the decision of the African National Congress to opt for negotiations, instead of continuing with the armed struggle.

The history Ranuga is examining may not be all that new to most people who have been in the liberation movements and who actually participated in some of the events described in the book.

But, in the face of the huge amount of ignorance among the younger generation and even some older people about the history of the liberation movements and what they stood for, the book is invaluable.

Explosive situation

"The ANC," says Ranuga, "is facing a potentially explosive situation because its policies are tilted in favour of the owning class and geared towards growth and development first, in the hope that more jobs and possibly better wages will be generated later."

The problem with such policies is that they unfairly require workers, who have been deprived of a decent livelihood for so long under white minority rule, to make sacrifices and tighten their belts again to rebuild the new South Africa, the author contends.

Like any piece of literature, particularly on a dynamic and lively subject in the social sciences, the book does have its limitations. It does not provide much information on the serious debates and internal contradictions within the movements regarding their ideology, tactics and strategies. Ranuga would also have done greater justice to the topic of his book if he had moved a bit further from the traditional polemics and rhetoric that used to be part of the culture of people who embraced socialist theory.

● *The book is published by Humanities Press International in New Jersey, USA.*

"The apologists and advocates of capitalism, and in particular those South Africans who maintain that post-apartheid capitalism will usher in the millenium of justice, equality and prosperity, must be reminded that the hopeless plight of blacks and Indians in America is allowed to happen in the richest and most powerful capitalist country in the world"

Al Gore's visit confirms SA's strategic role

(304A) Sowetan 4/12/95

By Jean-Jacques Cornish

HOW would you recognise United States Vice-President Al Gore in a group of Secret Service men? He's the one that looks uptight.

This quip is directed at the supposed woodenness of the man who is only a heartbeat away from the US presidency. In fact, it is a joke Gore enjoys telling against himself.

To those who know him,the apparently austere Gore has a delightful sense of humour. His office wall, for example, is plastered with cartoons directed at himself.

Do not expect to see the funny side of him, however, when he leads Washington's delegation here this week to the second meeting of the US-South Africa Binational Commission.

The US takes this structure very seriously indeed. It has binational commissions on this level with only two other countries: Egypt and Russia.

This indicates that the US perceives these three countries as absolutely key to their specific regions.

In other parts of the world, like Asia and South America, the US conducts foreign policy on a bilateral basis rather than identify and accord special status to leading regional powers.

The concept and use of bilateral commissions is by no means unique to the US.

Establishing this kind of mechanism signifies a particular seriousness in relations between countries and a will to move things onto the best possible footing.

South Africa, which has a lot of catching up to do after years of isolation, makes extensive use of bilateral commissions.

Diplomats from among the non-aligned group regard Gore's visit as more "atmospherics" than substance.

Bilateral commissions are essentially working bodies which tend to achieve more when handled at an official level. Gore's involvement, they say, is a further indication of a US desire to push South Africa firmly into the American camp.

US sources insist, however, that a commission pitched at this level merely indicates the seriousness of the US government to shift bilateral relations up a notch or two.



Deputy President Thabo Mbeki ... meets US Vice-President Al Gore to sign US-South Africa agreements.

Officials, who have been meeting throughout the year, will get much of the work done in preparation for Gore's final touch this week. These officials arrived last Thursday and worked through the weekend with their local counterparts.

The dealings this week will not be the stuff of dramatic announcements. It is better seen as workaday issues cementing ties in areas most important to the two countries.

Gore will make a *pro forma* statement when he arrives tonight. He will be met by the head of protocol at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

By 8.30am tomorrow he will be in plenary meetings at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, following the obligatory photo session. The cameras will also be there when he sees President Nelson Mandela later tomorrow morning.

All the plenary sessions and the working lunch tomorrow will be behind closed doors.

The media will get its turn again at the signing session with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki tomorrow afternoon, followed by a Press conference.

It is in the plenary meetings that the fruit of the commission's five committees will become apparent. These committees will have dealt with:

- Business development;
- Environment, conservation and sustainable development;
- Sustainable energy development;
- Human resource development and education; and
- Science and technology.

A lot of technical and practical work will have been done at this level.

The question which Gore will face, however, does not fall within the ambit of the commission. The most significant outstanding issue between South Africa and the US is the refusal of President Bill Clinton's administration to lift the embargo on Armscor, thereby depriving this country of hundreds of millions of rands in deals on the international market.

It is a safe bet Gore will have been briefed on how to answer this.

President's office denies plan to dismiss Holomisa

(304A) BD 5/12/95

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The future in government of Environment Affairs Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa could rest with a routine meeting of ANC ministers before tomorrow's Cabinet meeting.

Amid reports that a special meeting between President Nelson Mandela and ANC Cabinet ministers tomorrow would discuss Holomisa's dismissal, the President's office has said it has no knowledge of such a meeting.

There have been numerous reports in recent weeks that Mandela has finally lost patience with the former military ruler of Transkei following his declaration that an elite in the ANC and intelligence circles was trying to oust him. Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said the office was not aware of a meeting tomorrow to discuss Holomisa.

Sapa reported that Holomisa met ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Sunday because the ANC viewed his statement as a breach of party discipline. The discussions were informal and Holomisa apparently asked Ramaphosa to obtain all the facts of the case.

Holomisa has been reported as saying he has no knowledge of plans by Mandela or Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to fire him from his deputy minister's post. He suggested that if that was the intention, he would have been informed.

However, should Holomisa be sacked, he will join Winnie Mandela as the second so-called ANC "populist" to be dismissed from a government post.

Student arm acts to oust PAC bosses

BD 5/12/95 (3044)

Nomavenda Mathiane

THE Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) is to call for a special congress of the PAC early next year to review the party's leadership and elect new members to lead the organisation.

Declaring a vote of no confidence in the leadership and blaming it for the poor election results — at national and local government levels — Paso maintained it had the constitutional right to call a special congress to address important issues.

At a media conference yesterday after holding its national executive congress at the weekend, Paso announced it would present the PAC leadership with a memorandum to inform them of its intention to call a congress to remove the present leaders.

Apart from the poor election results, Paso said it was "appalled" by the behaviour of two top members of the PAC — !Khoisan X and Maxwell Nemadzivhanani — who had been having heated exchanges in the media.

Paso also claimed the PAC leadership had not prepared for the elections.

Paso publicity secretary Azaria Makgatho said the PAC had failed to produce policy documents on health, education, labour, land, housing and other issues, Sapa reports.

It also failed to create its own programme during the local government elections and had used the ANC's programme instead.

"The PAC leadership must realise we are no longer a liberation movement and must show the ability to perform functions of government," Makgatho said.

Issues tackled at their congress included child abuse, the truth and reconciliation commission and government's national bursary scheme.

The organisation called on health workers to be encouraged to notify authorities of cases of child abuse, and it called for teachers to be trained to identify abused children and report such cases to the authorities.

It would also like the education department to introduce social workers at school to assist in this problem.

The organisation rejected the truth commission and called for perpetrators of crimes against humanity to be brought to book.

The immediate programmes to be launched by Paso are: the campaign for access to historically white institutions, to lobby government to employ black teachers, and to save colleges from closure.

DEBBIE YAZBEK



The heat is on ... US Vice-President Al Gore and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki mop up the sweat outside the Presidential Guest House in Pretoria, after a hard day's work at the conference table yesterday.

Few differences still remain as US-SA ties are strengthened

(304A) Star 6/12/95

By Mobeli Makhanya
Political Correspondent

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and US Vice-President Al Gore signed three agreements yesterday cementing political and economic ties after a day-long session of the SA-US Binational Commission, which covers relations between the two nations.

The sensitive item of agriculture, a highly protected industry in the US, was also added to the list of commissions, but no agreement was signed. The binational commission's brief covers business development, science and technology, human resource development and education, conservation and sustainable development, and energy development.

Both Gore and Mbeki were upbeat about the commission. "It has got off to a flying start," said Gore. Mbeki said it was significant that the US vice-president had seen fit to come to South Africa while he and President Bill Clinton were engaged in a congressional battle with the Republican Party over balancing the US budget.

"It shows the importance that they (the US) attach to this process," said Mbeki.

One of the fruits of the agreements is the Nelson Mandela Economics Scholarships, which will see 50 postgraduate economists dispatched to US universities. Mbeki said these were intended to "enhance South Africa's intellectual capacity to deal with the questions we face".

The US will also assist South Africa with technology for tracking long-term weather patterns to enable SA to deal with recurring drought problems in parts of the country. In the energy sector there will be programmes aimed at bringing solar energy to rural areas. There will also be programmes aimed at enhancing the skills of small and medium-sized business people.

Also as a direct spinoff of the agreements, SA is set to get its first batch of US Peace Corps volunteers soon.

It was also revealed that the thorny issues of SA's oil deal with Iran and oil sanctions on Nigeria had come up during meetings between Gore and Mbeki and between Gore and Mandela.

They could not agree on Iran as the US had a firm line on that country's alleged sponsorship of terrorism but SA had insisted that for historical reasons Iran was its main oil supplier and Pretoria could not boycott its oil.

Although there was no consensus over oil sanctions on Nigeria, the two countries were, however, co-sponsoring a United Nations motion condemning the west African country's military regime. They were also working towards bringing about democracy there.

SA and the US will hold the next session of the commission in Washington in the second half of next year.

SA, US cement ties with signing of agreements

(304A)

ARG 6/12/95

Crucial pacts reached after day-long session

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa and the United States have signed three crucial agreements cementing political and economic ties between the two countries.

The agreements, signed yesterday by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and US Vice-President Al Gore, followed a day-long session of the South Africa-US Binational Commission, the body responsible for relations between the two nations.

The Binational Commission's brief covers business development, science and technology, human resource development and education, conservation and sustainable development and sustainable energy development. The sensitive item of agriculture, an industry in which the US is very protective, was also added to the list of commissions in the run-up to yesterday's meeting, but no agreement was signed.

Both Mr Gore and Mr Mbeki were upbeat about the commission, saying it would cement ties between their countries.

"It has got off to a flying start," said Mr Gore.

Mr Mbeki said it was significant that Mr Gore had seen fit to come to South Africa while he and US President Bill Clinton were engaged in a congressional battle over the deployment of American troops in Bosnia and the balancing of the US budget.

"It shows the importance that they (the US) attach to this process," said Mr Mbeki.

One of the fruits of the agreements is the Nelson Mandela Economics Scholarships, which will see 50 post-graduate economists saent to US universities. Mr Mbeki said these were intended to "enhance South Africa's intellectual capacity to deal with the questions we face".

The US will also help South Africa with technology for tracking long-term weather patterns.

Also, as a direct spin-off of the agreements, South Africa is now set to get its first batch of US Peace Corps volunteers soon.

It was also revealed that the thorny issues of South Africa's oil deal with Iran and and oil sanctions against Nigeria had come up during meetings between Mr Gore and Mr Mbeki and between Mr Gore and Mr Mandela.

They could not agree on Iran as the US had a firm line on that country's alleged sponsorship of terrorism, but South Africa had insisted that for historical reasons Iran was its main oil supplier and could not boycott its oil. Although there was no consensus on oil sanctions against Nigeria, the two countries were, however, co-sponsoring a United Nations motion condemning the West African country's military regime. They were also working towards bringing democracy in that country.

Mbeki and Gore sign agreements

BD 6/12/95 (304A)

Business Day Reporter

THE US-SA Bilateral Commission had "got off to a flying start" Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said yesterday after signing three agreements with his US counterpart Al Gore at the close of negotiations in Pretoria involving several cabinet ministers from each country.

Although there was agreement on increased co-operation in the economic, technical and science fields, technology, the environment and negotiations in key economic areas were inconclusive.

A statement issued by the bilateral commission's trade and investment committee said issues which required further negotiation included a bilateral air services agreement, a bilateral investment treaty and a tax treaty.

The statement reaffirmed both governments' commitment to a private sector technical assistance centre in SA to promote links between companies in both countries. Special emphasis would be given to assisting small and medium enterprises in SA. A similar centre in the US dedicated to promoting SA trade and investment in the US would be explored.

Contentious issues such as SA's relations with Cuba, the US case against Armscor for illegal weapons purchases during the 1980s and SA's oil trade with Iran remained peripheral to the commission negotiations, Mbeki said.

Among agreements signed was one to send US Peace Corps volunteers to assist in development projects. The bilateral commission had also been expanded to include a subcommittee on agriculture.

Mbeki announced the establishment of 50 Nelson Mandela economic scholarships to send candidates from previously disadvantaged communities to US universities. The programme would cover economics-oriented courses and "strengthen our intellectual capacity", he said.

A $3m youth development programme was established.

Gore said a commission subgroup, the US-SA business development committee, had agreed on a joint statement on tourism and had been heartened by private sector developments, like Ford's decision to export motor engines from SA to Europe, and SAA's decision to buy Boeing aircraft.

In the fields of science and technology, SA would be able to call on US technical support in monitoring droughts, water supplies and desertification. Environmental waste, marine reserve and zoo management would benefit, as would the control of hazardous waste and the reduction of greenhouse gases, Gore said.

In other meetings the US vice-president discussed a range of issues with President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk. Gore's wife Tipper visited a children's home in Soweto.



Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, left, President Nelson Mandela and US Vice-President Al Gore outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria after a meeting of the US-SA Binational Commission yesterday. Picture: NICKY DE BLOIS

believe that SA will remain alone with rights situatio

Ramaphosa pursues a meeting with Buthelezi

(304A) (NB) BD 6/12/95

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa hopes to meet IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi next month to discuss the IFP's return to the assembly.

Ramaphosa said yesterday "telephonic attempts" over the past two weeks to arrange a meeting had failed. He had decided instead to write to Buthelezi.

He said he wanted to give Buthelezi a copy of the working draft of the new constitution, brief him about the process and try to convince him that his party should return to the assembly.

Ramaphosa denied a claim by Buthelezi last week that he intended to use the meeting as a "public-relations exercise" to portray the IFP leader "in a bad light".

Ramaphosa said: "My task is to draft the new constitution, and nothing would please me more than to have the IFP back in the assembly. I am not involved in any public-relations exercise. We are dealing with weighty issues."

Buthelezi reiterated last week the IFP position that the party would return only if the ANC agreed to proceed with international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues, as agreed by the ANC, IFP and NP last year.

Buthelezi had said he saw no purpose in meeting Ramaphosa while the mediation issue remained unresolved, but said he could not refuse Ramaphosa's request. Ramaphosa said the assembly — and not himself — had to decide what to do to break the logjam over mediation.

Motorists and MPs fume as Al Gore visits Cape Town

(3044)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent and Reuter

THE official visit to South Africa by United States vice-president Al Gore may have promoted trade-relations with his country — but it had everyone from MPs to motorists fuming at the behaviour of American officials.

The White House issued an official apology after the Gore cavalcade yesterday jammed peak-hour traffic in Johannesburg and caused traffic chaos in Cape Town. ARG 7/12/95

The convoy travelled at snail's pace on the N2 from the airport to Cape Town to "kill time", holding up other traffic and enfuriating motorists. An American source said the convoy of 15 vehicles drove about 25 km/h.

A South African official said US security staff had insisted that ramps onto the highway be closed until Mr Gore's party had passed.

President Mandela travels the same Cape Town highway regularly, mingling with the traffic with one security car ahead and one behind.

Earlier US secret service officials cut off traffic on a major Gauteng highway to allow the 25-car phalanx through.

An irritable businessman who was caught on an interchange said: "I thought this was the style notorious African dictators use to travel in. When President Mandela goes to America, do they stop the highways for him?"

And tempers were raised again when Mr Gore visited parliament yesterday.

Parliamentary and security officials were already grinding their teeth late on Tuesday about demands by an American advance team, but tempers flared at 1am yesterday when the US officials woke South African officials to revise the programme.

A parliamentary official said national assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala was told that in spite of South Africa's policy of transparent government, her meeting with Mr Gore had to be private.

"They said (Mr) Gore would walk out if the Press were allowed in. When we argued they said: 'After all, this is the American vice-president'."

Another official in the reception committee said that in spite of a programme worked out to the minute, Mr Gore arrived 50 minutes ahead of schedule while Dr Ginwala was in a meeting.

"This woman in Gore's team kept tapping her watch and telling us he should not be kept waiting."

"They have been making all sorts of ridiculous demands and ordering our officials around. They behave as though they are some sort of colonial overlords," Democratic Party MP Douglas Gibson told reporters.

Holomisa apologises to ANC 'elitists'

ARG. 7/12/95

(3044)

JOHANNESBURG. — Environmental Affairs Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa today apologised to the African National Congress for accusing party "elitists" of attempting to oust him.

"The president and I have discussed my recent statements. I agree I have erred in raising this matter in public," Mr Holomisa said. "I therefore tender my apology to the ANC."

Last week it was speculated that Mr Holomisa, the Transkei homeland's former military leader, might be relieved of his portfolio by President Mandela for indiscipline.

Mr Holomisa in a statement last week accused an ANC elite of attempting to cleanse the party of "populist leaders", including himself, Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba.

But today Mr Holomisa said he stood by his claim that an intelligence investigation was underway into allegations that he had supplied arms to groups now involved in efforts to destabilise the Eastern Cape.

The Eastern Cape intelligence co-ordinating committee, which includes the SANDF and the National Intelligence Agency, has apparently produced two reports on illegal weapons trading in Transkei and other factors involving the Eastern Cape's stability.

Mr Holomisa today reiterated his earlier demand that the reports had to be made public.

"The personal nature of the report leaves me with the impression that they are looking after Holomisa's blood," he said. — Sapa.

POLITICS

Meyer under fire over parliament

ARG 7/12/95
(3044)

Political Correspondent

ANOTHER cabinet minister has come under fire from the Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP) for allegedly trying to hamper the campaign to keep parliament in Cape Town.

CAP said that Roelf Meyer, the minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, prevented a meeting they had planned with an auditing firm which investigated the costs of the dual capital system.

The lobby group said Mr Meyer and his department wanted to move parliament to Pretoria.

This week, Transport Minister Mac Maharaj demanded an apology from the group for saying he had offered a trade-off deal to ensure Cape MPs did not block the campaign to move the legislature.

A spokesman for CAP said the auditors had initially agreed to a meeting, but then cancelled it.

The auditors' report had already been handed to Mr Meyer.

Reportedly, its conclusion was that moving parliament would mean savings of R70 million.

This conclusion is certain to be challenged with figures on the cost of building a new parliament, which would be an expensive and time-consuming process, and would mean huge capital and interest payments for several years.

CAP has said that the move would mean a financial loss of about R5 billion to the Western Cape, and job losses of about 16 000.

Mr Meyer had not been behind the cancellation of the meeting, a spokesman said today.

The report, commissioned by the cabinet, had been handed to the department of Constitutional Affairs but Mr Meyer had not yet seen it.

The report will be handed to President Nelson Mandela next month, and will then be considered by the cabinet.

The spokesman emphasised that the cabinet, as the body which briefed the auditors, had the prerogative to see the report before any outside body.

"Nothing sinister should be seen in such an action," he said.

WS

Holomisa says 'sorry' to ANC

JOHANNESBURG: Environmental Affairs Deputy Minister Mr Bantu Holomisa yesterday apologised to the ANC for publicly accusing party "elitists" of trying to oust him.

"The president and I have discussed my recent statements ... I agree I have erred in raising this matter publicly, ... I therefore tender my apology to the ANC," Mr Holomisa said.

Last week it was rumoured Mr Holomisa, the Transkei homeland's former military leader, might be relieved of his portfolio by President Nelson Mandela for indiscipline.

Mr Holomisa last week accused an ANC elite of attempting to cleanse the party of "populist leaders", including himself, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Peter Mokaba. — Sapa

(3049) CT 8/12/95

Tension in ANC over traditional leaders

(304A) M+G 8-14/12/95

Marion Edmunds

FREE State Premier Patrick Lekota is concerned that the African National Congress-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) is spreading its tentacles into the Free State. He has raised the matter with Eastern Cape Premier Raymond Mhlaba.

Lekota's concern adds to growing anxiety among ANC leaders about the role of traditional leaders in the new South African democracy. ANC sources say there is particular concern about traditional leaders led by charismatic but constroversial Contralesa president Chief Phatekile Holomisa, who has taken an increasingly defiant stand on traditional matters.

While Lekota has refused to comment on what is seen as a highly sensitive matter, his approach to Mhlaba was confirmed this week by Eastern Cape director of traditional affairs Max Mlonyeni, who acknowledged traditional leaders had the power to undermine stability in rural areas, should they be dissatisfied with the government's performance.



Under fire: Chief Phatekile Holomisa

Complaints have been lodged against Holomisa by members of the ANC parliamentary caucus and by the ANC branches in the Eastern Cape and in Kwazulu-Natal. They range from outrage at his meeting Inkatha Freedom Party-aligned *amakhosi* in KwaZulu-Natal earlier this year, to his call for a boycott of the local government elections in some Eastern Cape areas.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said this week that the ANC's disciplinary committee was dealing with the case "urgently".

While a number of ANC members are reportedly baying for Holomisa's expulsion from the organisation, it is likely that the leadership will consider the matter very carefully.

The ANC is itself divided over the extent to which traditional forms of government should be grafted onto a Western-style democracy. The case of Holomisa highlights this division.

He is one of the few ANC politicians who has been able to command respect as an MP as well as a chief of his tribe. As such he is extremely useful if he co-operates with the ANC, but could be deadly opposition.

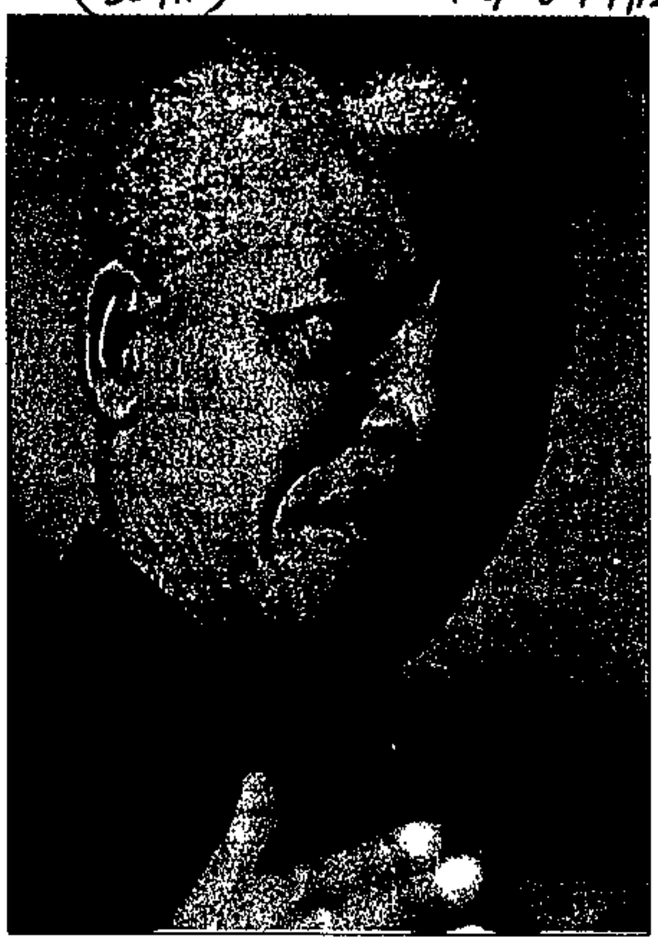
While certain elements in the ANC hate him passionately and view him as "power-mad" and a "political whore", he has won respect from opposition parties for the way he has chaired the Parliamentary Committee on Land Affairs. A source in an NGO which dealt closely with the committee said that he was an impartial chairman who "knew his stuff" and was "clued up".

Holomisa, however, does not have the wholehearted support of traditional leaders in the ANC. His leadership of Contralesa is disputed by a smaller group of traditional leaders in the ANC, led by Senator Victor Sifora. Sifora accuses Holomisa of "kidnapping" the organisation from true Contralesa members and setting up a false national executive, with Winnie Mandela as treasurer.

For sale: SA's diplomatic relations

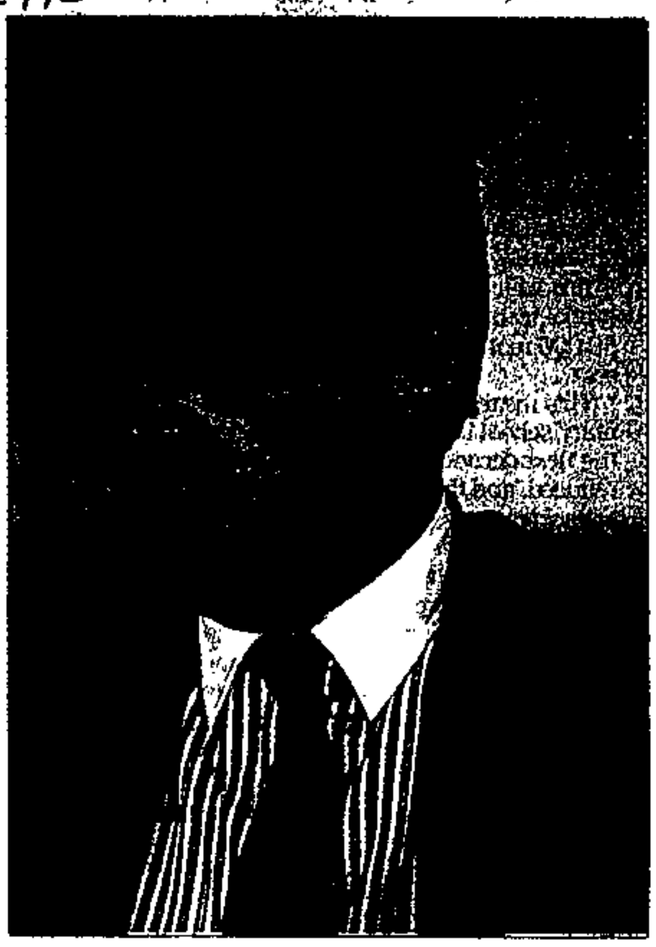
(304A) M+G 8-14/12/95

It appears that South Africa has chosen relations with Taiwan over mainland China to repay an ANC debt, reports **Gaye Davis**



President Nelson Mandela: The grant was 'a donation, not a bribe'

PHOTOGRAPH: KENNER FRANKENFELD



Democratic Party leader Tony Leon: 'Our foreign policy is largely available for hire'

PHOTOGRAPH: NAASHON ZALK

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has cited a $10-million donation from the Republic of China on Taiwan for the African National Congress' general election campaign as one reason South Africa would not break ties with the island republic in favour of diplomatic relations with mainland China.

Mandela disclosed details of the R35-million grant while responding to questions after briefing political scientists last Tuesday on the pending trial of former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 former colleagues.

The disclosure is certain to set a cat among the pigeons in diplomatic dovecotes. Cash-rich Taiwan has been intensively lobbying for the retention of diplomatic ties with South Africa and is pumping millions into the economy: this week it finalised an agreement to spend R141-million on a vocational training centre for demobilised SANDF soldiers.

Big business, however, sees recognition of China — with its 1,2-billion people and fast-growing economy — as essential despite its atrocious human rights record. As China refuses to recognise Taiwan, this would mean South Africa having to downgrade its links with Taiwan and face possible economic consequences.

But the disclosure has also deepened concerns about South Africa's foreign policy-making, currently under heightened scrutiny after its failure in Nigeria.

Mandela told the gathering the money was given as "a donation and not a bribe" after he requested assistance and that the ANC would not repay a friend's favours by "stabbing them in the back".

Rumours that Mandela had secured the funds surfaced when he visited Taipei in July 1993. A joint statement by the ANC and the Taiwanese government at the time denied any such request had been made. This week the Taiwanese ambassador to South Africa, I-Cheng Loh, was still insisting no donation had been made.

But presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana confirmed the grant, saying the amount was a "one-off" — and added that the Taiwanese government was providing "assistance" to various sections of the ANC and was "fully sponsoring" an ANC Youth League bursary programme.

"There are reasons to be friends with Taiwan, but this aid would not influence our foreign policy decisions," Mankahlana said.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon would not agree. He said this week he had learned while visiting Taiwan in December 1994 that Mandela's request for funds, made directly to Taiwanese president Lee Teng Hui, had been granted "within minutes".

'If you make a substantial donation to the ANC you get special foreign policy considerations — whether or not these are in our country's best interests'

"Our whole foreign policy is based on the electoral debts of the ANC," Leon said. "When the ANC is short of cash it runs off to the Gulf states or to Morocco for help. There is a porous wall between party and state in this regard.

"There is something wrong and imminently corruptible about governments donating funds to political parties. In our view, our foreign policy is largely available for hire.

"If you make a substantial donation to the ANC you get special foreign policy considerations — whether or not these are in our country's best interests or in keeping with the international posture South Africa is trying to keep.

"It is flawed, short-sighted and should be corrected by legislation." Leon said if the issue was not addressed by Parliament's ethics committee — currently focusing on the extent to which members should be required to disclose their financial interests — the DP would consider bringing private members' legislation "on the question of foreign governments and political parties donating money to South African political parties".

Mankahlana said: "We are writing a new constitution and will look at all these questions. The situation is not nothing to deserve de-recognition: it was simply that China desired this. South Africa saw the issue as a domestic Chinese problem. It wanted to recognise both Chinas and had told the People's Republic of China so.

But the funding raises inevitable questions about the ANC's links with other countries. In its pre-election foreign policy manifesto, the organisation committed itself to "canonise human rights" in its foreign relations.

In May, after he had come under fire for twice visiting Indonesia — internationally condemned and shunned by the ANC for years for its brutal occupation of East Timor — Mandela revealed the ANC had received substantial donations from that country.

Strong rumours have been circulating about whether Moroccan funds for the ANC have anything to do with South Africa failing to carry out its promise of diplomatic recognition for Africa's last colony — the Polisario-led Saharawi Republic, struggling for independence from Moroccan control. Questions have also been asked about whether South Africa's disastrous softly-softly approach towards Nigeria was not perhaps founded in financial backing the ANC received from previous rulers of the oil-rich country.

Foreign affairs ministry spokesman Pieter Swanepoel said any decision on the two Chinas would be made by Parliament. "It will be a political decision, up to the political parties to decide," he said. "Foreign Affairs will have to execute it."

ANC MP Raymond Suttner, chair of Parliament's Foreign Affairs Portfolio Committee, said he had no personal knowledge of any donations to the ANC. The question of recognising China was "under discussion in ANC ranks and has still to be decided by the collective leadership", he said.

Said Leon: "I'm not saying the Taiwanese have no case. But in my view the continued diplomatic recognition of the ROC is based not on the merits but the fact that they paid off the ANC. The DP had yet to formulate a position on the question of the two Chinas, he said.

● ANC representative Ronnie Mamoepa this week failed to respond to a *Mail & Guardian* request that the ANC provide information about donations it had received from foreign governments. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, contacted for comment, said: "We have received donations from a number of countries, but I do not have the details at hand."

Old guarder to write white paper

(304A) M+G 8-14/12/95

Gaye Davis

THE man in charge of compiling the document which will lay the basis for South Africa's future foreign policy was in charge of the Department of Foreign Affairs' "image-building" section at a time when sanctions were beginning to bite hard.

Dr Gerrit Olivier returned this month from his posting as South Africa's ambassador to Russia to head, at the request of Foreign Affairs Director-General Rusty Evans, a team of three Foreign Affairs staffers charged with producing a "discussion document" from which a white paper on foreign policy will eventually emerge.

From 1986 to 1991, when he was made ambassador, Olivier was attached to and later headed Foreign Affairs' communication and planning division — responsible for selling South Africa abroad and in Africa after the Info Scandal in the late 1970s forced the government to abandon covert propaganda plans, and international pressure against the apartheid government mounted.

A former professor of political science at the University of Pretoria, he was first seconded to Foreign Affairs' Africa section in 1983, where his duties included liaising with the South African Customs Union and Secosaf — a body created by the South African government in 1986 to regulate its relations with the bantustans.

After a sabbatical at Harvard University's Centre for International Affairs, Olivier returned to Foreign Affairs as a director in its communication and planning division. At the request of then-director-general Neil van Heerden, he became head of the section in 1988.

He said he was "instrumental" in closing down *SA Digest* which was "too government-centred and propagandistic" and was costing R13-million a year, launching instead *SA Profile*. He said he also "terminated distribution" of another foreign affairs publication, the infamous *Panorama*.

"I don't want to be apologetic about anything. I can stand on any platform and answer questions if there is something dubious or a shadow hanging over me," he said.

He said he was never a member of the Broederbond or the Rapportryers — a campus-based organisation which served as the secret society's nursery. "I grew up on a farm and paid for my own education from Standard Six. I'm a member of the proletariat," he said.

Nevertheless, his long service in the department has prompted questions in political and academic circles about his ability to breathe a new vision into South Africa's foreign policy as a changed country in a changed world.

Concerns have also been raised about the openness of the process by which Foreign Affairs intends formulating the new policy. Said a foreign policy analyst: "It is not a very open process. By the time outside agencies get to comment, the department will already have set the framework and the parameters of the document. Foreign Affairs has to demonstrate it is open-minded and prepared to tinker with the basics."

Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad promised in June — after the department had come in for a barrage of criticism for failing to produce new policy reflecting South Africa's new priorities — that a green paper would be published "soon".

Olivier said this week the "discussion document" would be compiled from the proceedings of September's heads of mission conference and other workshops the department had held. To be completed "before Christmas", it would be first discussed "in-house" and a revised document would then be made available in February to foreign policy role-players and interest groups.

"This kind of paper cannot be written by a committee, but people must not get the impression we'll be passing something down from the top like the Ten Commandments," Olivier said. "The document won't be cast in stone. We want this policy to be democratically approved and open and we will be talking to people while we work on it. It must be a legitimate document. We haven't tried to be covert about anything. Every idea is welcome."

ANC MP Raymond Suttner, chair of Parliament's Foreign Affairs Portfolio Committee said: "We would like to be involved at an early stage to make inputs, rather than after it has been written. It would be more constructive to have discussions around an overall perspective for our foreign policy so that we don't end up with a series of ad hoc positions as a substitute."

Professor Peter Vale of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape said: "The department itself has failed to understand the principles around which foreign policy should operate. If it is to decide these principles, then we must ask whether it is sufficient to have them set within the department."

Row brewing over investigation into cost of relocating Parliament to Gauteng

By TOMMY MAKOE

Cape Town's parliamentary bid committee is to appeal to President Nelson Mandela to intervene after its delegation was allegedly denied a meeting with the firm of auditors investigating the cost of moving Parliament from Cape Town to Gauteng.

According to Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP) spokesman Kevin Kevany, the appeal to Mandela is the last alternative and will follow a letter to Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Mandela is said to have promised late last year that the matter would be resolved democratically and transparently. "We want to draw the attention of Meyer to the undemocratic way in which the matter is being handled," said Kevany.

The CAP has slammed the brief to auditors KPMG, which is rumoured to have investigated the cost only to the state and not to the Western Cape economy, as "narrow and biased".

"If Meyer is at all interested in transparency, he should ask the auditors to calculate all the costs that will be incurred in any proposed relocation of Parliament, so that the country's taxpayers can decide whether they want to pay the real bill or not.

A statement by CAP co-convener David Bridgman read: "This means that the report studies costs to the state and not to the region. It therefore almost becomes irrelevant when considering the decision on the location of Parliament."

CAP co-convener Andreas Sayers also estimates that the other costs that the auditors did not take into account would be the loss of 16 000 jobs and R3,5-billion on lost investment opportunities in the Western Cape.

Sayers said the total loss to the region, for which compensation would be demanded if Parliament were moved, would be almost R5-billion.

"The Gauteng regional parliament recently allocated R30-million to relocate staff and their families for the move to Johannesburg.

"The question now is what it would cost to relocate staff in Cape Town from the national Parliament," said Sayers.

(3049) Star 9/12/95

ANC calls for mission to be sent to Beijing

CP 10/12/95

(304A)

Delegates to talk about relations with People's Republic

By JEFFERSON LENGANE

THE ANC yesterday called for the despatch of a delegation of the Government of National Unity to the People's Republic of China (PRC)

The delegation's mission would be to speed up the process of arriving at a common position on relations between the two countries.

The decision was taken at the ANC's two-day National Executive Council (NEC) meeting which ended yesterday.

The call came amid reports that President Nelson Mandela had been reluctant to break ties with Taiwan, which is said to have donated more than R34 million to the ANC, and that the party was still receiving financial aid from Taiwan.

On Thursday Mandela and Taiwanese ambassador I-Cheng Loh signed a R146,4 million agreement for the establishment of a vocational training centre by Taiwan.

Mandela told journalists the gesture was an illustration of how far relations between South Africa and Taiwan had expanded since the days of struggle.

During the liberation struggle the PRC had leaned towards the PAC, rather than the ANC.

The NEC yesterday also affirmed the need to visit Taiwan to brief that country on the mission to the PRC and to continue discussions on South Africa's relations with Taiwan.

■ In order to put to rest allegations that the ANC was hesitant to recognise the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) because the party had received considerable amounts from the Morrocan government, the NEC yesterday also expressed solidarity with the people of the SADR.

The NEC expressed full support for President Mandela's letter to SADR President Abdelaziz on South Africa's decision to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The NEC statement said: "The timing of the implementation of this decision was delayed at the request of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in the light of an impending referendum in that territory, due in January next year.

"The NEC is deeply concerned at the lack of progress in the process leading to the referendum. The ANC will closely and continously monitor the situation with a view to contributing to a lasting solution within the framework of the principle of the right to self-determination. The NEC calls for every effort to be made for free and fair conditions for the holding of a referendum."

■ Regarding the Nigerian debacle, the NEC reiterated the ANC's "unequivocal condemnation of repression in that country". It called on the international community to adopt measures that would speed up the transition to democracy in Nigeria.

■ On the education front the NEC noted the progress made over the last year in introducing a non-racial and equitable education system.

However, it noted with contempt actions by "some minority parties to block these democratic changes through ill-disguised attempts to preserve islands of white privileges".

Opening those info floodgates

(48) (304A) CP 10/12/95

New SACS boss has big plans to inform all South Africans

By SEKOLA SELLO

SLIGHT-of-build Solly Kotane does not cut the image of a fighter. But since his return from exile, it seems it has been the bane of his life to take on jobs that others would prefer to give a wide berth.

Kotane shot into national prominence less than two years ago when he was appointed chief of the Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Corporation – an appointment it was said only someone with a masochistic streak would relish.

Bophuthatswana was in turmoil. Lucas Mangope had been toppled in a popular uprising, and the various structures of the homeland administration were on the verge of collapse.

Kotane was one of the "firefighters" who were sent in to restore order. Apart from his background in journalism, he had all the right qualifications for the job. But, most important, he was politically correct.

He was one of the bright sparks of the ANC, a factor the organisation calculated would stand him in good stead in the turbulence sweeping BBC.

It was a miscalculation which almost went awry. Instead of getting a red carpet welcome, he ran the gauntlet of opposition which at times bordered on open hostility.

The workers, spearheaded by the powerful Media Workers Association of South Africa, were opposed to his appointment. He was considered an outsider imposed on them by big brother (ANC).

Weathered

Yet, in no time Kotane had weathered all the storms. In his quiet and unassuming manner, he won over the confidence of the workers and later emerged as the champion of their rights.

Kotane has since left BBC to head the South African Communications Services.

Since taking over at SACS from the beginning of last month, he has not encountered any resistance.

But Kotane is not too starry-eyed to believe that everyone has laid out a welcome mat for him.

He concedes that "not everybody was happy about the new changes (in the country). Some people are still nostalgic about the past".



CONFIDENT ... SACS boss Solly Kotane (left) and communications chief Mandla Themba (right) believe they will overcome all obstacles and succeed in their endeavour to empower the people with knowledge.

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

But he is not going to waste time brooding about these stragglers. He has a mammoth task ahead of him.

His task, he says, is to ensure that government achievements are adequately communicated to the people.

He shrugs off the question that this makes him chief government propagandist – an image SACS and its forerunner the Department of Information has been trying to live down since the infamous days of "Infogate".

Kotane argues that the mainstream Press is failing to inform the people adequately about what the government is doing.

But Kotane is not trying to pick a fight with the mainstream press. He acknowledges that the commercial press have a particular turf to corner, and the government another.

"The majority of the people who live in the country," he states matter of factly, "are the illiterate majority. These are the poor majority. Although radio reaches them, some of them are too poor to afford them. This is where SACS comes in – to devise means that will ensure that these people are not denied information.

"We will embark on joint ventures with various government ministries, for example the ministry of land affairs on land uses, land restitution or prospecting in Mpumalanga."

Radio, says Kotane, is going to play a crucial role and can help to simplify statements made by government officials.

"Telling people about their rights," he says, "is another concrete way to economically empower them."

Kotane is new at his offices in the heart of Pretoria and is still settling in. A picture of President Nelson Mandela hangs on the wall behind his desk.

"I need to get pictures of the other guys", he tells his chief of communications, Mandla Themba.

The "other guys" are second deputy president FW de Klerk and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Kotane is aware that this ommission could lead to accusations of political bias and tries hard not to bring in his ANC affiliations to the workplace.

Given the enormity of the task that Kotane has set for his team, how does he hope to achieve his goals?

A practical man, he does not pretend to have ready answers.

But "it is not idealistic to extend your vision beyond the normal" is his constant refrain as he charts out some of his more ambitious plans to transform, redefine and redirect SACS.

Interacting

His plans include interacting sufficiently with various ministries, churches, non-governmental organisations, schools, traditional leaders and various local government structures.

Some of SACS' operations could demand more personnel and resources, thus making it a bloated bureaucracy at a time when a leaner and more efficient outfit is the new mantra of governance.

Kotane is unfazed by it all. He and Themba exude confidence as they acknowledge some of the problems and how they intend to tackle them.

"By bringing the various government communication services together, we will minimise duplication. But we are not saying offices must close. Instead we will rationalise and be cost sensitive", they explain.

How Kotane and team will rationalise without cutting jobs remains to be seen. Even central government has tried this without success.

Although Kotane has had a smooth run so far, he could soon be treading on sensitive toes. A number of apparatchiks have built their own little empires in the various communication services of government departments and will not be too happy about being swallowed up by SACS.

Most of Kotane's ambitious programmes are still on hold. He is awaiting a government-appointed task group to unveil its plans on the structure of the country's government communication services. The report on the radical transformation of the services is expected in a matter of weeks.

"The day I hear that people in the most inaccessible rural areas say this or that project was built by government, then I will know that we have achieved our goals," he said.

ANC calls for talks on two Chinas dilemma

ARG 11/12/95 (30 LA)

Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress has called on the government to send delegations to the two Chinas to resolve the dilemma over South Africa's diplomatic relations with the Far Eastern rivals.

The ANC national executive committee, at a meeting this weekend, said the government should send a delegation to the People's Republic of China to discuss diplomatic relations.

The national executive said a team should be sent to Taiwan to brief them on the mission to the People's Republic "and to ensure that the two sides continue their own discussions on the question of their relations".

Nigeria was also on the agenda of the meeting, which was held on the eve of a Southern African Development Community summit today to be attended by President Mandela.

"We call on the international community to adopt measures that will promote the speedy transition to democracy in that country.

"The ANC, together with local, Nigerian and other democratic forces internationally, will continue to campaign for effective measures that will achieve this objective."

The national executive also supported a multi-track approach to the Nigerian situation, with the aim of achieving a halt to executions, the release of political prisoners, free political activity and the speedy implementation of steps towards democracy.

In a discussion on education, the committee said it noted progress in the past year towards a non-racial and equitable system, but viewed with contempt actions by some minority parties to block these changes.

These actions were aimed at preserving islands of white privilege, the ANC said.

The ANC endorsed the convening of a consultative conference on education, to be held in March.

The nationl executive said it supported the May 29 date for elections in the Western Cape and Kwazulu-Natal.

ANC proposes to send govt delegation to China

(304A) Star 11/12/95

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

A government delegation should visit the People's Republic of China (PRC) "to expedite the process of arriving at a common position with regard to relations between our two countries", the ANC's national executive has proposed after a two-day meeting at the weekend.

The ANC said in a statement a delegation should also be sent to Taiwan to brief them on the visit and "to ensure that the two sides continue their own discussion on the question of their relations".

South Africa has diplomatic links with Taiwan and, while the PRC maintains an "interest office" in Pretoria, the question of the unresolved relations between Pretoria and Beijing is a longstanding source of irritation in South Africa's affairs with the PRC.

This year, two parliamentary delegations visited both countries but the long-standing trade and economic ties built up between Taiwan and South Africa in the apartheid era make it all but impossible to sever the Taiwan link.

On other international relations, the ANC "unequivocally condemned" the repression in Nigeria and said that it would support "effective measures" to achieve democracy there.

The ANC also supported a "twin-track" approach with the aim of halting executions, releasing prisoners and the "speedy implementation of verifiable steps towards democracy".

■ The ANC said a Consultative Conference on Education would take place in March next year and noted "actions by some minority parties to block these democratic changes through ill-disguised attempts to preserve islands of white privilege".

■ The ANC said it supported the May 29 date for local government elections in KwaZulu Natal and in the Cape metropolis.

"The ANC is determined to ensure that free and fair conditions prevail, especially in KwaZulu Natal," the organisation said.

IFP woos minorites for backing of constitution

Star 12/12/95 (3044)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban – KwaZulu-Natal's ruling Inkatha Freedom Party has dangled a carrot in front of the province's minority parties in a bid to help it win a race against time to pass the region's constitution before the end of the month.

The party, after behind-the-scenes sweet-talking with the National Party, has scrapped a host of contentious demands from its constitutional draft, and hopes to reach agreement with remaining parties at a three-day meeting this week.

Key issues which the IFP has compromised on are its plans for a provincial militia, a provincial judiciary, constitutional monarch and control over territorial waters.

The success of the Pietermaritzburg bosberaad, which begins today, is regarded by the IFP as crucial, as it sets in motion a sequence of events that have to be finalised by May, when the national constitution will be complete.

IFP chief negotiator, Walter Felgate, said once the new national constitution was in place there would be little space for true provincial autonomy and this would block his party's aspirations towards federalism.

The IFP hopes a final provincial draft will be complete by Thursday, which can then be put out for a period of public comment, passed by KwaZulu Natal's legislature and sent to the Constitutional Court (CC). The CC has a waiting list of up to six weeks and is likely to query elements of the provincial constitution, before sending it back to KwaZulu Natal, meaning another six weeks, leaving little time to play with before May.

NP KwaZulu Natal chairman, Danie Schutte, who yesterday announced the deal with the IFP, heralded agreements as "breakthroughs (which) not only lay the basis for a provincial constitutional settlement, but are a prerequisite for stability and peace in KwaZulu Natal".

Today of all days, Maritz's desire for a volkstaat burns stronger

Star 16/12/95
(304A)

THE **MAUREEN ISAACSON** INTERVIEW



The Day of Reconciliation, formerly the Day of the Vow, reinforces former Afrikaner-weerstandbeweging stalwart Manie Maritz's burning desire for a homeland

See the stuffed Brahman cattle, mounted at the entrance of former junior heavyweight wrestler Manie Maritz's farmhouse. In wood, in porcelain and in bronze more of these stand, herds of them, symbols of the former junior heavyweight's farming success. Maritz is a collector.

And he's a serious man, with an ancestry that dates back to his forefather, Moritz, who sailed into the Cape of Good Hope with Jan Van Riebeeck. Also, he's a direct descendent of Voortrekker Gerrit Maritz. Yes, he's serious all right. In between the collected works of Totius and Louis L'Amour stand three versions of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* – two in German and one in English, *My Struggle*. And closer to home, a book by Robey Leibbrandt.

It is Thursday today and every year, since 1986, from December the 9th to 16th, Maritz has visited the Voortrekker Monument. The Day of Reconciliation (formerly the Day of the Vow) is almost upon us. It is time once again to thank the Lord for leading the volk through the Battle of Blood River in 1838. He reads now, in Afrikaans, as he has done since Monday, from a big, fleshy Bible in which he has inscribed the vow. His approach to the Day of Reconciliation is surprisingly lacking in intensity. Saturday's reading will bring only about 30 people, he says. Then he will go home and treat the day as the Sabbath. Where is that firebrand, that sometime Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member and former Ossewa Brandwag stormjaer, the one-time leader of an "alternative defence force" who used to storm into town on his horse?

He's watching his words, but he's here, somewhere in among the plethora of porcelain dogs, cups saying Moeder and Vader, the clutter of knives and soap sculpture Voortrekker women. He's here, showing us the Dutch television interview where he presents his domestic worker Salamina to the world, saying: "Take my purse, Salamina, it has R500 and I know I can trust you."

The rebel Maritz, if mellowed slightly at 70, balancing precariously on a gammy leg injured at a horseriding endurance contest two years ago, is playing dumb and hard to get. He will say nothing of having advocated the removal of Eugene TerreBlanche from the AWB, and TerreBlanche's subsequent dismissal of him, once his right- hand man, except: "I had a personal problem with TerreBlanche ... I had no problem with Jani Allan ... TerreBlanche should never have gone to university, he should have been a real man; he is a real man but the poetry makes him soft."

He talks about "right minded" Afrikaners and the "bedonderde ... TerreBlanche-minded people". He says the leaders – Hartzenberg, Viljoen, TerreBlanche, Van Tonder – divide the Afrikaner people, they do not form a united block. "I am not an active member of the AWB any longer and I belong to everyone," he says. He has rejected several requests to lead his people.

Mandela, who went out and got the liberation for his people that Maritz's people should have got, is all right – it's De Klerk who betrayed his people

Repeatedly Maritz says "the Boertjies" have no problem with the Government. Nelson Mandela, who went out and got the liberation for his people that Maritz's people should have got is all right – it's De Klerk who betrayed his people. Nor does Maritz have a problem with the new words brought in by the new South Africa. But to him Gauteng is still the Transvaal and with the Day of Reconciliation he is not happy. "I have got a problem in what I want out of that word." Here is his line: "I am not a racist. It'll be a good thing if we can have a bit of separation in the country." This separatism he is after he relates to "the French who hate the English and the Dutch who hate the Germans". Any day now the Zulus and the Xhosas will create a war – even with the Tswana. A separate homeland, a volkstaat, is all he asks.

All this emerges slowly. It comes via the tea and fruit cake Salamina brings; it comes out during the grand tour of the vast, open boma-type room where he serves boerekos on Sundays to the public. Here the x-ray of his weak leg propped with pins hangs among posters of the sometime wrestling giant, an inscription of the Vow, cattle prize ribbons and potjie pots.

He hands photographer John Hogg and me each a copy of his self-published autobiography, *Bloed en Sweet*. It tells of his birth in 1925 to his Anglo-Boer War general and rebel father Manie Maritz and patriotic *kleinskaalse* spy mother, Emma Frances.

The incident where he sucked all the condensed milk out of the tin his mother gave him and his brother Ouboet to share, then blamed it all on Ouboet, tells us more about the man than he cares to expose today.

Today he is the generous host. He tells his wife Beatrice that he has two Engelse "treitering" him. He sends her to fetch the Mauser rifle that belonged to his uncle who died in action on his 21st birthday in Fiksburg in the Anglo-Boer War. "Is dit empty, Manie? "she asks. "Nee, dis nie empty nie maar dit het geen patrone in nie," he tells her.

He shows us the Mauser pistol that belonged to his dad and the buckle that was shot through his father's chest and came out on the other side during the Boer Rebellion in 1914–15. He could fit his whole hand into his father's wound, he says.

Beatrice is far more forthcoming about her husband with regard to Manie's passion for his people; here white, more than Afrikaans, appears to be the qualifying factor.

Manie Maritz Junior, now 50, puts his head through the door briefly. He is the son who was earlier this year judged not guilty of murdering an intruder at his father's farm last Christmas. According to his dad, he had fired warning shots and the court found that the man was killed later by someone else. Beatrice rolls her eyes when he leaves. He lives a kilometre away.

In the adjoining house, 43-year-old Maritha runs up a dress on the sewing machine. She is his daughter. "Well, she will tell you she is my daughter," he says, "but she is really my daughter-in-law." It was like this, see: when Beatrice and he married, her daughter Maritha was 5 and Manie's younger son Gerrit was 7.

The two children became inseparable and when Gerrit, now 45, returned from the army, they asked their parents if it would be all right if they married. Their 21 year-old son, Manie Maritz Junior Junior, lives in the house adjoining his parents'. When Manie Senior's ex-wife, Anna, took ill, she came with her husband to live on the farm for five years until her death.

His has been a great life, says Maritz. It is dark inside the houses; curtains are closed to keep out the heat and air, the better to look inward. In Maritz's house, Bubbles, the white woman who works for him , bustles; she is back from shopping for Sunday lunch. Outside, the air is clear; the rains have coloured the land a deep green.

"This is my country, this is what I will fight for," he says. "I love it. I am happy. I have never had a real foe in my life. Even my dogs and my horses love me ... I am not an extremist."

A small statuette of Maritz, the young wrestler, seems to echo this statement. I am not an extremist, it seems to say.



MELLOWED BUT UNREPENTANT: Manie Maritz, balancing on a gammy leg, seems less given to the dramatic gesture but is consistent in his desire for a separate Afrikaner homeland

PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN HOGG

Mandela refutes allegations

(3044) Sowetan 13/12 p15

SA's foreign policy is shaped by the country's interests and principles stance

By Mzimasi Ngudle

PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA yesterday refuted allegations that the country's foreign policy was shaped more by monetary gains—and being wilfully oblivious of other considerations like the protection of human rights.

A statement from the President's Office said media speculation regarding South Africa's foreign relations "and how these are impacted upon by financial assistance which may have been received by the ANC" was misconceived.

The statement referred to media reports which said Mandela had "cited a $10-m donation from Taiwan as one reason the country would have to break ties with the island republic in favour of diplomatic relations with mainland China":

The report observed that because mainland China refuses to recognise Taiwan as a sovereign state, South Africa would have to downgrade its links with Taiwan and face possible economic consequences.

"In particular, reference has been made to the President and the Government's approach to the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, Morocco and the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, the situation in Nigeria, as well as Indonesia and East Timor.

"The President wishes to reiterate that South Africa's foreign policy is based on the government's assessment of our country's interests and our principled stance on issues of human rights, democracy, development and equitable relations among all states," said the statement.

"The process of setting up formal relations with any country is undertaken within the context of these considerations, and in consultation with all interested parties.

"In his capacity as leader of the ANC, President Mandela has indeed raised funds to ensure that this organisation discharges its functions, a process which has made it possible for South Africa to undergo the transition that we have achieved.

"Such funds, and other forms of support, have been acquired from virtually all countries that the President has visited or interacted with – including the countries which are alleged in media reports to have been disadvantaged in comparison with others on account of some pecuniary considerations," the statement said.

Whites now more optimistic about future

Star 16/12/95
(304A)

By DONNA BRYSON

After a decade-long engagement, Harry Rosen and Andrea Lee finally exchanged rings and marriage vows.

The couple held off because prospects for family life in South Africa seemed too uncertain, the couple said after their civil ceremony at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Thursday.

"A year and a half ago, people weren't looking more than three months ahead. Now they're looking five, 10 years down the road," Rosen said. "They're actually able to do that now."

Rosen (30), an engineer, and his philosophy-student wife (28) are white, and President Mandela has stressed that SA needs its trained white population.

The first democratic election last year did more than end apartheid and deliver power to the ANC. It also brought relative stability to a nation racked by political fighting and threats of civil war. Now people have started planning and dreaming.

Emigrating

In the first eight months of the year, foreign investors have poured millions of rands into the South African stock market. Stock prices are up and stores report strong Christmas sales.

"People are optimistic," said Willie Marais, head of a chain of real estate agencies.

Weddings also are on the increase. More than 1 000 couples tied the knot at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court in the first 10 months of the year, compared with 913 in all of 1994.

But not all is rosy. Crime, particularly car theft, robberies, burglaries and killings, has touched almost every city dweller. A surfeit of guns, widespread poverty and racial tension are blamed for the crime wave.

But official figures show emigration is beginning to wane, from about 850 people a month last year to about 750 a month this year.

However, political scientist Hennie Kotze said a steady stream of students are leaving Stellenbosch University and moving abroad without declaring they are emigrating. – Sapa-AP

Task team to tackle traditional leaders pay row

ARG 16/12/95

(3048)

DURBAN. — A task team headed by Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and KwaZulu-Natal Minister for Traditional Authorities Nyanga Ngubane will meet early next year in an attempt to resolve disagreement on the payment of traditional leaders.

This emerged after a meeting between President Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party leader and chairman of the province's House of Traditional Leaders Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Meyer, Mr Ngubane and chiefs at King's House in Durban yesterday afternoon.

In a memorandum presented by Mr Ngubane, KwaZulu-Natal chiefs opposed payment by the central government as proposed by the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill.

The leaders claimed they had not been consulted on the Bill before it was approved by parliament.

Mr Mandela assured the chiefs that although the Bill made provision for the central government to pay them, the manner of payment had not yet been decided.

Mr Meyer said payment by the central government would ensure parity between the chiefs in the different provinces. He said next year's discussions would also consider recommendations from a commission on the remuneration of public office bearers. — Sapa.

Archive Bill to lift veil of secrecy

BD 19/12/95

304A

Tim Cohen

DETAILS of the heated Cabinet debates that took place in the wake of the 1976 Soweto uprising will become public knowledge next year following the introduction of legislation that will reduce the period restricted documents must remain secret.

Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane announced yesterday the Cabinet had approved the tabling early next year of the National Archives of SA Bill, which would strive to introduce a more transparent and reflective system.

One of the sections of the Bill proposed a reduction in the time restricted documents would have to remain secret from 30 to 20 years. This would allow access for the first time to the minutes of former president BJ Vorster's Cabinet meetings at the time of the 1976 uprising, which was sparked by a decision by then education minister Andries Treurnicht to enforce Afrikaans-language tuition at all black schools.

The minutes could provide new insights into the then government's reasons for this and other controversial decisions, and may even prove embarrassing to currently active politicians such as then foreign minister Pik Botha and also to then defence minister PW Botha.

The minutes could also reveal unknown details of the clandestine pro-government propaganda campaign which was exposed in 1978 as the information scandal which resulted in the downfall of the Vorster government.

Ngubane said the problems which could be caused by the long passage of time before restricted archives could become public knowledge were illustrated by the fact that government only last year determined that the records of the Rivonia trial, preserved by the Master of the Supreme Court, were incomplete.

The Bill, which would revise the existing legislation, would align the archives with the democratic reform that was taking place in the country.

The current Archives Act, as well as archives Acts promulgated by the former homelands, were limited in scope and nature, lacked clarity and did not reflect the political and institutional changes in the country.

Ngubane said the legislation included provisions for the maintenance of national registers of non-public records of enduring value. For example, the archives of the Christian Institute, banned in the 1970s, had been searched for unsuccessfully.

These records were currently not required to be listed and preserved in terms of existing legislation. Many invaluable non-public records which filled the gaps in SA's recorded past had been lost because of the absence of legal provisions for their preservation in existing legislation.

Ngubane said the new Act would define professional terminology extensively, which would close loopholes which had resulted in legal interpretations which excluded certain categories of archives, for example tape recordings. In the proposed new legislation, "record" is defined as recorded information regardless of form or medium.

He was confident that the proposed new system, under the direction of a national archivist, would further the protection of SA's national heritage and set the tone for an open and democratic archival dispensation for SA.

Bill to allow wider access to records

ET 19/12/95

304A

POLITICAL STAFF

THE bill to amend the National Archives Act would align the country's archives with its democratic reforms, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Dr Ben Ngubane, said yesterday.

The bill is to reduce from 30 to 20 years the period before government documents are opened to public access, extend definitions to include tape recordings, and widen the archives' scope to include non-public documents.

Dr Ngubane said it had been discovered that the records of the 1963 Rivonia Trial, in which President Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders were jailed for life, were incomplete.

Also, the archives of Dr Beyers Naude's Christian Institute, banned in October 1977, could not be found.

'SA TRYING TO BE ALL THINGS TO ALL NATIONS'

'Shambling' foreign affairs policy slated

ET 20/12/95

(304A)

NIGERIA'S EXECUTIONS in defiance of President Mandela's pleas jolted the government into reviewing its foreign affairs policy, a journal says. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports

THE South African government was conducting its foreign policy in a "shambling" manner because it was trying to be all things to all nations, according to the authoritative weekly journal Southern African Report.

An exception was South Africa's relations with its neighbours who were expected to "maintain order to ensure stability in the region".

The government was severely jolted in its shambling conduct of foreign affairs when Nigerian leader General Sani Abacha ignored President Nelson Mandela's appeal for a stay of execution of nine Ogoni activists, the journal noted.

President Mandela's outrage and the shock at the executions had stimulated a re-evaluation of South Africa's foreign policy.

In his end-of-year assessment, the journal's editor, Mr Raymond Louw, said crime was the biggest single obstacle to foreign investment and trade and the rapid growth of tourism.

'Brain drain'

It was also a major cause of the "brain drain" as skilled South Africans were seeking "peaceful pastures".

"Running in tandem with violent crime is corruption in government and the withholding by the public of rates and taxes for municipal services," Mr Louw wrote.

"Refusal to pay for muncipal services — a legacy of the ANC 'pre-freedom' campaign to make the country ungovernable — has not been countered by the diligent attempts of President Mandela and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu to appeal to their civic pride through the Masakhane (let us build together) Campaign.

"Refusal to pay threatens the viability of towns and cities," Mr Louw said. "The disease is catching on — whites are following blacks in this."

The journal concludes that despite these and other failures and shortcomings, the government's greatest achievement has been to bring people together in an acceptance of the new order and in promoting reconciliation.

● See Page 8

SA upgraded in index of free countries

(304A) STAR 21/12/95

Now in company of Britain

France, Japan and others

By Peter Fabricius
Washington Bureau

South Africa has been rated again among the world's freest countries politically in 1995 – rising one rung in the ladder since last year – in Freedom House's annual survey of international human rights.

As it did last year, the US human rights group rated SA a "free" country, but lifted it from a 2,5 to a 1,5 on a scale where 1 is most free and 7 is least free. In the process, SA abandoned the company of countries such as Argentina, Namibia, Malawi and Slovakia, and joined Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and others.

The survey – "Freedom in the World" – published in Washington this week, said two more nations – Moldova and the Kyrgyz Republic – joined the ranks of the world's democracies in 1995, bringing the total to 117 – 61% of the planet's 191 countries.

More than 3,1 billion people of the world's 5,7 billion population now lived under democratically elected governments.

"As democracy spreads across the globe," said Freedom House chairman Bette Bao Lord, "it is clear that aspirations of people to be free to choose their own leaders is a universal principle, not a Western construct as some repressive governments argue."

The survey ranks all the world's nations according to two basic criteria, political rights and civil liberties. Political rights include free elections for the head of government and legislature, significant opposition and self-determination for minorities.

Civil liberties include freedom of assembly, expression, press and trade unions, the rule of law, free businesses and freedom from extreme government corruption.

International affairs analyst Thomas Lansner said SA's ranking had improved mostly because of the continuing consolidation of democratic rights.

He cited as examples President Mandela's acceptance and even welcoming of the Constitutional Court's decision this year to uphold a National Party objection to the delimitation of Western Cape local government boundaries.

The Constitutional Assembly's publication of a draft final constitution was also taken as evidence that democratic consolidation was continuing, Lansner said at a press conference announcing the survey.

In an interview, he said that the continuing political violence in KwaZulu Natal was one of the reasons SA had not been given a top score of 1 – along with countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States.

"Violence in SA could harm future standing"

The KwaZulu violence was causing a definite restriction of political rights such as the rights of free assembly, free movement and free political expression.

Lansner warned that if the violence in the province worsened, this could affect SA's future ranking in the freedom index.

Another reason SA did not attain the top rank was the economic restriction caused by a small group of interlocking companies controlling so much of the market.

Concentration of media ownership also potentially limited freedom of expression, he added. And SA had to guard against a tendency for the broadcast media to revert to being political mouthpieces of the government. – AFP.

Contralesa to forge unity with other political leaders

BD 21/12/95 (304A)

Farouk Ghothia

DURBAN — The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) signalled yesterday that it would move further away from the ANC in a bid to forge unity with traditional leaders from other political parties, including the IFP.

Speaking after a meeting attended by Contralesa's national executive committee and its KwaZulu-Natal region, president Phatekile Holomisa said: "Now that liberation has been achieved it is imperative that we assert our independence as Contralesa so that we attract other traditional leaders. It is natural that there will be a parting of ways (with the ANC) here and there."

Holomisa's comments are likely to heighten tensions between Contralesa and the ANC. Holomisa's faction of Contralesa irked the ANC when it boycotted local government elections and chose to hold a rally with IFP-aligned traditional leaders to protest against central government's treatment of traditional leaders.

Holomisa's decision also precipitated divisions within Contralesa, and its KwaZulu-Natal region threatened to break away.

Contralesa KwaZulu-Natal chairman Zibuse Mlaba said the "misunderstanding" had been resolved. There had been a lack of communication and the national executive committee failed to timeously inform the region about the rally.

Holomisa said Contralesa would continue interacting with IFP-aligned traditional leaders. It was of concern to Contralesa that traditional leaders in KwaZulu-Natal were divided.

"The only solution is for them to unite," Holomisa said.

Mlaba said the region expected the national executive committee to consult it before holding any meetings with IFP-aligned chiefs.

Holomisa said the issue of Contralesa members holding positions within the ANC would be reviewed once the national constitution was finalised. It was in the interests of traditional leaders to remain in Parliament at this stage to have an input in the constitution-making process.

The task of defining the role of traditional leaders in the constitution could only be left to politicians.

Holomisa repeated his charge that central government was not taking traditional leaders "seriously enough". This was shown by its failure to establish a Council of Traditional Leaders. Contralesa would seek a meeting with President Nelson Mandela to raise its concerns, Holomisa said.

The national executive committee said Victor Sefora — who, claiming to be Contralesa's general secretary, denounced Holomisa on national television — was an "inconsequential dissident".

Island declared a monument

Wyndham Hartley

BD 21/12/95

CAPE TOWN — Robben Island, arguably the site of one of the world's most famous political prisons, has been declared a national monument.

Making the announcement yesterday, Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane said there was potential for the island, which attracts considerable international interest, to become a world heritage site.

The declaration means that all buildings, structures and other elements on the island may not be altered without the permission of the national monuments council. In addition to protecting the island, the declaration also applies to an area one nautical mile from the shore.

Ngubane said the island was unique as a result of its political, historical and environmental heritage.

Robben Island is composed of blue rock, deposited some 800-million years ago. The maximum security prison, which was home to President Nelson Mandela for so long, is built of this blue stone.

Van Riebeeck was the first to use the island as a prison — a troublesome manservant of his became the first prisoner on the island and, apparently, the only person to escape.

Authorities warn of land claim scams

BD 21/12/95

Kevin O'Grady

THE Commission on Restitution of Land Rights — which has so far received more than 5 000 claims — has warned of "land claim scams" in which people "extort money ... for the handling of claims which can be done free by the commission".

Chief land claims commissioner Joe Seremane said he was also concerned about "reports of threats by some individuals or organisations of land invasions if their claims are not resolved within weeks".

He warned that any land invasions would be an infringement of the Restitution Act and "could be counterproductive to a peaceful and reconciliatory process of restitution".

"It should be remembered that dispossession of land took place over decades of racially based actions and cannot be rectified within weeks to everybody's satisfaction," Seremane said.

Some of the claims received had already reached the negotiation and mediation stage and provisional agreements had been reached on settling others.

Creating the necessary administrative structure to handle large numbers of claims had taken longer than expected and led to the commission's work lagging behind schedule.

"There is, however, no doubt that we have made progress and that we are moving towards full operational capacity," Seremane said.

Attention had been given to a "fair number" of claims which were regarded as urgent, and official notices of the investigation of at least 200 claims had been published.

Some cases would be submitted to the Land Claims Court as soon as it was fully established early next year.

Of the 5 041 claims already received, 3 065 were from urban areas and 1 976 from rural areas.

The highest number of claims was in KwaZulu-Natal (1 999), followed by Gauteng (1 062) and Western Cape (626).

Seremane said he believed many claims were still outstanding because people did not realise they were entitled to claim for land rights dispossessed under racially based measures of previous governments since June 1913.

Police deployed in wake of second KwaZulu massacre

BD 21/12/95

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Eight people were killed in the second massacre to take place on the KwaZulu-Natal south coast in less then a week, underlining President Nelson Mandela's and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's need to unveil a fresh peace initiative for the province at their summit due for early next year.

KwaZulu-Natal premier and safety and security MEC Frank Mdlalose said a team of detectives had been assembled to investigate the massacre, and 150 policemen and soldiers had been deployed in the area to stabilise the situation.

Sapa reports that police have offered a reward of up to R250 000 for information leading to arrest and conviction of the perpetrators.

Mdlalose said gunmen went to the home of Khonzani Danca, 80, in the Gcilima area near Port Shepstone on Tuesday night, firing shots through the bedroom window. She was gunned down as she tried to flee.

A second attack — believed to have been carried out by the same gunmen — took place about a kilometre away. A house was set on fire and six people — burnt beyond recognition — were killed. One woman was shot dead as she tried to escape. Two others survived.

Practical Ministries violence monitor Danny Chetty — who visited the scene — said five children were among the dead. "The attackers knew their targets and clearly wanted to wipe out the entire family," Chetty said.

Chetty said the violence in the south coast region had claimed more than 200 lives this year alone. The region should be treated as a "national priority" and needed the personal intervention of Mandela and Buthelezi, he said.

The Gcilima massacre came hard on the heels of a similar attack in Ntsimbini, near Paddock, last Saturday. Eight people were also killed in that attack.

Mdlalose said police were offering rewards of up to R250 000 for information leading to the conviction of the killers.

Chetty said that violence in the Gcilima area related to the issue of chief Everson Xolo, who defected from the IFP to align himself with the ANC. Xolo survived an assassination attempt and had been forced to flee his home. IFP supporters were attempting to turn Xolo's area into their stronghold while the chief's supporters were resisting to enable Xolo to return permanently.

Speaking in Durban, Xolo described the massacre as "regrettable". "I'm not going to be intimidated into submission. I'll go on with peace," Xolo said.

Contralesa to forge unity with other political leaders

BD 21/12/95 (304A)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) signalled yesterday that it would move further away from the ANC in a bid to forge unity with traditional leaders from other political parties, including the IFP.

Speaking after a meeting attended by Contralesa's national executive committee and its KwaZulu-Natal region, president Phatekile Holomisa said: "Now that liberation has been achieved it is imperative that we assert our independence as Contralesa so that we attract other traditional leaders. It is natural that there will be a parting of ways (with the ANC) here and there."

Holomisa's comments are likely to heighten tensions between Contralesa and the ANC. Holomisa's faction of Contralesa irked the ANC when it boycotted local government elections and chose to hold a rally with IFP-aligned traditional leaders to protest against central government's treatment of traditional leaders.

Holomisa's decision also precipitated divisions within Contralesa, and its KwaZulu-Natal region threatened to break away.

Contralesa KwaZulu-Natal chairman Zibuse Mlaba said the "misunderstanding" had been resolved. There had been a lack of communication and the national executive committee failed to timeously inform the region about the rally.

Holomisa said Contralesa would continue interacting with IFP-aligned traditional leaders. It was of concern to Contralesa that traditional leaders in KwaZulu-Natal were divided.

"The only solution is for them to unite," Holomisa said.

Mlaba said the region expected the national executive committee to consult it before holding any meetings with IFP-aligned chiefs.

Holomisa said the issue of Contralesa members holding positions within the ANC would be reviewed once the national constitution was finalised. It was in the interests of traditional leaders to remain in Parliament at this stage to have an input in the constitution-making process.

The task of defining the role of traditional leaders in the constitution could only be left to politicians.

Holomisa repeated his charge that central government was not taking traditional leaders "seriously enough". This was shown by its failure to establish a Council of Traditional Leaders. Contralesa would seek a meeting with President Nelson Mandela to raise its concerns, Holomisa said.

The national executive committee said Victor Sefora — who, claiming to be Contralesa's general secretary, denounced Holomisa on national television — was an "inconsequential dissident".

Island declared a monument

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Robben Island, arguably the site of one of the world's most famous political prisons, has been declared a national monument.

Making the announcement yesterday, Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane said there was potential for the island, which attracts considerable international interest, to become a world heritage site.

The declaration means that all buildings, structures and other elements on the island may not be altered without the permission of the national monuments council. In addition to protecting the island, the declaration also applies to an area one nautical mile from the shore.

Ngubane said the island was unique as a result of its political, historical and environmental heritage.

Robben Island is composed of blue rock, deposited some 800-million years ago. The maximum security prison, which was home to President Nelson Mandela for so long, is built of this blue stone.

Van Riebeeck was the first to use the island as a prison — a troublesome manservant of his became the first prisoner on the island and, apparently, the only person to escape.

Contralesa to be non-aligned

(3044) Sowetan 22/12/95

By Sipho Khumalo
KwaZulu-Natal Bureau

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA will gradually part ways with its political ally – the African National Congress – because it now wants to assert its independence, the organisation's president, Chief Pathekile Holomisa, said.

Holomisa declared this position in a media briefing following the organisation's national executive council meeting where representatives of several regions of Contralesa reaffirmed their confidence in his presidency.

The meeting was held to discuss misunderstandings arising from controversial meetings held by the organisation with the Inkatha-aligned chiefs which culminated in a march in Pretoria led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Holomisa.

Holomisa said it was "mischievous" to view contact they have made with Inkatha-aligned chiefs as drifting towards Inkatha. "In fact it should be viewed as the Inkatha-aligned chiefs drifting towards Contralesa," he said.

Holomisa said Contralesa will be parting ways with the ANC now that liberation had been achieved. However, he conceded that the organisation was formed through the initiative of the then Mass Democratic Movement and in consultation with the ANC.

"Now that liberation has been achieved, we need to assert our independence as traditional leaders so that we will be able to attract other traditional leaders into our organisation," he said.

SA reaches turning point in formulating a clear foreign policy

(304A)

GREG MILLS

BD 22/12/95

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's attack on Gen Sani Abacha's Nigerian military regime at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Auckland in November has been interpreted as a turning point in SA's foreign affairs.

It was seen as the moment when the president assumed direct control of policy, and SA took the African lead, apparently leaving behind past sensitivities preventing it from exercising its comparative continental power and authority.

In the past the ANC had advocated a consultative, non-hegemonic foreign role. Given the Southern African Development Community's relatively weak response to the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his colleagues, it is also debatable whether Mandela consulted that closely with his neighbours prior to delivering his scathing indictment and call for action.

Domestically, the president's role and outwardly sudden reaction to Nigeria posed questions about the role of the foreign minister and his department in the conduct, formulation and content of foreign policy.

This direction has until now been broadly espoused as "universality" — simply, relations with all. With Nigeria, it has gained a human rights component, though the sustainability of this tenet is questionable in a harsh, competitive world.

Mandela has given himself few options with Abacha; and even if the Auckland outburst was to effect change in Nigeria, it is not at all clear what that change might lead to. There were certainly few pointers from this week's meeting in London of the Commonwealth action group.

But Nigeria has not, unfortunately, been the only foreign policy conundrum on SA's 1995 report card. A failure to act decisively in making the inevitable choice between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan was brought to a head with an admission of Taiwanese financial assistance for the ANC's election coffers. "How much does SA foreign policy cost?" goes the riddle. Answer: "Ask the Taiwanese."

Similar allegations surfaced in relations with Indonesia and SA's apparent ambivalence over East Timor as with Morocco and Pretoria's related failure to recognise the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. So much for the moral high ground gained after the 1994 SA election.

There have also been hiccups with Washington over links with Cuba and Iran. As the US Assistant Secretary of State for Defence Joseph Nye put it during a visit to SA in August, the US will be concerned about any action, financial or material, which might assist Teheran in acquiring nuclear weapons.

But it has not all been bad. Internationally, the high water mark was undoubtedly the imaginative contribution which enabled consensus to be achieved at the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty renewal in May. Although some in SA claimed that Pretoria had sold out the Third World by its actions, the international arms control community viewed this in a far more positive light and has infinite respect for the SA diplomats involved.

The continuing negotiations with our principal trading partner, the EU, and notably the visit of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in September and that of US vice-president Al Gore were all steps in the right direction towards improving trade relations and investment flows. Queen Elizabeth's visit — the first by a British monarch since 1947 — was another promotional success.

The foreign affairs department has also made progress with internal restructuring and transformation. Four of five deputy directors-general have been appointed from the ranks of the liberation movements — Thuthukile Mazibuko, who is responsible for the Middle East and Asia; Tebogo Mafole (Europe and the Americas); Anthony Mongalo (Africa); and Abdul Minty (multilateral affairs).

The process of the expansion in diplomatic ties continued apace. By August, SA had established 124 missions abroad.

A survey conducted by the SA communication services in October, across all sectors of the population, found that 53% of respondents considered that the government of national unity had not performed as well as expected over the previous three months.

This related, in turn, to perceptions of government's control over crime and its handling of the economy. Sixty-four percent disapproved of the way in which it was dealing with crime while 55% were dissatisfied with the general economic situation. Yet 55% were worried most about jobs and the economy, only 10% about crime and 8% housing. What does this mean for the importance and direction of foreign affairs?

Put simply, if the above is taken as a guide, in the international arena the government should focus its energies on securing profitable investment and trading relationships. This means more time with the EU and, in the future, with the North American Free Trade Area and Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum than with Nigeria's seemingly intractable problems.

Also, the region must be a safer and an easier place — both in terms of physical guarantees and government facilitation — in which to do business. It is encouraging that SA's exports to Africa have shown a reported 63% year-on-year rise for 1995. The continent is now the second largest export region after Europe, with a R16,7bn trade balance in SA's favour in 1994.

Conversely, the region's problems cannot be allowed to infiltrate SA. About 68% of respondents in the October poll thought the government should act more strictly against illegal aliens.

Finally, government has to be seen to act decisively and efficiently. The sorry tale of the "two Chinas" is a moot case which will ultimately have to be addressed in the mainland's favour.

The political leadership needs to organise diplomatic representation and expenditure in a manner that meets, as best as possible, SA's interests. It must make sure that key appointments do not lie vacant, such as the ambassadorships currently in Portugal and Argentina. This is poor organisation and sends entirely the wrong signals.

We have to tailor expenditure accordingly. For example, does the return on the R33m spent on external broadcasting by the foreign affairs department justify the cost?

Mandela's intervention in the Nigerian crisis may well be a watershed, but not for the reasons advanced thus far. This could be the moment when the political leadership realises that more time should be spent on those foreign issues which directly affect the lives of South Africans, and where a thorough assessment of national (and not party) interests and the advice of professional diplomats is given priority.

□ Mills is director of studies at the SA Institute of International Affairs. He writes in his personal capacity.

SA reaches turning point in formulating a clear foreign policy

(304A) **GREG MILLS** BD 22/12/95

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's attack on Gen Sani Abacha's Nigerian military regime at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Auckland in November has been interpreted as a turning point in SA's foreign affairs.

It was seen as the moment when the president assumed direct control of policy, and SA took the African lead, apparently leaving behind past sensitivities preventing it from exercising its comparative continental power and authority.

In the past the ANC had advocated a consultative, non-hegemonic foreign role. Given the Southern African Development Community's relatively weak response to the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his colleagues, it is also debatable whether Mandela consulted that closely with his neighbours prior to delivering his scathing indictment and call for action.

Domestically, the president's role and outwardly sudden reaction to Nigeria posed questions about the role of the foreign minister and his department in the conduct, formulation and content of foreign policy.

This direction has until now been broadly espoused as "universality" — simply, relations with all. With Nigeria, it has gained a human rights component, though the sustainability of this tenet is questionable in a harsh, competitive world.

Mandela has given himself few options with Abacha; and even if the Auckland outburst was to effect change in Nigeria, it is not at all clear what that change might lead to. There were certainly few pointers from this week's meeting in London of the Commonwealth action group.

But Nigeria has not, unfortunately, been the only foreign policy conundrum on SA's 1995 report card. A failure to act decisively in making the inevitable choice between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan was brought to a head with an admission of Taiwanese financial assistance for the ANC's election coffers. "How much does SA foreign policy cost?" goes the riddle. Answer: "Ask the Taiwanese."

Similar allegations surfaced in relations with Indonesia and SA's apparent ambivalence over East Timor as with Morocco and Pretoria's related failure to recognise the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. So much for the moral high ground gained after the 1994 SA election.

There have also been hiccups with Washington over links with Cuba and Iran. As the US Assistant Secretary of State for Defence Joseph Nye put it during a visit to SA in August, the US will be concerned about any action, financial or material, which might assist Teheran in acquiring nuclear weapons.

But it has not all been bad. Internationally, the high water mark was undoubtedly the imaginative contribution which enabled consensus to be achieved at the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty renewal in May. Although some in SA claimed that Pretoria had sold out the Third World by its actions, the international arms control community viewed this in a far more positive light and has infinite respect for the SA diplomats involved.

The continuing negotiations with our principal trading partner, the EU, and notably the visit of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in September and that of US vice-president Al Gore were all steps in the right direction towards improving trade relations and investment flows. Queen Elizabeth's visit — the first by a British monarch since 1947 — was another promotional success.

The foreign affairs department has also made progress with internal restructuring and transformation. Four of five deputy directors-general have been appointed from the ranks of the liberation movements — Thuthukile Mazibuko, who is responsible for the Middle East and Asia; Tebogo Mafole (Europe and the Americas); Anthony Mongalo (Africa); and Abdul Minty (multilateral affairs).

The process of the expansion in diplomatic ties continued apace. By August, SA had established 124 missions abroad.

A survey conducted by the SA communication services in October, across all sectors of the population, found that 53% of respondents considered that the government of national unity had not performed as well as expected over the previous three months.

This related, in turn, to perceptions of government's control over crime and its handling of the economy. Sixty-four percent disapproved of the way in which it was dealing with crime while 55% were dissatisfied with the general economic situation. Yet 55% were worried most about jobs and the economy, only 10% about crime and 8% housing. What does this mean for the importance and direction of foreign affairs?

Put simply, if the above is taken as a guide, in the international arena the government should focus its energies on securing profitable investment and trading relationships. This means more time with the EU and, in the future, with the North American Free Trade Area and Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum than with Nigeria's seemingly intractable problems.

Also, the region must be a safer and an easier place — both in terms of physical guarantees and government facilitation — in which to do business. It is encouraging that SA's exports to Africa have shown a reported 63% year-on-year rise for 1995. The continent is now the second largest export region after Europe, with a R16,7bn trade balance in SA's favour in 1994.

Conversely, the region's problems cannot be allowed to infiltrate SA. About 68% of respondents in the October poll thought the government should act more strictly against illegal aliens.

Finally, government has to be seen to act decisively and efficiently. The sorry tale of the "two Chinas" is a moot case which will ultimately have to be addressed in the mainland's favour.

The political leadership needs to organise diplomatic representation and expenditure in a manner that meets, as best as possible, SA's interests. It must make sure that key appointments do not lie vacant, such as the ambassadorships currently in Portugal and Argentina. This is poor organisation and sends entirely the wrong signals.

We have to tailor expenditure accordingly. For example, does the return on the R33m spent on external broadcasting by the foreign affairs department justify the cost?

Mandela's intervention in the Nigerian crisis may well be a watershed, but not for the reasons advanced thus far. This could be the moment when the political leadership realises that more time should be spent on those foreign issues which directly affect the lives of South Africans, and where a thorough assessment of national (and not party) interests and the advice of professional diplomats is given priority.

□ Mills is director of studies at the SA Institute of International Affairs. He writes in his personal capacity.

FW's secret bid to lock files

THE government has uncovered a secret bid by former State President F W de Klerk to keep the apartheid government's cabinet documents under wraps for 40 years.

On April 21 last year, a few days before he handed power over to the country's first democratically elected government, Mr de Klerk slapped an additional 10-year embargo onto the existing restriction on public access to cabinet minutes.

This would have kept them away from public scrutiny until 2034, when Mr de Klerk would be 98 years old.

President Nelson Mandela's legal advisers have demanded an explanation from Mr de Klerk for the extension to the normal 30-year embargo.

And the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Dr Ben Ngubane, has vowed not only to rescind Mr de Klerk's order, but to make the full record of the apartheid government available 10 years earlier than the present Archives Act allows.

This is the third time a secret action carried out by Mr de Klerk in his last days of rule has been uncovered.

On April 25 he granted amnesty to 3 500 policemen and two former National Party cabinet ministers, General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, for unspecified offences. On the same day, he also approved the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly's signing into law of the Ingonyama Trust Act. This transferred 93 percent of former Kwazulu territory, including state land, into a trust whose sole member was the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini.

The cabinet minutes cover the stormy years of P W Botha's "Total Onslaught" era from 1978 to 1989 as well as Mr de Klerk's period in power up to the first democratic elections in April last year.

The Archives Act stipulates that, like all other government documents, they should be thrown open to the public after 30 years.

Approached by the Sunday Times this week, Mr de Klerk's spokesman, Frik Schoombee, said: "The proposal of an additional 10-year embargo related to the then-imminent change in government in terms of a new constitution and the need to ensure the correct use of classified information during a sensitive period of transition.

To Page 2 ⇨

By CYRIL MADLALA

(3049) ST 24/12/95

De Klerk's secret embargo uncovered

⇦ **From Page 1**

"It was made in the full knowledge that the new government would have to deal with the issue after the election and in terms of the Archives Act."

It was a "temporary arrangement", Mr Schoombee said.

However, even without this "arrangement", stringent conditions laid down in the Archives Act would have made it virtually impossible for the public to have access to the minutes before the expiry of 30 years.

This week Dr Ngubane moved to shorten the official embargo period from 30 to 20 years.

But when he announced that the National Archives of South Africa Bill would be tabled in Parliament next year, he was unaware of the "arrangement" by the previous government. He learned of it through the Sunday Times.

"The new legislation will supersede all previous arrangements or legislation," he said, adding that the new government was committed to transparency and accountability.

The minutes of cabinet and cabinet committee meetings during the "Total Onslaught" era are believed to contain sensitive insights into what went on during that period.

The recent murder indictment against General Magnus Malan and 19 others shed light on some of the decisions allegedly taken by one of the cabinet committees, the State Security Council.

Mr Schoombee denied that the motive behind the additional 10-year embargo was to ensure that such matters were not exposed.

He said: "Embargoes on documentation in terms of the Archives Acts do not preclude their availability in court cases. Thus, in the Goniwe inquests, minutes of the State Security Council were made available to the court."

New law to plug gaps in SA's dark history

(304A) ST 24/12/95

By CYRIL MADLALA

SOUTH AFRICA's security organisations, such as the National Intelligence Services, will soon be barred from destroying sensitive information, according to proposed legislation to be tabled in Parliament next year.

The National Archives of South Africa Bill, announced this week by Dr Ben Ngubane, Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, broadens the meaning of archives to include recorded material regardless of form and medium.

"A case such as the destruction of the tape recording of the conversation between Nelson Mandela and P W Botha by the NIS on the grounds that a tape recording could not be regarded as an item of archives would not be possible in future," Dr Ngubane said.

The proposed legislation provides for the maintenance of national registers of non-public records of national importance. The records need not be handed to the archives, but their custodians would not be allowed to dispose of them, Dr Ngubane said.

He said many invaluable non-public records which could fill the gaps in the country's history were lost because there was no legal requirement for their preservation — for example, the archives of the Christian Institute, which was banned with several other organisations in 1977.

By all accounts the institute's records were confiscated by the Security Police, but the SA Police Services can find no record of them now, according to officials at the State Archives.

The period of open access to the material in the archives would be shortened from 30 years to 20 years, in line with international standards, Dr Ngubane said.

This will mean that, for the first time, the public will have open access to records of the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the 1976 Soweto upheavals. Minutes of the early days of Mr Botha's cabinet meetings will also become available within two years.

Dr Ngubane said the Bill was aligned with government transparency and accountability as provided for in the interim constitution and in terms of the Open Democracy Bill. The latter, also to be tabled in Parliament next year, confirms access to information and protection of privacy as fundamental rights.

The evolution of the dark side of South Africa's history is well documented in rows of neatly stacked files in an inconspicuous building in Hamilton Street in Pretoria.

Original documents generated by government, and marking every turn in the new democratic order, are preserved in 85 strongrooms in this building.

Staff under the director of archives, Marie Olivier, laugh nowadays as they look at the original order banning the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, in 1963.

The spelling in the order, signed by Prime Minister Dr H F Verwoerd, State President C R Swart and Justice Minister B J Vorster, is wrong — some other organisation called Umkhonto WeZiswe was banned by mistake.

Mr Mandela's defiant letters to the authorities, bearing his now well-known signature, as well as ordinances and pieces of legislation by various governments, are preserved in their original form.

Mrs Olivier is trying to get a complete record of the Rivonia Trial during which Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Dr Ngubane said that if the new law had been effective earlier, it would have been discovered earlier that the Rivonia records were incomplete.

In future each government department would appoint somebody to ensure the proper preservation of all documents, he said.

The computerised system in Pretoria incorporates about six million records accessible throughout the country.

The new law will establish national archives as a branch of the public service, presided over by the minister and under the direction of the national archivist.



FOR THE RECORD . . . archivist Leticia Coetzee with the Rivonia Trial documents Picture: JULANI VAN DER WESTHUIZEN

Hartzenberg in New Year plea for Afrikaner rights

The Afrikaner nation had the right to live peacefully with all other South African peoples, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said in his New Year's message yesterday.

In a statement in Pretoria he said it was time for Afrikaners to join forces against all injustices and malpractices until these had been replaced by a fair and true dispensation.

"In the political arena, next year looks to become a year of unequal adjudication aimed especially at the Afrikaner," he said.

Hartzenberg cited the white paper on education, the truth commission and land reform as examples of an attempt to alienate the Afrikaner.

"Now is the time to be positive and filled with courage. Our nation has the right to live in peace, justice and courtesy with all other nations of South Africa," he said.

–Sapa. Star 28/12/95

(304A)

To get happy, hold general elections

ST 31/12/95 (304A)

By SIBUSISO BUBESI

SOUTH AFRICANS are gloomier than they were this time last year, a Gallup poll has shown.

The survey — of 3 500 South Africans — forms part of an international year-end poll undertaken in 50 countries by Gallup International.

It shows that 67 percent of blacks are looking forward to a better 1996 while only 31 percent of whites share this sentiment.

This represents a slight decline in optimism from last year when these figures were 73 and 37 percent respectively.

Optimism remains the same among coloureds at 51 percent while it has dropped from 51 to 41 percent among Indians.

Mari Harris of Markinor, which conducted the poll, said South Africans were more optimistic last year because of the successful elections.

"It is an international phenomenon that a national election has a positive effect on optimism levels in a country.

"This influenced the high optimism expressed at the end of 1994," said Ms Harris.

"Now, a year later, whites, coloureds and Indians are despondent about the soaring crime rate while blacks have had to come to terms with the fact that the implementation of the RDP is a very slow process."

However, most South Africans were looking forward to better fortunes in 1996, she said.

"This is the result of improved economic prospects, greater international investment and the relative success of the local elections," she said.

Ms Harris added that overall, whites were still uncertain about the future. She said that despite unfulfilled expectations, blacks were extremely optimistic.

Of the nine provinces, optimism levels are highest in the Northern province where 73 percent of people are confident that 1996 will be better than 1995.

The survey also reveals that 27 percent of South Africans believe strike action and industrial disputes will increase next year.

"Almost 58 percent of whites, 49 percent of Indians, a third of coloureds and 17 percent of blacks expect strikes to increase in 1996," she said.