S.A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

1996

JANUARY – MARCH.

Acrimony dilutes plans for joint Afrikaner front

(304A) Star 15/1/96

Pretoria rally turns out to be a damp squib as moderates

and far-rightwingers fight over burning of SA flag

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The birth of a united Afrikaner front is being threatened by internal wrangles among Afrikaner activists over the programme of such a movement.

While the Foundation for Equality before the Law's protest meeting at the weekend was endorsed and attended by most predominantly Afrikaner organisations, strong tensions still exist between rightwing militants and moderates.

This division was played out at the FEL Pretoria protest on Saturday where far rightwingers and moderates clashed over the attempted burning of the South African flag. The FEL was set up recently to campaign against the trials of former defence minister Magnus Malan and other security force members and fight perceived discrimination against Afrikaners and their language by the authorities.

And even though there has been outrage among Afrikaners over the scaling down of their language on the SABC and the public service and perceived discrimination against them, the rally turned out to be a damp squib. Only about 1 000 people turned up, far fewer than the 3 000 the organisers had expected.

The militant section of the front, consisting of the Conservative Party and what is left of the "boerekomandos" and "resistance movements", wants strong action to be taken to halt the downgrading of Afrikaans. It totally rejects the new order.

The National Party-leaning side – represented by the likes of former health minister Dr Rina Venter, former Police Commissioner-General Johan van der Merwe and other former civil servants – wants to fight the Government within the ambit of the constitution and that the group intends taking the SABC to court.

■ Reuters reports that President Nelson Mandela on Saturday sharply attacked the group formed to protect Afrikaner rights, accusing them of trying to turn the clock back to apartheid.

NP pondering new name and direction

De Klerk denies a report the Nats are about to break up, but says the party as still too white to grow significantly

— motivated in part by NP's increasingly powerful coloured component. — that sees the party as still too white to grow significantly

— that senior members are upset over leaking of a 'working paper'

— that the party is about to break up, but s

15/4/96 (304A)

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

National Party leader FW de Klerk yesterday attempted to quash reports that the NP was on the verge of dissolving itself.

He admitted, however, that a secret document leaked to the press had been discussed on the highest level in the NP but said no decision had been taken on it.

According to the reports the executive committee of the NP Federal Council had decided last Monday to disband the party and spearhead the formation of a new Christian Democratic political movement.

A name change for the party had also been approved, the reports said. The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport, which has traditionally had close ties to the NP, said members of the party's parliamentary caucus were not yet aware of the decision.

NP sources last night said they did not know of the decision but suspected there was "some truth" in the reports.

AFP reports the leak of the policy document to Rapport had upset senior party members, who said they had not been aware of its contents.

It is expected the issue will be discussed when the full NP caucus meets in Cape Town today.

The NP has been dogged by an identity crisis and internal dissension since it was ousted from power, seemingly unsure whether to play an opposition role or that of coalition partner in the Government of National Unity.

There has also been pressure within its ranks for a total revamp of image and structure.

Leading figures from the party's increasingly powerful coloured support base have stated publicly and internally that the party is still far too white to grow significantly in the coloured community and make even modest inroads among black voters.

De Klerk said the reports were "a total misrepresentation" and that the NP was not involved in the formation of a new political movement.

"A name change and the abandonment of organisational identity at this stage is by no means under consideration."

De Klerk strongly criticised the people who leaked the document, accusing them of trying to "maliciously sabotage" a comprerehensive long-term initiative of the NP which had the support of the parliamentary caucus.

And he emphasised that the NP would not deviate from its course because a few individuals had their own agenda.

De Klerk added that the initiative involved the formulating of a vision aimed at breaking South Africa "out of the present stereotyped political patterns".

National Party to change identity

Sowetan 15/1/96 (304A)

NP is prepared to take leave of its old image to guarantee its survival

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

IN A LAST ditch effort to distance itself from a bloody past and attempt to re-invent itself by putting on a new outfit, the National Party is about to effect a number of changes to its identity.

After months of speculation that the party was discussing a new identity – with a strong Christian focus, it now emerges that it will disband as the NP and emerge with a new name, structure and vision. The decision came out of a NP management committee meeting last week that discussed a document containing proposals for restructuring.

Not many outside the management committee had an inkling of the plan to change. One NP organiser in the Cape told *Sowetan* that he was unaware of changes to the NP but "I welcome what is being suggested".

Observers say the move has a bearing on the NP's failure thus far to capture the hearts and minds of black communities which are not willing to eradicate the association of the NP with the bloody trail left by apartheid.

The document, quoted in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* says the NP is prepared to take leave of its identity if this move will guarantee its survival and vision. The restructured organisation will also look towards effecting changes to its branches and councils.

The changes to the NP will be announced by party leader Mr FW de Klerk at its smart new R4 million headquarters in Pretoria on February 2.

Six years ago De Klerk announced the unbanning of political organisations like the ANC, PAC and SACP on this day. *Rapport* says that the new document was drawn up by De Klerk, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Leon Wessels, Mr Fanus Schoeman, Mr Nic Koornhof and Mr Hernus Kriel.

The document sketches the building of a new political party grounded on "Christian principles". The name "Christian Democratic Party" has been suggested strongly from quarters particularly in the Western Cape where the NP's majority support base is.

NP faction forces denial on shake-up

(304A) ARG 15/11/96

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

A FACTION in the National Party which firmly opposes changes to the party's name and structure has won an early victory by forcing top leadership to deny that major reorganisation of the party is on the cards.

While there is some support in the party for long-term proposals to consider the formation of a new alliance, possibly along Christian democratic lines, a hard-core group is vehemently opposed to significant changes to the party structure.

At most, it will agree only to gradual, evolutionary change to the party.

Party leader F W de Klerk has hit out at individuals "with their own agenda" who leaked secret proposals for reorganising the NP.

Differences in the party about the proposals were to be aired today at a meeting of its parliamentary caucus, where it was expected the leaking of the proposals would be discussed.

While Mr De Klerk has denied reports that his party is on the brink of dissolution, proposals for a name change and restructuring are known to be supported by some top Nationalists.

Tertius Delport, a member of the Eastern Cape cabinet, last year publicly called for a change in the NP's name.

Among reasons for a name change is, it is understood, a renewed effort to rid the party of its apartheid-era political baggage. The notion of considering a name change was given new impetus by the party's less than spectacular performance in last year's local government elections.

But Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel is said to be concerned that the timing of any changes could work to the disadvantage of the NP in the May local government elections in the Cape metropole and rural districts.

Extracts from a confidential NP document published in Sunday newspapers said the NP should be willing to abandon its name and existing structure under certain circumstances.

Mr De Klerk said the leaking of the document was a malicious attempt to sabotage a comprehensive and long-term initiative by the NP. It was a working document on which no final decision had been taken. Proposals made at a meeting on January 8 had yet to be considered by the federal council of the NP.

Mr De Klerk said the NP, as a non-racial party and the second largest political party in the country, saw for itself a leading role in stimulating fundamental change to the political scene.

"The starting point of this process is to bring about co-operation across political lines regarding key issues of the day."

Amalgamation of existing political parties was not under consideration.

"The NP believes that a broad approach is necessary and that ways and means have to be found to involve in any new political dispensation the millions of South Africans who are dissatisfied with the present political dispensation."

NAASHON ZALK

Restructuring of NP essential and troublemakers must go, says De Klerk

(304A) Star 16/1/96

BY PATRICK BULGER
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – Deputy President and National Party leader F W de Klerk said yesterday he wanted to rid the party of "troublemakers and saboteurs" who leaked a confidential strategy document to the media.

De Klerk was speaking at a media conference at Parliament after a party strategy paper discussed last week by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the NP was leaked to the media. The paper proposed that the NP change its name and structures and attempt to emerge as a political alternative to the ANC.

De Klerk has already denied that the NP is on the brink of dissolution but said the NP realised the necessity for breaking out of the present stereotyped party political patterns.

Yesterday the NP's parliamentary caucus met and decided that "restructuring in South African politics is an essential process that will require fearless leadership".

"The NP accepts this challenge and intends playing a leading role in this inevitable process. A strong NP that is the voice of millions of South Africans is a prerequisite for the successful completion of political restructuring."

The caucus expressed its "strong disapproval of the undisciplined behaviour of persons who ignore the internal democracy of the NP".

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Troublemakers must go, says FW

(304A)

► From Page 1

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De Klerk denied that any changes to the party would be delayed by the leak and said he intended to make an announcement on the party's future, as scheduled, on February 2 when the new NP headquarters are opened in Pretoria.

He said political restructuring was essential if South Africa was to have a successful multi-party democracy. The NP would ask voters in the upcoming local government elections in the Western Cape metropole and KwaZulu Natal to support its vision of a restructuring of the political scene to break out of the racial voting patterns evident in the 1994 elections.

But a mere name change would not serve this purpose. Instead, a new political force could emerge from common Christian values.

He could not put a time-frame on this development.

monthly leases. These do not provide long-term security, and as a result personal investment in agri-

FW wants to rid NP of 'saboteurs'

(3049) CT 16/1/96

POLITICAL STAFF

NATIONAL PARTY leader Mr F W de Klerk wants to rid the party of "trouble-makers and saboteurs" — the "disgruntled individuals" responsible for leaking a working document on the NP's vision for a political realignment.

"I want them out of the party," he told a press conference yesterday, after a meeting of the NP's caucus mandated him to take immediate steps "to ensure that undisciplined actions do not disrupt further initiatives".

The caucus also expressed full support for Mr De Klerk's initiatives, saying it was "convinced that restructuring in South African politics is an essential process that will require fearless leadership".

"The National Party accepts this challenge and intends playing a leading role in this inevitable process," the caucus said.

Dismissing reports that the NP was on the brink of dissolution, Mr De Klerk said the party was looking at a vision for the future and the role it could play in transforming the whole political scene.

If the present divisions continued there was little hope for a successful multi-party democracy as this required "winners and challengers".

Mr De Klerk said the NP supported a vision of the future that would bring people together and break down old historical barriers.

However, he stressed, amalgamation of political parties as they existd at present was not under consideration.

A starting point was to identify crucial issues and establish common ground in talks with other parties.

The policy document would go ahead as planned at the "fastest possible pace". The full text would be released on February 2 for further discussion by all NP structures.

Blue days for whites

Many Afrikaners feel that President Nelson Mandela is trampling on their rights and have started demonstrating. **Robert Block** of *The Independent*, London, explains why...

(304A) Sowetan 16/1/96

THESE ARE BLUE DAYS for South Africa's white tribes. Skyrocketing crime rates, new employment policies aimed at darkening the complexion of white institutions, and the promotion of black languages on television and radio are only some of the developments putting white backs up.

But whereas many English-speakers whites are emigrating, Afrikaners have started demonstrating.

Many feel that the Government of President Nelson Mandela has been trampling on their rights. Underlying their aggrieved mood are feelings of confusion and anxiety over their future in the new South Africa, as well as a sense of betrayal by their own leaders.

Their quandary was underlined by an article in this week's *Rapport*, a leading Afrikaans-language Sunday newspaper, which said the National Party (NP) – the organisation which created the apartheid system and which represented all Afrikaner aspirations until a few years ago – was ready to dissolve itself.

Reform itself

According to the newspaper, the NP does not intend to disappear completely, but is set to reform itself with both a new name and new structure which, in effect, will render the old party moribund.

While an NP spokesman said he was surprised by the report, the party has discussed the possibility of changing its name for months. Those favouring a name change have argued that the party needs to break with the past if it hopes to widen its appeal and challenge the dominant position of Mandela's African National Congress (ANC).

The inability of the NP and other Afrikaner groups to defeat many ANC-driven changes perceived to be threatening to Afrikaner interests has led to the creation of a new organisation, calling itself the Foundation for Equality Before the Law.

Characterising itself as a "civic movement", the group has started a campaign to defend Afrikaner rights. Last Saturday, it convened a gathering of Afrikaners from across the political spectrum to air their grievances.

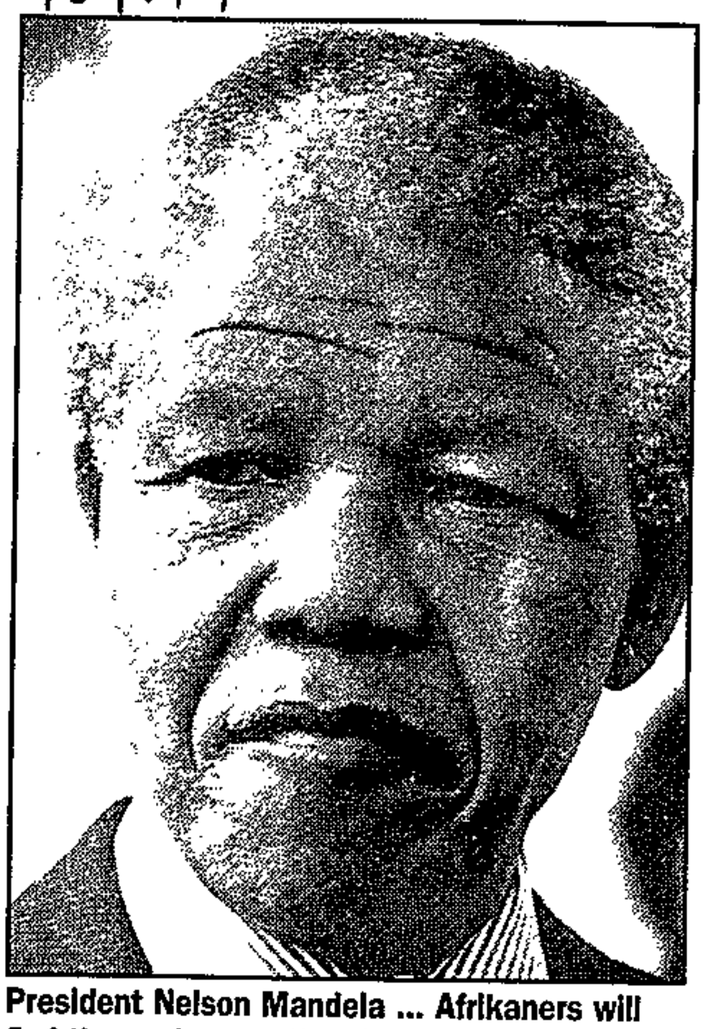
Percieved attack

Of particular concern was the perceived attack on the Afrikaans language which, starting next month, will have to take its place alongside black languages on television, and be demoted from its equal prominence with English, the country's *lingua franca*.

Whereas Afrikaner rallies in the old days of apartheid drew tens of thousands of the *volk*, Saturday's demonstration in front of Pretoria's Pioneer Museum attracted a crowd of 1 000.



General Johan van der Merwe ... Afrikaners will not allow their rights to be trampled on.



President Nelson Mandela ... Afrikaners will find themselves on the sidelines unless they embrace the new dispensation.

Yet, despite the turnout, the meeting was important because it offered evidence of increasing discontent with the Government, even among moderate Afrikaners.

Speeches at the rally – which all focused on the raw deal that Afrikaners believed they were getting from the Government – were notable for their mild rhetoric when compared with the threats of all-out war issued by pro-apartheid whites in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

"I want to tell Mr Mandela with the necessary respect that people involved in this effort are not fools who long for the past," said General Johan van der Merwe, a retired apartheid-era police commissioner.

"We want to play a constructive role and we accept change, but we want to put it very plainly: we will not allow our rights to be trampled or our people to be hijacked."

But the moderate tone adopted by the speakers was undermined by the failure of the Afrikaners to bridge the differences among themselves.

The rally got off to an inauspicious start when a group of right-wingers tried to set fire to South Africa's new flag, which they said was a symbol of black oppression of Afrikaners.

Rally organisers stepped in and grabbed the flag back after a short scuffle.

"There are many people who respect this flag and who are also good Afrikaners," said Dr Theo de Jager, the chairman of the Foundation which called the rally.

If the Afrikaners harboured any hope that Mandela might be moved by their display, it was quashed only hours after the rally when the President met a leading group of Afrikaner intellectuals, including De Jager.

Mandela accused them of seeking to maintain their "unjustly privileged position" and warned that unless they embraced the new dispensation, they would find themselves "on the political sidelines" for ever.

Strategy by National Party malcontents backfires

Star 17/1/96 (304A)

ANALYSIS

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Editor

Seldom does an ill-considered strategy backfire so badly. The leaking to the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, at the weekend of a National Party discussion document about the future of the party cannot but have been a pre-emptive strike.

The person or persons responsible for leaking it, like those in the ANC who whispered in my ear in December 1994 about President Nelson Mandela's controversial proposal to have the organisation's new leadership hand-picked to ensure racial and geographical representativeness, must have wanted to get the document publicised so that it would meet with internal NP resistance and the discussion be abandoned before it got too far.

That is a common enough strategy in politics, often employed by dissenters to discredit an idea or proposal to which they are opposed. Only last year IFP members opposed to that party's "20-point plan" advocating open confrontation between the Kwa-Zulu Natal government and the national Government over provincial powers, leaked the document to the Natal Witness.

And the strategy sometimes works, too: the IFP's "20-point plan" was quietly abandoned; and at the ANC's 49th national congress in Bloemfontein in December 1994, Mandela suffered perhaps his biggest internal defeat when delegates roundly rejected his proposal, arguing that it would "interfere with the democratic process" of electing National Executive Committee members.

However, the NP malcontents have not had similar luck. Not only has the party leadership come out openly to admit that such a discussion document does indeed exist, but it has also got the NP's parliamentary caucus to endorse the paramount need for the party to restructure itself if it is to survive. Not only that, but the caucus also mandated party leader FW de Klerk to rid the NP of "troublemakers and saboteurs".

Surely the malcontents could not have foreseen such a scenario.

It must be said, too, that the proposed restructuring of the NP, details of which will be announced by De Klerk in Pretoria on February 2, is absolutely vital for the continued survival of the NP as a viable party. For in a country in which whites are so thoroughly outnumbered by blacks, a political party which sees itself as the home of only whites – let alone one which considers itself the political home of one white ethnic group, such as Afrikaners – will remain, at best, no more than a lobby group.

To become a viable party, the NP will have to become, in essence, a new party, representative of all South Africans. A cosmetic name-change alone, too, would not do.

Indications are that NP leaders are aware of this, but the politically myopic *verkramptes* within the party want the NP to remain a home for white and brown Afrikaners. It would be in the NP's interest, as some within the party's leadership have begun to think, if these political troglodytes were allowed to leave, just as Dr Andries Treurnicht and his colleagues left to form the now almost moribund Conservative Party 15 years ago.

NP leaders have not ruled out political alliances with other like-minded parties. Although it is quite conceivable that the NP, the Democratic Party and the IFP might form an election pact in 1999 to oppose the strong ANC, a total merger of these parties is unlikely.

At best, a re-born NP will go out aggressively for black (particularly African) support and hope to woo some Christian democrats away from the ANC, the Freedom Front, the DP and the IFP.

'Leak' may be vendetta against FW

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – The National Party has not excluded a "personal vendetta" against Deputy President F W de Klerk as the reason for the leak of a secret party strategy paper to the media, according to NP executive director Fanus Schoeman.

"There may be a few individuals who are not happy with the new developments, but they do not form a pressure group," Schoeman said.

De Klerk said he wanted them out of the party and promised disciplinary action against the person or persons who leaked the document.

Schoeman added that the party leadership was baffled by the leak. "In some or other way we will find out who did this."

Gauteng NP leader Pik Botha said in an interview there were "two schools of thought" in the party on the name issue.

Some believed the NP must finally break with the past by changing its name, while others believed the move would be wrong without obvious voter support.

Botha conceded he was a supporter of a name change and the removal of the "dead wood" from the party.

On Monday the NP declared its support for De Klerk and the party's initiative to seek out new allies in the long term.

De Klerk confirmed that the NP was not interested in an alliance with an existing party but would co-operate with any party that shared its views on specific issues.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki yesterday said he believed the NP should disband.

But President Mandela said in Pretoria that for true democracy to flourish, the Government needed a strong opposition, and the NP had a constructive role to play.

He added, however, that the Government's first priority was to ensure that its own organisation stayed intact.

Mixed reactions to De Klerk's new party proposal

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — NP leader FW de Klerk's proposal that political parties should "restructure" and possibly form a new political movement which could challenge the ANC met reactions ranging from cautious support to outright derision from other parties yesterday.

IFP MP Walter Felgate said his party saw the proposal as the attempt of a struggling white political party to survive in changed political circumstances.

The NP was unlikely to survive in the long term and might not even survive the 1999 election, he said. Although he ruled out a merger, he said the IFP would support the idea that parties should form a "common front and common understandings".

DP leader Tony Leon ruled out a merger between the NP and DP, but was careful to leave the door open for further discussions.

Leon disclosed that his party had also been investigating the issue of mergers and restructuring since its congress last year, and had established a committee to undertake low-key discussions.

The idea of a common front against the ANC was to some extent common sense, as parties would have co-operate to combat the ANC "steamroller", he said.

The ANC was becoming impatient with democracy and was developing "the morality of power rather than the power of morality".

Sapa reports that President Nelson Mandela reacted cautiously to the proposal, saying the ANC could not pass judgment on the existence or non-existence of any other political party. (3049)

For true democracy to flourish, the government needed an opposition, and the NP had a constructive role to play, Mandela said.

The government's first priority, however, was to ensure its own organisation stayed intact.

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ANC decides to abolish hanging old Nats

(304A) Star 18/1/96

The decision to give Parliament a face-lift by decorating it with 'politically correct' art is expected to raise the ire of many

PATRICK BULGER
Cape Town

Parliament's decision to get rid of hundreds of historic colonial and apartheid-era works of art looks set to provoke a heated debate among political parties over the next six months.

Yesterday Parliament's internal arrangements committee decided to remove paintings, busts and statues depicting historical political figures, and to temporarily replace them with the 94-piece United Nations art exhibition against apartheid.

Since the democratic Parliament came into being in May 1994, the decor has remained entirely unchanged, in spite of radical changes to the institution.

The decision to remove the works so that they can be cleaned and restored while a decision is taken about them will radically change the face of Parliament.

The UN exhibition, which is being stored at the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape, will go up on the the walls in time for the February 9 opening of Parliament.

Out go massive paintings of the cabinets of late prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd and of former state president P W Botha – which includes Deputy President F W de Klerk – and busts of colonial figures such as Cecil John Rhodes and John X Merriman.

Also out are paintings of former opposition MP Helen Suzman, as well as De Klerk's father, senator Jan de Klerk.

In comes the UN collection which includes a painting of President Nelson Mandela by the Icelandic painter, Gudmundur Erro, a tribute to the late black consciousness leader Steve Biko by the French painter Antoine Fluoman and a painting entitled *Drunk with Turpentine II* by American painter Robert Motherwell.

National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala, who chairs the internal arrangements committee, made the proposal. She said a debate should be held over the next six months on the fate of the old works of art, some of which could be returned to Parliament and others which might find their way to a national portrait gallery.

ANC MP and chairman of the arts and culture committee, Wally Serote, said Parliament had to find a way of preserving the pieces for posterity because they were "nothing else but our own history".

SA sends new ambassador to Austria

Star 18/1/96 (304A)

By Karin Schimke

South Africa will soon have a new ambassador in Austria to replace Jannie Roux, whose contract is due to expire. She is Nozipho Diseko, who already has years of experience in overseas representation.

Diseko (39) spent 11 years in exile and will be returning to Europe next month for a four-year tour in Vienna.

She is chief director of policy planning at the Department of Foreign Affairs after serving as chief of the ANC's mission in Sweden for three years following her initial return thome in 1990.

During her years in exile she served as chairman of the ANC in the United Kingdom

On her return from Sweden in 1994 she worked as an assistant to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in overseeing the Reconstruction and Development Programme, in addition to the ANC's general election campaign and the presidential inauguration of Nelson Mandela.

Her work as a diplomat will be spread across three major areas because she will be permanent South African representative to the United Nations in Vienna and be accredited to the International Atomic Energy Agency.



Foreign expert ... Nozipho Diseko spent 11 years abroad.

Parties negotiating behind scenes to resolve constitutional impasse

(304A) BD 18/1/96

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Behind-the-scenes moves are under way to try to resolve the row between the ANC and IFP over international mediation and clear the way for the IFP's return to the Constitutional Assembly.

ANC senior negotiator Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa and IFP negotiator Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela discussed the matter in Germany last week during a multiparty trip to study that country's federal system, party sources said yesterday.

It was the first time ANC and IFP senior negotiators had come together since talks between the two sides broke down last year. The IFP vowed to boycott the writing of a new constitution until the ANC and NP honoured a 1994 agreement to proceed with mediation on constitutional issues. The ANC, in turn, called on the IFP to return to the assembly unconditionally.

Senior figures on both sides are now actively trying to find ways to resolve the impasse. A senior IFP negotiator said: "We (the IFP) want to be back in the Constitutional Assembly." He expected the issue would come to a head in mid-February with the adoption of a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal.

Mzimela said he was struck during the trip by how much the parties had in common. However, he warned: "It is more difficult to deal with whole parties than a small group in a room."

Negotiators suggested two possible scenarios to resolve the issue. One envisaged using international constitutional and technical experts to help resolve outstanding issues, mostly linked to powers for central government and the provinces. "Sunrise" clauses in the the IFP's proposed KwaZulu-Natal constitution would form the basis for mediation. The second option was based on a report on the trip, to be drawn up by senior advisers who accompanied the parties to Germany.

Mzimela said once the parties had studied the report, constitutional experts in Germany could be invited to SA make further inputs into the constitutional process.

Mzimela said: "If we can find ways other than mediation to resolve the outstanding issues we will pursue them. We never called for mediation for mediation's sake."

Meanwhile, the assembly management committee decided it would on February 15 reassess whether work the process was on track to meet the May deadline for completion of the constitution. Formal negotiations in the assembly and meetings between parties are to resume next week.

Parliament to be stripped of apartheid relics

BD 18/1/96 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The priceless art collection in Parliament — including apartheid works offensive to the ANC — is to be stripped from the walls to make way for the UN Art Against Apartheid exhibition.

MPs, who declined to be named, said they also expected many works, particularly portraits of Hendrik Verwoerd, PW Botha and the last white cabinet, to be kept off Parliament's walls in the future.

The internal arrangements committees of the Senate and the National Assembly agreed yesterday that all artworks would be removed. They would be cleaned and restored during the six months allocated for the exhibition. During those six months the combined committees would debate about which pictures and sculptures would be displayed in Parliament again.

More than 500 works hang in Parliament, and the UN exhibition has 94.

ANC MPs Wally Serote and Tony Yengeni gave notice of the forthcoming debate by insisting that "some of us do not wish to be subjected to reflections of the apartheid era".

In an NP rearguard action in the committee, Gerhardus Oosthuizen asked why the old pictures could not remain on the walls with the UN exhibition. He earned a stern rebuke from Yengeni, who said it was unfair to ask for the old and the new to be mixed.

NP Senator Jan Jooste, however, secured agreement in the committee that the works would be exhibited in some way in some place and would remain the property of Parliament.

Ginwala asked the committee to agree to the fact that all the artworks were part of Parliament and SA's history and national heritage, and that ways to exhibit them would still be determined. She mentioned possibilities of a parliamentary gallery or some other means of displaying the works.



FACES FROM THE PAST: This 1984 picture of one of the last cabinets under the old dispensation, presided over by Mr P W Botha, hangs in the entrance to the foyer of the old Assembl building at Parliament. The painting is to get the chop along with all other artworks and symbols of white rule from Paul Kruger to P W Botha. In their stead the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Exhibition will be on display. *PICTURE: BENNY GOO*

Parliament to be stripped of white icons

(304A) CT 18/1/96

SOUTH AFRICA's first black legislators yesterday served notice of eviction from Parliament on white icons of apartheid from Paul Kruger to Mr P W Botha.

Up to 7 000 paintings, sculptures, sketches and artifacts decorating the walls of the 110-year-old Parliament will be removed before President Nelson Mandela opens the third sitting of Parliament next month.

A multi-party committee headed by National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala resolved yesterday to remove every item of deco-

"We will take everything down ... to avoid the problem of what do we take down and what do we leave," Dr Ginwala said.

"Everything will be removed for cleaning and storage, but it will remain the property of Parliament."

The items include sculptures of Boer heroes, a five-metre painting of Mr P W Botha's 1984 cabinet, a giant painting of Dr H F Verwoerd outlining his apartheid blueprint and a portrait of Boer leader Paul Kruger, who founded the first Afrikaner republic.

[illegible] be taken for six months by the UN Anti-Apartheid Exhibition, a 10-year-old collection of 94 works by artists from around the world.

During that time it will be decided what should become of the existing collection of apartheid-era art.

Artist and parliamentarian Mr Wally Serote, a veteran ANC activist, said the items should be preserved, adding: "What is on our walls is part of our history."

But militant ANC member Mr Tony Yengeni applauded the decision to strip the walls: "There is a lot on these walls that reflects the past era ... Some of us would not want to be subjected to them again."

Members of the National Party, which formalised apartheid during 45 unbroken years in power, opposed the plan to replace the artworks with the UN exhibition.

Only one item has been removed from the parliamentary precinct since black legislators took their seats in May 1994 following the country's first all-race elections.

It was a brooding marble bust of Dr Verwoerd.

The walls of the Parliament where British colonialists laid th basis for racial segregation an Afrikaner leaders refined it, still ce ebrate the dominance of th whites over the blacks.

Apart from sketches by earl explorers of indigenous blacks, n black person figures among th portraits and busts of Boer an British generals, governors an politicians.

The only defender of blac rights depicted is Mrs Helen Su man, who, for 13 of her 35 years Parliament was the only oppone of apartheid in the house. - Reuter

AFRIKANER TENSIONS — 1

Identity crisis

(3044)

FM 19/1/96

One day the National Party may just curl up and die — or metamorphose from a worm into a butterfly. But that day is not yet.

At a media conference this week, party leader F W de Klerk said that a policy document leaked to *Rapport* had been an early version of a more comprehensive vision to be unveiled next month. However, the NP did foresee the need to transform its image and, possibly, seek out political allies once the current interim phase — manifestly the Government of National Unity (GNU) — had passed.

The NP has for some time been involved in internal disputes of this kind. What distinguishes the latest episode is that it comes in the wake of the party's inability to make inroads against the ANC in the local authority elections, and, in some wards, the return to the Democratic Party by voters who chose to support De Klerk in 1994.

The NP's role within the GNU is also a problem to many Afrikaners who want to see strong opposition to ANC policies but who have not committed themselves to the Freedom Front's *volkstaat* ideal (or illusion). For them, the Truth Commission is a one-sided witch-hunt, and they fear for the survival of their language and culture.

But the majority of the parliamentary NP caucus sees involvement in the GNU as a means of moderating the centrist ANC, of influencing the constitution, and — though this is not admitted — of slowing down uncomfortable social transformations.

The official position of the NP in the Constitutional Assembly is that it would like the GNU to be extended beyond 1999, when the sun sets on the sunset clause. But the consistency with which contrary positions are leaked, and the regularity with which De Klerk has to insist on party unity, suggests that there are those who would like to see the party change its name and nature radically.

An interested observer of these events has been Freedom Front chairman Pieter Mulder. "I was in the Conservative Party when it came under strain and it looks like the same thing all over again with the NP. It is a party without a plan, and these are the typical symptoms of a party in trouble. They want to play in the same league as the ANC but without losing Afrikaner support." Mulder, of course, would say this. However, the Freedom Front admits it has sectional goals and hardly expects to be a major political player in terms of numbers.

A new survey by an Idasa agency — *The Election Book: Judgement and Choice in SA's 1994 Election* by Robert Mattes — suggests that the first democratic poll was more than an "ethnic census" in which the electorate split up on race and even tribal lines. Economic and class factors predominated, Mattes says. One conclusion is that the voters are not static, and that the more information they get, the greater the possibility they could move across party lines.

He suggests: "It is of the utmost necessity that parties take significant steps to find people who enjoy credibility across the racial and partisan divide, especially parties like the PAC, NP and DP."

Mulder's point is, therefore, that while the NP wants to, and needs to change, the process would be so traumatic that the party would not survive. That is why De Klerk so often gives the impression of being a politically divided man: he is. ■

AFRIKANER TENSIONS — 2

Dismay on the Right

The Freedom Front prides itself on the constitutionality of its drive for the creation of an Afrikaner *volkstaat*. But President Nelson Mandela's recent critical utterances on Afrikaners in general and the *volkstaat* in particular have understandably sown confusion in its ranks.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

The fear has arisen that Mandela's remarks could form part of a concerted ANC effort to adopt a new constitution by the official May deadline — notwithstanding the fact that key issues remain unresolved and that such a document could leave minorities vulnerable.

Last weekend, Mandela told the Broederbond-linked Ruiterwag that Afrikaners who did not accept the new dispensation would find themselves "on the political sidelines." Afrikaners had to come to terms with the Truth Commission, affirmative action in the public sector, the trial of the generals and the fact that Afrikaans could expect no more than equitable treatment as one of SA's 11 official languages.

This followed Mandela's Carletonville speech in which he dismissed the concept of a *volkstaat*.

Throughout 1995, the Freedom Front's relations with the ANC were cordial, as exemplified in the warmth between Mandela and front leader Constand Viljoen. But front chairman Pieter Mulder has expressed dismay at Mandela's "negative" remarks — and questioned the long-term utility of the leaders' personal relationship.

He said Mandela, who had started out emphasising reconciliation through such gestures as quoting the poet Ingrid Jonker at his inauguration and wearing the Springbok jersey, now seemed to be falling back on some personal animus.

The Freedom Front wanted enduring peace, Mulder said, and there was "enough room, leeway and goodwill in SA for a *volkstaat* to be achieved." It could be done based on the clause in the interim constitution that brought the front into the 1994 election and mandated the establishment of the *volkstaatraad*, which last year released details of its proposals (*Current Affairs* May 26).

Mulder wondered whether the ANC had even considered those proposals. "We're looking at each other, making sure we know what we're talking about."

He revealed that the ANC had sent a special envoy to explain further to the Freedom Front what Mandela had meant in his Carletonville speech; but he declined to reveal the envoy's name.

"You cannot stop negotiations on a misunderstanding," he said. The front had accepted that the Constitutional Assembly (CA) was entering the last negotiating phase of constitution-writing and believed strongly that the final basic law needed to be "inclusive" since it would be difficult to amend afterward.

The May deadline — two years after Mandela's inauguration — could easily be postponed to ensure inclusiveness.

Looking ahead, Mulder pointed out that "the next generation doesn't have the same one-on-one responses as the original leaders who knew and trusted each other."

In other words, once Mandela and Viljoen have left the political scene, trust between a dominating ANC and minority Afrikaners would wane and the potential for conflict reassert itself unless constitutional safeguards were in place to override party or ethnic tensions.

The front, Mulder said, was not being racist or exclusive through negotiating a place in the sun for Afrikaners who wanted a *volkstaat*.

In a statement on January 10, he expressed concern that "the ANC still seems to equate apartheid with ethnicity in an effort to deny the reality of the latter. The ANC should gain wisdom from the current worldwide recognition, and constitutional accommodation, of ethnicity and expedite the settling of this matter in the interests of all in SA."

He had heard a leading ANC member of the CA express the view that "nothing focuses the mind like a deadline." However, "pressure will bring problems. It would be easy to postpone for a year or a month if all the parties in the CA agree."

Over the next few months, calls to postpone the new constitution are likely to grow. There are too many outstanding problems — such as regional powers — for the ANC to expect plain sailing until May. ■

Foreign trip could clear constitutional logjam

M+G 19-25/1/96 (304A)

Marion Edmunds

OVER drinks in hotel bars in Germany last week, new friendships were formed that bode well for the writing of the final constitution.

During a week-long, fact-finding tour to Germany, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), African National Congress (ANC) and National Party (NP) politicians were able, for the first time since the IFP walked out of the Constitutional Assembly last year, to talk to each other — sometimes late into the night — about South Africa's constitutional future.

Back home this week, the delegates were cautiously optimistic about the effect the mission would have on the constitution-writing process and, in particular, on the stand-off between the IFP and the ANC over international mediation.

At this stage — and it is early days yet — the signs of a new interparty rapport are good, with even the IFP delegates taking a more amiable line than usual.

IFP negotiator, Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela, said this week he had already briefed party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi about the trip and Buthelezi had been "positively surprised" at what he had to say.

Mzimela said of the trip: "I think we got the chance to interact across party lines ... if the group had had the power to make decisions, certainly there would have been movement on issues because we were able to understand a lot of things collectively."

Mzimela believed there would be follow-up talks between parties on what had been learnt, but would not commit himself on whether the IFP would return to the Constitutional Assembly to participate fully in the final, and most important, phases of the constitutional negotiations.

He said international mediation had not been mentioned during the visit, and in any case "the media have overplayed the whole issue".

"If we in South Africa could solve our problems, we would not need international mediation ... what we did realise abroad was that the international mediation was not just an IFP and ANC problem, it was a problem to be resolved by all the parties," he said.

A source in the German delegation said that a particularly good relationship had been established between the three M's — Mzimela, National Party Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, and his ANC deputy Valli Moosa — the same trio who met to resolve the international mediation crisis last year, and abandoned the attempt in bad humour.

Democratic Party constitutional expert Colin Eglin said this week the trip could be intepreted as a "diluted form of international mediation", as it was away from home and because they learnt from the Germans.

A report on the tour is being drawn up by the three technical advisers who accompanied the team. It is possible that this report will form the basis of further discussions with the IFP and parties within the Constitutional Assembly.

New movement afoot among the Nats

MtG 19-25/1/96 (304A)

Gaye Davis

NATIONAL PARTY leader FW de Klerk has yet again had to insist that rumours of his party's imminent demise were exaggerated.

De Klerk's irritation was not so much with the "disgruntled individuals" who, by leaking a strategy document to the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* had set themselves "on a course of sabotage", but with the fact that the document had been interpreted as saying the NP was preparing to dissolve.

De Klerk faced having to correct this misinterpretation by saying what was really intended — that far from dissolving, the NP meant to act like an alka-seltzer on the political digestive tract, saving it from the indigestibility of a one-party state threatened by the ANC's dominance.

But his ire was compounded at having to show more of his hand than he would have liked. The plan was for him to unveil the vision of a new, right-of-centre political movement, aimed at injecting fluidity into South Africa's democracy, on February 2.

Seeing De Klerk, flanked by NP executive director Fanus Schoeman, media head Marthinus Van Schalkwyk and Cape leader Dawie de Villiers, a question arose. How could they expect the public to have confidence in their ability to transform the political landscape when rearranging the furniture within their own party was proving so problematic?

In fact, De Klerk does not see the NP as necessarily leading the movement it is proposing, which will need substantial black support to survive.

He has been engaged in intensive talks with business, religious and community leaders he wants to support the formation of a movement, founded on Christian values, that could draw support on issues like bringing back capital punishment, retaining anti-abortion laws, lowering taxes and limiting state power.

He wants to establish common ground with the other minority parties through "regular discussions", but an alliance is not necessarily going to emerge. Essentially, NP strategists are looking for growth to congregants in the ANC's church who might be encouraged, ahead of 1999 and a new general election, to cross the floor.

These are non-racial issues, around which De Klerk hopes to rally people on the basis of shared values as a way of shattering what NP strategists see as racially-based voting patterns.

A clause in the interim constitution demands that MPs crossing the floor resign their seats. It is not repeated in the draft new constitution, but may yet appear: the ANC would not want members elected by voters who backed the party, rather than voting for an individual, free to do political waltzes.

But members — and supporters — might just be tempted, if there was a viable opposition amounting to more than tiny parties relegated to being permanent opponents of the majority party without any hope of ever coming into power. To be viable, it would have to be non-racial and forward-looking, with no hint of being concerned with furthering narrow ethnic interests.

Black community is optimistic good times lie ahead – survey

(304A)

Star 2/12/96

People living in the Western Cape remain firmly sceptical, believing that the costs of living generally are considerably higher this year than the previous one

By Matthew Buckland

Black South Africans are more optimistic about the future than other race groups, a survey shows.

A probability study by Market Research Africa (MRA) of "inflationary perceptions" on 2 502 urban households shows that more black South Africans believe that prices are lower than they were a year ago, despite a widespread perception across the racial divide that prices are generally higher.

The study represents about 92% of the urban adult population, and about 53% of the total population.

The poll dealt with perceptions of costs, and respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought specified goods and services were cheaper, the same price or more expensive than last year.

The eight categories were clothes, food, transport, education, healthcare, rent and housing, and electricity and water.

The figures indicate that only half of black respondents found education more expensive and 46% found healthcare more expensive than last year, compared to more than 90% of whites and Indians.

The study attributes this to possible factors like free healthcare, introduced since the elections last year. More black respondents also thought rent, electricity, and water costs were lower this year compared to last year.

Indian, coloured and whites interviewed did not think rents were cheaper, whereas 10% of the black respondents said rents were cheaper this year.

In total, 21% of black participants saw education as being cheaper this year, compared to 1% of Indians and whites, and 2% of coloureds. The older respondents showed a greater tendency than their younger counterparts to perceive prices as higher.

> **"The general perception is of a brighter future"**

The largest difference in opinion was in healthcare. Here, 25% of respondents who thought prices were cheaper fell into the 16-24 year-age group, compared to only 9% of those falling into the 50-plus age category.

The study also indicated that those who watched more television tended to view prices as higher.

Regionally, the survey shows that the Western Cape is the most sceptical. People from this region believed that costs were higher than last year, while fewer respondents from the Free State perceived costs to be higher.

Figures indicate the greatest discrepancy in opinion was over the cost of health services, where 81% of the Western Cape respondents perceived prices to be higher, while only 44% of those from the Free State polled the same opinion.

Gauteng and the Eastern Cape were marginally the second highest of all that saw the health services as being more costly than last year – after the Western Cape.

MRA managing director Hanna Fourie said the survey had not investigated "why" there should be these differences between the race groups or provinces.

"While there is likely to be an element of improved living standards among blacks, or more awareness of economic trends among other groups due to their greater exposure to media, the most likely explanation is simply that there is a general perception among black South Africans of a brighter future", she said.

Mandela lists ANC priorities for 1996

(304A) ARG 8/1/96

Political Staff

PRESIDENT Mandela has cited the removal of racial inequalities and "building a new and winning nation" as the ANC's priorities for the year ahead in a major policy statement.

Mr Mandela was addressing a rally at Khutsong outside Carletonville, west of Johannesburg, on the occasion of the ANC's 84th anniversary. Celebrations were held yesterday for the anniversary today.

Mr Mandela, who was accompanied at the rally by Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, said his party had not "failed the people" and had brought benefits ranging from the steady recovery of the economy to the decline of political violence in all areas except for KwaZulu-Natal.

"Regardless of what our detractors say, we have not failed the people. A good beginning has been made."

There had been "persistent attempts to project a fictional mass disillusionment among the people", Mr Mandela said, delivering an ANC policy statement issued by its national executive committee. The struggle for transformation would take place "through dogged persistence rather than seemingly spectacular but short-lived quick solutions".

The ANC's performance as the senior partner in government had given lie to the charge that blacks were unable to govern a society as sophisticated as South Africa.

In spite of successes, wealth and privilege remained overwhelmingly in white hands.

"The distribution of wealth, income and opportunity in our society continues to be determined in terms of race and colour, a situation that will perpetuate itself if we do not elaborate policies and implement programmes to end this continued entrenchment of racism.

Mr Mandela committed the ANC to new steps to increase the rate of investment in social infrastructure, including housing, communication, education, health, water and sanitation.

ANC considers state subsidies for parties

BD 9/1/96 (304A)

Stephen Laufer

THE ANC's national executive committee was examining the possibility of state funding for political parties, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Mbeki was speaking at a Union Buildings briefing on President Nelson Mandela's "state of the party" speech delivered in Khutsong on Sunday.

The move, aimed at giving politicians greater independence from financially powerful interests, follows criticism that contributors to party coffers have exerted undue influence on public policy.

Critics have linked SA's failure to recognise the People's Republic of China and its silence on human rights violations in East Timor to Taiwanese and Indonesian financial support for the ANC.

Mbeki said the party's finances were in order, "which doesn't mean we are super-rich." Shell House, the ANC's office building in central Johannesburg, would be sold and the headquarters moved to a smaller building by March.

State financing of political parties is an accepted practice in many democracies, often linked to stringent disclosure requirements in respect of other contributions to party funds. Mbeki said the recent ANC executive committee meeting had heard the view that financing should be proportional to electoral support.

Confirming reports of falling ANC membership, Mbeki said the problem was a failure at local level to collect subscriptions properly. The creation of about 100 regional executives would allow the organisation to function more efficiently after it had lost many active members to government.

Expanding on Mandela's announcement that anti-trust and anti-monopoly legislation was to be beefed up, Mbeki said the ANC was not claiming that "big business is bad business". Size did not necessarily mean monopolistic practices, but the structure of SA's economy made life difficult for new entrants.

Prospective foreign investors had complained to the ANC of difficulties in finding SA partners, believing there was agreement locally to shut out competition.

"We are looking for the freest competition in the interests of job creation and an economy more resilient to the international situation," Mbeki said.

(304A)

Inkatha seeks indaba with ANC

Sowetan 9/1/96

'We are compelled and forced by circumstances to sit and discuss'

By Simon Zwane

A HIGH-POWERED meeting between the Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC in KwaZulu-Natal is being planned to discuss the escalating violence in the province.

Addressing a Press conference in Maritzburg yesterday, IFP leader and traditional affairs and environment MEC Mr Nkosi Nyanga Ngubane said premier Frank Mdlalose had been informed about the killing of Mr Mzamo Shandu at the weekend and a top level meeting would be sought with the ANC.

"We are compelled and forced by circumstances to sit down and discuss the matter," he said.

The meeting would also discuss the Christmas killing at Shobashobane on the South Coast.

Shandu was killed when Ngubane's entourage was ambushed in Stoffelton in the Impendle area. Ngubane blamed the ambush on "police negligence". He said the police did not inform him of the tension in the area and allowed ANC members to come close to the road where his convoy would pass.

He said he would not have gone to the area if he had been informed that residents had signed a petition barring him from coming.

However, Ngubane vowed to go back to the area for the meeting that was aborted after Shandu's murder. He was also planning to visit Shobashobane and Bergville in his capacity as a traditional leader.

IFP senator Phillip Powell, who was part of the entourage, said the incident indicated that traditional leaders in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands were under attack as the ANC tried to expand to rural areas. He said the strategy used in the '80s, when councillors were driven out of townships was being repeated in the midlands.

IFP MP David Ntombela, reported that IFP Youth Brigade member, Mbukeleni Msomi was shot dead in the Loskop area of the KwaZulu-Natal midlands over the weekend

New US ambassador to SA was tempered by fires of adversity

SIMON BARBER in Washington (304A)

AD 9/1/96

SNOW drifts in Washington permitting, James Joseph lands in SA this week to replace Princeton Lyman as US ambassador. An ordained minister in the United Church of Christ, he has spent most of his career as an executive in philanthropic institutions. His close friend, former UN ambassador Andrew Young, has called him "one of the quiet superstars of this era".

President Bill Clinton selected the 60-year-old African-American over the state department's nominee, Genta Holmes, director-general of the foreign service and an old southern Africa hand who served as Washington's first ambassador in Namibia after a stint as deputy chief of mission in Pretoria. Hillary Clinton is believed to have been one of his strongest promoters.

He has had plenty of time to prepare for his new duties. He was nominated in July, but was one of several appointments whose confirmation was held hostage by Senator Jesse Helms in the latter's bid to force a dismantling of the US Agency for International Development.

He arrives imbued with high moral purpose, convinced that the US has a critical role to play in SA's post-apartheid "struggle".

"Unless we can develop a new, and re-energise the old constituency for SA, we may miss the opportunity to create a truly nonracial democracy," he says.

Joseph was born in Opelousas, Louisiana — the deep, deep south. He describes how this shaped him in his latest book, Remaking America, a study of the philanthropic traditions of America's minorities.

"My experience of segregation — picking cotton in hot, dusty fields because the other summer jobs were reserved for white teenagers, enduring the indignity of "whites only" signs when I needed a drink of water — became a tempering agent that forged a will to succeed.

"Yet in the end, what has served me best has not simply been the personal drive but the strength of character that enabled me to rise above the hostility that could have so easily consumed me with rage."

At his swearing-in ceremony last Wednesday, Undersecretary of State Richard Moose said that such sentiments made for a "striking similarity" between Joseph and President Nelson Mandela.

Early on Joseph decided to work within the system rather than battle against it from the outside. According to a 1979 article in Ebony magazine, as a student he made a point of losing the thick accent of the Mississippi delta. His diction-improving technique entailed speaking with a mouth full of pebbles.

Following his father into the church, he was ordained in 1963 and spent several years teaching theology and ethics at colleges in the south and California. In 1972, diesel maker Cummins Engine, a company praised by the late Martin Luther King for its progressive corporate values, named him to run its philanthropic foundation and made him a vice president.

"I was the custodian of (Cummins') values," Joseph said last week. His activities included pressing Cummins' case for an international treaty outlawing corrupt practices by multinationals (still a hot issue for US policymakers). He also contributed to a 1976 UN report, "Transnational Corporations: In Whose Interest?"

While with Cummins he made his first visit to SA, attending a US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme conference in Umhlanga Rocks. He went out of "an existential curiosity to experience apartheid". During his stay he allowed himself to be photographed under a "whites only" sign at the beach. The picture was splashed in the press next day with a report quoting Joseph as saying the sign was an affront to his dignity. He started getting threatening calls at the hotel.

Dawie de Villiers, then chairman of the exchange programme, reacted: "It is our policy when we invite them (black Americans) to explain that the basis on which they are invited is that we have a debate among ourselves and we do not have our debates in public."

Joseph left quietly, citing other engagements in Kenya. He said his comments had been "a personal response dictated by my conscience".

He had found the conference useful as a forum for the exchange of ideas and had no desire to use it for any other purpose.

In 1977, he was named undersecretary of the interior by then president Jimmy Carter. His portfolio ran from mineral rights, national parks and Indian affairs to management of US colonial possessions in the Pacific. He said he took the job because it was important to show that blacks could run large bureaucracies efficiently and because it offered a chance to promote affirmative action.

During his tenure, the department set up an office of minority business enterprise. In 1979, the value of contracts awarded to minorities rose to $45,3m, up from $1,1m five years earlier. He declined last week to be drawn on the controversy surrounding USAid's contracting and grant-making policies for SA projects. Some of the grants whose propriety has been questioned were to Africare, on whose board Joseph served until his current appointment.

The interior department job nearly cost him his life. While on a mission to relocate Micronesians living on Bikini atoll, the famous nuclear test site, his aircraft went down off the coast of Guam. "I came out of that experience feeling I was saved for a purpose," he said later.

With Carter's defeat in 1980, he became president and CE of the Council on Foundations, an umbrella body for more than 13 000 grant-making institutions which, as of 1992, between them controlled some $74bn in assets. That has been his principal job ever since. The council, according to former ambassador Young, is "one of the most powerful organisations in the country".

Critics have noted that, with Joseph at the helm, the council showed a tendency to political trendiness, especially during the 1980s when it began urging members to become more involved in issues such as nuclear disarmament and gay rights. Joseph was also interested in loosening restrictions on political advocacy that were placed on non-profit organisations in 1969 as a condition of their receiving tax-exempt status. Some, dependent on foundation money for unglamorous but worthwhile grassroots programmes, resented the trend towards politicisation.

At the council's 1984 annual meeting in Denver, Joseph got a number of backs up when he urged members to boycott a function hosted by local conservative philanthropist and brewing magnate Joseph Coors because of racist remarks Coors allegedly made.

In 1992, the council went through exquisite agonies over whether to hold its annual meeting in Miami. The city's Cubans and Jews had refused to welcome Mandela in July 1990 because of his ties to Fidel Castro and Yasser Arafat. This triggered a Boycott Miami campaign. That in turn created a problem for the council.

Joseph cared deeply about SA, was on personal terms with Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Alan Boesak, and was using his position to encourage foundation support for ANC-approved projects. The council could scarcely hold its annual bash in defiance of pro-ANC pickets. In a compromise, the boycott was called off; in return, Miami's mayor, Seymour Gelber, declared the conference's opening day "Nelson Mandela Day".

A few conservatives are suspicious of Joseph. Marvin Olasky, author of the Tragedy of American Compassion and one of House Speaker Newt Gingrich's favourite thinkers, is not a fan. But Joseph has never been a public enough figure to attract serious criticism and it cannot be held against him that he contributed a total of $900 to the Democratic Party in the 1992 and 1994 election cycles.

He has admirers on the right, among them Ken Adelman, arms control director during the Reagan administration and now a columnist. Adelman interviewed Joseph in 1992 and came away impressed. "He is a very quiet, thoughtful guy — not as a politician, but more of a scholar," he said.

Given his background, it will be interesting to see how he reacts to the draft Non-Governmental Organisations Bill being readied for the coming session of Parliament, especially the bits that give the state the power to fire and hire non-governmental organisation trustees and officers. Asked about this last week, Joseph would only say that he favoured a strong civil society.

Nats to press for extended power sharing and powerful provinces

Star 10/1/96 (304A)

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
Political Reporter

The NP will push hard for strong provincial powers and an extended period of power-sharing when the Constitutional Assembly resumes its work on Monday, NP chief negotiator Fanus Schoeman said yesterday.

These policies will form the pillars of the NP's approach to negotiations and bilateral encounters with other parties after the party's constitutional conference in Cape Town next week.

Schoeman said hundreds of copies of the working draft of the final constitution and the NP's constitutional document, Our Future Together, had been distributed to party branches to help in formulating positions.

Outlining the NP's stance on the power of provinces, Schoeman rejected the ANC's co-governance model in terms of which power will rest in the centre and provinces will exercise power only in conjunction with the senate.

He said the form and power of the senate would be a major terrain of battle between the parties.

"The ANC is stripping the power of provinces to make them instruments for the implementation of central (government) policy. That is destroying the concept of recognising diversity in South Africa, which is the very reason we have the provinces in the first place," he said.

The NP would also press for the continuation of some form of multiparty governance as this was still essential to ensure stability in SA for a long time to come.

Buthelezi rebuffs call to return to Constitutional Assembly

Star 10/1/96 (Pg) (30 4A)

Appeal is not genuine ... Mandela is not a man of his word, says IFP leader

Durban – Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rebuffed President Nelson Mandela's call for the IFP to return to the Constitutional Assembly, and criticised the president's handling of the international mediation issue.

At the weekend, in a policy statement released at a rally celebrating the ANC's 84th birthday, Mandela urged Inkatha to return to the assembly writing South Africa's new constitution.

But in a written reply sent to Reuters yesterday, Buthelezi said: "If Mr Mandela did not have the disdain that he has for me and the IFP, he would have directly spoken to us about his proposal that we return to the Constitutional Assembly, and not through an exercise where he was playing to galleries.

"This call is not a genuine call because the ANC has already said more than once that they will finalise the constitution regardless of whether the IFP is there or not," Buthelezi said.

Inkatha pulled out of the Constitutional Assembly early last year in protest at the Government of National Unity's failure to honour the April 1994 agreement to take the IFP's demands to international mediation. The IFP agreed to contest the general election on condition its federalist constitutional demands were put to foreign mediators.

Buthelezi said he respected Mandela but "it is absolute temerity on his part – for a man who has demonstrated to us and the whole country and the world that he is not a man of his word by refusing to honour the solemn agreement on international mediation that he signed with his own hand – to adopt a high moral stance to us about going back to the Constitutional Assembly".

He said Mandela had ignored the international mediation issue when it was raised by KwaZulu Natal chiefs at meetings with the president in last month and in December 1994.

Buthelezi also said recent statements by Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa, about meeting the IFP leader to woo him back to the constitution-writing process, were "cheap politics". – Reuters.

Reaction over Volkstaat

(304A) Sowetan 10/9/96

By Mzimasi Ngudle and *Sapa*

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's rejection of a demand for a Volkstaat has evoked strong reaction from the Afrikaner rightwing, with some groups planning a mass action in Pretoria this weekend.

Reacting to Mandela's speech during the 84th anniversary of the African National Congress, Freedom Front spokesman Dr Connie Mulder said there was no way Afrikaners would abandon self-determination and territorial dispensation.

Mulder said the FF had no intention of changing its mission and constitution which provides for a sovereign Afrikaner state.

Mass meeting expected

The FF forms part of the Foundation for Equality Before the Law, an organising body for a mass meeting which is expected to be attended by at least 2 000 members of several political parties and Afrikaner organisations.

Many former members of the old SA Defence Force will reportedly be present at the meeting in Pioneers' Museum in Silverton.

Members of the foundation's executive committee include former police commissioners Generals Johan van der Merwe and Mike Geldenhuys, former health minister Dr Rina Venter, former Armscor official Johan van Vuuren and Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer.

Rightist rhetoric falls on deaf ears

Sowetan 10/1/96 (304A)

Many Afrikaners are not rigid on the question of self-determination

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

RIGHTWING POLITICS in South Africa, as preached by the Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, is destined for the scrapheap of history.

In some political quarters it has already been suggested that the only political organisations that will survive will have to realign themselves with the politics of moderation and reality.

Whether groupings like the AWB, CP and HNP are capable of making adjustments to fit into the new scheme of things, is difficult to foretell.

The ideal of Afrikaners to have their own homeland has now been taken to the centre of the political scene by the Freedom Front under the leadership of the more tactical General Constand Viljoen.

Even President Nelson Mandela is on record as saying he is prepared to engage Viljoen on the demand for a *volkstaat*, even though he does not see how such a state can exist in a country that subscribes to non-racialism.

While both the CP and the AWB may view Viljoen as selling out, the reality is that more Afrikaners are expressing confidence in him.

Could it be that CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg was able to read the writing on the wall, and made a quick reassessment of its non-participation in the electoral process?

The CP did not participate in the first democratic election in 1994. It said the elections undermined the self-determination of Afrikaner people and vowed never to be part of a process conceived by the "communist-inspired African National Congress".

However, reality may have dawned on the CP. How else does one explain the sudden change of tune, which allowed them to participate in the local government elections last November?

The CP's dismal performance in those elections seem to be an indication that the Afrikaners are not as rigid on the philosophy of self-determination.

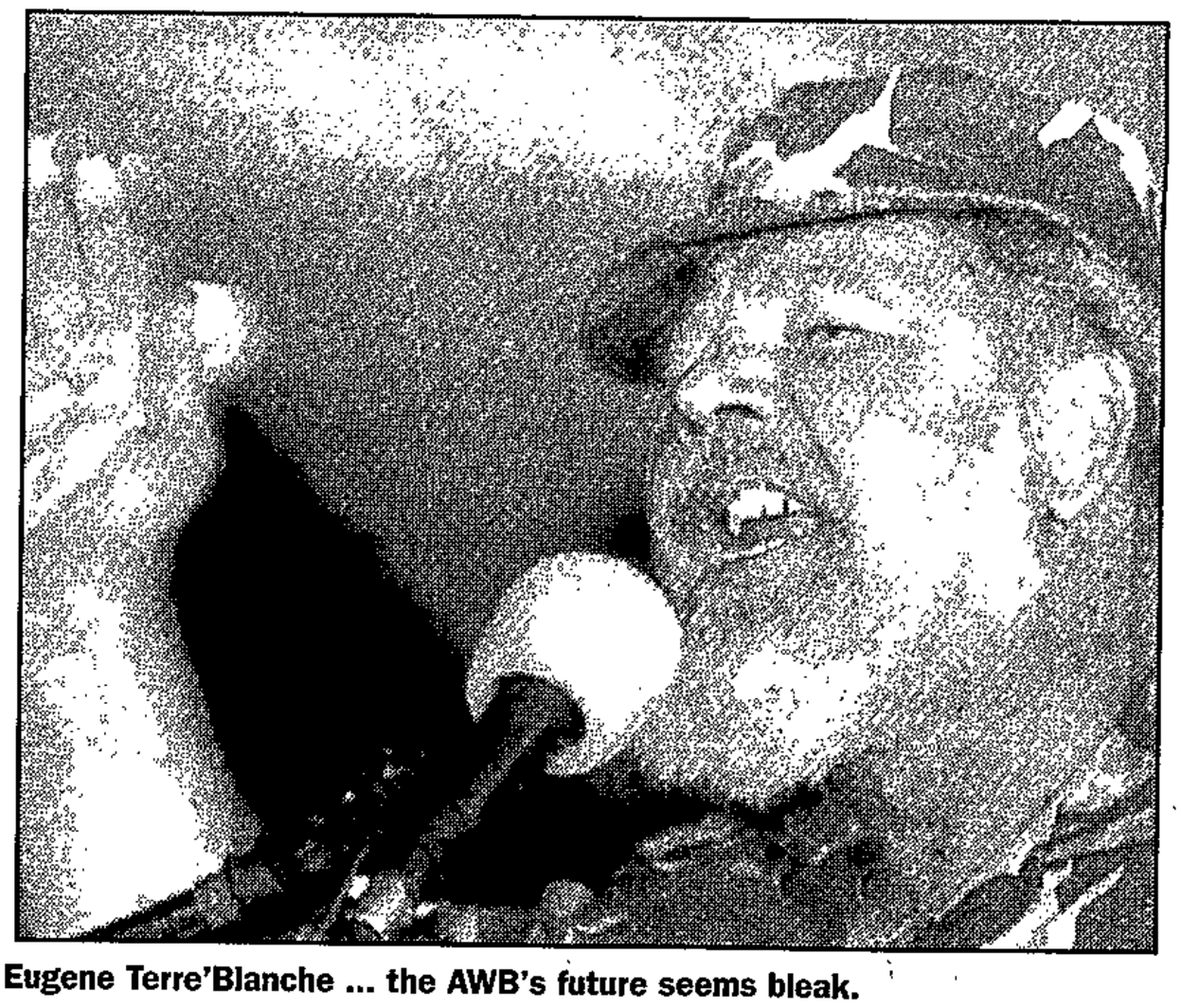
The CP won only 46 seats nationally and has a 0,63 percent representation in municipal government.

By comparison, the FF won 141 seats, giving it a 1,93 percent representation. Through its performance, the FF has consolidated the strength it gained in the April 1994 national elections.

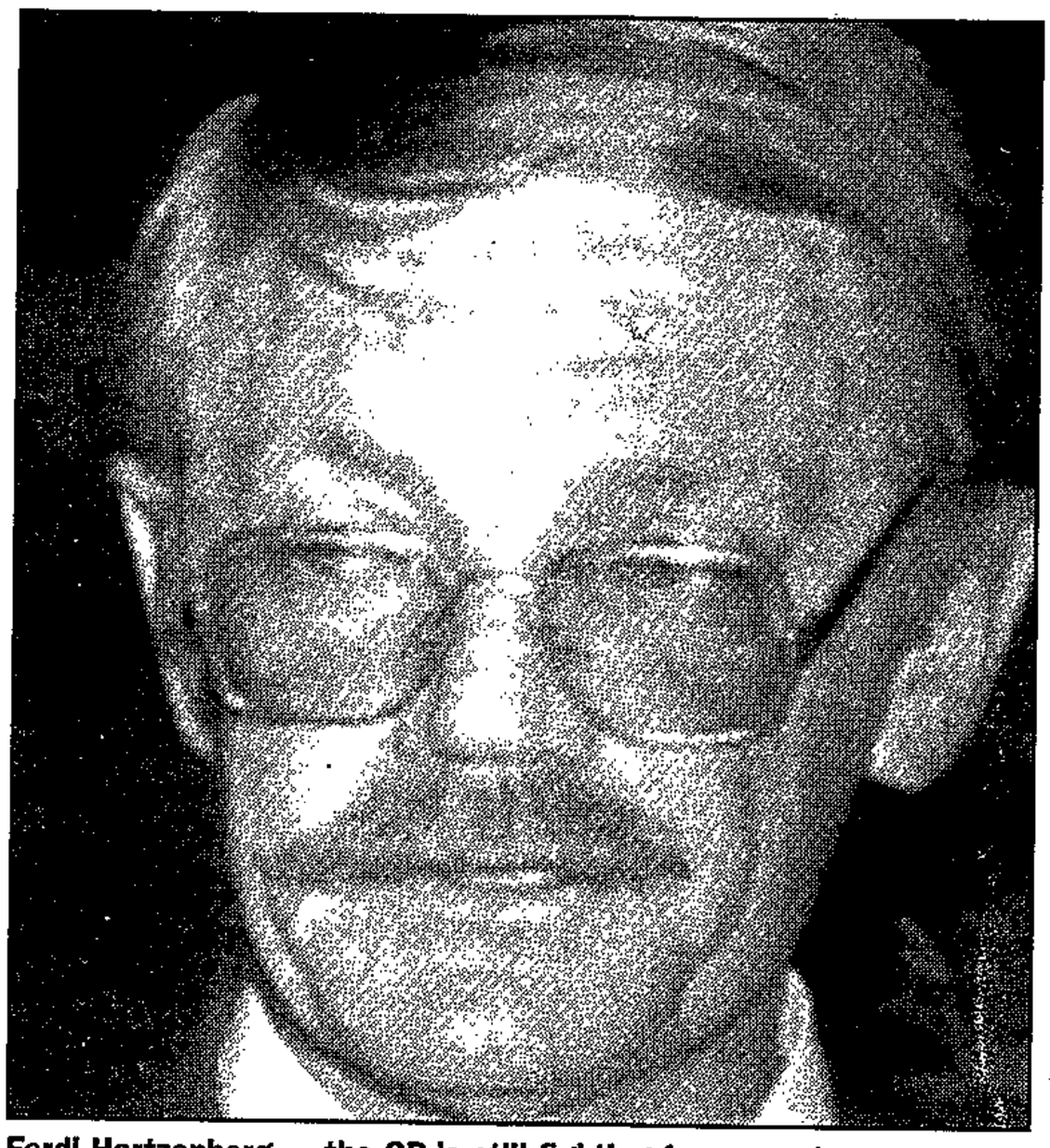
Although the FF is a relatively new party, it did even better than the Pan Africanist Congress in the national polls.

As for the HNP, there can be no doubt it is a spent force. Indeed, the Jaap Marais-led party had been tottering on the verge of political extinction long before the Government of National Unity came into being.

A cursory glance at newspaper clippings shows that very little is being written about the HNP. Politically, Marais is a forgotten man, having been overtaken by the democracy which began unfolding around the early 1990s.



Eugene Terre'Blanche ... the AWB's future seems bleak.



Ferdi Hartzenberg ... the CP is still fighting for separate municipalities.

As long as he continues to dream about the Afrikaner ever again enjoying political control, the more he will remain marginalised.

The loss of Afrikaner political power, especially at municipal level, has also put paid to the ultra-right movement.

The small power base these organisations enjoyed on the *platteland* has been eroded following the ANC's landslide victory in the local government elections.

Even the CP is not able to deal with the new political situation and is still clinging to the old separatist mentality. Early last year, Hartzenberg stated he did not believe the non-racial municipal government would work

"While we will participate in the local government elections, we will still fight for separate municipalities," he said.

It seems both the CP and HNP are living on borrowed political time, and may discover that the country's political landscape has changed so much that they have no role to play.

As for the AWB and its leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, their future can only be described as bleak.

Early last year the AWB leader made submissions to Parliament in which he pleaded almost cap in hand for the cut-off date for political crimes to be extended to May 10 1994, the date on which Mandela was inaugurated as President.

Although humiliated to be talking to the ANC-led Government, and the people he describes as "terrorists" and "communists," Terre'Blanche was nonetheless prepared to make his point. In his address to Parliament, Terre'Blanche said: "Let the

Buthelezi rejects call by Mandela to join in talks

(304A) (~~419~~) CT 10/11/96

DURBAN: Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rebuffed President Nelson Mandela's call for the IFP to return to the Constitutional Assembly and criticised the President's handling of the international mediation issue.

Mr Mandela at the weekend urged Inkatha to return to the assembly writing South Africa's new constitution in a policy statement released at a rally celebrating the ANC's 84th birthday.

But in a written reply to Reuter yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela should have directed his call to the IFP.

"If Mr Mandela did not have the disdain that he has for me and the IFP he would have directly spoken to us about his proposal that we return to the Constitutional Assembly and not through an exercise where he was playing to galleries.

"This call is not a genuine call because the ANC has already said more than once that it will finalise the constitution regardless of whether the IFP is there or not," Chief Buthelezi said.



ADAMANT: Chief Buthelezi

Inkatha pulled out of the Constitutional Assembly early last year in protest at the ANC's failure to honour the April 1994 agreement to take the autonomy-seeking IFP's constitutional demands to international mediation. — Reuter

● See Page 6

receiving the largest number of medals ... the All Africa Games last year.

ANC 'disappointed' by IFP's refusal to return

(304A) (#18) BD 11/1/96

THE ANC said yesterday it was disappointed IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had rejected President Nelson Mandela's call for the party to return to the Constitutional Assembly.

The ANC was reacting to reports that Buthelezi had rejected Mandela's call and been critical of his handling of the matter of international mediation in constitutional matters agreed to by the ANC, IFP and NP shortly before the April 1994 general elections but which were not implemented.

The ANC said Mandela's call had been made with a genuine desire to see the IFP return to the assembly in the best interests of all South Africans.

"It is most unfortunate that Buthelezi responded to the ANC's gesture of reconciliation by launching a wholly unfounded attack on our president (Mandela)," the party said.

Neither Mandela nor the ANC had refused to honour the agreement to international mediation which had been made in 1994.

It was the IFP which had last year withdrawn from talks with the ANC which were meant to address this as well as other issues.

Constitution

The ANC was insistent that the final constitution had to be written by the legitimate, elected representatives of the people, it said.

This was why the party had on Monday called on the IFP to return to the assembly, and would keep its door open for talks with the party. — Sapa.

ellery fabrication demand outstripping supply.

The hefty increase in global forward

'Official language' coins to be issued

(3049) BD 11/11/96

Jeanne Venter

SA WILL issue new coins every year to ensure each of the 11 official languages will have a chance to adorn the R5 coin.

The finance department, which outlined the plan in the latest Government Gazette, said yesterday the rotation of languages was "in the interests of fairness, equity and democracy". The current language line-up — decided after extensive consultation at Cabinet level — has the words South Africa in Zulu, Swati and Ndebele on the R5 coin. The same languages also emblazon the 1c piece.

Xhosa takes the R2 coin, Afrikaans R1, North and South Sotho 50c, Tswana 20c, English 10c and Venda the 5c coin.

Mint MD Ed Harbuz said the cost of changing designs would be negligible as new moulds had to be made constantly.

The new coins will appear in the next few months with slight design changes such as larger numerals.

The prospect of a language getting onto the R5 coin more quickly could improve if the department decides to scrap 1c and 2c pieces.

A finance department spokesman said the department was investigating whether to stop minting these denominations. The effect on poorer communities had yet to be evaluated. A decision is expected later this year.

ANC 'disappointed' by IFP's refusal to return

(304.A) (325) BD 11/1/96

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New agency set to help less experienced MPs

CT 11/1/96 (304A)

BY BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

AN AGENCY has been established to help less experienced MPs with information and research.

The Khululekani Institute for Democracy said yesterday its head office would be in Johannesburg.

It has already opened a satellite office in Cape Town and three constituency offices in Gauteng.

Although the institute said it would be guided by a "non-partisan board of directors", its board of trustees will be chaired by senior ANC MP Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa and will include ANC MPs Sister Bernard Ncube and Ms Priscilla Jana and ANC senator Dr Sam Motsuenyane.

The other trustees are Dr S Rataemane, Dr S Mncube and Mr A Mkhwanazi.

The institute said it was formed as a non-government organisation to explore ways of bring Parliament closer to the public over the next two years.

This would be achieved through implementing programmes to equip "historically disadvantaged Members of Parliament and other elected officials with resources that will enhance their effective performance in Parliament and with their constituencies".

The programmes would also support MPs in their work with their constituencies, NGOs and civil society, support information and research needs of new MPs and provide technical support for strategic planning, management and administration.

The institute said the members of its board were chosen for "their respected professional" work and "participation in the community in the struggle against apartheid".

Rally riles politicians on both sides

(304A) MAG 12-18 /11 96

Marion Edmunds

THE Foundation for Equality Before the Law has spent its last penny on its first rally, to be held in Pretoria on Saturday.

Chairman of the Foundation, Dr Theo de Jager said this week that the Foundation was spending R22 000 on the rally at which it hoped to make its first public statement.

The Foundation, set up in November by the *Junior Rapportryers* and *Dames Aktueel* in order to protect Afrikaner's rights, hopes to draw a mere 2 000 people to the rally, including ex-national servicemen, ex-policemen, ex-generals, and Afrikaners from all political parties.

While the rally has the support of the likes of the former Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe and the Transvaal Agricultural Union, the Foundation clearly lacks influence and backing, and it is not sweeping the Afrikaner nation up into a frenzy of enthusiasm.

Yet the rally has touched a chord in many politicians, at a time when the relationship between the Afrikaner nation and the ANC is faltering. The truth commission, the Magnus Malan Trial, problems around affirmative action coupled with the ANC's latest statements on the Volkstaat have alienated even the best of the ANC's Afrikaners friends, the Freedom Front.

The FF is seeking an urgent meeting with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to discuss his public rejection of the Volkstaat. FF MP Pieter Groenewald said that progress on the Volkstaat proposals has been made in bilateral meetings with the ANC over December, and that the recent statements made at the ANC's 84th birthday celebrations contradicted this progress.

The ANC's scalding reaction to the rally reflects its insecurities about its relationship with the Afrikaner. The ANC this week accused the Foundation of trying to drag Afrikaners back into the dark days of apartheid. It accused the Foundation of spreading lies about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It has hit out at Deputy President FW de Klerk and the National Party for undercover support of the Foundation — support which De Klerk denies. He will not attend the rally and it is unlikely that any senior National Party members will do so either.

A cooling of the political intimacy between ANC and Afrikaner suits De Klerk, but it also suits the far right who have been dormant since the elections.

The AWB has jumped into the fray, calling for the resignation of the Freedom Front from Parliament for having failed the Afrikaner. The AWB said that Afrikaner nationalists should join the broad extra-Parliamentary front and start with practical ways of achieving freedom "within our lifetime".

Both ANC and Afrikaner politicians will be watching to see who holds sway at the rally.



BOER BANNERS . . . and a war of words over the new flag Picture: JULANI VAN DER WESTHUIZEN

Flag war vexes launch of new volk foundation

ST 14/1/96 (304A)

By GARY COLLINS

THE launch of a new Afrikaans pressure group got off to a violent start yesterday when Vierkleur-wielding members of the far-right Noord-Transvaal Boerekommando tried to set fire to the South African flag.

The rightwingers, who objected to the display of the new standard at the first public meeting of the Foundation for Equality Before the Law, snatched it and made moves to set it alight.

A scuffle then broke out between them and members of the Junior Rapportryers and Ruiterwag, including chairman Theo de Jager, who snatched the flag back.

Dr De Jager, one of the prime movers behind the new body, subsequently made a desperate plea for unity among Afrikaners and last-minute negotiations between the two groups led to neither flag being displayed at the meeting.

The organisation, formed in response to the arrest and pending prosecution of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan and other apartheid-era securocrats, is opposed to the truth commission.

It intends to unite Afrikaners against a perceived threat from the new ANC-dominated government and to lead the fight for the restoration of their language and culture to the status they once enjoyed.

Earlier, the Afrikaner "young Turks" behind the organisation found themselves in hot water with Deputy President F W de Klerk and other old guard members within the Afrikaner establishment.

Dr De Jager said he was summoned before the deputy president last year for organising a boycott of Coca-Cola and South African Brewery products after both companies dropped Afrikaans from their cans.

"They (NP leaders) feel we are too militant in our style of politics. When we wanted to boycott the payment of TV licences FW called me in and warned me this is not the style of Afrikaner politics," he said.

Another founder of the organisation, former Conservative Party youth leader Fanie Duvenhage said: "Within Afrikaner political circles it is traditional that the youngsters should be seen and not heard — we do not want to be 'young Turks', we want to work with the older generation."

But the organisation has not received full support from all quarters of the Afrikaner establishment.

Carel Boschoff jnr, of the Afrikaner Volkswag, won't get involved with the organisation because "it has a tendency to be reactionary and not proactive. It is easy to be dissatisfied. It is more important to be involved in the solution, which is the establishment of a volkstaat."

Afrikanerbond executive director Boet Schoeman said his organisation was not invited to take part in the foundation and was not involved in any way.

But former Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, is backing the new body to the hilt.

"There is no equality before the law for Afrikaners as long as members of the former government are prosecuted and ANC members are protected by indemnity," he said.

Freedom Front senator Dries Bruwer said he would withdraw from the organisation if it became politically involved.

NP 'break-up' surprises official

By RAY HARTLEY

A NATIONAL PARTY spokesman has been taken by surprise by a report that the party's top leaders are willing to disband it.

The party is set to dissolve, getting a new name and new structures, according to an article in Rapport.

The newspaper claims that this week the NP's management committee discussed a document proposing the wholesale reinvention of the party.

NP spokesman Danie du Plessis told the Sunday Times last night that the document and the decision to change the party's name were "news to me".

He said he had been unable to reach NP Deputy President FW de Klerk, who was attending the Pavarotti concert in Pretoria .

NP leaders last year debated changing the party's name. Those favouring a name change have argued that the party needs to break with the past to reach black South Africans to challenge the ANC.

The NP's Eastern Cape leader, Tertius Delport, made a strong plea for a name change at the party's regional congress in Cradock late last year.

The party's coloured support base in the Western Cape is known to back a name change.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "We don't think a change of name is going to make a difference without a change of attitude. The move is a sign of weakness.

(304A) ST 14/1/96

Get with it or get left behind, Mandela cautions Afrikaners

ST 14/11/96 304A

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday warned Afrikaners that they would find themselves "on the political sidelines" of the new South Africa unless they embraced the new political dispensation.

In an address delivered to the secretive Ruiterwag — an organisation related to the Broederbond — in Hartbeespoort, north of Pretoria, Mr Mandela said opposition to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by leaders of the former government "leaves a bitter taste in my mouth".

He also said there was "unfortunately a growing perception among the majority of the people of South Africa — those who suffered under apartheid — that criticism of affirmative action from among Afrikaners is simply aimed at preserving as much as possible of the Afrikaners' unjustly privileged position".

Referring to the exclusivity of the Ruiterwag, which allows only male Afrikaners to join and only by invitation, he said: "You need to consciously avoid a malaise that afflicts most South Africans — that of approaching issues mainly from the point of view of the racial or ethnic group from which one comes."

Affirmative action was not an attack on Afrikaners.

"I asked: Why must you be concerned only with the interests of Afrikaners?" he told a press conference afterwards.

The meeting was held just hours after protesters at a Pretoria rally called by the Foundation for Equality before the Law tried to burn the new South African flag in the presence of the Ruiterwag's leader, Dr Theo de Jager.

Dr de Jager, who attended yesterday's meeting, is also a leader of the foundation, which is campaigning to stop the trials of General Magnus Malan and other former security force members for crimes committed during the rule of the previous government.

Mr Mandela said the foundation's actions were "seen in an extremely negative light" by most South Africans.

He said he had told the Ruiterwag that he would not interfere with the trial of General Malan.

"I'm not going to turn this country into a banana republic."

Dr De Jager told the press conference that he had asked Mr Mandela about the new SABC schedule, which substantially reduced Afrikaans airtime. Mr Mandela's response, that languages should be treated equally, had received "loud applause", he said.

In his speech Mr Mandela said Afrikaans would "receive ... precisely the same measure of support and promotion as other languages".

The Hartbeespoort meeting almost did not happen after Mr Mandela and Dr De Jager disagreed on Friday evening over whether the media should be allowed to attend.

Under a compromise agreement, journalists were kept in a "holding area" for two-and-a-half hours before Mr Mandela and Dr De Jager emerged for a press conference.

Despite the ban on journalists, the Ruiterwag secretly allowed two members of an Afrikaans weekly newspaper to attend.

● See Page 2

DP blasts draft constitution

(304A) ARG 20/11/96

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

TROUBLED by several aspects of the working draft of the constitution, the Democratic Party has issued a series of bottom-line demands which, unless met, could mean the party will vote against it.

With the African National Congress lacking the two-thirds majority to pass the final constitution on its own, the demands could add further drama to the intense negotiations in the weeks to come.

The DP spent two days in a "bosberaad" this week, going through the working draft.

DP leader Tony Leon said the party would have great difficulty accepting a constitution which did not have a proper bill of rights, provisions for reserved rights for provinces, special protection against too-easy limitation of rights and provision for an independent judiciary.

He lashed out at the working draft for failing to take account of submissions by parties other than the ANC.

Colin Eglin, chief negotiator for the DP in the constitutional assembly, said that while the draft bill of rights was substantially satisfactory, there were certain features with which the DP was unhappy.

Ken Andrew, the DP's finance spokesperson, said the party objected to the power of provinces to levy taxes being far too limited — while there were no guaranteed sources of revenue for provinces.

"It is pointless pretending to give provinces powers and then giving all monetary discretion to central government," Mr Andrew said.

He said central government would be in a position to say to provinces: "Do things as we want them done or there'll be no money".

Mr Eglin criticised the working draft for lacking detail on the demarcation of powers between central and provincial governments.



☐ Tony Leon



☐ Colin Eglin

Wherever legislative power over a certain matter was given to a province, it should get matching executive powers, he said.

Some time had been spent at the bosberaad on executive powers for provinces, a subject which has enjoyed little attention in comparison to that spent on provincial legislative authority.

Mr Andrew said the DP's belief that provinces should get maximum possible powers was founded not only on principles, but on the realities of South Africa and the need to cater for its diversity.

Failure to deliver housing was an example of the peril of trying to control everything from the centre, Mr Andrew said.

On the draft bill of rights, Mr Leon said no provision had been made for who would interpret it, how they would be appointed and how their independence would be guaranteed.

While the party had not yet finalised its position on this, it was considering proposing that the bill of rights could be amended only by a 75 percent majority.

DP MP Dene Smuts said that at present there was a degree of backpedalling by the ANC on certain rights, as it felt the pressure of government.

Examples of this were ANC attempts to water down the clauses governing a state of emergency and those on the limitation of rights, she said.

On labour relations the DP believed that a right to strike should be balanced by a right to lock-out.

Concerning special rights for trade unions Mr Leon said: "There cannot be special people and groups in the new South Africa."

Phrasing of the clause on socio-economic rights was a major source of concern because it would oblige the government to pass progressive legislation rather than setting a benchmark against which its performance could be judged.

The DP was perturbed by some options outlined in the section on a property rights clause.

One option in the working draft said there should be no property clause, while another said there should be one, but it could be breached if this was done in the name of land reform.

"You could drive a bulldozer through someone's house and say it was done for land reform," Mr Leon said.

"We cannot understand what it is the ANC is trying to achieve by violating the rights of property owners and investors without giving anything in return," he said.

Doug Gibson, party spokesperson on justice, said constitutional provisions on courts and the administration of justice would be the key to success or failure of the bill of rights.

The provision which allowed the referral of a bill by a national or provincial legislature to the constitutional court, already invoked by the current parliament, had been removed from the working draft of the new constitution.

Also out were earlier proposals on the office of a national attorney-general.

Mr Gibson suggested this was because the ANC wanted to be able to use ordinary legislation to go ahead with its plan for a national "super attorney-general", to whom provincial attorneys-general would be subordinate.

FW says the NP has a future

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

DEPUTY President F W de Klerk yesterday ruled out any prospect of the National Party disbanding, saying his party was in fact going full out to expand our powerbase".

He told NP leaders at a constitutional conference in Kempton Park that a report in last week's Rapport newspaper that the NP wanted to disband, was misleading.

Referring to the party's new headquarters in Pretoria, which will be opened in February, he said: "The fact that we are putting up a building is itself simply inconsistent with the suggestion that we are a party which is considering disbanding.

"We will be putting all the money into provinces to establish new branches, to employ additional personnel in the months to come, to open new offices," he said.

Mr de Klerk called for a realignment in South African politics.

"We will only be sure that we have a viable, long-term, successful multi-party democracy once we can say that South Africans are voting according to their convictions and not according to their colour," he said.

But, he added, a party document outlining the NP's values was still in the drafting stages.

Outlining his party's constitutional vision, Mr de Klerk said its negotiators would push for the continuation of the government of national unity and more powers for the provinces.

It would seek alliances with smaller parties.

Mr de Klerk said Inkatha needed to be brought back into the constitution-making process.

"Time is running out, we're drifting into the same type of situation we had in early 1994.

"From the leadership of the ANC and Inkatha should come an initiative to find ways and means to bring them back into the process," he said.

* See Page 24

IFP defends role of traditional leaders

(3049) BD 22/1/96

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini's call for a constitutional ban on traditional leaders holding political office was absurd, IFP national council member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

"This is a real intervention in politics. There are no grounds for such a call. It is an absurdity, and has been issued by someone who has no understanding of politics," Felgate said.

Zwelithini's spokesman Prince Sifiso Zulu confirmed that Zwelithini had asked President Nelson Mandela at a meeting on Friday to ensure that the final constitution did not allow traditional leaders to hold political office. Mandela had promised to consider the request, Zulu said.

Felgate said he was certain that Mandela would not concede to such an "absurd" request. No other body, including the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa), had made such a call, he said.

Zwelithini had not singled out Buthelezi during the meeting with the president but strongly expressed the view that Mandela should seriously consider including such a clause in the constitution.

Zwelithini and his royal council had made an "invaluable contribution" to peace efforts in KwaZulu-Natal after the general election by staying above party politics, said Zulu.

Central government had to reciprocate by including Zwelithini's request in the constitution.

By being above party politics, traditional leaders would be able to play the role of unifiers in their communities. Traditional leaders were presently mixing party politics with traditional matters and this was a source of violence.

Felgate said it was not possible to draw a distinction between political and non-political matters. For instance, the interim constitution required that traditional leaders be consulted on matters of concern to them. They were also administrators of land in their areas, and were guaranteed positions in local government structures.

After his meeting with Zwelithini, Mandela said the monarch would call a mass gathering of the Zulu nation within the next few weeks to promote reconciliation in KwaZulu-Natal. Buthelezi is expected to attend the meeting along with Mandela.

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said it was his personal opinion that Zwelithini should consult chiefs — "the core of the Zulu kingdom" — before calling the gathering.

Zulu said Zwelithini had also asked Mandela to have residences and tombstones of all Zulu kings —including that of Shaka, where the IFP holds annual celebrations — to be registered in the name of the royal house.

NP's survival struggle

As the party wilts before the unrelenting ANC onslaught it is taking desperate measures to try and ensure its survival as a political entity. Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** considers its chances...

(304A) Sowetan 22/1/96

A WITCH-HUNT is under way within the National Party to find the moles who leaked a confidential document to the media last week, something that caused a flurry of denials and divisions within the party.

Faced with a shrinking white membership and support base while at the same time failing to attract blacks, the NP stares certain political death in the face unless something drastic is done.

In terms of the discussion document leaked to the media, the drastic measures include dropping its name or disbanding completely if other parties are wiling to amalgamate and create a new party based on Christian beliefs and a commitment to capitalism.

NP leader FW de Klerk was at pains last week to say there was no intention of disbanding the party, only a willingness to amalgamate and form a new party if there are partners out there sharing its new ideals.

As a party that ruled this country for more than 40 years, relying on an exclusively white vote, the new democracy – where whites constitute at most 20 percent of voters – has turned the tables and the future can only be black, in a manner of speaking.

Oppressing and exploiting

It is this that is at the heart of the move by the NP. The two past elections have shown that very little of the black vote went their way.

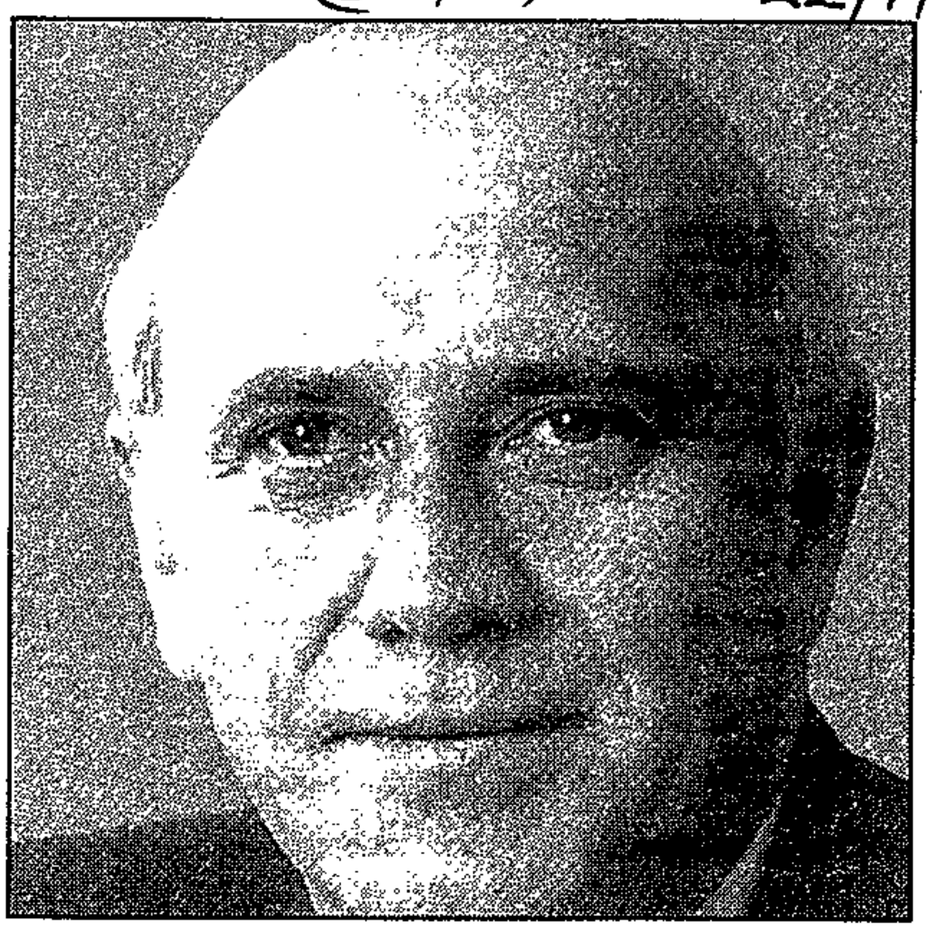
Carrying the baggage of 40 years of apartheid rule, mass removals, state-sponsored murder of opponents and a general policy based on oppressing and exploiting blacks, the NP has failed dismally to make inroads into the only sector that can assure its future: black people.

Various meetings and study groups have been sponsored by the party, trying to find a magic formula that will attract the black vote. Thus, despite poor black support, we have Messrs David Chuenyane, John Gogotya and Major Ramaremisa in Parliament in Cape Town today as Nat MPs.

Last year's local government elections saw even the trusted so-called coloured voters in the Cape deserting the party in rural areas and voting ANC.

This despite the party's efforts to woo them by giving people such as Messrs Abe Williams, Patrick McKenzie, Peter Marais, Kobus Dowry and others not just seats in the national and provincial legislatures but in Government as well.

With the Cape Town metropole elections set for May, it is important that the party gets its act together before then. A defeat in Cape Town would trigger off disillusionment in the party that can only lead to an embarrassing defeat in 1999.



NP leader FW de Klerk ... trying to reposition his party before the next general election.

These are the factors that have brought about the discussion document that bases its thrust on the assertion that the political landscape of South Africa is bound to change, and that the party needs to reposition itself now.

The details have been worked out and it is going to be a major move that De Klerk will announce on February 2 when he opens a new multimillion rand party head office in Pretoria.

It has to be a drastic change to make an impact on the black community. The NP is looking to the Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party as partners to oppose the ANC. Already DP leader Mr Tony Leon has said the idea is a good one.

While some in the NP believe the move will weaken it in negotiations with possible future partners, as this gives the impression of a dying party, De Klerk and his supporters want to do the right thing now and get others to join them in that process.

That is why they are able to argue, as they have been doing about the unbannings of 1990, that they took the decision themselves on the basis of their beliefs and convictions.

The problem is not everyone in the NP agrees, as the leak to the media has shown.

De Klerk described the moles, who leaked the paper, as "troublemakers and saboteurs" that the party must get rid of. A small group opposed the restructuring of the party, he said, but most members supported the move.

Among those believed to be opposed to the move is Western Cape premier Hernus Kriel.

A former police minister, who hates the ANC with a passion, he has over the past two years emerged as the defender of old-style NP policies. Insiders said he spoke against the proposals at a meeting of the executive committee of the NP's federal council last week.

Although Kriel is in the minority on the council, he has impeccable credentials. His province is the only one that walloped the ANC and is said to have solid party structures.

If pushed hard, he may rebel, some party sources say, precipitating a split within the party.

Gauteng leader Mr Pik Botha has taken a clear stance, saying that dropping the name is inevitable.

Botha is supported by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. On their side are the few blacks members, while Kriel has the support of diehard old-style Nats.

This group has no chance, insiders say, as De Klerk and his supporters have decided the only way they can make a dent in ANC support in the black community is by changing their image and ditching things such as the present name.

De Klerk is committed to this line, even if he runs the risk of alienating sections of the old guard. It is a risk he will have to take, hoping it will be offset by a breakthrough in black areas.

Will the gamble pay off? Only time, or to be more precise, 1999 will tell.

Deadlock-breaking constitutional talks

ARG 22/11/96 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

WITHIN hours of the formal resumption of constitutional negotiations today, it became clear that progress will rely on successful bilateral talks between parties.

The constitutional committee sub-committee, a multi-party body set up late last year to break deadlocks, met for the first time this year to consider a third edition of the working draft of the constitution.

Opening the meeting, deputy chairperson Leon Wessels urged parties to devote their energies to ensure the success of bilaterals.

The constitutional court had announced it would meet in June to begin discussing whether it should approve the draft produced by the assembly.

Among issues about which bilaterals are to continue are official languages, and whether and to what degree the bill of rights should apply horizontally and vertically, that is both to the state and to private bodies such as natural persons.

Also unresolved is a clause supported by the African National Congress which is a source of concern to the National Party, that everyone has the right of security of the person, including "to control their own body".

Opponents of the clause fear that it could open the way to a constitutional guarantee of the right to choose to have an abortion.

At today's meeting, the Democratic Party and the ANC clashed over a clause on privacy.

The ANC supports the draft text, which says that everyone will have the right to the privacy of their communications not being violated.

The DP wants the words "or intercepted' inserted in the text, which the ANC maintains is unnecessary because violation includes interception.

The section was referred back to the CA's panel of constitutional experts for an interpretation of its meaning.

It was earlier agreed that the future of the coat of arms be referred to a special multi-party committee.

However, the future coat of arms is to be specified in legislation rather than in the constitution. Concern has been expressed about the cost, predicted to run into millions of rands, of changing the coat of arms.

IFP may soon be back in the constitution-making process

(304A) (IFP) BD 22/1/96

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Top negotiators of the ANC, IFP and NP would meet this week to explore ways to facilitate the IFP's return to the Constitutional Assembly, NP chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Meyer said the IFP's return to the constitution-making process "must take place in the next few weeks" because of the looming May 10 deadline for completion of the new constitution.

Arrangements for the meeting between Meyer, his deputy Valli Moosa (ANC) and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela (IFP) are to be finalised after Moosa's return to SA today from observing the Palestinian elections.

The 21-month political impasse over the issue of international mediation on outstanding constitutional-issues was broken earlier this month when the three negotiators held discussions during a multiparty trip to Germany to study that country's federal system. It was the first time the three had met following a breakdown in discussions last year.

ANC senior negotiator and chairman of Parliament's constitutional committee Pravin Gordhan said yesterday: "The ANC believes the IFP should join the constitution-making process sooner rather than later." Returning to the assembly would provide the IFP with the "best way to put forward their points of view".

Mzimela said last week a report on the trip could form the basis for the IFP's return. Once the parties had studied the report, constitutional experts in Germany could be invited to SA to make further inputs into the constitutional process.

This week's meeting between the three political parties coincides with the resumption of formal negotiations

Continued on Page 2

IFP (IFP) (304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 22/1/96

in the assembly and private meetings between parties.

Gordhan said the ANC expected the next two weeks would be used to lay the basis for negotiations in both the assembly and behind the scenes on the "sharper issues" still outstanding.

Parties have identified four key areas for negotiation: the division of legislative and executive powers between central government and the provinces; whether to retain the government of national unity and, if so, in what form; the economic and socio-economic aspects of the Bill of Rights, and the structure and functions of the second house in Parliament.

As far as the ANC was concerned, Gordhan said: "If the political will is there, the May 10 deadline for completion of the new constitution will not be a problem. The constitution-making machinery is already well-oiled."

Meyer said: "I do not see why we cannot find each other." The process was now mainly about constitutional differences and not political differences between parties.

Gordhan said there had been "a great deal of narrowing" between parties in recent months in the four main areas still outstanding.

He expected parties to use the upcoming round of private talks "to clarify their positions and create a better understanding between each other". For instance, the ANC expected the NP to clear up perceptions that its negotiators in KwaZulu-Natal were at odds with its national component over the allocation of provincial powers.

ANC wants power sharing to end

Sowetan (304A) 22/1/96

On the other hand, the NP would like the GNU to continue after 1999

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress and its archrival the National Party emerged from separate constitutional conferences at the weekend sharply divided on the future of the Government of National Unity.

The ANC Gauteng region said at the end of a three-day conference in Johannesburg that it favoured a final Constitution that did not enforce power-sharing.

Currently the ANC forms the GNU with its opponents, the NP and Inkatha Freedom Party.

ANC provincial chairman and Gauteng premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale said: "With the finalisation of a democratic Constitution (by May 1) and the advances achieved on political stability, save for KwaZulu-Natal, the need for a Constitution-enforced coalition government falls away."

Sexwale said the region would put its proposals to the national constitutional conference of the ANC next month.

"While we observe a need to continuously educate the entire society about national unity, we should not fall into the folly of perpetuating an undemocratic and democratic structure of a GNU," Sexwale said.

The region endorsed the position of the draft Constitution which provide for the legislative and executive competency of the provinces over specific areas including health, housing and education.

Meanwhile, the NP wanted constitutional negotiations to continue beyond 1999, its leader FW de Klerk told his party at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Saturday.

"This is the issue on which the major political parties are furthest apart," he said.

The NP was not thinking of disbanding but would this year focus on extending its power-base. It was also not looking at alliances but co-operation on issues where shared values could be identified.

De Klerk reiterated the NP's position, saying it was important minority rights be protected because "in the final analysis threatened minorities organise themselves to oppose and resist".

NP, DP to fight key issues in draft constitution

(304A

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

BD 22/1/96

THE National and Democratic parties gave notice at the weekend that they would fight key clauses in the draft constitution.

And, with the IFP considering a return to the Constitutional Assembly, the ANC could find itself unable to obtain the required two-thirds majority to get key sections of the constitution approved.

The negotiations over the new constitution are due to be completed by May 9, but this deadline appears unlikely in view of the tough stance being taken by the NP and DP.

Various clauses of the draft constitution have not been finalised and only different options have been outlined.

However, the DP's Mr Douglas Gibson told a press conference on Friday that clauses in the published draft constitution had not yet been negotiated and had been amended by the ANC without consultation.

"When the ANC wants things to disappear, they have a funny habit of being left out of the draft," Gibson said.

This may well indicate that the smaller parties will demand clause by clause negotiations.

NP leader Mr F W de Klerk said his party wanted the constitutional negotiations to continue beyond 1999.

"This is the issue on which the major political parties are furthest apart," De Klerk told delegates to the NP's constitutional conference in Kempton Park.

DP leader Mr Tony Leon said his party would not accept a constitution which did not have a proper bill of rights, effective reserved rights for the provinces, protection against limitations of rights which were too easy to use and the independence of the judiciary entrenched.

The ANC needs the support of 15 people from other parties to achieve the two-thirds majority.

'Unpopular' leaders face tribal land vote

BD 23/1/96

(304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Unpopular traditional leaders could in future be stripped of their powers to administer tribal land if the majority of people in their communities vote for the creation of a communal property association.

This emerged yesterday at a meeting of the national assembly's land affairs committee to discuss the new Communal Property Associations Bill.

Inkatha's Harriet Ngubane asked senior land affairs official Aninka Claasen whether the underlying intention of the legislation, which began its progress through the parliamentary system yesterday, was not to take away the influence of traditional leaders in the administration of land.

Claasen said this was not the intention of the Bill, but conceded that if a chief or induna was very unpopular he, and his supporters, could be outvoted by the community.

The administration of land, and the power to evict, lies at the heart of the political power of traditional leaders, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal.

The Communal Property Associations Bill and the soon-to-be-debated Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Bill are two of a number of legislative measures which seek to reform rural property relations.

The Bill allows for communities to band together and have their de facto group ownership of a piece of land acknowledged in law.

The resultant "communal property associations" — which must be sanctioned by the land affairs department as conforming with the ideals of democracy, transparency and equality — will be a "juristic person".

This means that they will be able to sue and be sued, and raise loans with the land as collateral.

In its comments on the Bill, the Land Rights Project of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University said recent experience showed a high degree of abuse in group or communal systems of land tenure.

"There is a high incidence of abuse by powerful individuals such as warlords or people who extort money from ordinary members for individual gain.

"There are also those who abuse communally held land by bringing in their own followers, both to build up a private support base and to make money from the entry payments of new arrivals," the project said.

The new legislation was, with the exception of some reservations, enthusiastically welcomed as being an important step towards securing the future of ordinary people in communal landholding systems.

Minority protection mooted

BD 23/1/96

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The NP in the Constitutional Assembly yesterday proposed new clauses for inclusion in the constitution which would constitutionally entrench protection for minorities' cultural rights.

The NP called for a government-run "commission on cultural affairs" and a cultural rights protection clause to be included in the bill of rights. NP negotiators said they had tabled the proposals at the end of last year but they were never discussed in the assembly.

NP senior negotiator Sheila Camerer said the commission would act as a support for a "possible" protection of cultural rights clause in the bill of rights. ANC and NP negotiators are expected to take up the matter in private talks starting next week. However, initial ANC reaction was negative.

Camerer, in turn, said the NP was prepared to discuss the exact wording and placing of the proposed clause in the bill of rights. But the NP would push hard for the establishment of a commission on cultural affairs.

Camerer said the proposal for a cultural affairs commission was based on a similar commission provided for in the constitution of India to deal with that country's cultural diversity.

She said there were "a lot of groups in SA who feel they need cultural protection under the constitution".

The proposed commission would be the kind of state body "to cope with cultural diversity, as well as address the needs of anyone who may feel culturally threatened".

NP media leaks: two 'conservatives' named

Star 23/1/96

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – The National Party yesterday pinned on two senior members the leaking of a confidential party document which created a sensation when it was published.

Western Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers named them yesterday as youth leader Pierre-Jean Gerber and veteran party representative Adriaan Jordaan, a former MP for False Bay.

Both are members of the NP in the Western Cape legislature and have been disciplined.

De Villiers said the men had admitted to involvement in leaking the document which proposed that the NP change its name and start looking for allies to take advantage of an expected realignment in SA politics.

It has also been disclosed that the party members who leaked the document are allegedly members of the conservative Western Cape wing of the party. This appears likely to further exacerbate tensions between the federal executive and elements of the NP in the Western Cape.

The latter fear that moves to reposition the NP to gain support among a wider black constituency would alienate the NP's Western

304A

... To Page 2

NP media leaks: two are named

304A

From Page 1

Star 23/1/96

Cape Coloured support base.

According to De Villiers, Gerber will stay a member of the Western Cape legislature but has been relieved of all other posts in the NP, including the youth leadership.

His caucus privileges have been suspended for six months, De Villiers said.

Jordaan voluntarily stepped down as a member of the legislature with immediate effect but will remain a member of the NP.

A party source said their identity had come to light following an intensive investigation.

De Villiers referred to a "penetrating discussion" with the two members. Gerber was present at the meeting of the federal executive on January 8 and apparently passed the document to Jordaan, who leaked it to the media.

Jordaan said in a statement he had decided to voluntarily step down and thanked the voters of False Bay for their support for the 22 years he served in public office. Gerber was unavailable for comment.

Minister's official car was bugged

ET 23/1/96 (25) (304A)

CHRIS STEYN
OF SPECTRUM

AN ANC cabinet minister has been spied on.

He is Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom, whose staff have discovered a sophisticated tracking device in his official vehicle.

This was confirmed yesterday to Spectrum, the investigative unit of Independent Newspapers, by the Minister's spokesman, Mr Helmuth Schlenther.

His confirmation comes in the wake of recent disclosures by Spectrum that the top structure of the South African Police Service (SAPS) had been under electronic and other surveillance.

A judicial commission of inquiry is to be held soon to determine who could have been responsible for the serious security breach. Meanwhile, Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence is conducting its own official investigation into the matter. Internal reports are also being compiled for the National Intelligence Co-Ordinating Committee.

Yesterday Schlenther said the tracking device had been found by Hanekom's administrative secretary, Mr Eddie Kirsten, in Hanekom's official vehicle last November.

The device — a custom-made bug with a range of several kilometres — was glued under the steering column.

Schlenther disclosed sections of a report compiled by Major G N Britz, head of the micro-electronic research and development unit of the SAPS.

SPECTRUM

According to the experts who compiled the report, the look, shape and size of the bug indicate that it is a "transponding device ... which, when electronically interrogated, replies with pre-programmed information which is stored in digital or analogue-coded format".

The report continues: "This type of transponding device does not have its own battery with which to energise itself ... It relies on microwave or magnetic field strength in order to be able to absorb enough energy to answer back with information...

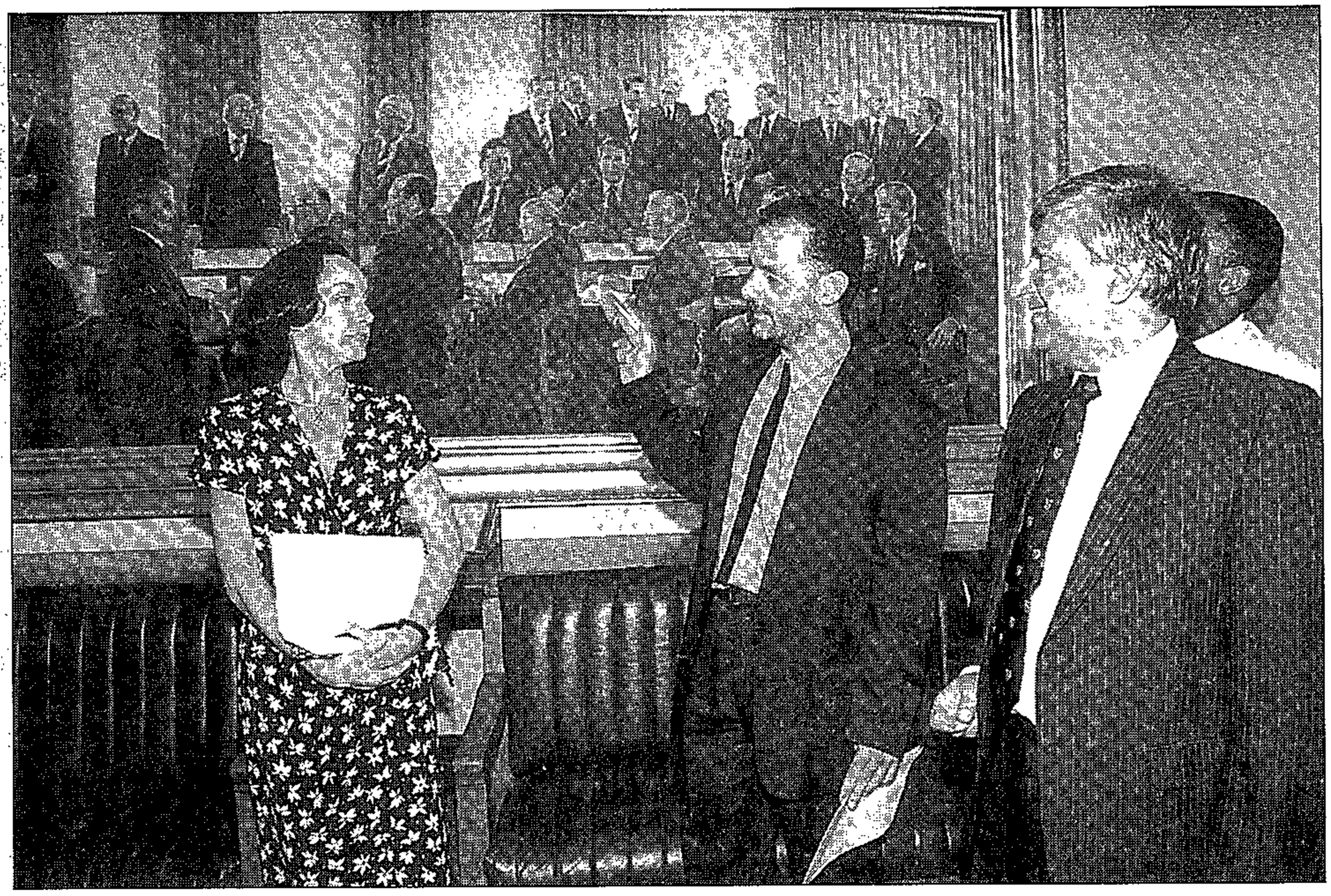
"The interrogator is a transmitting device with a built-in receiver. When activated, it sends out a powerful signal and if the transponder is within range, it will absorb enough power to answer back with pre-programmed information."

The ranges of these devices vary from a few centimetres to several kilometres and can activate monitoring equipment on an aircraft.

According to the report, as many manufacturers as possible of such devices were contacted to establish the origin of the device. "From the information available, it could have been purpose-built," the report concluded.

Schlenther said there had been no indication yet as to who could have been responsible. He added that the minister's offices were now being regularly swept for listening devices.

In an apparently unrelated development yesterday, National Police Commissioner George Fivaz announced that allegations of a serious breach in security at the Ministry of Safety and Security made by a self-confessed National Intelligence Agency (NIA) agent, would be investigated "as a matter or extreme urgency".



DOWN THEY COME: Paintings and other apartheid memorabilia in Parliament are to be replaced by the United Nations exhibition of anti-apartheid art for six months. Discussing the safe removal of the relics are (from left) Ms Marilyn Martin, director of SA National Gallery, Mr Gordon Metz, of the Mayibuye Centre at UWC, and Dr Bhadra Ranchod, deputy speaker of the national assembly. *PICTURE: BENNY GOOL*

Removal of apartheid relics begins

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

CT 23/1/96 (30A)

APARTHEID era pictures and sculptures in Parliament are to start coming down tomorrow.

The paintings and sculptures include portraits of National Party leaders, former prime ministers and presidents, the NP cabinet in 1961, when South Africa became a republic, and in 1984, when the tricameral system was introduced.

They are to be replaced by the United Nations exhibition of anti-apartheid art for six months while a decision is taken about their future.

Parliamentary sources said last night that a meeting would be held this morning between Parliament's household services division and the department of public works, after which a start would be made with removing the existing paintings and sculptures.

The UN exhibition is to be opened by President Nelson Mandela on February 8, the day before he officially opens the next session of Parliament.

'Name change' leak: Two top Nats ousted

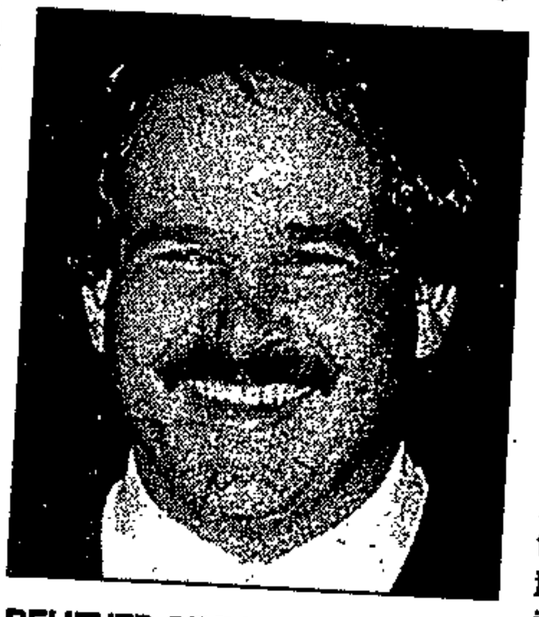
CT 23/11/96 (304A)

CHRIS BATEMAN

THE chief whip of the NP legislature in the Western Cape, Mr Adriaan Jordaan, has resigned, and the NP's youth leader, Mr Pierre Jeanne Gerber, has been relieved of all party posts following media "leaks" that the party intended changing its name.

Provincial NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said after a special party meeting that both had confirmed their "involvement in the matter" and would resign their posts with immediate effect.

An Afrikaans Sunday newspaper published a confidential working document of the party's federal council in which the NP's leaders declared themselves ready to disband and rename the party to improve its "organisational identity".



RELIEVED OF POSTS: NP Youth leader Mr Pierre Jeanne Gerber

The disbanding was on condition the move ensured the party's "vision for the future".

Gerber was at the forefront of party reform and often said the NP had no future unless it secured credibility among all sections of the population.

He has also been banned from attending any party caucus meetings for the next six months.

In spite of the drama surrounding the leak, the subject of a party name-change was openly discussed at the Western Cape NP congress in November last year.

NP sources said last night it was the manner of the leak and not the content that broke party discipline and virtually sealed the pair's fate.

Jordaan last year tabled a motion in the provincial legislature expressing "utmost concern about the apparent trend in central government to regard the freedom of the media as secondary to its own interests", and proposed a local law to guarantee media freedom.

His voluntary resignation means that Mr Koos Lloyd, an MP for Roodeplaat (Gauteng) in the former dispensation, is in line to secure a seat in the local legislature.

The NP sources said Gerber had access to the confidential document as youth leader and broke party discipline by giving it to Jordaan before all caucus members officially knew of the name change discussions. The leak had then ensued.

Gerber, of Wellington, retains his seat in the provincial legislature.

Jordaan, who remains a party member, said last night he decided to resign when party leaders stressed how seriously they viewed the matter. He thanked his False Bay "constituents" for their "support and dedication over almost 22 years".

Traditional leaders to fight for their inclusion in final constitution

By Mondli Makhanya

Traditional leaders from the six provinces which have chiefs will meet in Johannesburg this weekend to plan for a push for the accommodation of traditional leadership in the final constitution.

The meeting has been called by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), which is spearheading the drive for traditional structures to be included in the final constitution to be finalised in May.

Contralesa chairman Chief Mwelo Nonkonyane said yesterday the meeting would discuss traditional leaders' constitutional proposals and plan for action to press political parties in the Constitutional Assembly to accept these.

Traditional leaders are angry with the Government for having failed to set up a national Council of Traditional Leaders provided for in the interim constitution. This 20-member council would have been the vehicle through which traditional leaders could have made inputs into the CA. Three months away from the finalisation of the constitution, the council has still not been set up.

The main hurdle to setting up this forum is the failure of Eastern Cape and Northern Province to set up their provincial houses of traditional leaders. The other provinces that have traditional leaders – KwaZulu Natal, Mpumalanga, Free State and North West – have already set up their houses.

Nonkonyana said the Government was to blame for the delay in setting up these two houses because it had not applied its powers to expedite the process.

"After the Kempton Park meeting, the ANC negotiated with the Afrikaners, and the Volkstaat Council that was agreed to there came into being six months after the elections. But with us they are not really worried," he said.

A Contralesa delegation will meet Eastern Cape Premier Raymond Mhlaba today to press for the acceptance of a 42-member provincial house of traditional leaders.

(304A) Star 24/1/96

ANC slams DP for 'bottom-line' demand

Small party risks being marginalised over its 'ill-considered, counter-productive' approach

Star 24/1/96 (3044)

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The ANC lashed out at the Democratic Party this week, warning that it risked being marginalised if it refused to budge from its "bottom-lines positions" on the final constitution.

The ANC, which has a 62% majority in the Constitutional Assembly, was reacting to a DP bosberaad resolution that it would not support a constitution that limited provincial powers, did not put enough emphasis on individual rights and did not have a proper bill of rights.

The DP had also accused the ANC of ignoring other parties' proposals and ramming its own proposals into the draft constitution.

In a statement yesterday the ANC said the DP's "bottom-lines" approach was "counter-productive and ill considered".

"The Democratic Party has been irresponsible in issuing demands which they say need to be met if they are to support the constitution. Given that negotiations around the final text have yet to start in earnest, it is premature to start throwing in bottom-line positions," said the ANC.

It said DP claims that other parties' submissions had been left out of the draft were inaccurate as areas of divergence had been left open-ended and various options had been included in the draft.

Pledging that it was committed to finding consensus, the ANC said the DP's sticking to bottom lines would see it marginalised from the constitution writing process.

The CA's deadlock-breaking mechanism – which includes taking specific matters and clauses to the vote – would not favour a small party like the DP so it should rather work with other parties to seek common ground on contentious matters, the ANC said.

"The ANC too has bottom lines. Yet we have committed ourselves to a process of engaging all other parties in an effort to find common ground."

Inkatha wants to amend new land tenure Bill

Star 24/1/96 (3)

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – The Inkatha Freedom Party will introduce an amendment to new land legislation which it says undermines the powers chiefs exercise over land affairs.

The Communal Property Associations Bill, one of several land measures introduced by Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom to overhaul and update land tenure systems, came before Parliament's portfolio committee on land affairs yesterday. The bill enables communities to form "juristic persons" known as communal property associations which can then buy, hold and manage land which communities have traditionally occupied.

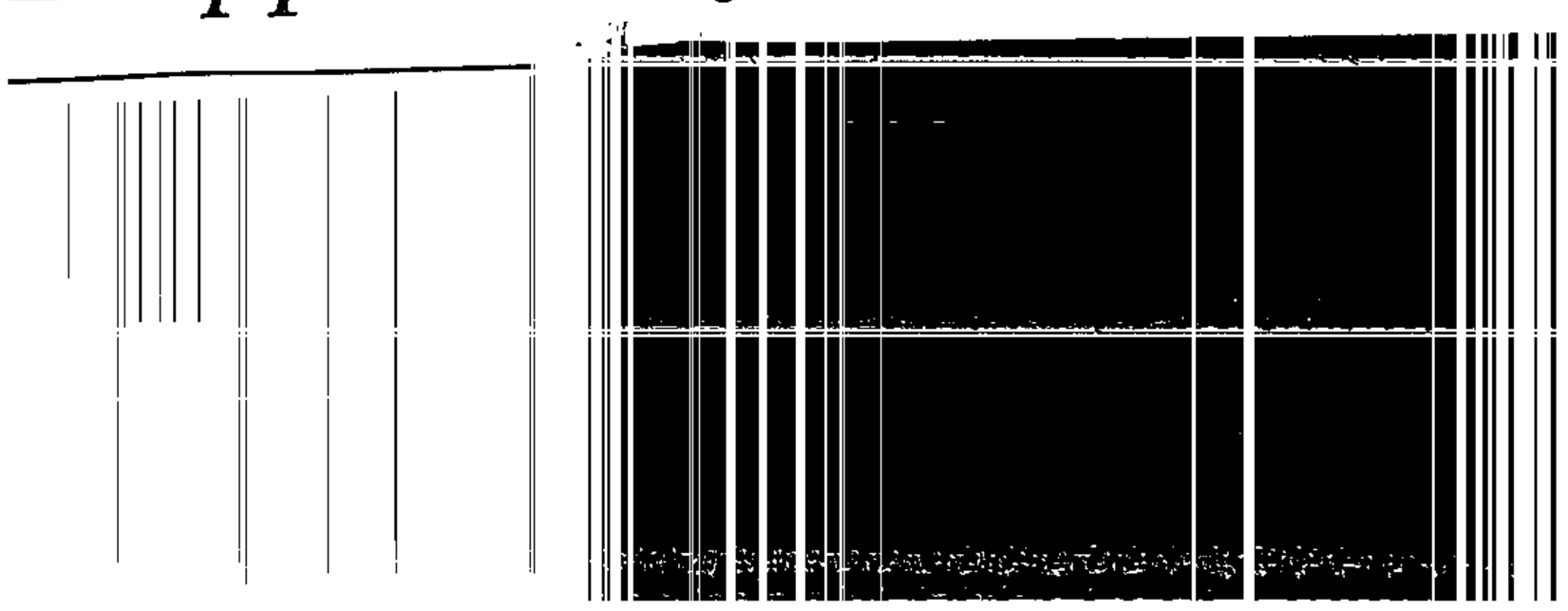
Centre for Applied Legal Studies land expert Aninka Claassens, who was involved in drafting the Bill, told the committee it was necessary to provide for communities which were entitled to land handed back to them in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act.

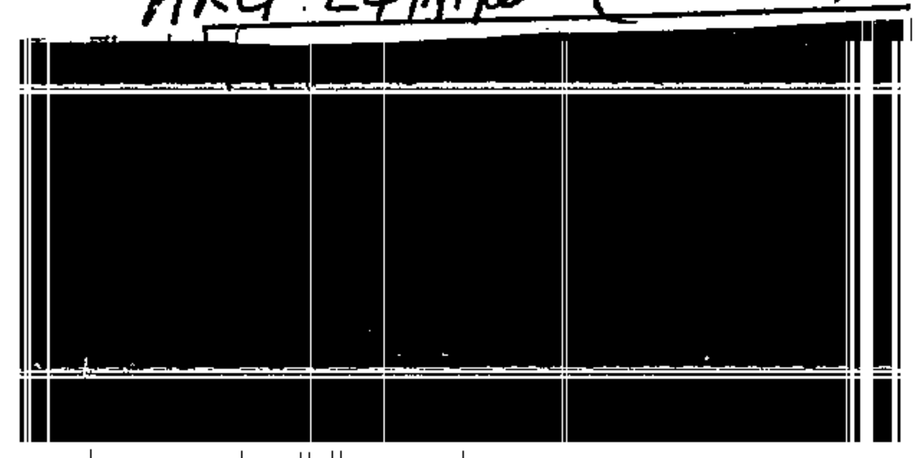
Claassens said in reply to committee chairperson, Chief Phathekile Holomisa, who is also president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, that the Bill could be used by communities where there was "enormous dissatisfaction" with a chief who administered their land.

Apartheid art gets chop in parliament

☐ *Applause by workers, MPs as paintings unhooked for storage*

ARG 24/11/96 (304A





A ROUND of applause by parliamentary workers and African National Congress MPs resounded in the corridors of parliament today as workers unhooked the first apartheid-era artwork from the walls.

The first head to roll, figuratively speaking, was that of former Speaker Alwyn Schlebusch, whose political career included a report recommending action against the anti-apartheid National Union of South African Students, and who was first chairman of the President's Council.

"I'm rather pleased," said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who as constitutional assembly chairperson has an office around the corner from the lobby which until this morning housed a gallery of portraits of former Speakers.

"Parliament wants to be reflective of new developments in the country, reflective of new changes and new faces.

"It is good to see them come down. They should go to a museum so they will still be on view for people who want to see what this country has been through.'

Mr Ramaphosa said he would be particularly pleased when the giant portrait of the last all-white cabinet, headed by P W Botha, was removed.

There was a jubilant mood as workers rolled scaffolding along and portrait after portrait was passed to the floor.

Smaller artworks were to be removed today, while larger ones which present technical difficulties will go tomorrow.

Parliamentary worker Mongesi Pama, a familiar sight at the gatehouse to the old assembly wing where he has welcomed thousands of visitors since the 1994 election, said he had fielded countless questions from tourists about why the portraits were still on display.

"They say it looks like the old apartheid regime is still here."

ANC senator Yolanda Botha said: "It's lovely. It's a good, good feeling."

The timing of the removal was appropriate, because had it been done straight after the 1994 election it would have been too abrupt, she said.

David Dalling, who served in the former dispensation as a Democratic Party MP and is now an ANC member of the national assembly, left his office to watch as Press photographers greeted each removal with a barrage of whirring motorwinders and flashes.

"What a pleasure," he smiled.

ANC MP Willie Hofmeyr, while pleased to see the artworks go, said his personal view was that some should be kept in parliament as a matter of history.

No National Party MPs, whose offices are in the adjoining Marks Building, turned out for the removal.

Myburgh Streicher, NP spokesman on the issue, emphasised that the ANC's joy about the move was premature.

The NP had agreed to the removal only on condition that it was a temporary measure, with their ultimate fate still to be decided, he said.

Democratric Party MP Colin Eglin, who walked through the lobby when almost all the portraits had been removed, was saddened to see that of his former colleague Helen Suzman among them, stacked alongside one of a downcast and aged Paul Kruger.

Mr Eglin was, however, happy to see the others go.

Frene Ginwala, Speaker of the national assembly, said earlier that it had been decided to remove all the artworks rather than make distinctions about which deserved to stay.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

OUT WITH THE OLD: Cast out from its place of honour in the lobby of the old assembly wing of parliament, a portrait of former Speaker Alwyn Schlebusch is carried off to storage and an uncertain future.

NP replace 'disgraced' whip

CHRIS BATEMAN
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WRITER

FORMER MP for Vredendal in the now-defunct House of Representatives, Mr Piet Meyer, was yesterday appointed chief whip of the Western Cape National Party and of the provincial government — replacing Mr Adriaan Jordaan who resigned over a media leak.

Premier Hernus Kriel said he trusted Meyer would serve the provincial parliament "with competence and discretion".

Jordaan, who served False Bay constituents for nearly 22 years, resigned and Mr Pierre Jeanne Gerber was sacked from his post as NP (national) youth leader after a confidential working document of their party's federal council was leaked to a newspaper.

The report revealed that the top NP leadership was willing to change the party name to improve "organisational identity", and make a clean break with the past.

The document was leaked by Jordaan after it was handed to him by Gerber who had attended a top party caucus meeting.

Gerber retains his seat in the provincial legislature but may not attend any party caucus meetings for six months. His position as youth leader will be temporarily filled by Mr Isaac Moatshe, youth leader of North-West province.

Yesterday rumours were circulating that Mr Koos Albertyn, national MP and former ministerial representative in the Western Cape might be swopped for Mr Koos Lloyd, the next listed provincial candidate due to take Jordaan's place. An NP regional spokesman could not be traced for comment.

(304A) BE CT 24/11/96

Call to register MPs' interests (304A)

CT 24/1/96 (256)

A CENTRAL register should be kept of the outside financial interests held by MPs and senators as these may affect their work as public representatives, a special parliamentary committee has recommended.

A code of ethics drawn up by the committee includes provisions for the disclosure of gifts to the value of R350 or more and of shareholdings and company directorships that politicians may hold.

The joint ethics sub-committee of the national assembly and senate, chaired by Water Affairs Minister Mr Kader Asmal, finalised its report yesterday for submission to a joint rules committee.

The report reflects a number of issues on which parties differ.

While the ANC and PAC propose that parliamentarians should disclose full information on their land and property assets, the NP, Democratic Party, Freedom Front and African Christian Democratic Party say that residential and holiday homes need not be declared, unless they are used for commercial purposes.

And while the ANC and PAC feel that the interests of spouses, permanent companions and dependent children should be disclosed, the NP, DP and FF say they should not.

On ethical issues, the report says: "In general terms members could be expected at all times to behave in an exemplary manner".

It says they should not use their position to seek or confer favours, "particularly ... sexual favours."

The report recommends that a computerised register of members' interests — updated every six months — should be the responsibility of a parliamentary official reporting to a specially established joint parliamentary committee.

The report is to be presented to the next meeting of the joint rules committee.

A report of a parliamentary ethics study mission to Ireland and the United Kingdom to study similar measures in those countries was tabled yesterday and is to be discussed at the rules committee meeting. — Sapa

NEWS NATIONAL

(304A)

MPs may have to reveal interests

Sowetan 25/1/96

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

SHOULD Members of Parliament be allowed to receive gifts, accept invitations for overseas visits or get paid to lobby causes?

These were some of the issues raised this week in Parliament by the subcommittee on ethics. One of the rules that will apply to members is that they should not use their positions to seek sexual favours.

Discussing a draft report that will be presented to the rules committee at the end of the month the sub-committee, chaired by Water Affairs Minister Professor Kader Asmal, makes its recommendations on codes of conduct for members. This includes a register of gifts and a register of members' interests. In terms of the guiding principles the South African public gets the assurance that members will be able to properly and independently serve it.

One of the clauses adopted states emphatically that the disclosure of relevant interests of MPs should be made public. Disclosing interests should be widely drawn for the public to decide if there is any conflict of interest in terms of the office held by the member and existing financial interests.

Whatever interests members have to disclose must be contained in a register which the public can scrutinise.

The Inkatha Freedom Party does not support the principle of disclosure of interests by means of the register.

"In general terms members could be expected at all times to behave in an exemplary manner," Asmal says in his draft report.

SOWETAN Thursday January 25 1996

Diehard racists finally removed

Sowetan 25/1/96 (304A)

They must really be tasting defeat, one black bystander remarked wryly

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

A FEW BODIES TURNED in their graves yesterday. In fact, out of sheer horror at the "blasphemy", they must have done double somersaults.

There was almost an air of festivity at the entrance to the Old Assembly Chamber in Parliament yesterday morning as staff members gathered to strip the walls of portraits and icons of some of the more awful reminders of the country's horrific past.

The first portrait to come down was that of the former speaker of the house, Alwyn Schlebusch. He was notorious as minister of internal affairs for banning political organisations.

However, one of the more significant portraits to come down was that of another speaker, HJ Kloppers. Not only must he have turned in his grave but so must many of those diehard Afrikaner nationalists who died having not witnessed the reality of the Broederbond dream.

Kloppers was the founder of the Broederbond and, of all the speakers, his portrait was the most prominently and symbolically positioned. It hung just over the entrance of the Volksraad. The stern look in his eyes pierced everyone who entered the hallowed portals. "It was a case of Big Brother is watching you!" Professor Danie du Toit, ANC MP, remarked to *Sowetan* as he witnessed the fall from grace.

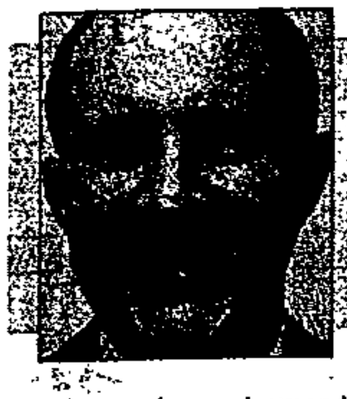
The event also highlighted the difference between the old and the new in Parliament. When each portrait came down, black staff applauded. Older, white and mainly Afrikaner staff, just stood by quietly.

Also present was Constitutional Assembly head Cyril Ramaphosa. "It is good to see them coming down. They should be placed in a museum for all to see what our country was about."

OFF WITH THEIR PORTRAITS

CT 25/1/96 (3049)

Fall of the ancien régime



Assistant Editor **EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN** shares his reflections on the "revolution" in Parliament.

"ALL THE OOMIES ARE GONE" — Leon Wessels, deputy chairperson of the constitutional assembly, National Party MP and former minister.

THE portraits of the speakers which hang in the lobby of the "old" house of assembly have not been dusted in years.

They were the first of about 500 artworks to "fall" yesterday following a decision by a parliamentary committee to remove them to make way initially for a United Nations "apartheid art" exhibition. The final fate of the works has yet to be decided.

The 1975 portrait of Alwyn Schelbush (1974-1976) the former house of assembly speaker, remembered mainly for his commission's curbing of 1970s student protest, glowering sternly from his hook just below the ceiling, was the first to go.

Next, hanging just below Schlebusch, was J J Loots, speaker from 1976 to 1981, then J H Conradie (1951-1960), then C M van Coller (1944-1948), then H J Klopper (1961-1974) ... one by one, heavy, dusty and handled with care, down they came.

And we, a motley crew of journalists, photographers, workmen, parliamentary messengers, service staff and a smattering of MPs watched mute — in awe perhaps of the moment — aware of the significance but struck dumb by the symbolism of it all.

There was, somewhere in the crowd, some muted clapping and even a few muffled boos but nothing to trumpet this moment in history — this taking down, finally, of the severe faces of the "regime".

In our search for words to speak this change with meaning we were not helped by Cyril Ramaphosa, chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, who could not have timed his entrance — had he planned it — with greater precision.

We rushed up to him in search of the quote to sum it up. This final fall, this removal of symbols, this cleansing of the inner sanctum, this clearing of the dusty walls of the building where the laws were made, the debates raged and where these speakers presided over men whose "vision" turned a nation on itself and made us the polecat of the world.

At midnight, in Wale Street, the night the old South African flag was lowered and the new one hoisted on the flagpole on the balcony of the Provincial Buildings, I stood with a lump in my throat as the crowd which thronged the street roared "amandlas" in approval.

Yesterday there were no roars, no crowd and no shouts of "amandla".

"It's a relief," said Cyril, urbane, suave and not missing a beat.

Glancing up at the now bare, dusty wall, he added, after a pause, perhaps also searching for meaning but not quite finding it and resorting to "Cyrilspeak": "This Parliament ought to reflect the new developments in South Africa — these pictures belong in a museum, they need to be on view somewhere ... but not here"

"What a relief," was all Dave Dalling could manage, and that spoken over his shoulder as he scuttled off, disappearing down a passageway.

Still no "sum-it-all-up" quote.

And as the electronic photographic flashes strike, journalists, now getting down to detail; crouch in front of the portraits jotting down names, dates and titles and peering at the back of those with no brass plaque.

Still no telling words.

"It's a shame," said Mrs Vanessa Carter, a service officer who has been in reception at parliament since 1987. "This is our history, they shouldn't take it down."

"Put up pictures of the freedom fighters, like Steve Biko," said Shafiek Williams, who became a service officer after the ANC was voted into government in 1994.

Nervously fussing over the entire operation was Gordon Metz, of the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape and member of the curatorial team appointed to supervise the removal of the pictures.

"Careful," he cautioned the white-overalled PWD men crawling over the scaffold, "this canvas tears easily, the frames can chip."

The portraits, he says, will be stored until Parliament decides what to do with them. "They form part of our history; we have to find a way to treat them with respect," he ventured.

Weary now of my search for obvious significance, I wandered from the lobby along the miles of olive-green carpeting, marbled tiles and plain old linoleum which lead maze-like through the building.

There, far from the glare of our media circus, in hushed halls I found more portraits: Cecil John Rhodes, Jan Smuts, Sir Henry Juta, Sir David Tennant and some real works of art, sculpture and artefacts — including the priceless collection of anthropological sketches by early settlers.

And in the senate lobby, in a glass case, two fragments of moon rock donated to South Africa by former US president Richard Nixon.

Back in the lobby it took Leon Wessels, deputy chairperson of the constitutional assembly, National Party MP and former minister to bring me down to earth.

"All the oomies are gone," he said.

Indeed they are, and the lone tannie as well, for there was the portrait of Helen Suzman, the one who no doubt would have been cheering loudest of all — had she been there to cheer.

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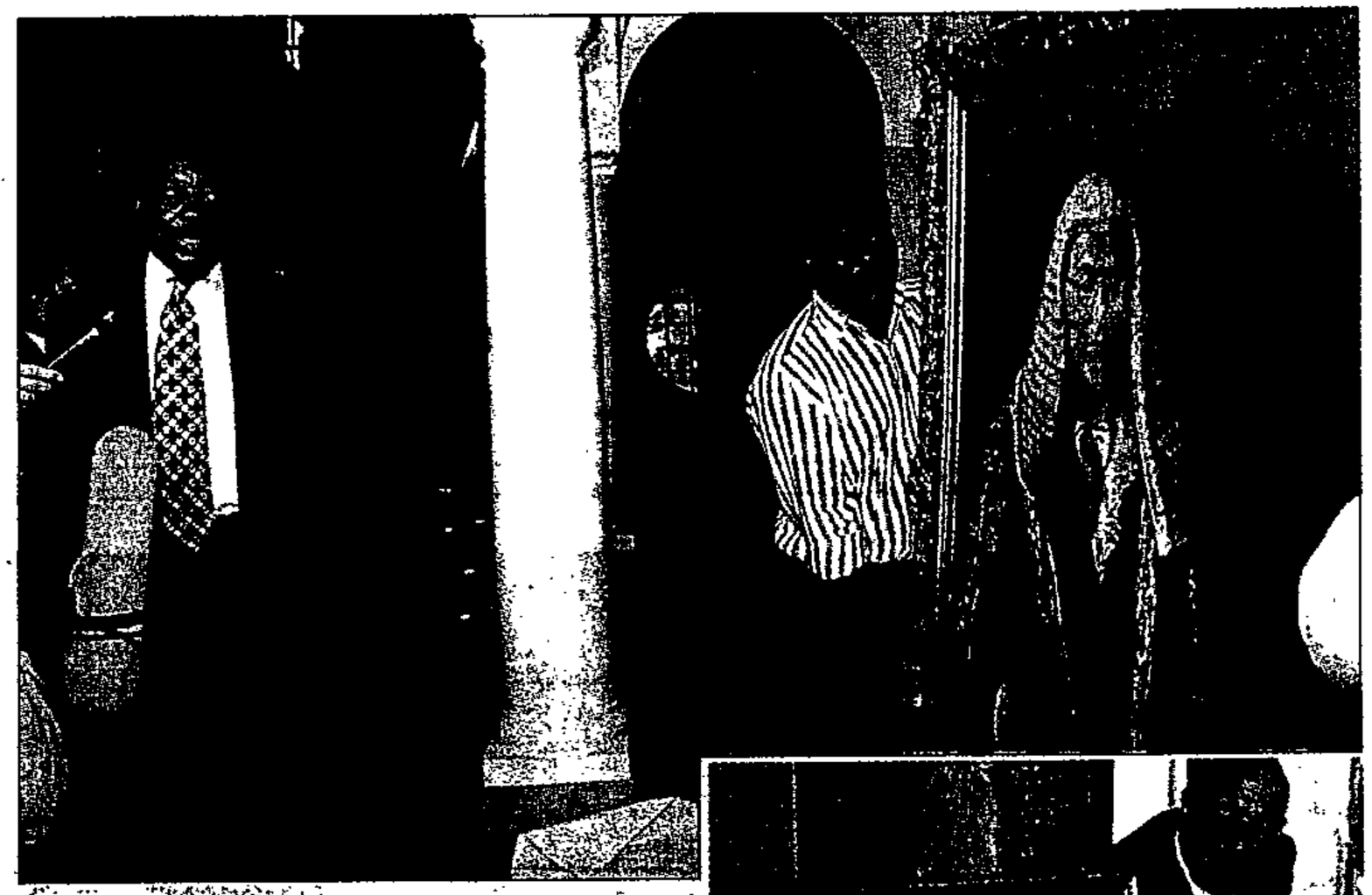


REMOVED: Constitutional Assembly chairperson Mr Cyril Ramaphosa watches the portrait of former speaker of Parliament Mr J H Conradie being removed from the lobby of the "old" House of Assembly by Mr Hamilton Buduza of the Mayibuye centre at UWC. *PICTURES: BENNY GOOL*

New images needed for Parliament — ANC

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

THE removal of apartheid icons from Parliament paved the way for decisions about images that reflected the full glory of South Africa's new parliamentary democracy, the ANC said yesterday.

The National Party said it had supported the proposal for removal of the portraits and paintings for restoration purposes, but that the real debate about the future of the parliamentary hoard still had to take place.

"There should be a place of honour for many of them — if not all," the NP said in a statement issued by Mr Myburgh Streicher, its representative on Parliament's internal arrangements committee.

But the ANC said the removal of icons had taken away the daily reminder to parliamentarians and visitors of apartheid's legacy.

"We welcome the good sense with which this issue has been approached, allowing for a cooling-off period and a proper assessment of what will finally replace the old iconography," the ANC said.

"We look forward to seeing the results and, in the meantime, enjoying the UN exhibition that will mark symbolically our return to the international community of nations."

Mr Streicher said the lessons of South Africa's past should help its people not to repeat the mistakes of colonialism, discrimination and domination, adding that nobody wanted to condone the wrongs of the past.



DOWN: MP Mr Colin Eglin was there yesterday to see the portraits, including this one of former colleague Mrs Helen Suzman, being taken down.

Traditional leaders bill looks set for rocky ride

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
Political reporter

The Council of Traditional Leaders Bill, approved by the Cabinet on Wednesday, is set to run into trouble with the country's chiefs even before it is tabled before Parliament.

Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA president Chief Phathekile Holomisa said yesterday that the bill, due to come before Parliament next month, was being viewed by traditional leaders as a ploy to curb the body's power.

The IFP, which is the majority party in KwaZulu Natal, has already stated that it will oppose the establishment of the council because it feels that traditional affairs are a provincial and not a national competency.

Traditional leaders will meet in Johannesburg this weekend to asses the implications of the bill.

Members of the house will be elected from the provincial houses of traditional leaders in KwaZulu Natal, the Eastern Cape, the Free State, Mpumalanga and Northern Province and North West.

Although the house should have been established shortly after the 1994 election, it has been held up by the failure of the Eastern Cape and Northern Province to set up their respective houses.

The bill would thereby seek to bypass the Eastern Cape and Northern Province council with the six provinces that have already established houses of traditional leaders.

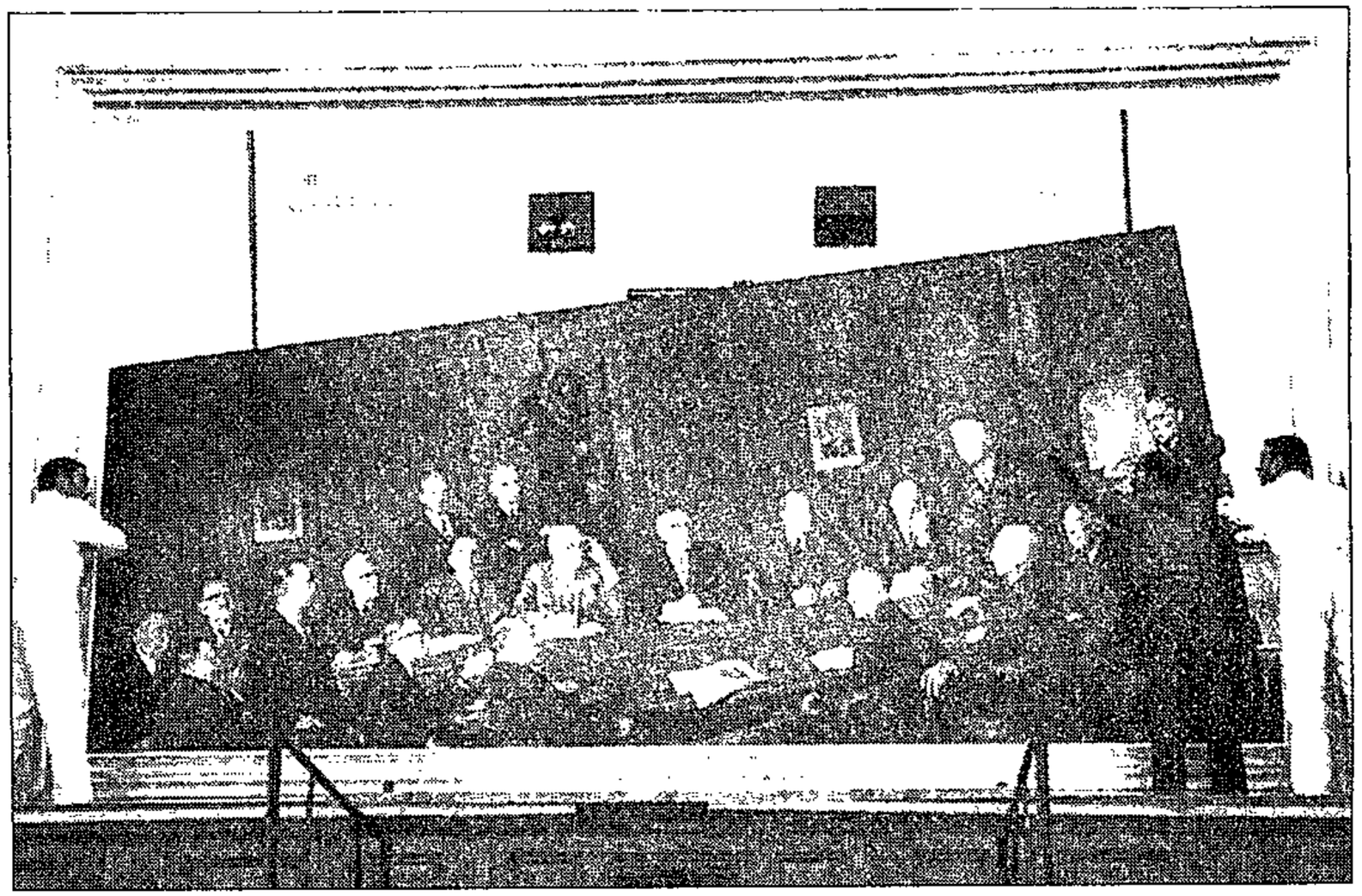
The Government is expected to introduce a constitutional amendment through which a national house would be introduced without the representatives from the Eastern Cape and Northern Province.

Mr Holomisa said the exclusion of the two provinces would weaken the council as these were areas where traditional leaders were strongest.

Leaving these two out would allow the Government to "ride roughshod over the rights of traditional leaders".

PICTURES: SASA KRALJ / AP





Down they come ... workers (left) remove a painting of former state president P W Botha, whose portrait is cast out of the lobby of the old assembly wing of the Parliament building, and a painting of Hendrik Verwoerd (standing, second from right) and his cabinet meets a similar fate. The paintings and other icons of the apartheid era will be put into storage and replaced by a United Nations anti-apartheid exhibition.

The final curtain falls for South African's old lords and masters

(304A) Star 26/1/96

BY PATRICK BULGER
Political Correspondent

Cape Town -- Paintings of former National Party prime ministers joined the exodus of other colonial and apartheid-era artworks from Parliament yesterday.

And the last white cabinet of former state president P W Botha was also taken down, wrapped in bubble plastic and shuffled out.

They are among about 500 artworks being removed to make way for a six-month exhibition of the United Nations Artists Against Apartheid collection.

Government workers yesterday moved into Parliament's old dining room to start removing life-size portraits of the former NP prime ministers. First to go was Hendrik Verwoerd, to be followed by Botha.

Earlier this week, paintings of former Speakers of Parliament came down.

The smell of fresh paint filled the air of Parliament as the workers painted the walls in time for the February 8 opening of the new exhibition.

The old artworks will be restored and cleaned, and a decision is still to be taken on what to do with them.

SOWETAN Friday January 26 1996

NP wants to keep its 'treasures'

Sowetan 26/1/96

(304A)

Apartheid icons have a definite place in Parliament says party

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

STRIPPING the walls of Parliament of apartheid figures' portraits is not sitting too comfortably with the National Party.

People in this country should be pleased with the good work done by those depicted in the portraits, the NP argues. Portraits of people such as the architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, John Vorster and PW Botha were all unceremoniously taken down from the walls on Wednesday and yesterday, packaged and placed in storage.

"South Africans, whatever position they occupy in life, should be influenced by greatness and by appreciation for what others have done for them," Mr Myburgh Streicher, NP MP and member of the internal arrangements committee, said yesterday.

He said the NP was very proud of Parliament, all its contents and surroundings. The ANC, on the other hand, says the removal of the portraits and icons is to be welcomed. "We welcome the good sense with which this issue has been approached, allowing for a cooling-off period and a proper assessment of what will finally replace the old iconography," it said.

The NP warned that South Africa's political and cultural history did "not start or end on 27 April 1994".

"No permanent removal of portraits, paintings, busts or statues can blot out events, or the history of South Africa. There is a rightful place for us all," Streicher said.

"The real debate about the future of these Parliamentary treasures will still take place. There should be a place of honour for many of them – if not all."

next few weeks [illegible] every senator, leading figures in business, the unions, and opinion-makers across the country will be getting a reminder that South Africa's constitutional die is about to be cast.

Many of them won't need reminding.

But The Free Market Foundation's video — *A Constitution Worth Fighting For* — delivers a trenchant warning that, in four vital respects, the current draft is deficient.

Foundation directors Leon Louw and Temba Nolutshungu make the point that there are more than four potential improvements to be made in key clauses.

These four areas of concern have been chosen because they are indubitably important, they are not getting adequate attention, and they stand a good chance of being altered in the next two months if there is enough political impetus to do so.

The four are property rights, second generation rights (jobs, houses, health care), the general limitation clause and mechanisms to entrench "direct democracy".

At the heart of their concern, Louw and Nolutshungu argue, is what they perceive as a "misconception" on the part of the constitution-makers.

Louw acknowledges that there is much that is good in the draft constitution, noting with satisfaction the inclusion of "70 percent" of the things he and his wife, Frances Kendall, advocated in their seminal book *South Africa - The Solution*, in 1986.

"The draft constitution is a very honourable attempt at creating a sound founding document, and the Constitutional Assembly went out of its way to involve wider society in drafting it.

"There was an appreciable level of transparency. We are excited by it, but believe there are a few things which could be more potentially serious than has been realised.

"It is seriously mistaken to write into the constitution provisions that will be there for generations to come, but which reflect transient ideological and political aspects of the transition," Louw says.

"The constitution ought to be able to rise above and go beyond current principles, and we believe the negotiators are failing to do this ... they are arguing about it as if it's a piece of short-term legislation, not something profound and enduring.

"The whole constitutional debate should be about setting up the rules that everyone agrees on. The position should be: 'If it is in contention, the constitution is, almost by definition, the wrong place to put it.'

"Ideological battles must be fought in the political marketplace."

He and Nolutshungu say their approach is not ideological — but stems from a desire to see democracy functioning at its best — ensuring "the power is given back to the people", and ensuring their liberty to exercise it.

They warn that the three options for the **property rights** clause — that there should be no property rights, or that the state should pay as much compensation as it can afford wherever expropriation is necessary or that the state may seize property if it is in the public interest — provide no protection at all.

Louw says these limitations are "so extreme as to negate the purpose of property rights", bearing in mind that the clause would be subject anyway to the constitution's general limitation clause, as well as legislation on affirmative action and restitution of land.

"Adding additional limitations which the courts are obliged to take cognisance of is going further than the general limitation and you end up with no property rights at all.

"This is not an ideological stance, but a jurisprudential one. There is a flawed analysis that property rights will protect white privilege."

Nolutshungu makes the point somewhat more forcefully: "The whole struggle will be in vain, will be betrayed, unless one of the rewards will be securing the property rights for which we fought, and the violation of which was one of the most damaging aspects of apartheid."

In fact, he adds, apartheid "would not have been possible if blacks had had properly-secured property rights".

It would be a grave error to subject property rights to the "political whims of the ruling party" instead of ensuring that the state may not take anyone's property away without his or her will or tell people what to do, or not do, with their property unless it constitutes a danger to others.

On **second generation** or economic rights — to jobs, houses and free health — Nolutshungu says it is mistaken to consider the constitution as "tool for economic empowerment" which turns the document into "an egalitarian blueprint".

Louw adds: "We do not say rights to jobs, houses and free health are not important — they are valid, but are they justiciable?

"We suggest they be put into some form of sunset clause, as an appendix, or a preamble, to the constitution.

"One understands, and has sympathy for, the reasons for these rights being here, but the government of the day will be making a great mistake by locking itself into provisions which, in the real world, are meaningless and impossible to implement, and are, in fact, dishonest.

"What would be more honest would be to put these in a preamble as the 'necessary commitments' of the government of the day, so that the government is obliged to bring about the social conditions in which these things can be achieved."

He cautions, though, that the "real problem" with second generation rights is that they "destroy legitimate, first generation rights".

"If the courts rule that the right to a house can only be ensured if resources permit it and it is practical, the precedent is created for other rights to be ensured only if it is practical to do so."

The Foundation believes the **general limitation** clause is too extreme in allowing the government to infringe the rights of citizens if it is "reasonable, necessary and justifiable".

"The apartheid regime argued that its policies were reasonable, necessary and justifiable," Louw says.

"It is clear the rest of the constitution is threatened by this clause.

"We are concerned that the limitations empower the state extensively to interfere with the liberty of citizens. And it all depends on how they are interpreted.

"A key problem is that they are ambiguous. The law should be maximally clear and certain — especially in matters like qualifications to property rights and the general limitation — and not be open-ended.

"If it is not clearly spelled out, then what you are really doing is transferring the power to govern from elected parliamentarians to non-elected judges — and, in the case of economic rights, it means you are transferring the budget from the department of finance to the Constitutional Court. This is transferring power to non-elected, non-accountable people."

He adds: "Simply using the 'public interest' expedient is short-sighted. The worst excesses in the world have been jusitified on the basis of public interest, and it would be tragic if those who suffered most under apartheid found themselves most at the mercy of the arbitrary decisions of future governments."

Finally, Nolutshungu and Louw argue the case for a clause that provides for **direct democracy** — referenda on contentious issues to give the public a chance to express its opinion immediately, without having to wait (for months at best, or years) for an election — and maximum devolution of decision-making.

"Local decision-making must be taken at local level, and provinces should have all original power over issues of a provincial nature ... the experience worldwide has shown that this is the cheapest and most effective form of government.

"Yet the draft constitution prevents this ... and makes the present provinces little better than the old homelands."

Ideally, as Nolutshungu puts it, the constitution "must ensure the government remains what it is — the servant of the people.

"And the most effective form of participatory democracy is achieved when there is the shortest political distance between the electorate and the elected."

Ultimately, Louw concludes, the best definition of a good constitution is "one that guarantees the safety of a rightwinger under a radical leftwing government, or vice versa.

"It is an instrument that ensures the power of the state to abuse its enemies is curtailed."

And The Free Market Foundation thinks South Africa's constitution-makers still have some work to do before they get it right.

■ **Everyone wants a constitution worth fighting for ... but The Free Market Foundation warns that the present draft isn't all that. As the final phase of constitution-making intensifies, the Foundation is mounting a major lobbying exercise to focus attention on what it regards as four key deficiencies. MICHAEL MORRIS reports.**



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Staff Photographer

□ **TRENCHANT WARNING:** Temba Nolutshungu and Leon Louw, directors of the Free Market Foundation.

A constitution worth fighting for — but it's far from perfect

(304A) ARG 27/1/96

House seeks to keep chiefs out

ST 28/1/96

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

THE cabinet this week approved the Council of Traditional Leaders Bill, which includes a clause barring council members from involvement in elected political structures.

Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is chairman of the Kwazulu Natal House of Traditional Leaders, is said to have objected to the new legislation.

Although the law will not affect his provincial position, it will prevent Chief Buthelezi from seeking a position on the national council.

According to the Bill, the Council of Traditional Leaders will consist of three nominees from each of the four provinces that have provincial houses of traditional leaders — Kwazulu Natal, Mpumalanga, North West and the Free State.

The move is in keeping with a suggestion made by King Goodwill Zwelithini to President Nelson Mandela last week that traditional leaders be barred from participation in political structures.

The Bill was proposed by Provincial and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer at Wednesday's Cabinet meeting.

A ministry spokesman, Isak



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

304A

Retief, confirmed that, in terms of the Bill "you cannot be a member of Parliament and a member of the council".

The council's powers are spelled out in Section 184 of the interim constitution and include the authority to "advise and make recommendations to the national government with regard to any matter pertaining to traditional authorities".

All legislation affecting traditional authorities has to be referred to the council in terms of the constitution. One of the first matters the council is expected to deal with is the shifting of funding for traditional leaders from the provinces to central government.

Opposition parties want ANC to back constitution

BD 29/1/96 (304A)

Farouk Chothia

OPPOSITION parties warned the IFP on Friday that they would be reluctant to endorse a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal that did not have ANC backing.

NP KwaZulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte said the constitutional process had reached a "delicate and crucial stage", and in-depth talks were scheduled to take place with the ANC soon.

An NP source said the ANC had agreed to a two-day meeting at which efforts would be made to break the constitutional logjam. The initiative came against the backdrop of renewed ANC threats to hit back at national level and in the seven provinces it controls if it was marginalised in KwaZulu-Natal's constitutional process.

Senior ANC negotiators complained to their NP counterparts at an acrimonious meeting on Thursday that while the NP expected ANC co-operation at national level, it was excluding the party in the province to strike a deal with the IFP. Schutte denied the charge, saying the NP was committed to an inclusive settlement at provincial and national level. The ANC and other parties should stop playing games and work in the interests of KwaZulu-Natal and SA.

DP KwaZulu-Natal leader Roger Burrows said his party hoped a provincial constitution would be passed with the ANC's support. It was the second-largest party in KwaZulu-Natal and its opposition to a constitution would result in "continued trouble".

The IFP does not need the ANC's support for a two-thirds majority, but needs the backing of the NP, DP, PAC, Minority Front and the African Democratic Party.

All the minority parties threw their weight behind the ANC in the provincial legislature on Friday, blocking the IFP from publishing a draft constitutional Bill to which the IFP had made

Continued on Page 2

KwaZulu

Continued from Page 1

last-minute changes.

Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi said division within the IFP was bedevilling the process. Premier Frank Mdlalose had convened a meeting at which all party leaders had agreed on the process to be followed to achieve a settlement.

Rajbansi said the agreement was scuppered by IFP national council member Walter Felgate and constitutional adviser Mario Ambrosini, who had reverted to hard-line positions, refusing to make concessions in subsequent negotiations.

The IFP national council met on Saturday to give negotiators a mandate on areas in which further compromises could be made.

Jiyane said there was no serious debate on the IFP's return to the constitutional assembly. He felt the adoption of a provincial constitution could pave the way for a return.

The NP had indicated that in exchange for its support for a provincial constitution, it wanted the IFP back in the assembly. "We don't seem to be averse to that," Jiyane said.

IFP backs imbizo but slams new draft bill

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – The Inkatha Freedom Party at the weekend gave its backing to a proposed *imbizo* (gathering) of the Zulu nation but new draft legislation on traditional leaders threatened to trigger another ANC-IFP row.

The IFP's national council meeting in Ulundi at the weekend said a proposed House of Traditional Leaders Bill was intended "to undermine and finally smash all structures of traditional and customary law and to reduce the *amakhosi* (chiefs) to figureheads".

The bill was passed by the Cabinet last week. It is intended to speed up the establishment of the national Council of Traditional Leaders, which has been delayed because the constituent houses of traditional leaders in the provinces have not yet been established for the Northern Province and Eastern Cape.

The IFP's national council said the bill "prohibits anyone from being a member of the House of Traditional Leaders if he is also a member of a provincial legislature or a member of Parliament". This would force IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is chairman of KwaZulu Natal's House of Traditional Leaders, to choose between that post or staying in Parliament. The bill is intended to remove the involvement of traditional leaders in party politics, a source of conflict in KwaZulu Natal.

The national council said, however, it supported Buthelezi's suggestion that "the issue of the *imbizo* be placed before the *amakhosi* and royal family for a final decision".

The meeting with the *amakhosi* is a crucial first hurdle for President Nelson Mandela's attempts to bring the warring factions in KwaZulu Natal together with the blessing of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

(3049) Star 29/1/96

Open Democracy Bill not for media only

Sowetan 29/11/96 (345) (304A)

THE free flow of information is at the root of democracy, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kadar Asmal said at the weekend in a message read on his behalf at a Freedom of Expression Institute conference.

More than 100 delegates, from the legal and business professions, trade unions, the media and government representatives were attending the conference called to discuss the Open Democracy Bill.

Asmal said rights in the bill did not merely refer to the print or broadcast media.

"It is a matter that ranges right across the spectrum of activity in any society.

"To see it only as, for instance, the freedom of the Press is a myopic way of looking at it.

"It is a vital concern of government, of business, of trade unions, of the academic world, of the legal profession, of the churches – indeed of the whole areas of interests that make up society."

Asmal said he had been a human rights lawyer most of his life and his instinctive position was to champion the cause of maximum disclosure of information.

"The total lack of this in the dark four decades of South Africa that have come to a spectacular end produced a society virtually without public opinion.

"We in exile abroad got to know more about the real happenings inside South Africa than most of those whom we had left behind."

South Africa had now moved away from that "pathetic internal condition" and had to develop a powerful culture of openness. – *Sapa.*

DEPUTY SPEAKER WANTS TO BE DIPLOMAT

Ranchod decision to quit post hurts Nats

CT 29/1/96

(304A)

DR BHADRA RANCHOD'S decision to withdraw from active politics is a blow to the NP's efforts to portray an increasingly non-racial image. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

THE Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Bhadra Ranchod, confirmed yesterday that he was resigning from Parliament but said speculation that he would be changing from the National Party to the ANC was "entirely misplaced".

Ranchod, who said his first love was diplomacy, is in line for appointment as South Africa's High Commissioner in Australia to replace Mr Steyn Naudé, who is retiring.

His decision to withdraw from active politics, however, is a setback to the National Party's efforts to portray an increasingly non-racial image.

Ranchod, a former South African ambassador to the European Union and former law professor, is one of the most senior black MPs in the NP.

Another Natal-based black NP parliamentarian, Senator Sathie Naidoo, is under suspension at present and a statement by NP MP Dr Manie Schoeman that former Transkei leader Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima had joined the NP has been denied by Matanzima.

Last year Western Cape Minister of Local Govt Peter Marais said at the party's provincial congress that the NP remained too white.

One of the leading reformists in the party, Western Cape provincial legislator Mr Pierre Gerber, until recently the NP's national youth leader, is also now under suspension, for his role in leaking an internal party document to the media.

These incidents all reflect tensions in the NP as it tries to redefine its role in South Africa.

In his statement yesterday Ranchod said weekend reports that he might be appointed SA's High Commissioner in Australia were speculative. But it was true the government might offer him an overseas assignment, he said.

He wanted to leave his present position in Parliament for personal reasons.

Having served as Deputy Speaker for nearly two years "and satisfied at the progress achieved, I am pleased to be afforded the opportunity to return to my first love, diplomacy".

He said: "Speculation about a possible switch of political affiliation is entirely misplaced. Diplomats are expected to serve their country in a non-partisan way and I shall certainly honour that obligation," he said.

Ranchod will not resign from Parliament immediately and will attend a Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference between February 12 and 15 in Wilton Park, near London.

ANC opposes constitution naming seat of Parliament

(304A) BD 30/1/96

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The ANC called yesterday for the exclusion of a constitutional clause identifying the seat of Parliament, saying that the matter should rather be dealt with in legislation.

The ANC proposal was made during a meeting of the Constitutional Assembly's "deadlock-breaking" committee.

ANC chief negotiator Valli Moosa said the proposal was based on established international constitutional practice.

It was not linked, he said, to the debate about Parliament remaining in Cape Town, or else being moved elsewhere.

However, the ANC and NP remain undecided on their preference.

DP senior negotiator Colin Eglin said that it reflected the division over the issue within the two parties' ranks.

The DP has proposed that Parliament remain in Cape Town. Eglin argued for a speedy resolution of the matter — including the naming of the seat of Parliament — "to provide stability over the next decade or so".

Negotiators agreed to set up a multiparty committee to try to resolve the matter before the deadlock-breaking committee meets tomorrow.

The committee will also try to find consensus on proportional representation, the referral of Bills to the Constitutional Court, and the "internal autonomy" of the National Assembly.

Parties were also unable to agree on the size of the National Assembly — only that it would number between 300 and 400 MPs. Currently it has 400.

Eglin said that the DP would continue to fight for a reduction to 300, as the National Assembly had to set an example in "fiscal prudence".

North Rand police win part of crime battle

No legislative review after 1999, says ANC

Star 30/1/96 (304A)

ANC will not support mechanism that allows one-third of Parliament to refer an act to the Constitutional Court

By Patrick Bulger
Cape Town

The ANC yesterday gave notice of its intention to curb the powers of minority parties in the new constitution.

The plans are in line with the party's refusal to agree to a form of enforced power-sharing after the mandate of the Government of National Unity expires at the next election in 1999.

ANC negotiators attending yesterday's meeting of the Constitutional Assembly's deadlock-breaking committee indicated they would not support the mechanism contained in the interim constitution which allows a third of the members of the National Assembly to refer an act of Parliament to the Constitutional Court (CC).

The party also indicated that it would push for a narrow interpretation of the constitutional principle that calls for minority parties to be involved in the legislative process in a manner "consistent with democracy".

The ANC's approach to the issue of legislative review reflects the party's unhappy experience with two important pieces of education legislation passed by Parliament last year.

The two acts have not become law because a third of the members decided to refer the acts to the CC.

ANC negotiator Dr Essop Pahad said the one-third provision amounted to giving "powers and privileges to a minority in Parliament".

The constitution also gave the right to any individual to bring an act before the CC. It was also not clear whether the CC could perform the tasks it was being assigned.

Pahad also took a strong line against allowing parliamentary committees to be able to initiate legislation without reference to the minister of the Cabinet.

ANC MP Dirk du Toit argued that the constitutional principle that called for the involvement of minority parties in the legislative process should be interpreted "in a normal democratic way".

Minority parties made inputs in Parliament and its committees and were therefore involved. If the National Party wanted to argue for a pluralistic democracy it was free to do so, he said.

The Democratic Party made a strong plea for some provision for legislative review.

Traditional leaders reject 'shortcut' bill

(304A)

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

Traditional leaders are seeking an urgent meeting with Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer in a bid to overturn the Council of Traditional Leaders Bill.

The bill, due to come before Parliament in a few weeks' time, has met with opposition from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) and the IFP. It seeks to take a short cut to the establishment of the Council of Traditional Leaders by excluding Northern Province and the Eastern Cape, which have not established their provincial houses of traditional leaders. It says the body, which will advise Parliament on traditional matters and customary laws, will now be made up of only three members each from KwaZulu Natal, the Free State, Mpumalanga and the North West.

Contralesa delegates decided to reject the bill, saying "it was objectionable and divisive". Contralesa chairman Mwelo Nonkonyana said it was the Government's responsibility to make sure the two provinces established their respective houses, just as it had amended the interim constitution to enable the establishment of the Volkstaat Council.

Contralesa is also seeking to prevent Parliament from passing the Communal Property Association Bill, which reduces traditional leaders' control over communally owned land.

Star 30/1/96

Decision on parliament in the air

(304A) ARG 30/11/96

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiators have until tomorrow to decide whether they want to sidestep a decision on the future seat of parliament by omitting any reference in the constitution.

The African National Congress and National Party are deeply divided on the issue.

At a meeting yesterday of the constitutional committee sub-committee, only the Democratic Party made a firm proposal to decide the question, proposing that parliament remain in Cape Town.

DP chief negotiator Colin Eglin said the question should be settled for the sake of stability.

Constand Viljoen of the Freedom Front questioned whether it was an appropriate time to decide the issue, because of the forthcoming local government elections in metropolitan Cape Town.

Valli Moosa of the ANC said he would like to hear a good case about why democracy would stand or fall by the site of the parliamentary capital.

This was not the only issue left undecided yesterday.

In spite of constitutional assembly chairperson Cyril Ramaphosa insisting that parties finalise questions, several issues remained undecided, including whether the future national assembly should have 300 or 400 members.

Parties are to hold multilateral talks today on these and other issues, including whether parliamentary minority parties should be allowed to refer bills to the constitutional court, and on the internal autonomy of parliament and its committees.

ANC moves to curb powers of minority

(304A)

ARG 30/11/96

PATRICK BULGER, Political Staff

THE African National Congress intends to curb the powers of minority parties in the new constitution.

The ANC's plans are in line with the party's refusal to agree to a form of enforced power-sharing after the mandate of the Government of National Unity expires at the next election in 1999.

ANC negotiators attending yesterday's meeting of the Constitutional Assembly's deadlock-breaking committee indicated they would not support the mechanism contained in the interim constitution, which allows a third of the members of the National Assembly to refer an Act of Parliament to the Constitutional Court.

The party also indicated it would push for a narrow interpretation of the constitutional principle that calls for minority parties to be involved in the legislative process in a manner "consistent with democracy".

The ANC's approach to the issue of legislative review reflects the party's unhappy experience with two important pieces of education legislation passed by parliament last year.

The two Acts have not become law because a third of the members decided to refer them to the Constitutional Court.

ANC negotiator Essop Pahad said the one-third provision amounted to giving "powers and privileges to a minority in parliament".

The constitution also gave the right to any individual to bring an Act before the Constitutional Court.

It was also not clear whether the Constitutional Court could perform the tasks it was being assigned.

Mr Pahad took a strong line against allowing parliamentary committees being able to initiate legislation without reference to the Minister of the Cabinet.

Another ANC MP, Dirk du Toit, argued that the constitutional principle that called for the involvement of minority parties in the legislative process should be interpreted "in a normal democratic way".

Minority parties made inputs in parliament and its committees and were therefore involved. If the National Party wanted to argue for a pluralistic form of democracy it was free to do so.

Return of the IFP discussed in secret

(3049) (~~HB~~)

David Greybe BD 30/1/96

CAPE TOWN — Top negotiators of the ANC, IFP and NP met under a veil of secrecy yesterday as part of a renewed bid to seek ways to facilitate the IFP's return to the Constitutional Assembly.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer (NP), his deputy Valli Moosa (ANC) and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela (IFP) met for an hour in Pretoria. They refused to discuss the meeting afterwards.

Mzimela went so far as to deny it had taken place, but other sources confirmed it had. They stressed though the talks were at an "exploratory stage", and made a point of underplaying its significance.

"Nothing has come out of it yet," one source said. But he said the three negotiators would "work hard" to resolve the 21-month-old political impasse over international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues.

The three agreed to meet again next week, after Mzimela had briefed IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting was the first since the three held discussions during a multiparty trip to Germany earlier this month to study federalism.

Parliament: City's prospects brighter

CT 30/11/96 (304A)

BARRY STREEK,
POLITICAL WRITER

THE prospects of Parliament remaining in Cape Town were boosted yesterday by a proposal in the constitutional assembly to take the issue out of the draft constitution and make any decision on it subject to a two-thirds majority.

The political parties have not yet reached agreement on the matter but they hope to take a decision tomorrow.

Yesterday, at a meeting of a sub-committee of the constitutional committee of the constitutional assembly, Deputy Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Valli Moosa supported the proposal by ANC MP M J Mahlangu that the clause defining the seat of Parliament should be taken out of the draft constitution.

Democracy was neither lessened nor enhanced by the clause, he said.

A constitutional expert advising the committee, advocate Mr Zak Yacoob, said this could be done and another clause inserted stating that a two-thirds majority was necessary for any decision to the move the seat of Parliament.

Another expert, Professor Johann van der Westhuizen, said the constitutional issue was not so much where the seat of Parliament should be but how difficult it should be to change any decision.

The real issue was to find a way to ensure stability for the future, he said.

Only the Democratic Party has taken a decision on the matter, saying that Parliament should remain in Cape Town, while none of the other parties has taken a stand on where it should be.

Although the issue was discussed yesterday afternoon in bilateral discussions between the parties, no finality was reached, but it appeared that the ANC proposal coupled to the two-thirds majority proposal was finding favour.

If this is approved, it is unlikely that any decision on the seat of Parliament will be taken for some time and even then, it is very unlikely that two-thirds of parliamentarians would ever support a decision to move Parliament, let alone approve the enormous cost of such a decision.

During yesterday's discussions, Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said it would not be appropriate to decide the issue now in view of the pending local government elections in the Cape Town Metropole, which would be unduly influenced by national viewpoints.

The ANC proposal to remove the issue from the current constitutional discussions is clearly aimed at taking the issue out of the Cape Town election campaign despite DP statements that it would make it an election issue because of the indecision of the other parties.

The NP's Jac Rabie said his party was divided on the question of where Parliament should be sited and also on whether it should be written into the constitution.

The NP needed more time to finalise its position.

MENT 15 ☐ CLASSIFIED 12 ☐ BRIDGE 16 ☐ COMICS 10 ☐ SPORT 26
ERNATIONAL 9 ☐ TELELETTERS 10 ☐ TV GUIDE 16 ☐ CROSSWORD 10

(MTA)

If everything went according to municipal level augured well for the Peninsula, Oliver said.

'Delicate issue handled well'

By Khangale Makhado

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday commended Parliament for dealing with the "sensitive matter" regarding the recent removal of portraits and other works of art in Parliament.

Although Mandela had received a number of queries from some concerned citizens about last week's action, the President said he had been informed by the leadership in the National Assembly that such a decision was taken after extensive deliberations and was agreed to by all political parties.

Last week several portraits, including that of former president PW Botha, were pulled down from the walls of Parliament to be put in storage with other paintings and icons of the apartheid era.

These will be replaced by The Art Against Apartheid Collection, which has been donated to the people of South Africa and accepted by the Government. The new works will be exhibited in Parliament for a period of six months.

Mandela said the new democratic Parliament should reflect the image of an inclusive South Africa in all its diversity and was an important component of nation-building and reconciliation.

5

Something old with the new?

304A

POLITICAL WRITER

ET 31/1/96

SOME of the portraits and artworks recently taken down in Parliament could be displayed there together with new artworks, President Nelson Mandela said last night.

However, the views of the public would influence final decision, he said in a statement.

Mandela also said he fully supported the initiative by Parliament to launch a national debate on what images should be conveyed through the walls and precincts of Parliament during the six months in which the Art Against Apartheid collection was exhibited. There had been numerous queries from the public, he said.

"The new democratic Parliament should reflect the image of an inclusive South Africa, in all its diversity.

"This is an important component of nation-building and reconciliation.

"All parties are agreed that the existing works are a part of South Africa's history."

THE NATION

Apartheid relics: PW 'concerned'

(3047) ARG 31/1/96

FORMER State President P W Botha has told President Mandela that he is concerned about the removal of apartheid artefacts from parliament.

It is understood that Mr Botha telephoned Mr Mandela to speak about the removal of portraits of former National Party leaders. A huge portrait of Mr Botha and another of Mr Botha's last white cabinet were among the pieces removed last week.

The works are being replaced for six months by the United Nations Artists against Apartheid exhibition. The works that have been removed will be cleaned and restored.

Mr Mandela, who has not expressed himself on their removal, yesterday issued a statement on the matter after "a number of queries from some concerned citizens".

Mr Botha apparently said he did not oppose their removal but was concerned about what message was sent out by the removal.

Mr Mandela, in a statement issued last night, said parliament "should reflect the image of an inclusive South Africa, in all its diversity. This is an important component of nation-building and reconciliation.

"I fully support the initiative by parliament to launch, in this period, a national debate on what images should be conveyed through the walls and precincts of parliament. Various options will be examined, including the display of some of the current works along with new ones.

"I wish to commend parliament for dealing with this sensitive issue in a non-partisan manner."

Mass resignations worry DP and NP

Sowetan 6/2/96 (304A)

The two parties want a full probe into the resignations and vacancies

THE Democratic and National parties have expressed "serious concern" over mass resignations which have resulted in the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council operating with 8 168 vacancies in the administration of the city and its four substructures.

The parties have called for a full investigation into the reasons behind the resignations and the vacancies.

But the GJTMC says the vacancies have not caused problems because officials have been seconded to posts in substructures when necessary. It says recruiting will begin as soon as chief executive officers for the area's substructures have been appointed.

However, DP Johannesburg leader Ms Anchen Dreyer is adamant the city cannot operate effectively with so many vacant positions.

"It is of extreme concern that the city is losing its expertise and experience. The brain drain is bleeding the city dry of skills which are desperately needed, especially during this time of transition. This is not a party-political issue - we don't intend using officials as political footballs - there is genuine concern about the losses," she said.

Dreyer said the DP and NP would meet chief executive officer Professor Nicky Padayachee next week to discuss their concerns, and would call for a full investigation into the reasons behind the resignations and vacancies.

"Although the reasons for the resignations are being cited as people taking their pensions before tax increases are announced, we believe this to be true of only a small number of employees. We feel the root causes of the resignations must be addressed. If it is low morale or the inability of officials to work with politicians, these have to be addressed and solved," she said.

NP leader Mr Jakoob Makda said: "This has never happened before in the history of local government. We have a great challenge ahead of us in delivering core services to a large number of residents, and we need the collective skills of officials who together have many years of experience which we cannot afford to lose during this crucial time."

Mr Hillow Maeko, GJTMC acting head of metropolitan administration, said the substructures were presently still "being capacitated". He added that the administrations served the metropolitan substructures within the GJTMC, and if a vacancy existed, it was generally possible to second someone from another administration within the GJTMC to the administration or department where the need existed. – *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Now SA has seven women ambassadors

By Karin Schimke and Jovial Rantao
Political Staff

South Africa has appointed seven women to ambassadorial posts in an attempt to equalise opportunities for women since the advent of democracy.

There are 95 residential missions outside South Africa, which means that just over 7% of our overseas representation is female.

This does not compare particularly favourably with the national Parliament, which is made up of about 25% women – or the provincial legislatures, where representation is between 15 and 20% – but it does show that changes are afoot in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Nozipho Diseko, South Africa's seventh woman ambassador, told The Star she had fought a long battle within foreign affairs to change the male-dominated culture of the department.

Diseko is currently head of policy planning, but leaves for Austria on February 17. She will also be accredited to Croatia and Slovenia.

The other missions with women ambassadors are Belgium (A de Kock-Joubert), France (Barbara Masekela), Germany (Lindiwe Mabuza), Italy (K Ginwala), Malaysia (M Mohale) and Tanzania (Thandi Lujabe-Rankoe).

Meanwhile, what was a building signifying separate development has been transformed into an institution where the new South Africa's future representatives abroad are being taught the etiquette, courtesy and protocol of the diplomatic world.

The former Bophuthatswana embassy in Arcadia, Pretoria, has been turned into a training institute where 50 Department of Foreign Affairs employees are being trained. Among them is former ANC MP Robert McBride.

A foreign affairs spokesman said the former Bophuthatswana embassy was the only building retained by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Buildings that housed "diplomats" from Transkei, Venda and Ciskei have been returned to the Department of Public Works, along with their assets.

▶ **Number of military attaches rocket in SA**
Page 5

(304A) Star 6/2/96

Parties in bid to avoid referendum on constitution

(30yA) ARG 6/2/96

CLIVE SAWYER, Political Correspondent

IMAGINATIVE ways will have to be found to solve differences between parties engaged in constitutional talks, to head off a referendum to end deadlocks, African National Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan said today.

Parties gathered behind closed doors at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday to try to speed the resolution of disagreements in time for the May deadline for producing a final draft of the 1999 constitution.

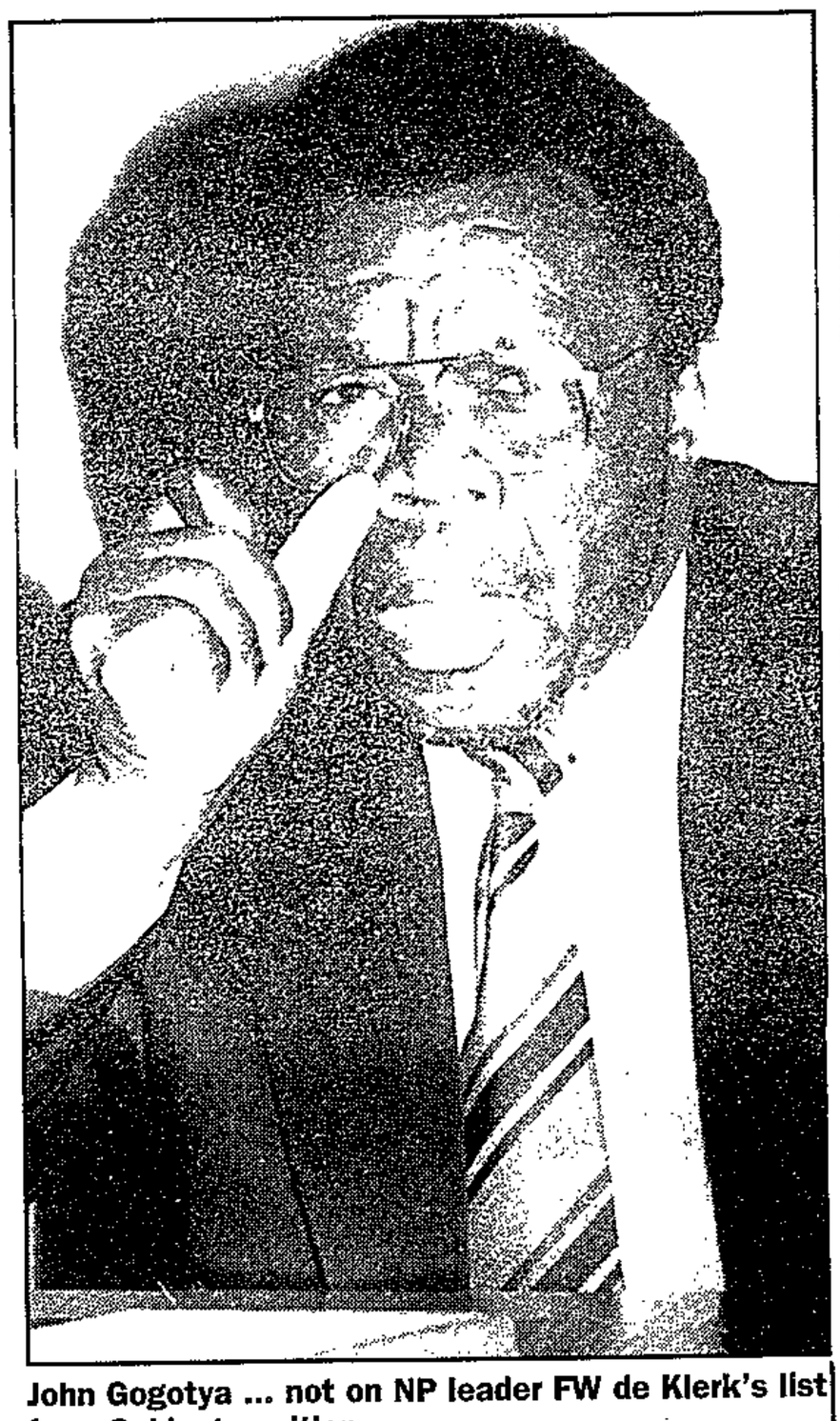
Talks were to continue today and hopes were to produce a progress report for tabling at tomorrow's meeting of the constitutional committee.

At a breakfast briefing for political correspondents today Mr Gordhan said that failure to secure consensus would mean the country would have to resort to the deadlock-breaking mechanisms provided for in the 1993 interim constitution.

These included the constitutional assembly's panel of experts being required to produce a draft to be put to the parties, which if rejected would mean a referendum would have to be held.



David Chuenyane ... lacks the intellect to occupy a Cabinet post.



John Gogotya ... not on NP leader FW de Klerk's list for a Cabinet position.

NP in dilemma over Meyer's successor

(304A) Sowetan 7/2/96

There aren't enough suitably qualified blacks in the party's hierarchy

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

WHO, AMONG THE 20-odd black National Party MPs and senators, are likely to be appointed to Cabinet and senior Government posts to replace the Minister of Constitutional Development and the Deputy Speaker?

Until an announcement is made by President Nelson Mandela in about two weeks, who is likely to step in the shoes of the NP's heir apparent Roelf Meyer and Dr Bhadra Ranchod is a matter for speculation.

Traditionally white

Logic dictates that for the NP to survive, it should strike a balance between maintaining its existing support base (traditionally of whites) and simultaneously cultivating and expanding its support among blacks.

In an interview after assuming his new role as the NP's first secretary-general, Meyer trod very carefully and almost begged for understanding and patience from the white membership.

"If we are to reach out to black supporters, then we will have to urgently take cognisance of their interests," he said.

The bottom line is, the NP has to appoint a black politician – read African – from its ranks. But there is none in the NP federal council.

The question is, is there anyone who fits the bill in the present crop of African members in the NP?

There could be solace in the fact that the final appointment will be a political outcome as dictated by the Interim Constitution, meaning Mandela will make a final ruling after consulting his GNU partners.

He might even make an appointment from his own party, the African National Congress, or reshuffle the Cabinet.

On the other hand, Meyer's successor can be a white NP politician, a choice which would not be difficult for party leader and Deputy President FW de Klerk. But that is the bane of the NP life.

> **"If we are to reach out to black supporters, then we will have to urgently take cognisance of their interests"**

Pressure is on the NP hierarchy, the federal council (which is still wholly white), to appoint black party members to its ranks internally and in Government if it is to truly cleanse itself of its apartheid stigma.

De Klerk has indicated that a reshuffle of some NP-held portfolios is on the cards, probably within the next two weeks. The job of Deputy Speaker, vacated by Ranchod who is to take up an ambassadorial posting, could go to Mpumalanga senator David Malatsi. But this is still pure speculation.

Malatsi, one of the younger NP MPs, speaks seven languages and is regarded by backers as having the presence required to deputise in the chair of the house.

Newfound vision

So, as the *new* new NP embarks on realising its newfound vision of being part of the larger political movement – read anti-ANC movement – who are the other Africans De Klerk is likely to look to, albeit reluctantly? He does not have much of a choice, it seems.

Apart from Malatsi, there is David Chuenyane, a controversial former exile of Soweto who withstood intimidation and even physical attack in support of the NP before the 1994 election.

He, however, lacks the intellect to occupy a Cabinet post and could best be described as De Klerk's *imbongi* – a self-appointed one who says nothing but shower praises. A puppet, it might be said. Then there is Colonel George Ramaremisa, a former police officer in the former Venda homeland who moved from cop to politician in an amazingly fast ride to the top.

In little less than five years leading up to the 1994 elections, Ramaremisa indeed crossed the floors – from policeman to the pro-ANC Venda Council for National Unity, to the Pan Africanist Congress and finally the NP.

Together with then Land Affairs Minister André Fourie, they were the two NP candidates from Northern Province who made it to the National Assembly.

Likewise, De Klerk would not be looking Ramaremisa's way although the man believes he's got what it takes for Meyer's job.

Defied intimidation

John Gogotya, who steadfastly defied physical intimidation in the Vaal in the 1980s, is not on De Klerk's list.

Certainly, it is said the former president of the dubious Federated Independent Democratic Alliance evokes quite a mirthful response each time he addresses the National Assembly.

Then there are those whose presence in Parliament, ostensibly in politics, raises questions about the NP's intentions.

Take Ike Bikitsha, for instance. He is a former man-about-town from the Vaal who never even dared to mention the word politics in public. He was what you would call a socialite. Today he is a NP MP.

Well, De Klerk has a problem. As he ponders a viable solution of how to accommodate the black Nats, politics seems to have very little to do with why these Africans joined the party.

Their motivation was hunger. Now they want their pound of flesh.

ANC-Freedom Front rift over volkstaat proposal widens

Star 7/2/96 (304W)

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

Relations between the Freedom Front and the ANC appear set to deteriorate after the ANC publicly condemned the FF and repeated its rejection of an Afrikaner volkstaat.

In a highly unusual step, the ANC yesterday issued a statement accusing the FF leadership of "inciting hostile emotions" after its Free State region had threatened to embark on a programme of mobilising Afrikaners in support of a volkstaat.

The FF's Free State council decided at a meeting at the weekend that it would mobilise Afrikaners to look at "financial actions" and other measures if there was no visible progress in negotiations on self-determination.

The FF's provincial spokesman, Abrie Oosthuizen, said the feeling among party leaders in the Free State was that "we should stop helping the ANC if they don't want to co-operate".

Is the NP doomed?

SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE, Professor of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch, argues that F W De Klerk cannot transform the National Party.

(304A) ARG 7/2/96

IN sharp contrast with Deputy-President De Klerk's speech on February 2, 1990 his speech on February 2, 1996 was full of ambiguities. It was indicative of the on-going identity crisis of the NP in the post-apartheid era.

Mr De Klerk's speech left the main contradiction in the NP unresolved - should it remain part of the government of national unity or should it become a proper opposition party?

Spoiled by its long spell as government, the NP still wants to cling to its "powerbase" in the GNU.

It wants this form of government to be prolonged after 1999.

The thrust of Mr De Klerk's speech was a call for a realignment of South African politics to bring about a broadly based "coalition" against the ANC.

On the one hand the NP wants to remain a continuous part of a government with the ANC and on the other hand it wants to become the core of an opposition against the ANC to stop it on its "dangerous" track. This ambiguity is unsustainable.

While Mr De Klerk's speech in 1990 was instrumental in launching the process to transform the South African political system, his speech of 1996 is a clear indication of the NPs ideological inability to transform itself into a party with a broad enough appeal to become a potential future government.

After Mr De Klerk's speech it is clear that the NP is doomed to remain not only a captive of its own unsavoury past, but also a class-based party only sensitive to the interest of the middle class - at best 20 percent of the electorate.

The NP will remain unable to transform itself into a relevant and growing party in a new multi-party democracy as long as it is not prepared to take full responsibility for its moral misdeeds during the period of apartheid.

In stead of showing the necessary repentence, Mr De Klerk, in his speech, blamed the NPs present problems n "old established perceptions and unfair although effective propaganda" against the NP. This kind of escapism will get the NP nowhere.

The most revealing aspect of Mr De Klerk's speech was his list of burning problems.

His list is conspicuous for what was not included.

The problems he listed – like crime, moral decay, the dismantling of standards, the crumbling of a healthy family life, etc – are things that are the main concern of the wealthy proprietor class.

It is rather disturbing that he did not list the abject poverty and the squallor in which 70 percent of blacks are living as one of the burning problems! In reading his speech one gets the feeling that he is not living in South Africa, but in a wealthy First World country.

For the leader of a party that wants to be relevant in South Africa, it is rather hypocritical to be concerned about the "standards" (in middle class circles) without showing the necessary empathy with the 20-million South Africans who have never enjoyed a decent standard of living for a single day!

It stands above dispute that the South African society – especially from a social and economic point of view – is a very sick society. A political party can only be relevant and hope to enjoy growing support, if it can diagnose societies' ills in a credible manner and can offer solutions attractive to the majority of the population. Mr De Klerk's speech fails on both scores.

While he is mainly concerned with things that concern the rich, 20 percent of the population (who own 70 percent of income), he has very little to say for the poorest 40 percent (who own only 5,5 percent of income).

He promises them that the poverty problem will be solved if market-orientated principles can be appliedlied consistently! It is no wonder that words like "justice", "restoration" and "redistribution" were shining in their absence in his long list of "proven core values and Christian norms and standards!"

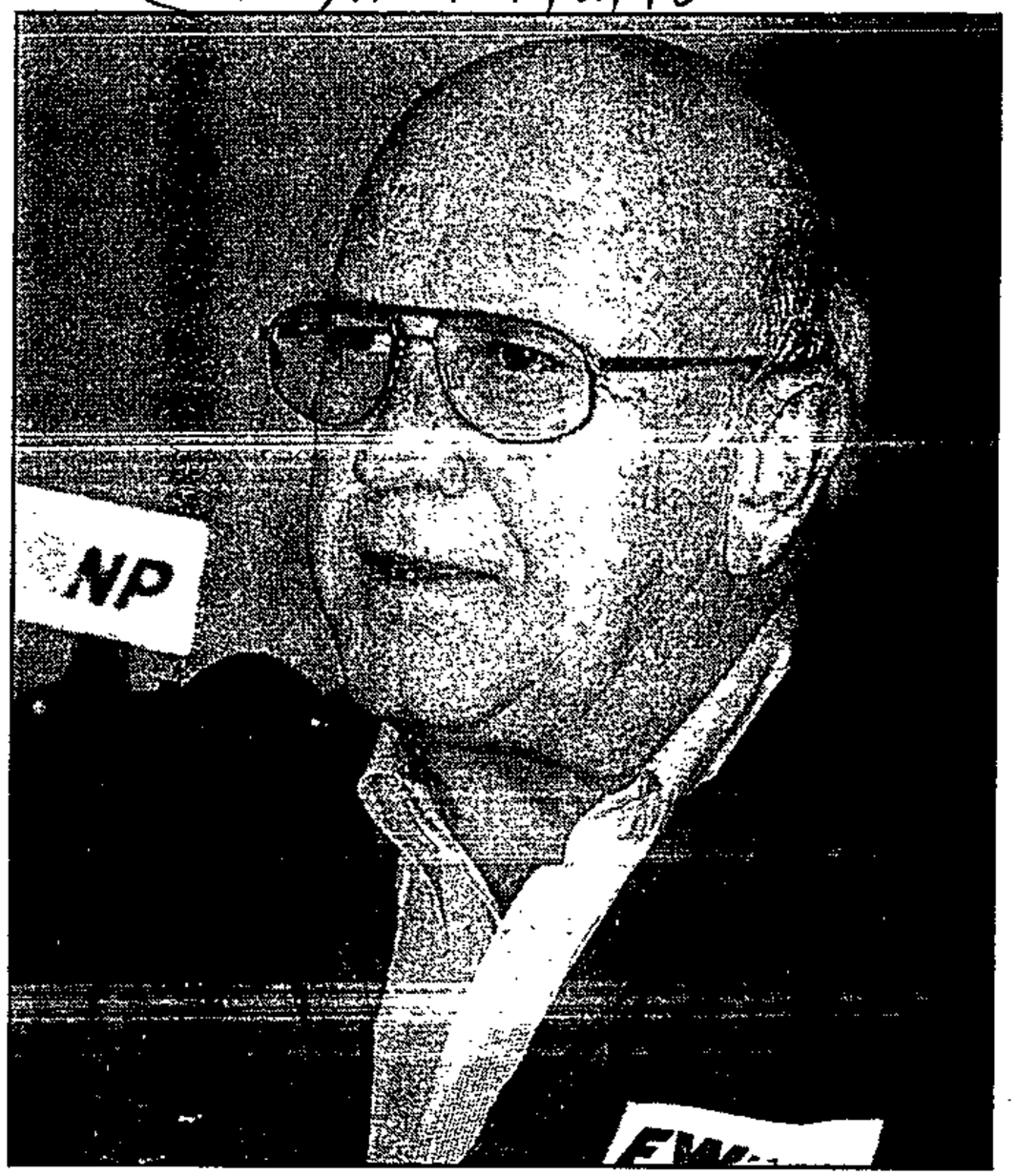
It is clear that Mr De Klerk is still thinking of South African society in terms of whites, coloureds, Asians and blacks.

What he does not realise, is that South Africa has become from a socio-economci point of view – after decads of apartheid – very much a three nation nation: a 20 percent (mainly white) wealthy middle class, a 40 percent lower class (the so-called insiders) and a 40 percent lower lower class (the so-called Outsiders). The NP will definately make no headway in South African politics if it remains only concerned with the interests, the "standards" and the "values" of the top 20 percent.

Mr De Klerk's inability to make a proper diagnosis of South Africa's problems, must be blamed on all kinds of conceptual blockages that accumulated in NP circles during the apartheid era.

Yes, it should be blamed on apartheid! The system of racial capitalism and apartheid played an important role in enriching the middle class and in empoverishing the lower classes. They also played an important role in shaping the rather narrow bourgeois perspective with which Mr De Klerk and the NP interpreted the South African situation.

The alarmingly big polarisation in the mission of the NP and the ANC becomes evident when Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela's definitions of "economic freedom" and "socio-economic freedom" are compared:



Deputy President De Klerk. His vision for the NP remains mired in the thinking of the past, argues Professor Terreblanche.

Mr De Klerk defines economic freedom as follows: "We support the right of all people to compete freely in the open market, to obtain property, to own it and to trade it in accordance with the law."

Mr Mandela defined his vision of a "people-centered society" as follows on May 25, 1994: "My government's commitments to create a people-centered soceity of liberty binds us to the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation, freedom from ignorance, freedom from suppression and freedom from fear."

Mr De Klerk's "liberal capitalism" and Mr Mandela's "socially democracy" are indeed worlds apart.

Is the NP doomed?

SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE, Professor of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch, argues that F W De Klerk cannot transform the National Party.

(304A) ARG 7/2/96

IN sharp contrast with Deputy-President De Klerk's speech on February 2, 1990 his speech on February 2, 1996 was full of ambiguities. It was indicative of the on-going identity crisis of the NP in the post-apartheid era.

Mr De Klerk's speech left the main contradiction in the NP unresolved - should it remain part of the government of national unity or should it become a proper opposition party?

Spoiled by its long spell as government, the NP still wants to cling to its "powerbase" in the GNU.

It wants this form of government to be prolonged after 1999.

The thrust of Mr De Klerk's speech was a call for a realignment of South African politics to bring about a broadly based "coalition" against the ANC.

On the one hand the NP wants to remain a continuous part of a government with the ANC and on the other hand it wants to become the core of an opposition against the ANC to stop it on its "dangerous" track. This ambiguity is unsustainable.

While Mr De Klerk's speech in 1990 was instrumental in launching the process to transform the South African political system, his speech of 1996 is a clear indication of the NPs ideological inability to transform itself into a party with a broad enough appeal to become a potential future government.

After Mr De Klerk's speech it is clear that the NP is doomed to remain not only a captive of its own unsavoury past, but also a class-based party only sensitive to the interest of the middle class - at best 20 percent of the electorate.

The NP will remain unable to transform itself into a relevant and growing party in a new multi-party democracy as long as it is not prepared to take full responsibility for its moral misdeeds during the period of apartheid.

In stead of showing the necessary repentence, Mr De Klerk, in his speech, blamed the NPs present problems n "old established perceptions and unfair although effective propaganda" against the NP. This kind of escapism will get the NP nowhere.

The most revealing aspect of Mr De Klerk's speech was his list of burning problems.

His list is conspicuous for what was not included.

The problems he listed – like crime, moral decay, the dismantling of standards, the crumbling of a healthy family life, etc – are things that are the main concern of the wealthy proprietor class.

It is rather disturbing that he did not list the abject poverty and the squallor in which 70 percent of blacks are living as one of the burning problems! In reading his speech one gets the feeling that he is not living in South Africa, but in a wealthy First World country.

For the leader of a party that wants to be relevant in South Africa, it is rather hypocritical to be concerned about the "standards" (in middle class circles) without showing the necessary empathy with the 20-million South Africans who have never enjoyed a decent standard of living for a single day!

It stands above dispute that the South African society – especially from a social and economic point of view – is a very sick society. A political party can only be relevant and hope to enjoy growing support, if it can diagnose societies' ills in a credible manner and can offer solutions attractive to the majority of the population. Mr De Klerk's speech fails on both scores.

While he is mainly concerned with things that concern the rich, 20 percent of the population (who own 70 percent of income), he has very little to say for the poorest 40 percent (who own only 5,5 percent of income).

He promises them that the poverty problem will be solved if market-orientated principles can be appliedlied consistently! It is no wonder that words like "justice", "restoration" and "redistribution" were shining in their absence in his long list of "proven core values and Christian norms and standards!"

It is clear that Mr De Klerk is still thinking of South African society in terms of whites, coloureds, Asians and blacks.

What he does not realise, is that South Africa has become from a socio-economci point of view – after decads of apartheid – very much a three nation nation: a 20 percent (mainly white) wealthy middle class, a 40 percent lower class (the so-called insiders) and a 40 percent lower lower class (the so-called Outsiders). The NP will definately make no headway in South African politics if it remains only concerned with the interests, the "standards" and the "values" of the top 20 percent.

Mr De Klerk's inability to make a proper diagnosis of South Africa's problems, must be blamed on all kinds of conceptual blockages that accumulated in NP circles during the apartheid era.

Yes, it should be blamed on apartheid! The system of racial capitalism and apartheid played an important role in enriching the middle class and in empoverishing the lower classes. They also played an important role in shaping the rather narrow bourgeois perspective with which Mr De Klerk and the NP interpreted the South African situation.

The alarmingly big polarisation in the mission of the NP and the ANC becomes evident when Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela's definitions of "economic freedom" and "socio-economic freedom" are compared:

Mr De Klerk defines economic freedom as follows: "We support the right of all people to compete freely in the open market, to obtain property, to own it and to trade it in accordance with the law."

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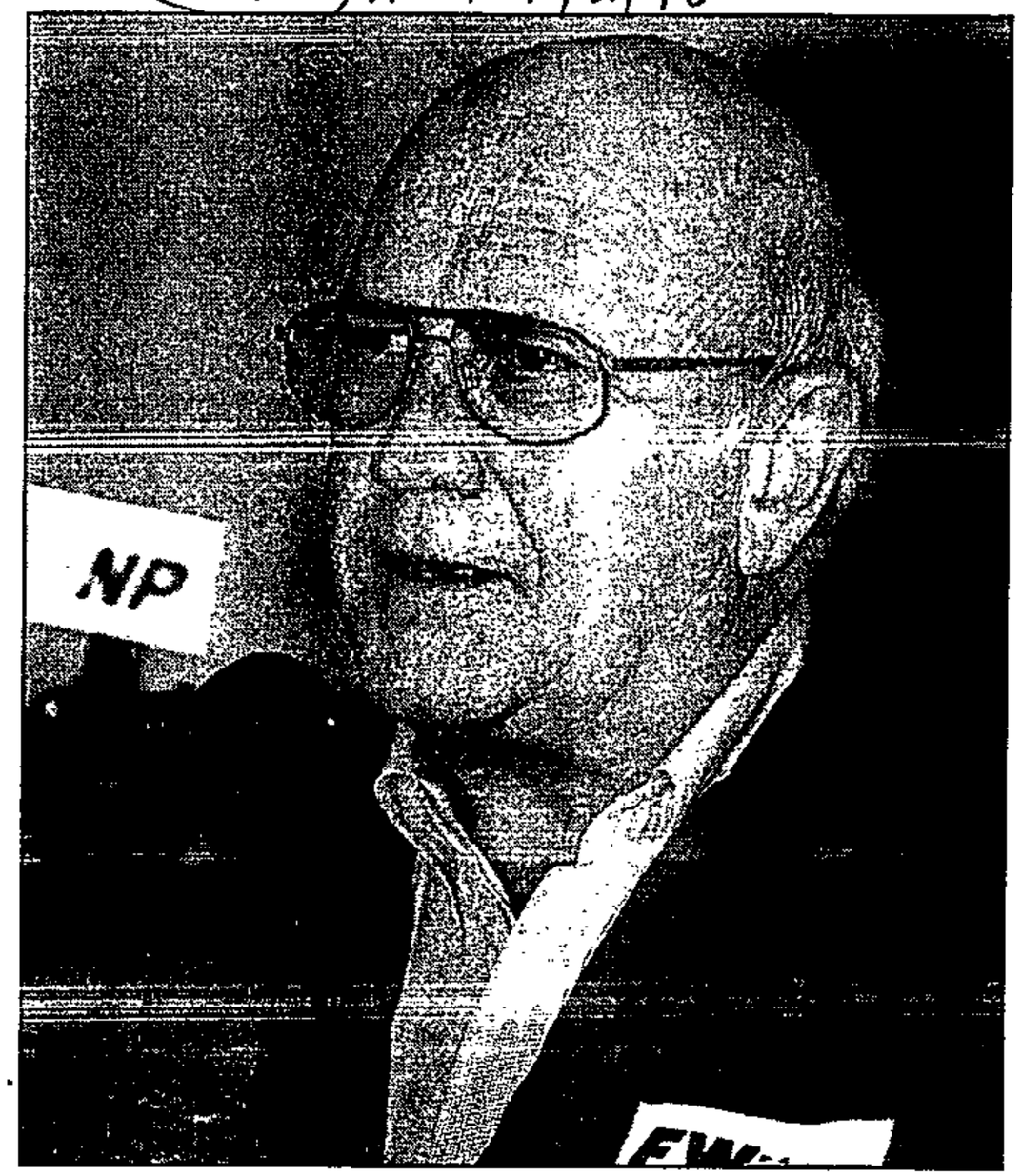


Deputy President De Klerk. His vision for the NP remains mired in the thinking of the past, argues Professor Terreblanche.

BUSINESS

Sowetan 8/2/96

Communications policy to be tabled

(304A) (2nd)

By Shadrack Mashalaba

THE second draft of the White Paper on telecommunications policy, to be tabled before Parliament for ratification in March, was released at the plenary session of the National Telecommunications Forum (NTF) at Gallagher Estate, Midrand, this week.

The draft, which is to be deliberated on by various structures, will be tabled in Parliament before the end of the Easter recess.

Key areas of discussion involving government, labour, civil society, business and public enterprises included:

- Universal service and development;
- Market composition and competition;
- The ownership and financing of Telkom;
- Regulation; and
- The equipment supply industry, which was central to discussions during an earlier telecommunications conference held in Magaliesburg last year.

Access is a basic right

Post, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister Dr Pallo Jordan said that he appreciated the cordial collaboration that had developed between his Ministry and the NTF.

"Access to telecommunication services is a basic right that all South Africans should enjoy and as such affordable universal service for all must be the focus of all ministerial endeavours," said Jordan.



Affirmative action can no longer be an issue for debate, says Jordan.

He added that the pressing need to institute affirmative action programmes through the development of skills among blacks, women and other disadvantaged groups, in both the public and private sectors could no longer be a matter for debate..

NTF chairperson Ms Felleng Sekha said: "The NTF has done a lot of spade work since it was formed. It is only minor and sticky issues, such as the composition of the secretariat, executives and the walk-out by civic associations that are outstanding."

Projects manager for Data Research Africa Mr Aki Stavrou said history had shown that economic development worked in tandem with technological advancement. It therefore came as a no surprise that countries without advanced technology were impoverished.

Supporters, leaders do not agree

(304M) Sowetan 8/2/96

Survey finds differences between decision makers and ordinary folk

A COMPARATIVE survey carried out by the University of Stellenbosch during September and October last year revealed strong differences between decision makers and their grass roots supporters, project leader Professor Hennie Kotze said yesterday.

Speaking at a media briefing, Kotze said opinion leaders were those people who held authoritative positions in powerful public and private organisations and influential movements.

Members of the public who were surveyed were over 18 years old and South African citizens.

The survey showed that 70 percent of opinion leaders supporting the National Party were in favour of the principle of the Government of National Unity being written into the final Constitution, while only 19,5 percent of opinion leaders who were ANC supporters agreed.

However, as far as the general public was concerned, there was overwhelming support for the continuation of the GNU in the new Constitution.

More than 60 percent of the population agreed with the idea, while only 15,4 percent disagreed.

None of the various political parties' supporters had strong feelings against the idea of continuing the GNU. Against expectations, it was the supporters of the ANC who showed the least disagreement with the principle.

An item which tested general feeling about the level of power of provinces showed that opinion leaders who supported parties advocating federalism supported the idea of "more powers".

The exception here was the Democratic Party, which was fairly divided on the issue, Kotze said.

Almost 89 percent of ANC opinion leaders did not agree that provinces should have more power than the GNU.

However of the general public, 33,7 percent of ANC supporters and 32 percent of NP supporters favoured more powers.

Opinion leaders of all the parties, except the ANC, favoured the death penalty. No less than 70 percent of the general public, including 65,3 percent of ANC supporters, favoured capital punishment.

All parties strongly rejected pornography and abortion. – *Sapa.*

Cosatu backs referendum to break deadlock

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has thrown its weight behind an ANC call for a referendum if Constitutional Assembly parties cannot reach consensus by May 9, the deadline for the finalisation of the constitution.

In a statement yesterday, Cosatu called the National and Democratic parties "irresponsible parties of the past" and accused them of holding the views of the majority to ransom by seeking to extend their influence beyond the amount of votes they received in the 1994 election.

The trade union federation – currently writing its own submission to the Constitutional Assembly – hit out at the DP and NP stance on labour-related legislation, saying they had focused all their attention on clauses "that will negatively affect workers".

These included the property clause entrenching the rights of employers to lock out striking workers, and seeking to dilute the rights of workers and employers to determine their own "programme of administration" without government interference.

It also slammed the NP's insistence on extending the life of the Government of National Unity beyond 1999.

Cosatu charged that the property clause was designed to "protect whites' privileges accumulated by their 40 years of misrule" while, through the lockout clause, the NP and the DP wanted to "shift the power balance in employer-worker relations in favour of employers".

Cosatu is scheduled to meet the ANC and the NP next week to discuss constitutional matters, but it ruled out meeting the DP because "their agenda is fundamentally anti-working people".

(304A) Star 8/2/96

Govt pledges no gag on censorship Bill reaction

BD 8/2/96 (342) (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — All 29 organisations who want their voices heard on the controversial new censorship Bill will get a chance to make submissions, the parliamentary home affairs committee decided yesterday.

The Bill, which when approved will legalise pornography with few restrictions, has drawn furious reaction from religious and other groups opposed to the liberalisation of SA's publication laws.

Committee chairman Desmond Lockey received an overwhelming "yes" when he asked his fellow members if all 29 requests for oral submissions should be heard.

Since being published for comment in late November, the Films and Publications Bill has drawn 400 submissions from the public.

Opinion leaders out of touch with voters

BD 8/2/96 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Surveys on the views of opinion leaders and the public indicate that political leaders, particularly ANC leaders, are dangerously out of touch with their constituencies on federalism, the government of national unity and social values.

This was Stellenbosch political science professor Hennie Kotze's conclusion yesterday after comparing the views of 1 440 "opinion leaders" from business, academia, Parliament, the media, the public service and other fields with an HSRC MarkData omnibus survey. The data showed that 62% of respondents supported continuation of the government of national unity in the new constitution, with the supporters of all the larger parties including the ANC, the NP and the IFP in agreement.

However, 20% of ANC-supporting opinion makers favoured extending the unity government, compared with a mere 7% of ANC parliamentarians. While 84% of NP parliamentarians supported the concept, it was backed by 62% of NP voters.

Opinion makers' views on federalism were "entirely predictable", Kotze said, with all parties bar the ANC in favour of "maximum provincial autonomy" (NP 75%, IFP 100%, DP 73% and Freedom Front 83%).

While 89% of ANC opinion makers were against the proposition that provincial governments should have more power over provinces than central government, only 44% of their supporters opposed it.

Kotze said that while opinion leaders had fairly firm views on federalism, "the pattern which emerges at grassroots level could be described as a feeling for 'federal trust' — a combination of self-rule and shared rule".

To determine opinion leaders' "val-

Continued on Page 2

Opinion (304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 8/2/96

ue systems", questions were asked on abortion and the death penalty. Nearly 28% of ANC opinion leaders supported the death penalty while 65% of the party's supporters were in favour of it; 50% of ANC opinion leaders supported legalised abortion, while only 17% of supporters were in favour.

In general, there was strong support for the death penalty and little support for legalised abortion among ordinary people. Kotze said the relatively conservative public opinion on social issues was clearly not in line with the liberal thinking of ANC opinion leaders. The views on these topics expressed in the working draft of the constitution and in legislation could end up out of step with values in society. "A value clash is looming."

If government alienated itself through unacceptable legislation on social issues, it faced the danger that these programmes would not win public support, laying a basis for a lack of legitimacy which could influence support for other public policy issues.

Nine ministers back parliament in Cape

(304A)

ARG 8/2/96

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Provincial Affairs Reporter

NINE cabinet ministers and two deputies have broken protocol to sign a public message to President Nelson Mandela supporting the retention of Cape Town as the seat of parliament.

The message, in an advertisement in The Argus today, is viewed as a major political coup for the campaign to keep parliament in the Cape.

The advertisement is also viewed as a sturdy counterpunch to the one contained in South African Airways' magazine, Flying Springbok, featuring a multi-personalitied President Mandela promoting Pretoria as a tourist destination.



You know where you belong ... a message from the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament.

The pro-Cape Town ministers are: Kader Asmal (Water Affairs and Forestry), Dawie De Villiers (Environment Affairs and Tourism), Pallo Jordan (Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting), Trevor Manuel (Trade and Industry), Stella Sigcau (Public Enterprises), Zola Skweyiya (Public Service and Administration), Steve Tshwete (Sport and Recreation), Kraai van Niekerk (Agriculture), and Abe Williams (Welfare and Population Development).

Deputy Ministers Renier Schoeman and Gert Myburgh, and the chief whips of the ANC and National Party, Arnold Stofile and Hennie Smit, also signed.

Today's advertisement goes on to announce some of the patrons of the campaign to keep parliament in Cape Town.

They include sports stars Joel Stransky and Okkert Brits, Cosatu national vice-president Connie September, television presenter Dali Tambo and his MP mother Adelaide, archbishops Desmond Tutu and Lawrence Henry, and Sheikh Nazim Mohamed of the Muslim Judicial Council.

Kallie Hanekom, executive director of Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP), said he believed Deputy President Thabo Mbeki supported Cape Town, while Deputy President F W de Klerk had already committed himself in his personal capacity.

Mr Hanekom said Pretoria had tried to take parliament from Cape Town "every 10 years, since 1910 — now is the time to put an end to this frivolous debate once and for all".

● **The president's speech to parliament will be fully covered in later editions of The Argus tomorrow.**

Sexwale says his visit to Cuba is not an insult to US

(304A) ARG 8/2/96

WASHINGTON. — Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale has dismissed claims that his pending visit to Cuba represents an insult to the United States which has imposed a strict trade embargo on the small communist nation.

No American leader had approached him with such a view and South Africa would never insult America, Mr Sexwale told reporters in Washington.

"It would be the greatest insult to my people in South Africa if we ever succumbed to being dictated to — and America has not dictated to South Africa," he said.

The Gauteng leader had what was described as an amicable telephone conversation last night with his sternest critic in the US — Republican Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, chairman of the US House of Representatives Subcommittee on Africa.

Ms Ros-Lehtinen is of Cuban descent and a dedicated opponent of the Fidel Castro regime.

Mr Sexwale is to meet Mr Castro and other top Cuban officials after he leaves the US in 12 days' time.

Mr Sexwale described Ms Ros-Lehtinen as a "wonderful person to speak to" and said she had accepted his invitation to visit South Africa.

He said he respected the views of those who felt strongly about the situation in Cuba but, as "a God-fearing person", he was convinced that the US and Cuba would eventually find peace with each other through dialogue and reconciliation.

"I myself I am a product of dialogue," he said, adding that without the Mandela-De Klerk dialogue he would be ending his 18-year prison sentence only this year.

As far his trip to Cuba was concerned, he said he had gone to the former Soviet Union for military training as a Catholic and had come away as a Catholic: "I go to Cuba as a Catholic — I will come back as a Catholic."

South Africa's message was one of peace and reconciliation — a "spirit of Mandela-ism," Mr Sexwale said. — Sapa.

English sidelined

IN a landmark agreement yesterday, the ANC and the National Party effectively decided that English should not become South Africa's dominant language.

Negotiators from the two largest parties told the Constitutional Assembly's negotiating committee that it had been agreed on in bilateral meetings that none of the 11 official languages should be be given priority at the expense of any other official language.

The NP is concerned that Afrikaans will become swamped by English while the ANC wishes to see African languages strengthened and promoted.

NP negotiator Piet Marais said the bilateral meetings had produced "common ground in important areas", while his ANC counterpart Ms Baleka Kgositsile said both parties had acknowledged that in the past English and Afrikaans had been developed at the expense of other languages. — Political Correspondent

CT 8/2/96

Tough code of ethics for MPs

ET 8/2/96 (ESP) (3044)

PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES will have to make full disclosure of their financial interests if proposals of the ethics committees of the national assembly and senate are accepted. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports.

PARLIAMENT released a tough code of conduct yesterday for MPs that forces public representatives to come clean on the often intimate details of their financial interests, private lives and connections with influence pedlars.

The draft rules even prevent an MP or senator from using a spouse, "permanent companion" or dependent child to disguise or divert financial interests and to forestall disclosure about their real worth or connections with lobby groups or outside companies.

The hard-hitting proposals from the senate and national assembly ethics subcommittees come at a time when research has found growing public disquiet about the so-called "gravy train" and cynicism about the supposed commitment of public representatives.

The final version of the subcommittees' report is signed by joint committee head Mr Kader Asmal.

The report, which will be considered by a multi-party joint parliamentary rules committee next week, emphasises that the code of conduct will require MPs and senators "to make available for public scrutiny such information about themselves and their financial and other interests that is relevant to the performance of their public duties".

The rules, which will apply initially only to elected public representatives, could be extended by legislation to include other people in public office "such as public officials and heads of parastatal organisations".

The report also proposes that longer-term consideration be given to including "appropriate penalities and mechanisms of enforcement" to MPs and members of the provincial legislatures who leave public office for lucrative jobs elsewhere.

The report proposes that since the public has a right to be represented by MPs who are "free from the burden of inappropriate influence ... and properly and independently serve the electorate", a register of interests should be available to the public.

Categories of registerable interests should include:

- Land and property assets, including leases and the extent of bonds. This includes the area or suburb and the extent of the property.
- The nature, number and nominal value of shareholdings (including nominee shareholdings).
- Paid directorships of public and private companies, as well as membership of commercial partnerships and interests on shareholdings.
- A ban on pay for lobbying a particular cause or representing a particular interest group in Parliament and a disclosure of any consultancies or retainers. All sponsorships and assistance from non-party sources should be disclosed.
- Gifts and hospitality to MPs, companions or dependent children amounting to R350 or more and any material benefits, including foreign visits, the payment of children's school fees and insurance premiums.

Dr Bob Mattes, head of the public opinion service at Idasa, told yesterday's seminar in Parliament that recent research had shown conclusively that "ethics and corruption are a real public concern across all race groups, classes and provinces in South Africa".

He said surveys had shown there were "real doubts about ethical standards and levels of corruption in the country", as well as significant support for "ethical reform in Parliament".



NP determined to keep cabinet post

CT 8/2/96 (304A)

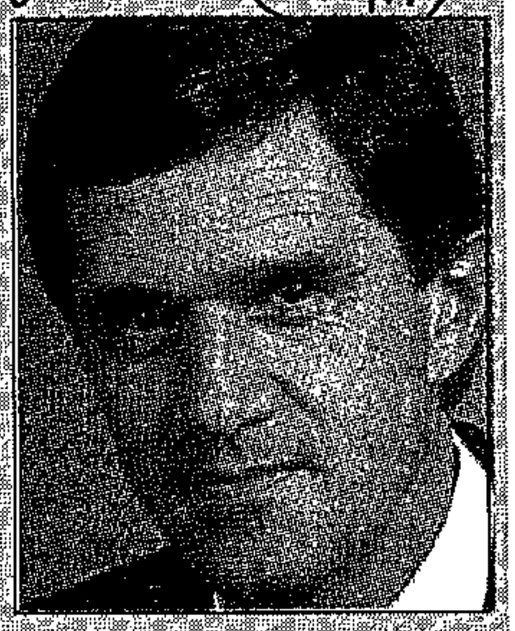
ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

AN announcement about a cabinet replacement for Roelf Meyer is expected in the next few days.

President Nelson Mandela met Deputy President F W de Klerk for over an hour yesterday to discuss the vacancy created by the NP's decision to pull its Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development out of the cabinet. He becomes NP secretary-general next month.

Presidential spokesperson Parks Mankahlana said a statement on the matter could be expected "in due course".

Mandela has not yet discussed the matter with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The interim constitution requires that the President consult all



NEW POST: Roelf Meyer

government leaders before making changes to his cabinet.

The NP is insisting that Meyer's post be taken by an NP member. However, the ANC has emphasised that it is the President's prerogative to make cabinet appointments.

304A

CT 8/2/96

Inter-city competition for Parliament 'a sensitive issue'

JOHANNESBURG: The competition between Pretoria and Cape Town for Parliament has become one of the most sensitive issues in the country.

In the week in which the administration moved from Pretoria to Cape Town ahead of tomorrow's opening of Parliament, the two cities entered a new round of conflict.



DENIAL: Nelson Mandela

No sooner had ministers and MPs arrived than they were bombarded with propaganda by the Cape Citizens' Alliance for Parliament, soliciting their support. Pretoria hit back with newspaper adverts saying President Nelson Mandela preferred that city.

Government ministries that were approached yesterday were cagey, saying the issue was "sensitive".

Because of the sensitive nature of the issue, even Mandela, who is understood to intend spending most of his working time in Pretoria this year, publicly denies it.

But despite the inconvenience of ministers having to shuttle between the two cities, most of them will spend much of the session in Cape Town.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki will stay close to Parliament as he needs to be there on behalf of Mandela, who is constitutionally precluded from being an MP.

Like most NP ministers, Deputy President F W de Klerk will stick to the old routine of spending the entire session in Cape Town and the recess in Pretoria. Education Minister Dr Sibusiso Bengu will be dividing his time equally between Pretoria and Cape Town. — Special Correspondent

Most favour 'unity govt'

A COMPARATIVE survey by the University of Stellenbosch during September and October last year revealed strong differences between decision-makers and their grassroots supporters, project leader Professor Hennie Kotze said yesterday.

The survey showed that 70% of opinion-leaders supporting the National Party were in favour of the principle of the government of national unity being written into the final constitution, while only 19,5% of ANC supporters agreed.

However, as far as the general public was concerned, there was overwhelming support for the continuation of the government in the new constitution. Over 60% of the population agreed with the idea.

Opinion-leaders of all the parties, excepting the ANC, were in favour of the death penalty. Not less than 70% of the general public, including 65,3% of ANC supporters, favoured capital punishment. — Sapa

ST 8/2/96 (304A)

Support for Cape Town

(304A)

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

NINE Cabinet Ministers have come out publicly in support of the campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

With the opening of Parliament today the matter has become the focus of those striving against moving the institution.

Cabinet Ministers against the move are Dr Pallo Jordan, Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting; Professor Kader Asmal, Water Affairs; Ms Stella Sigcau, Public Enterprises; Mr Trevor Manuel, Trade and Industry; Dr Zola Skweyiya, Public Service; Mr Steve Tshwete, Sport and Recreation; Dr Dawie de Villiers, Environment and Tourism; Dr Kraai van Niekerk, Agriculture; and Mr Abe Williams, Welfare and Population Development.

The Ministers have broken protocol by signing a public message to President Nelson Mandela.

Other signatories to the message are the ANC chief whip, Rev Arnold Stofile, and National Party chief whip Mr Hennie Smit.

Sowetan 9/2/96

Mavuso for cabinet position

(304A)

Sowetan 9/2/96

Shock move makes Mavuso the first black NP Cabinet Minister

IN A shock move, National Party leader and Deputy President FW de Klerk announced yesterday that Constitutional Assembly deputy chairman and former National Party Cabinet Minister Mr Leon Wessels would be leaving public life at the completion of the current constitution-writing process.

De Klerk also announced that General Services Minister Chris Fismer would take over Mr Roelf Meyer's Cabinet portfolio of Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development and that Gauteng MEC Mr John Mavuso would be elevated to the Cabinet to take over Fismer's portfolio.

Mavuso will thus become the NP's first black cabinet minister.

Fismer's appointment is from March 1 when Meyer becomes the NP's secretary-general.

Mavuso's appointment date is to be announced later.

De Klerk said the appointments were being made in accordance with the Constitution and after proper consultation with President Nelson Mandela.

"With his (Wessels') consent I should like to announce that he informed me some time ago that he intended to leave politics after the conclusion of the constitution-writing process. In view of this he was not considered as a possible candidate for the present Cabinet vacancies," said De Klerk.

De Klerk described Wessels' envisaged departure from public life as a "great loss" for the NP ... "but I understand his motivation and I wish him every success in the choice that he has made". - *Sapa.*

How well is Parliament doing its work?

(304A)
M+G 9-15/2/96

Gaye Davis

TWENTY months after it first convened in Cape Town, what do South Africans think of their new Parliament? Perhaps predictably, opinion is mixed — and differs along racial lines.

The Public Opinion Service of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) surveyed a sample of 2 674 South Africans between September and November last year. The results, released this week, and weighted to reflect the opinion of of an electorate of about 24,3-million voters, show that 53% approved of Parliament's performance (23% strongly), while 36% disapproved (nine percent strongly) and seven percent had no opinion.

Broken down racially, however, the picture changes. While 63% of African people approved of Parliament's performance, only 24% of white people did (62% disapproved, 24% "strongly"). The figures for Indian and coloured people's approval were 47% and 40% respectively.

A key factor influencing perceptions about Parliament was contact with members of Parliament. A startlingly high 31% said they had had some contact during the past year — whether personal, at a rally or meeting, with their staff or through receiving mail. In the United States the figure is 40%; in Hungary it's 8%.

Those who had contact tended also to feel MPs did well in staying in touch with people, that they could help them and that, as citizens, they had some influence over Parliament. The survey showed that African respondents ranked higher than other South Africans in terms of contact with MPs.

Levels of parliamentary approval rated only slightly lower than the 58% who think the Government of National Unity is performing well, but far below the 77% who approve of the way President Nelson Mandela is doing his job.

All of this was much more positive than opinion on the performance of provincial government, where 46% disapproved overall and 42% approved.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
February 9 to 15 1996

ANC muscles in with a referendum

(304A) M+G 9-15/2/96

Marion Edmunds

THE R-word hit the newspaper headlines with meaning for the first time this week, after ANC hard-liner MP Pravin Gordhan warned minority parties that if negotiations failed, a referendum would be a reality.

At a time when parties are shaping up to negotiate the worst of the disputes in the final constitution, this statement has jolted smaller political parties out of any sort of complacency, and perhaps that was what it was intended to do.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin commented this week that a referendum on the constitution would be a disaster. "If you take the merits of the recent interim constitution in Kempton Park, it was seen as a healing document. If this constitution was taken to a referendum to break a deadlock, it would divide society and open up old wounds. To contemplate that sort of action is extraordinary and counter-productive to nation-building."

Ironically, it is the interim constitution that makes a referendum a possibility. The Kempton Park negotiators built a referendum into the constitutional text as the ultimate deadlock-breaking mechanism. If parties cannot reach consensus on the final constitution and Parliament fails to pass the constitution with a two-thirds majority, then the interim constitution stipulates that the partially supported constitution should be put to the public for the final say.

'If the constitution was taken to a referendum, it would divide society and open up old wounds'

If the public then votes in favour of the constitution by more than 60%, it becomes the constitution of the land. If not, Parliament dissolves and fresh elections are held for a new Constitutional Assembly.

With the successes of the local government elections behind it, the African National Congress believes firmly that it would win a constitutional referendum with a fair margin.

Clearly though, it is not a first choice for resolving political impasses, but the ANC is not shy to use the threat of a referendum to reinforce its position as the most powerful negotiator in the Constitutional Assembly.

"A referendum is very tempting," said a senior ANC negotiator. "I mean, if smaller parties dig in their heels on matters, we could do it."

A number of negotiators from opposition parties say the ANC has never flashed the referendum card in the course of behind-the-scenes bilaterals. However, they insist that ANC MPs drop the referendum possibility in informal conversations, as an "unsubtle reminder to the opposition" of what could happen if the process went off the rails.

The practicalities of a referendum are mind-blowing. It would cost billions of taxpayers' rands and would probably be run by a body like the Independent Electoral Commission. The pre-referendum lobbying would end up like a bitter election campaign, and the country would once more have to go to the polls to vote for democracy.

Furthermore, it would probably plunge IFP-led KwaZulu-Natal into chaos. Given that the IFP is resisting the constitution-making process, it would feel justified, no doubt, in resisting the outcome of the referendum which would result in the loss of the province's autonomy.

A referendum might also backfire on the ANC in Parliament as it could serve to unite all the opposition parties against the ANC on number of key issues of principle.

Corné Mulder of the Freedom Front (FF) said: "I think that the ANC is making a mistake in the way it is interpreting the mood of the country at the moment as positive, probably due to the recent sporting successes. South Africa still has a long way to go before it is stable."

In many ways it does not matter if the smaller parties like the DP and the FF squeal at the ANC for its arrogance. If anything, this "reminder" from the ANC about what it could do to get its way is directed at the IFP, which is still boycotting the process, and the National Party, which needs to be reigned in if they want to get the requisite two-thirds majority consensus to pass the constitution.

While some NP members believe that the ANC is threatening them, the NP, through the voice of Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, remains civil: "We take it that the ANC is committed to a constitution adopted by full or general consensus, and that is our approach too. We presume that the ANC is sticking to that position as it was stated by Cyril Ramaphosa over recent months."

'Don't use too many official languages

Star 9/2/96

By Karin Schimke
Gauteng Reporter

The Gauteng legislature should try as much as possible to limit the number of languages it uses for official business, according to visiting European Parliament president Dr Klaus Hänsch.

Language differences could be an enormous financial burden, he advised members of the legislature this week.

Hänsch and a delegation of members of his parliament arrived in Johannesburg with the aim of observing how a R593-million grant from the European Union is being used for reconstruction and development.

> **Translation costs Euro Parliament billions**

He told Gauteng Speaker Trevor Fowler and other members of the legislature that the European Parliament operated in 11 languages, and that a third of the total parliamentary budget was spent on translators and interpreters. This amounted to about R3,2-billion a year.

Julian Priestley, who heads the president's private office, told the meeting that every document had to be translated into 11 languages.

"Each amendment to any piece of legislation or memorandum has to be translated 11 times at a cost of about R100 per amendment, and there are hundreds of amendments in the EU every week."

Highly experienced interpreters and translators were difficult to find, especially those that had to translate from and into languages other than German, English, French and Spanish.

"It is very difficult, for instance, to find someone who can translate from Greek into Finnish," said Priestley.

Gauteng uses four of the country's 11 official languages, namely English, Afrikaans, Zulu and Sesotho. Business is usually conducted in English, however, based on the consensus that it is the most widely understood of the languages.

Hänsch said: "I realise that language is an extremely sensitive thing. Language differences can turn a very peaceful meeting into chaos. But if there is any chance you (the Gauteng legislature) can avoid having to use too many official languages, I suggest you do so. It is a serious problem.

This is the president's first "official" visit to another country.

MPs told to get down to work, but they want more money

Cape Town – President Nelson Mandela yesterday urged ANC MPs and senators to remember why they had been sent to Parliament by the party.

In a pep talk at an eve-of-session parliamentary caucus meeting, he also told them the economy was not faring too badly.

Ministers and ordinary parliamentarians were getting down to work, but all should remember why the ANC had sent them there, Mandela said.

This was divulged by ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile at a briefing after the caucus meeting.

The caucus had also been briefed by Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa on the constitution-writing process.

MPs had also raised concern about their remuneration, Stofile said. They claimed they were overworked because of the number of committees they had to belong to. – Sapa.

Star 9/2/96 (304A) (55)

NP appoints first African minister to the Cabinet

(304A)

Former ANC official John Mavuso joins GNU, Chris Fismer takes over from Roelf Meyer and Wessels quits

Star 9/2/96

By Patrick Bulger
Cape Town

The National Party yesterday appointed its first African to the Cabinet and announced that party stalwart Leon Wessels would quit active politics when the constitution is finalised in May.

The NP's first African Cabinet minister is Gauteng conservation and agriculture MEC, John Mavuso, a former regional chairman of the African National Congress in the Transvaal in 1950 when President Nelson Mandela was president of the Transvaal ANC.

NP General Services Minister Chris Fismer, who has been responsible for steering new gambling legislation through Parliament, will take Meyer's place, NP leader and Deputy President F W de Klerk announced last night.

Fismer will retain responsibility for the gambling legislation until its completion, De Klerk said.

The appointment of Mavuso is a clear sign on the NP's part that it intends broadening its appeal to constituencies that have not traditionally supported the NP, especially among Africans.

De Klerk said Wessels, a former NP manpower minister and a leading NP reformist in the late 1980s and early 1990s, was not being considered for Cabinet because he was leaving politics. He is presently deputy chairman of the Constitutional Assembly.



Making a point ... new NP Cabinet minister John Mavuso

Wessels said in a statement announcing his return to private legal practice that his political ambitions will have been fulfilled with the completion of the constitution.

He said De Klerk enjoyed his full support for the new policy direction announced on February 2.

De Klerk described Wessels' decision as "a great loss for the NP".

We're not out of step with voters, claims ANC

(3044)

Star 9/2/96

Party denies research findings and rejects continuance of GNU after 1999

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The Government of National Unity will become an obstacle to the realisation of full democracy if it continues to exist beyond 1999, the ANC said yesterday.

The ANC, which is the main partner in the GNU, rejected out of hand Stellenbosch University research findings that it was out of step with its own supporters regarding its position on the GNU.

The continuation of the system of forced coalition after the adoption of the final constitution is one of the major points of difference between the ANC and NP in the Constitutional Assembly. While the NP wants this to continue after 1999, the ANC wants the majority party to be able to form the government on its own and only invite smaller parties into government if it so wishes.

Research by Stellenbosch University's Prof Hennie Kotze indicated there was a huge variance between the ANC and its constituents on matters such as capital punishment, abortion and the continuance of the GNU.

The ANC said most South Africans supported its position and this had been proved by its good showing in both the 1994 general elections and the local government elections last year.

On the question of the GNU, the party said this system of government had been a necessary step in South Africa's transition "from apartheid tyranny to democracy".

While the GNU had performed the task of nation-building and reconciliation very well so far, it would have to make way for full democracy in 1999, it said.

"It is our belief that, as is practice in democracies around the world, alliances, partnerships and coalitions can be entered into by parties without such arrangements being imposed upon the majority party by constitutional mechanisms," said the ANC.

Some MPs cagey about Parliament...

Star 9/2/96

(304A)

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The Pretoria-Cape Town shuffle has become one of the most sensitive issues in the country, sending politicians scurrying for cover when asked about the subject.

In the week during which the administration of the country moved from Pretoria to Cape Town – ahead of today's opening of Parliament – ministries surveyed by The Star were cagey about where they would prefer to be, saying the issue was "sensitive".

President Nelson Mandela – who, according to reports, intends spending most of his working time in Pretoria this year – publicly denies reports that he will be doing this, in deference to the issue.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki will be spending most of his time in Cape Town as he needs to be there to keep in touch with Parliament on behalf of the president.

As with most other NP ministers, Deputy President F W de Klerk will adhere to the time-tested routine of National Party rulers, spending the entire session in the Cape and the recess in Pretoria.

De Klerk is said to support keeping Parliament in Cape Town – a very strategic decision seeing that the Western Cape is now the NP powerbase.

A minister who has a tough time spreading his time between Cape Town and Pretoria is Prof Sibusiso Bengu, who will have to spend time piloting crucial pieces of legislation through Parliament and dousing fires all over the country.

According to Bengu's spokesman Lincoln Mali, the minister will be dividing his time equally between Pretoria and Cape Town.

"He wants to make sure all top management meetings are in Pretoria in order to cut the costs of bringing people down to Cape Town and because he wants to keep in closer touch with the department," said Mali.

Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom, whose Land Cruiser has become a common sight in South Africa's hinterland, has devised the most efficient and effective system of dealing with the dual-capital system. He spends three days a week in his Cape Town office and the rest of the week travelling the country and touching base with the department in Pretoria.

...while others sign on Cape Town's dotted line

Cape Town – Nine cabinet ministers, two deputies, and the ANC and NP chief whips have put their signatures on a newspaper advertisement calling for Parliament to stay in the Mother City.

The advertisement, an initiative by the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament, was published in a Cape newspaper yesterday and boasted a host of MPs' and celebrities' names.

Alliance executive director Kallie Hanekom said: "While the Pretoria lobby has gone on a multi-million-rand advertising campaign, we have shown that the people want Parliament to remain in the Cape.

"We have a total of almost a million people who have expressed their support by signing petitions.

"They (Pretoria) have been trying every 10 years since 1910 to have Parliament removed from the Cape. Now is the time to put an end to this frivolous debate once and for all," Hanekom said, adding that the money being used on the campaign and counter-campaign could be spent more usefully and contribute rather to the RDP fund. – Sapa.

Asmal expects highest standards from MPs

BD 9/2/96 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — MPs should not have to be dragooned into high standards of public life but should willingly open their affairs to public scrutiny, says Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal.

Asmal told an Idasa civil society workshop yesterday that if the behaviour of the "alley cat" was followed at the level of Parliament, it would set the tone for the whole of society.

"It will have an impact on our country's economic performance, business efficiency, on its race relations, on attitudes generally — and will undoubtedly have the disastrous effect of confirming the Afro-pessimist's view that nothing good can come out of Africa." Corruption was a sure way of throwing away hard-won democracy.

In the past the SA political landscape was littered with corruption nurtured by a system of race privilege and repression and characterised by lies, cynicism and contempt for the rules.

Asmal, who chairs a parliamentary subcommittee drawing up a code of conduct for MPs, said the conclusion had been reached that MPs should make available for public scrutiny their financial and other interests that were relevant to the performance of their public duties.

He suggested to the committee that initially the code of conduct and the ethical behaviour demanded could be enforced through parliamentary rules. This could be followed by legislation at a later date.

Asmal said there was a need for clarity on the status of gifts presented to office bearers and leaders of delegations: were they personal or did they belong to Parliament?

It was reasonable for exemplary behaviour to be expected from MPs. He said that position should never be used to extract favours — and especially not sexual ones.

KwaZulu-Natal legislature budget defrauded

BD 9/2/96

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal finance department officials — or outsiders colluding with them — have defrauded the provincial treasury, a spokesman for provincial premier Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

The theft, of R170 000 in a single month, has sparked concern that large sums of money may have been siphoned off over a longer period.

A parliamentary source said yesterday that further investigation of the theft from the legislature budget indicated that criminals had gained access to the budget of the whole provincial government. The R170 000 stolen by means of 10 unauthorised cheques in January had been withdrawn from the provincial paymaster-general's account, and bore provincial auditor-general Otty Nxumalo's signature. Business Day has copies of the cheques.

KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose's spokesman Thembinkosi Memela said police had been asked to investigate, and the government was considering bringing in external auditors to investigate and recommend ways to reduce fraud.

Memela said the finance department handled the budgets of all departments, and claims had to be submitted to it before funds were released.

The source said that officials' PIN codes had been used to access the computer which prints out cheques.

Fismer takes over Meyer's Cabinet post

BD 9/2/96 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — General Affairs Minister Chris Fismer (NP) is to replace Roelf Meyer as provincial affairs and constitutional development minister, and the NP has nominated its first black member to President Nelson Mandela's Cabinet.

NP leader and Deputy President FW de Klerk yesterday announced the appointment of Fismer and of Gauteng MEC John Mavuso to handle Fismer's current portfolio.

The appointments signal that De Klerk is serious about his nonracial vision of the party and about mobilising a black constituency for the NP.

Meanwhile, the NP has suffered another serious setback with the announcement by Constitutional Assembly deputy chairman Leon Wessels that he is to retire.

De Klerk said Wessels was not considered for a Cabinet post as party leaders knew he had decided to quit politics and return to law. Wessels, who was the first senior NP member to offer an unqualified apology for apartheid, will leave Parliament once the writing of the new constitution has been completed.

The appointments, De Klerk said, had been made in terms of constitutional requirements and after proper consultation with Mandela. Fismer will retain responsibility for gambling legislation and Mavuso will take up his appointment after he has been nominated as a member of the National Assembly or the Senate.

Mavuso, who, as an Inkatha member served in the first co-opted multiracial executive committees established by the NP in the late 1980s, began his career in the ANC in the 1950s, serving on its executive until it was banned.

Fismer is considered competent. His appointment to a senior Cabinet post reflects a rapid rise to political prominence.

ANC welcomes code of ethics for MPs

ARG 9/2/96 (304A)

Political Correspondent

THE ANC has welcomed the draft code of ethics for MPs, and says it should be extended to include members of provincial legislatures and local governments.

The code marked a fundamental shift from the corrupt practices of the past to an era of clean and accountable government, the ANC said.

Society expected high moral standards of those it elected.

Public representatives should express the will of the majority of those who put them in power, rather than the will of lobby groups.

The code, to be put to a joint meeting of the national assembly and senate rules committee next week, provides for disclosure of MPs' financial interests. Lobbying by MPs will be banned, and details of any consultancies or retainers will have to be disclosed.

Top NP man quits office

(304A)

Staff Reporter

SENIOR Natonal Party policitican Leon Wessels is to retire from his position as constitutional assembly deputy-chairman.

ARG 9/2/96

This follows last week's announcement that provincial and constitutional development minister Roelf Meyer would quit the cabinet to become NP secretary-general.

Mr Wessels, formerly a cabinet minister in the NP government, said he was resigning to return to his "old love" — his legal practice.

He said his resignation was in no way related to the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

"I have nothing to hide and am not applying for amnesty and if there are any clouds hanging over my head as a result of my stint as deputy-minister of law and order, then I am quite prepared to speak about it to anyone who is prepared to listen."

● Current minister of general services Chris Fismer of the NP, will replace Mr Meyer as minister of provincial affairs and constitional development. Ex-Transvaal MEC John Mavuso becomes the NP's first African cabinet minister, replacing Mr Fismer.

'Lift SA to new victory'

☐ *Mandela opens parliament with call for 'new patriotism'*

ARG 9/2/96 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela today opened parliament with a call for a "new patriotism" while spelling out a national strategic vision for continued economic growth.

"In spite of the welcome rate of growth, very few jobs have been created ... we need a national vision to lift us out of this quagmire," he said.

Other measures announced today were:

- Plans for a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public;
- A scaling down of resources for the national defence force;
- R1 billion for building new schools;
- A R300-million student financing scheme for universities and technikons;
- Legislation to boost development of small and medium-sized businesses; and
- A presidential review commission on rationalisation of the oversized public service.

Unless the public and private sectors worked together on the national economic vision, the modest growth which had been achieved would peter out in a few years, Mr Mandela warned.

What was needed was major investment in infrastructure; investment in and restructuring of industries such as tourism, agriculture and mining; and a massive investment in people through developing skills, adult education and a thorough overhaul of the education system.

PICTURES, MORE REPORTS — page 3



Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

OPENING GAMBIT: President Mandela acknowledges a cheering crowd as he arrives at the national assembly for the opening of parliament.

Major announcements could be expected within weeks on how the government would give effective leadership to economic growth and development.

Monetary authorities were reviewing the timing and pace of the lifting of existing exchange controls.

"For us it is not a matter of whether, but when these controls will be phased out."

Legislation on the development of small and medium-sized businesses would come before parliament this session.

On education, Mr Mandela said there would have to be redistribution of the limited resources among races and provinces.

"It will also require even greater commitment to teach and to learn from students and teachers alike.

"We owe it to that corps of brave young people who rose up against apartheid to institute further measures this year, decisively to move toward a non-racial, democratic and equitable education system."

The government was to allocate R1 bn to reduce the backlog in the building of schools, while R300-m had been set aside for a student financing scheme for universities and technikons.

He assured teachers that the government was committed to redeploying rather than retrenching them.

On health, Mr Mandela paid tribute to health workers who worked under terrible conditions.

Many ugly incidents had taken place which had brought to the fore the appalling working conditions of health workers: "While we strongly disapprove of some of these incidents, we fully appreciate their plight."

Mr Mandela said there was a need for a huge education campaign on Aids: "The objectives we outline here will not be possible to attain if the Aids epidemic is not brought under control."

On housing, he said several integrated campaigns were needed, including greater commitment by financial institutions to allocate resources to poor areas and support from communities for Masakhane.

The President said the public service was too large and would have to be rationalised. The rationalisation process would affect all races and provinces, and would not be vindictive.

A presidential review commission would redefine the structure, functions and procedures of the public service, and announcements could be expected soon, Mr Mandela said.

On crime, the government would soon unveil a national crime prevention strategy for public comment.

This strategy would bring together the combined efforts of the police, judiciary and prison authorities.

Measures would soon be announced to prohibit the carrying of weapons in public places.

"No one irrespective of the organisations to which they belong will be exempt from these measures."

Criminals would not be allowed to hide behind the constitution, Mr Mandela said.

On national reconciliation, Mr Mandela said the Truth and Reconciliation Commission would help cement democracy by laying bare that which the country should never again experience.

Mr Mandela called on all to burn the midnight oil to ensure the constitution-writing process was completed.

"It is crucial that we attain constitutional certainty, both for ourselves and in our relations with the international community."

He urged renewed efforts to set up the commissions on youth and gender equality.

Progress was being made by the cabinet committee on a national programme of action for children.

Summing up his vision, the President said: "There is a new patriotism abroad in our land.

ANC wants decisions on pay taken out of MPs' hands

TYRONE SEALE, Political Staff

NEARLY two years after taking office, South Africa's 490 MPs are still voting on their own salaries and have no pension scheme — and African National Congress parliamentarians are demanding swift action.

Yesterday the ANC's parliamentary caucus issued a call for the Commission on Remuneration to commence its work as soon as possible. Last year commission chairman Mr Justice Levy resigned and the question of MPs' benefits has been in abeyance — even after a successor to Judge Levy was appointed by President Mandela, according to Bulelani Ngcuka, ANC Chief Whip in the senate.

He said yesterday that the commission had not embarked on the process of taking the decision on MPs' earnings out of members' hands.

Caucus chairman the Rev Arnold Stofile said MPs did not easily talk about this issue as they did not want to be accused of "wanting to put more meat on the gravy train".

They simply wanted to get their work done without also having to think about how much to pay themselves.

MPs' benefits are currently based on scales determined by the Melamet Commission shortly before the April 1994 election — and are presented to parliament for approval in the form of the budget vote of the Ministry of the Public Service and Administration.

Mr Stofile said the remuneration commission would also be asked to simplify MPs' benefits packages for tax purposes.

Still on money, the ANC caucus expressed concern that in some of its constituency officers, administrative staff were earning "less than Cosatu rates". ANC whips were asked to investigate.

Also at yesterday's meeting, President Mandela urged cabinet members and MPs to get to grips with the legislation with whose design the electorate had entrusted them.



PROMOTION: General Services Minister Chris Fismer

NP stalwart Leon Wessels quits

ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE National Party last night announced the promotion of its first black member to the cabinet and the shock retirement from politics of party stalwart Mr Leon Wessels.

Mr John Mavuso, now a Gauteng MEC, will take over as Minister of General Services at the end of next month from Mr Chris Fismer, who will be promoted on March 1 to Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development — the job Mr Roelf Meyer will shed when he becomes NP secretary-general next month.

The departure of Wessels, the deputy chairperson of the constitutional assembly, after the constitution-writing process is completed in May, was described as "a great loss for the NP" by party leader Mr F W de Klerk last night.

Top ANC sources described the retirement of Wessels as signalling the headlong disintegration of the NP as a meaningful force in South African politics.

Wessels said in an interview that he planned to divorce himself from politics and hoped to return to legal practice.

"It is not necessary that public service be linked to public office," he said.

He denied speculation that his departure was linked to his failure to gain a cabinet post.

De Klerk said last night that Wessels had informed him some time ago that he intended to leave politics after the conclusion of the constitution-writing process.

● See Page 8

(304A)
CT 9/2/96



LEAVING: Mr Leon Wessels to return to practising law.

SA, Europe agree to co-operate

CT 9/2/96 (304A)

THE European and South African parliaments signed a co-operation agreement yesterday the aims of which include helping South Africans learn from the European experience in monitoring complex legislation and enhancing control of the executive by the legislature.

President of the European parliament, Dr Klaus Hansch, who signed the agreement at Parliament with South African Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala, said the European parliament would send senior officials to share experiences with South African parliamentary staff.

He also said his parliament would award scholarships for senior South African parliamentary staff to visit it in Strasbourg and Brussels.

Ginwala said the relationship was one of "people to people" and it was hoped the agreement would be an example for governments to follow. — Sapa

Asmal calls on MPs to be open

ANTHONY JOHNSON

SOUTH AFRICA would decline into a "biltong and pap" republic if parliamentarians followed the mores of an "alley cat" on questions of personal and public ethics, Water Affairs and Forestry minister Kader Asmal warned yesterday.

Asmal, who chairs the parliamentary subcomittee on ethics, told an Idasa-sponsored workshop on parliamentary ethics that MPs should willingly seek maximum openness about what they did and received.

Emphasising the need for a tough code of conduct for public representatives, he said that in the past the South African political landscape was littered with corruption.

"It was nurtured by a system of race privilege and repression, and the murky contacts and deals that went with this. The homelands were custom-built for graft.

"The government of the day, while attending church assiduously and giving lip-service to clean administration, allowed the most appalling drops in standards. South African embassy and consulate-general offices around the world were wall-to-wall with disgraced politicians," he said.

Asmal said the new democracy had to avoid falling into past practices which saw Parliament being lied to, misled and ignored.

"A vast cynicism spread across the land as the fat cats got fatter and the poor starved ... only a few voices were raised in principled protest," he said.

Endorsement, poll linked

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA: A cabinet minister who this week backed Cape Town as the seat of Parliament has admitted the timing of the endorsement had much to do with the forthcoming local government elections in the Western Cape.

"You use anything at your disposal to further the cause," said Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk. "You can't discount the Cape elections in this."

This follows yesterday's announcement by the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament that 13 prominent MPs had endorsed Cape Town as Parliament's home.

Cabinet members supporting Parliament remaining in Cape Town include Mr Kader Asmal, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Trevor Manuel, Ms Stella Sigcau, Dr Zola Skweyiya, Mr Steve Tshwete, Dr Van Niekerk and Mr Alie Williams.

Majority wants Parliament to stay

(304A) CT 9/2/96

WILMOT JAMES
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: IDASA

THE split between the legislative and administrative arms of government was first raised when many of our newly elected officials of government complained about the inconvenience, inefficiency and excessive travel associated with this arrangement.

There were also more symbolic objections to Cape Town, what with its particular colonial heritage and the fact that it remained in the National Party's hands.

The debate has now reached the Constitutional Assembly, where the draft constitution invites responses to a line that reads in non-committal fashion: "The seat of the National Assembly is ..."

Three considerations weigh heavily on the most desirable outcome. The first has to do with whether South Africa seeks to maintain and expand the regional distribution of resources, power and opportunities.

Although provincial competency is itself an unresolved issue, the ethos of the draft constitution is one of national egalitarianism through weak but unmistakably federal means. A regional agglomeration of power, resources and opportunities goes against the spirit of the draft constitution.

The second issue is cost, and the public has yet to see convincing calculations. Costing has at least three dimensions. First is the actual cost of keeping a split capital. A cabinet sub-committee, in the Department of Constitutional and Provincial Affairs, has commissioned a study of the costs of the status quo. The report has yet to reach the cabinet.

When it does, the cabinet should go beyond the narrow and partial brief of the costing report and consider the broader losses — real and in opportunity — for Cape Town.

The cabinet must also think about short-term and recurrent costs of creating a new Parliament at any new site, whether it is Pretoria, Midrand or Bloemfontein. And then there are concerns about whether putting our capital in one place simply transfers the inconvenience from one group to another.

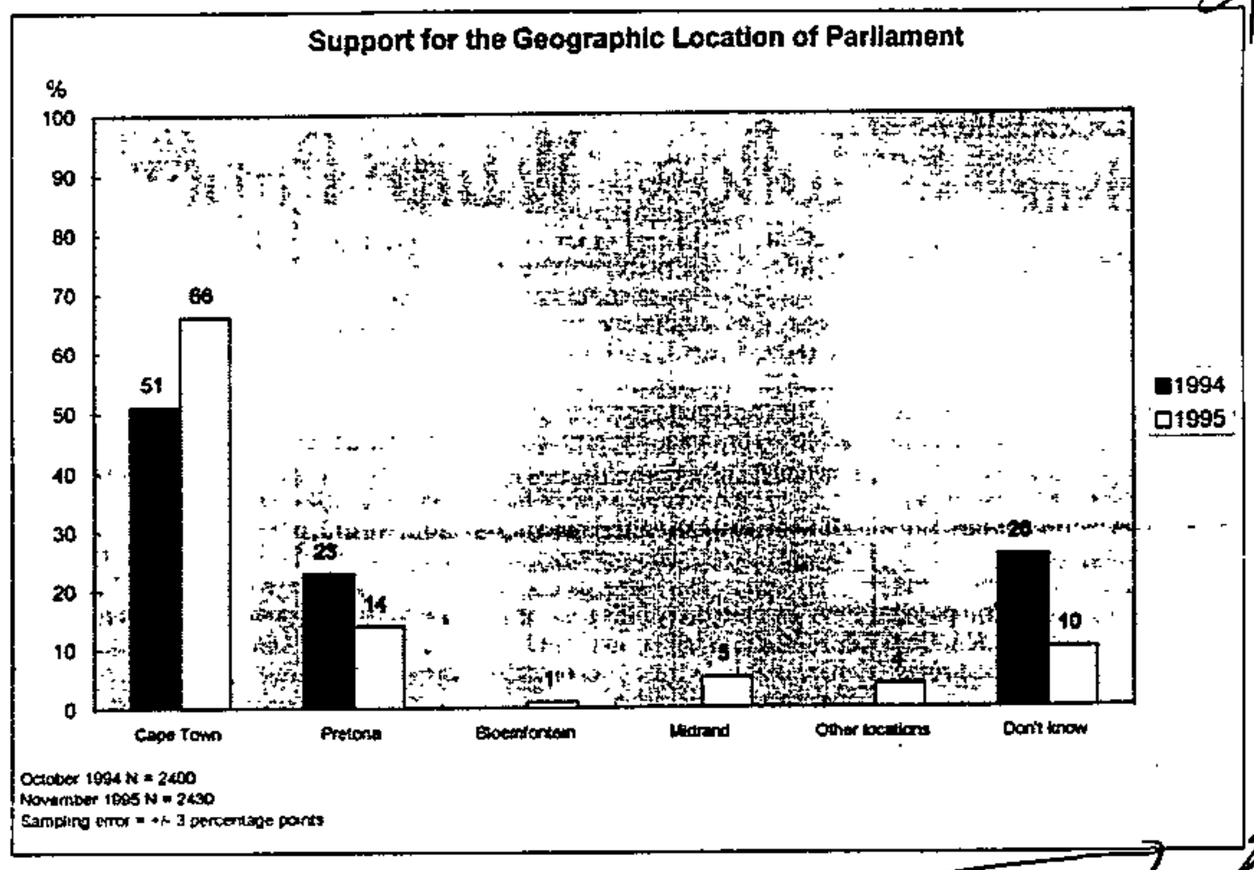
The third area to consider is public opinion, which after all is a reflection of the nation's feeling on the historical and symbolic importance of the present arrangement.

In a national survey conducted by Idasa in September 1994, we found that 51% of the sample chose to keep Parliament in Cape Town, 23% favoured a move to Pretoria and 26% did not know. Significantly, the spread of opinion was across all parties except for the PAC. Other surveys confirmed these findings.

Idasa conducted another survey in October 1995 — the results of which are now being released — and found an increased level of support for keeping Parliament in Cape Town. In the national sample, we found that 66% wished Parliament to remain in Cape Town, 24% wanted it moved elsewhere and 10% had no opinion.

The survey revealed that of those who wanted Parliament elsewhere, 14% supported Pretoria, five percent Bloemfontein, one percent Midrand and four percent mentioned other locations. Public opinion has, therefore, decisively moved in Cape Town's favour. The support is broad-based, cutting across race, ethnic, provincial and party divides. There is no doubt that the vast majority of South Africans want Parliament to remain in Cape Town and that mere minorities support the alternatives. It would be ironic if minorities decided for the majority.

● Produced by the Idasa Parliamentary Information and Monitoring Service and the Public Opinion Service



PREFERRED LOCATION OF PARLIAMENT IS CAPE TOWN BY RACE GROUP

	1994	1995
White	66%	84%
Black	46%	57%
Coloured	73%	88%
Asian	31%	73%

PREFERRED LOCATION OF PARLIAMENT IS CAPE TOWN BY PARTY IDENTIFICATION

	1994	1995
ANC	50%	59%
NP	67%	84%
IFP	31%	56%
Freedom Front	62%	86%
Democratic Party	74%	87%
No particular party	50%	68%

PARLIAMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

PUBLIC INVITATION

from the Speaker of the National Assembly
to
an address by

MRS GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND
Prime Minister of Norway

On Tuesday 13 February 1996, at 14H15, The Honourable Prime Minister of Norway will address members of Parliament in the National Assembly Chamber.

To increase public participation **100** seats will be allocated to the public on a first

Pictures & Works of Art realise more in Europe



Henry Moore, C.H., O.M., "Family Group". bronze, 15cm high.
Sold recently in London for £124,700

Antiques Valuation Day
15th February, 10am-4pm
Vineyard Hotel, Colinton Road,

Public has positive view of House

(304B) CT 9/2/96

POLITICAL WRITER

SOUTH AFRICANS were generally positive about the performance of Parliament, but were divided on the issue along racial lines, a new opinion poll has found.

Although 53% of respondents approved of its performance in the past year, with 20% approving strongly, 36% disapproved, with 11% strongly disapproving.

But only 24% of whites approved of Parliament, in sharp contrast to the 63% approval by blacks, 47% of Indians and 40% of coloureds.

Provincially, the Western Cape had the lowest rate of approval at 34%, followed by Gauteng and Mpumalanga, both 48%. The approval rates in North-West and Northern Province were 68% and 65% respectively.

The survey results were released yesterday by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa). Public Opinion Service after 2 600 people from urban and rural areas were interviewed in November.

It was found that 77% approved of President Nelson Mandela's performance.

Thirty-one percent reported having contact with an MP, 50% thought MPs would be helpful in matters where they had influence and 48% thought MPs had a good grasp of public opinion.

However, only 38% thought MPs did a good job in keeping in touch with the people.

Idasa executive director Dr Wilmot James said the survey showed that in spite of the teething problems last year, the public had a positive view of the conduct of Parliament.

"It is also testimony to the activist and people-centred background of many MPs that a surprisingly high number of people said they had had some sort of contact with them."

Dr Bob Mattes, head of the Public Opinion Service, said the results showed that if people wanted to improve the perception of Parliament, greater links should be established with ordinary people.

Parliament site row

(304A)

Ministers' backing Cape Town 'a poll ploy'

■ The message from some cabinet ministers to President Mandela calling for the retention of parliament in Cape Town sent shock waves through the cabinet and political circles when it was published as an advert in Cape newspapers this week.

ARG 10/2/96

Political Staff

ONE of the cabinet ministers who this week backed Cape Town as the seat of parliament has admitted the timing of the endorsement had much to do with the forthcoming local government elections in the Western Cape.

"You use anything at your disposal to further the cause," said Minister of Agriculture Kraai van Niekerk.

"Everything that happens in politics has to do with politics. You can't discount the Cape elections in this."

His comments came amid widespread surprise at nine cabinet members endorsing Cape Town in the battle for the parliamentary capital. The view was also held that their public move on the issue was purely a vote-catching exercise.

"There goes the start of the Cape elections," was the initial response from the Pretoria Capital Initiative (PCI).

"The fact that political personalities have endorsed this now has more to do with the local government election than with the issue of where to house parliament," said Pretoria city councillor Kate Prinsloo.

"I've been involved in Pretoria's bid to get parliament for a long time and it was difficult to get politicians to comment. Now, they come out publically.

"Cape Town is welcome to parliament until the end of May — when the Western Cape local elections will be held. Then we can soberly assess the issue," she said.

A spokesman for Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (Cap) said the move by the ministers had been planned carefully to coincide with today's opening of parliament and formed part of a lobbying blitz which would include the release of three survey-findings which showed overwhelming support for Cape Town.

Cabinet ministers not on the list expressed surprise at the public stance.

The issue is being investigated by a parliamentary committee appointed by the cabinet.

'It's rather odd that cabinet members should throw their weight behind one option at this stage," said one minister's private secretary, who asked not to be named.

The ministers who signed the message were:

■ Kader Asmal (Water Affairs and Forestry);

■ Dawie de Villiers (Environment Affairs and Tourism);

■ Pallo Jordan (Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting);

■ Trevor Manuel (Trade and Industry);

■ Stella Sigcau (Public Enterprises);

■ Zola Skweyiya (Public Service and Administration);

■ Steve Tshwete (Sport and Recreation);

■ Kraai Van Niekerk (Agriculture) and,

■ Abe Williams (Welfare and Population Development).

Deputy ministers Renier Schoeman and Gert Myburgh, and the chief whips of the African National Congress and National Party, Arnold Stofile and Hennie Smit, also signed the message.

The Pretoria Action Group hit back by claiming that the ministers who signed the message did so for purposes of electioneering and it did not reflect the views of the cabinet.

"Only nine ministers out of 27 in the cabinet came out in support of Cape Town. That means Pretoria enjoys a two-thirds majority," said PCI member Martie Meiring.

Cap spokesman Kallie Hanekom confirmed his group had only "targeted those ministers we knew to be sympathetic to the Cape Town cause.

"We approached 15 ministers and nine of them agreed. The deputy presidents were not approached for their view, as a matter of protocol.

"The Cap people also approached our minister, but he would like to reserve his comment," said a spokesman for Arts and Culture Minister Ben Ngubane.

Reacting to the message, a spokesman for Mr Mandela said Mr Mandela respected the fact that ministers were also citizen who had rights to personal opinions.

"Obviously they are doing this in their private capacity and not as cabinet ministers," he said.

A spokesman for the Pretoria City Council said an advertising campaign for Pretoria, featuring Mr Mandela in various guises did not imply he favoured the city.

RAY HARTLEY assesses the President's speech to Parliament



Growth and job creation

(3049) (EB)

THE government is to introduce sweeping measures aimed at reforming South Africa's economy by boosting growth and unlocking greater job creation. ST 11/2/96

This follows President Nelson Mandela's call to Parliament on Friday for a "national strategic vision" to boost job creation and his warning that the current economic growth could peter out.

Senior government sources said measures that could be expected to be announced soon were:

● The lifting of exchange controls which stand in the way of greater foreign investment. The Sunday Times has learned that Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals and Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg have already met to discuss when the controls should be abolished;

● The amendment of the Competition Act to loosen what the government has seen as the stranglehold of monopolies on the economy; and:

● The government's long-awaited report setting out priorities for boosting economic growth. The report is being discussed by inter-governmental forums and is expected to be released soon.

Mr Mandela told Parliament: "I should personally make the observation that we are finally succeeding in galvanising government to give effective leadership to economic growth and development."

ON EXCHANGE controls, he said that "it is not a matter of whether, but of when, these controls will be phased out".

Mr Mandela said he expected legislation on the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, as well as measures on "the critical question of competitive practices in the economy", to come before Parliament this year.

SVEN LUNSCHE reports that the Minister of Trade and Industry, Trevor Manuel, has promised to break the grip on the economy of conglomerates such as Anglo, Old Mutual, Sanlam, Rembrandt and Liberty Life. He has also promised to ensure that bad business practices are shaken out of the system.

He recently received strong ammunition for his policy with figures showing that the five conglomerates still controlled almost three quarters of the market capitalisation of shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Among measures expected in his amendment to the Competition Act were:

● Outlawing cross directorships among competing firms;

● Replacing the Competition Board with a tougher Competition Tribunal; and:

● Prohibiting competing companies from holding shares in one another.

In his opening speech to Parliament, Mr Mandela said the confrontation between the government and Cosatu over the restructuring of state assets had been the product of a "breakdown of communication".

He said he was happy with the national framework agreement signed by the government and labour this week. "We are confident that the restructuring programme will be carried out with due speed."

BUT, elsewhere in his speech, the President said organised labour and employees had to ask: "Can we succeed if we premise our actions narrowly on the interests of those who are already economically engaged?"

Mr Mandela warned South Africans not to be lulled into complacency by the recent achievements of the economy.

"If we do not act together in the public and private sectors to develop and implement such a national strategic vision, the danger is that even the modest growth we have attained will peter out in a matter of a few years."

Outlining the key elements of such a vision, he said the country faced "three important investment challenges", namely:

● Investment in infrastructure, including municipal services, housing, construction and telecommunications;

● The restructuring of manufacturing and other industries such as tourism, agriculture and mining, which were critical for export and foreign exchange earnings; and

● A "massive investment in people" in the form of skills development, adult education and the overhauling of the education system.

Mr Mandela said the fact that 37 percent of managers in the public service were black and 10 percent were women was progress, "but not nearly enough".

He reiterated the government's view that the public service needed to be rationalised.

'ANC out of step with electorate'

(304A) ep 11/2/96

Public dances to different tune – survey

By CHIARA CARTER
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. – The ANC is out of tune with its supporters on several key constitutional issues, according to the findings of a survey of opinion-makers and the public late last year.

The Centre for International and Comparative Politics at the University of Stellenbosch surveyed the views of 1 478 top figures in South Africa and compared this with a survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council on public opinion.

The survey found strong public support for the continuation of the Government of National Unity in the new constitution.

More than two thirds of ANC supporters wanted the GNU to continue into the next century.

This was also the view of NP (62 percent), IFP (54) and DP (81) supporters. Only Freedom Front supporters opposed continuation.

Surprisingly, the strongest support for the GNU came from the ANC strongholds of the Eastern Cape (73 percent) and Northern Province (73).

Public support for the GNU in the Western Cape and Kwazulu/Natal, where the ANC does not control provincial governments, was average. The lowest support came from Mpumalanga (46 percent).

These views differed from those held by opinion-makers. Just under one-fifth of ANC-supporting opinion-makers were in favour of continuation. 73 percent of ANC parliamentarians were opposed to it, while 85 percent of NP parliamentarians favoured continuation of the GNU.

The survey suggests that the strong public support for continuation of the GNU could in part be attributed to a strong tradition of inclusivity in African political culture, fear of the unknown and concern at having a strong dominant party.

On the question of provincial powers, NP, IFP, DP and FF supporters supported the idea of greater provincial autonomy.

While only 17 percent of ANC-supporting opinion-makers thought regions should have greater powers, one-third of ANC supporters said that provincial governments should have more power over the provinces than central government.

The strongest public support for greater regional autonomy came from the Eastern Cape, Kwazulu/Natal and the North West.

The greatest divide between party policy and public opinion was noted on the questions of the death penalty and abortion.

While the survey found that opinion-leaders of all parties except the ANC were strongly in favour of the death penalty, a surprisingly large number of ANC-supporting opinion-makers (28 percent) favoured the death sentence.

Almost two-thirds of ANC supporters favored the death penalty.

Public support for the death penalty was strongest in the North West (91,7 percent), Northern Cape (90), Gauteng (79), and the Free State (79).

More ANC supporters than supporters of any other party opposed abortion (79 percent) and ANC-supporting opinion-makers were split down the middle on the issue.

The strongest support for legalised abortion came from Democratic Party.

ANC hits out at Buthelezi's refusal to go back to assembly

Star 11/2/96 (BB) 304A

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The ANC yesterday expressed disappointment at Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rejection of a call by President Nelson Mandela for the IFP to return to the Constitutional Assembly.

The organisation also slammed Buthelezi for launching what it termed an "unfounded attack" on Mandela for the call made during the ANC's 84th anniversary celebration on Sunday. Buthelezi reportedly said Mandela had demonstrated "to the whole country and the world that he was not a man of his word" by refusing to honour an agreement that there should be international mediation on provincial powers.

"It is unfortunate that Buthelezi responded to the ANC's gesture of reconciliation by launching a wholly unfounded attack on our president," the ANC said.

Responding to Buthelezi's charge that Mandela should have approached the IFP directly if he was serious, the ANC said the call had been made "with a genuine desire to see the IFP return to the assembly, mindful of the best interests of all South Africans".

The ANC also denied it had reneged on the international mediation agreement signed shortly before the 1994 general election. It also accused the IFP of having scuttled last year's discussions aimed at resolving this and other issues.

"The fundamental principle from which the ANC is not prepared to depart is that the final constitution for South Africa must be written by the legitimate representatives of the South African people elected in 1994," said the ANC.

'Old order still runs the show'



By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Broerderbond, the inner circle and Afrikaner secret cell of the National Party which has been in existence since 1948, is bent on maintaining the status quo of running the Government.

This is manifest in the choice of Mr Roelf Meyer's successor as Minister of Provincial and Constitutional Affairs after he resigned to become NP secretary-general.

Sowetan was told, very reliably, that the Broederbond still existed. It is in fact the inner circle of the NP which still determines the leadership of Afrikanerdom and resistance to total black rule.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Meyer was appointed to his position – to prevent the party from faltering, "otherwise De Klerk will not have a party anymore," said an insider under strict anonymity.

Mr Leon Wessels, who resigned as deputy chairman of the Constitutional Assembly and from the NP last week, has opened a can of worms on what is happening in the party. He does not want to have anything to do with the party anymore and has quashed rumours that he would join the African National Congress.

Politicians who spoke to *Sowetan* in Parliament at the weekend said the NP was just waiting for its death knell and that was why De Klerk was appointing blacks to senior positions.

De Klerk announced on Friday that Mr John Mavuso would be appointed to the Cabinet as Minister of General Services, a dubious position vacated by Mr Chris Fismer, who replaces Meyer.

De Klerk has been having problems with the choice of leadership to key positions in the party and Government.

The NP's problems come against the backdrop of President Nelson Mandela's opening of Parliament on Friday where he warned South Africans not to be lulled into complacency by the current economic upswing.

Mandela called for what he termed "a new patriotism" in all spheres of life and implied that the country had now to deal with the reality of being South Africans rather than [illegible]ss consciousness.

Sowetan 12/2/96 (304A)

GRASSROOTS MOVE TO TRANSFORM SA

ANC to rally masses for Mandela plan

(304A)
CT 12/2/96

THE ANC national executive, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party have drawn up a plan of action to give force to President Nelson Mandela's campaign to revolutionise society. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports.

THE ANC has resolved to mobilise its millions of supporters across the country to give practical content to President Nelson Mandela's plans for an urgent and fundamental reshaping of society and its institutions.

Backing for speedy and radical transformation emerged last night at the end of a three-day meeting of a powerful ANC "Lekgotla" called to start putting "meat on the bones" of the strategic vision outlined by Mandela in his opening speech to Parliament on Friday.

The meeting in Bellville was attended by the national executive committee, ministers, regional premiers, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

The first details about how the country is to be changed and the private and public sectors shaken out of what Mandela called "the current comfort zones" are to be given this week when cabinet ministers brief the media and diplomats about their plans for 1996.

Further details of what Mandela described as "a national project of transformation" should emerge in Parliament on Thursday when the President delivers his reply to this week's debate on his state of the nation address.

The ANC last night highlighted four areas in which it would harness its resources and organisational capacity to transform the country. It said it would:

● Mobilise its members at all levels to make a success of the Masakhane campaign to end rent and service boycotts;

● Lend "unequivocal support (to the) firm and decisive measures" that Mandela had promised in dealing with lawlessness and violence;

● Campaign against any attempts that were made to use language and cultural rights to preserve privilege and work to counter trends towards ethnicity and xenophobia;

● Co-ordinate a campaign by all sectors to address the crisis of poverty in which more than half of the African majority was living below the breadline. A new approach in moving away from unemployment and towards economic growth would be central to dealing with the problem.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said at the weekend that the government and citizens had to pursue "with much more vigour" a programme of united action in addressing the challenges in housing, health, education, policing, job creation and restructuring state assets.

The country could not afford the complacency inherent in the attitude of "business as usual". All citizens had to contribute to a new national project by asking themselves: "What is it that I can do?"

Mbeki said the success of the Masakhane campaign would need the involvement of non-governmental organisations.

Minister in charge of the Reconstruction and Development Programme Jay Naidoo has warned that the RDP could fail if the Masakhane campaign falters. He said yesterday that the RDP was an initiative that should be tackled in every household.

Minister of Trade and Industry Trevor Manuel said the government believed the greatest threat to development was "jobless growth". He did not believe this and other economic challenges could be resolved by forming "a super cabinet committee to produce super answers in a short time".

In his address to Parliament, Mandela highlighted imminent legislation or policy packages designed to change the face of the new South Africa. These are to be discussed by ministers this week and include:

● A crime prevention strategy and legislation to bar the carrying of dangerous weapons in public

● The government's role in giving effective leadership to economic growth and development, including the lifting of exchange controls.

● Legislation, to be passed this session, on the restructuring of state assets, employment equity and standards.

● Decisive measures to ensure a non-racial and equitable education system.

● A new grading system and incentives for health workers, especially in the rural areas.

● Programmes to integrate cities as too many low-cost housing initiatives are "mere additions to apartheid's black townships".

● The establishment of a presidential review commission to restructure the public service.

● Legislation on the Youth and Gender Equality Commissions and a national programme of action on children.

● A document outlining a new approach to foreign relations.

● See Page 5

Nats change their minds on future power sharing

(304A)

Now the door is open for majority party to form the government, but new constitutional safeguards sought

Star 13/2/96

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – The National Party yesterday formally dropped its insistence on power sharing as provided for in the interim constitution.

The Government of National Unity, a cornerstone of the constitutional compromise engineered at the Kempton Park talks, expires on April 30 1999. If the African National Congress gets its way in bilateral talks and in the negotiations taking place in the Constitutional Assembly in Cape, the GNU will be replaced by a system in which the majority party forms the government.

The NP's chief negotiator, Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said yesterday the NP would go along with the view that one of three options before the negotiators – that the GNU continue beyond 1999 – be dropped. In its place, however, the NP wanted another system which allowed minority parties to have a say in the executive.

Meyer quoted a survey commissioned by the Human Sciences Research Council which showed 68% of ANC supporters favoured a continuation of the GNU arrangement.

"No party is of the view that the GNU as it is now should be continued in that way."

Meyer added that the NP would go along with dropping the GNU option but that further creative ideas might still evolve.

ANC negotiator Essop Pahad said the ANC was still awaiting an NP proposal on what form of power sharing it would want included in the constitution.

While the NP's withdrawal of its insistence on a GNU beyond 1999 meant some progress was made in the negotiations which must produce a constitution by May this year, the NP gained slightly with the ANC's concession that it would support a proposal that one-third of the members of the National Assembly can petition the Constitutional Court to establish whether an act of Parliament is constitutional.

In terms of the agreement reached yesterday, one-third of the members can ask the court for a ruling on whether a prima facie case exists.

If there is not a reasonable chance of success, the referral will be rejected and the individual parties sponsoring the request will have to pay the court costs, a measure designed to prevent "frivolous approaches".

Breakthrough as ANC, NP drop key demands

3044 ARG 13/2/96

Political Staff

THERE has been a significant breakthrough in the constitutional stalemate between African National Congress and the National Party, with both agreeing to compromise on key demands.

After months of behind-the-scenes negotiations, the ANC has abandoned its opposition to minority parties having the right to petition the constitutional court for a ruling on legislation passing through parliament.

And the NP gave up its quest for an extension to powersharing along the lines of the existing government of national unity.

While other major obstacles to agreement on the new constitution remain, spokesmen for the two largest parties said they were encouraged by the breakthrough on the constitutional court and powersharing issues.

Under the present interim constitution, minority parties have the power to ask the constitutional court to give a ruling on the constitutional validity of legislation if they are able to muster the signatures of one-third of the members of parliament.

Twice last year the various minority parties joined forces to make use of this power — effectively delaying the implementation of two bills, one on the government's new education policy.

The court is to hear evidence on the petitions in March.

Angered by the obstruction, the ANC campaigned vigorously to remove the right of parties in parliament to petition the court.

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Behind your investment is

Tobie Meyer quits politics after talks with De Klerk

BD 14/2/96 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Deputy Land Affairs Minister Tobie Meyer is the latest senior Nat to announce his resignation from government or Parliament since the launch of the NP's new vision.

Meyer's resignation, effective from the end of March, follows his brother Roelf's resignation as Constitutional Development Minister, and Leon Wessels's announcement he would leave Parliament when the Constitutional Assembly has completed its work.

It is understood that NP leader FW de Klerk intends bringing Tertius Delport from his position as Eastern Cape transport MEC back to Parliament and a deputy minister's job. Meyer apparently was offered a job in the Eastern Cape cabinet, but declined and has decided to return to farming. He said he had already decided to retire from politics at the end of his official term in 1999.

A spokesman for De Klerk said last night that any suggestion that Meyer had been sacked was "malicious" and relations between them remained warm and cordial.

Informed sources said Delport's imminent appointment could be interpreted as a move to placate the party's right wing.

They also speculated that another deputy minister, Gert Myburgh (justice), could also be a casualty of De Klerk's reshuffle.

Delport is expected to take the post as deputy justice minister. Meyer's job at land affairs could be filled by present party director Fanus Schoeman.

De Kerk said that anything to do with Delport's possible return to national politics was "pure speculation" and no firm decision had been taken.

Meyer said yesterday it had been a privilege to take part in the process of political transformation. However, De Klerk's new initiatives demanded "further adjustments". Urgent talks with De Klerk and consideration of his position had convinced him that the new vision would be helped if he vacated his deputy minister's post and resigned as an MP.

This would give the NP leader more power to develop dynamic leadrship and affirmative action within the party.

"I trust these steps, which are necessary to broaden the power base of the NP, will be seen through to their logical conclusion," he said.

Land affairs department officials were stunned yesterday by the news of Meyer's resignation. They had nothing but praise for the role he has played in the development of policy and legislation in the ministry.

Meyer said the co-operation he had enjoyed with Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom was constructive.

Delport declined to comment.

De Klerk had not yet taken any firm decision on who would replace Meyer, De Klerk's office said last night.

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THE CAPE

Minority parties define battlegrounds

ARG 14/2/96 (304A)

□ IFP to continue boycott, FF wants autonomy deal

TYRONE SEALE, Political Staff

MINORITY parties in parliament have given early warning of the political battlegrounds they have picked for the year ahead.

This includes the Inkatha Freedom Party's continued boycott of the constitution-making process and unwavering Freedom Front insistence on Afrikaner self-determination.

Battle lines were clearly drawn by party leaders in yesterday's debate in the national assembly on President Mandela's "new patriotism" opening speech last Friday.

The loudest warning was sounded by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi who said the constitution in the making was "more rotten and flawed and unfit for the needs of our country than the constitution developed at the World Trade Centre".

He also warned Mr Mandela that the combined might of the country's security forces would not stop Zulus from carrying "traditional accoutrements" at public gatherings.

Chief Buthelezi said it was imperative to draw a line and stop the constitution-making process until the promise of international mediation was honoured in order to bring about peace, stability and trust.

Freedom Front chairman Pieter Mulder said the Front accepted Mr Mandela's "new patriotism" challenge but at the same time alarm bells were ringing within the Afrikaner community.

There were new voices — black and white — that were afraid to acknowledge cultural and language diversity. They believed the only way to reconciliation and a new loyalty was to suppress these differences and rally around English.

"For the majority of Afrikaners this is not acceptable and is causing resistance at the moment."

He asked the president for a testament that would commit political leaders who would succeed Mr Mandela once he retired, to reconciliation. "A deal on Afrikaner self-determination will make this possible," he said.

"But we do not get the same messages from some of his cabinet ministers, some ANC parliamentarians, some ANC local councillors, the SABC or some education departments.

Deputy President F W de Klerk, the NP leader, drew blood from ANC MP and constitutional affairs portfolio committee chairman Pravin Gordhan by saying if it weren't for the NP, no one in the ANC would be in parliament today.

Mr Gordhan retorted it was "both arrogant and conceited" of Mr De Klerk.

"You have done us no favour. We are here because of the blood, sweat and tears of millions of South Africans."

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said as part of developing a national work ethic and sound economic fundamentals, the government had to embody clean administration and a small, efficient bureaucracy.

NP deputy minister quits

ET 14/2/96 (304A)

DEPUTY Land Affairs Minister Tobie Meyer is to quit his post and Parliament — sparking specualtion that Eastern Cape National Party leader Dr Tertius Delport may return to the central government as a deputy minister.

Commenting last night, NP leader Mr F W de Klerk said "reports ... at this stage are pure speculation — no firm decision has been taken".

Delport is the Eastern Cape's Minister of Transport.

Meyer is to quit at the end of next month. Suggestions that he had been "pushed" were rejected as "malicious" by De Klerk.

Meyer said in a statement that the initiatives announced by De Klerk on February 2 demanded "further adjustments". It had become clear in discussions with De Klerk that his resignation would contribute to these.

"This will put the leader of the NP in a position to give a powerful thrust to new thinking and the development of dynamic young leadership and allow further affirmative action," Meyer said. — Own Correspondent

South Africa's ambassador to Belgium takes up post at last

Star 15/2/96 (3049)

Brussels – Full diplomatic relations were resumed between South Africa and Belgium yesterday when SA's new ambassador to the kingdom presented her credentials to the Brussels palace.

This follows nearly two years in which this top diplomatic post has remained unfilled. SA's previous ambassador to Belgium packed up and left before the April 1994 election – and his replacement, Annette de Kock Joubert, has only now been installed.

Joubert presented her credentials to King Albert II yesterday, and will meet Belgian Foreign Minister Erik Derycke today.

Joubert's arrival comes soon after the departure of another key South African diplomat in Brussels, ambassador to the European Union Neil van Heerden, who left at the end of last month.

News is still awaited on who will replace him, thus restoring SA's diplomatic presence in the Belgian and EU capital to full strength for the first time since the 1994 election. – Star Foreign Service.

would gain victory simply because

'Rival truth commission' doubts

BD 15/2/96

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose is pressing ahead with a commission of inquiry into political violence in the province, despite being urged by non-governmental organisations yesterday to drop the plan as it would duplicate the truth and reconciliation commission's work.

In a government gazette issued last month Mdlalose said a seven-member commission would be appointed to investigate politically motivated crimes committed in KwaZulu-Natal since 1970 — before the IFP was formed, but by which time Umkhonto we Sizwe and trade unions were active in the province. The gazette said only crimes in which there were no convictions would be investigated. The commission should forward reasons as to why convictions were not achieved.

Violent actions conducted "under cover of law or by individuals operating within state structures or on the basis of instructions from authorities" would also be investigated.

The commission would also identify possible "instigators and masterminds", and the "history of the unfolding political violence", and highlight "the existence of possible common purposes, or strategies and tactics with a view to identifying ways and means of preventing further crimes".

The gazette said Mdlalose would appoint the commission after nominations had been received from the public. Those who had investigative experience and knowledge of matters related to violence should apply.

KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Prem Nxumalo said she could not say whether media advertisements had been placed for nominations, how many had been received nor when appointments would be made.

The KwaZulu-Natal non-governmental organisation's human rights and advocacy sector said the commission would require large sums of money, and this could not be afforded. Its brief was covered by the truth and reconciliation commission and the KwaZulu-Natal Implementation for Peace Bill, passed in the provincial legislature last year.

Human Rights Committee violence monitor Linda McLean said Mdlalose had still not established the structures envisaged in the peace Bill. The commission would merely become an excuse to delay action against perpetrators of violence.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal safety and security spokesman Bheki Cele said it was clear the IFP wanted to establish a body that would "justify the violent structures" it had established in KwaZulu-Natal.

The IFP also hoped the commission would emerge as a rival to the truth commission, which it opposed.

Schoeman pips Delport for NP post

(304A)

Tim Cohen

BD 15/2/96

CAPE TOWN — NP MP and party executive director Fanus Schoeman will replace former land minister Tobie Meyer, Deputy President and NP leader FW de Klerk announced yesterday.

Schoeman, who has been closely associated with developing the NP's negotiations and political strategy, is understood to have pipped conservative NP Eastern Cape leader Tertius Delport to the post.

Schoeman is to relinquish his position as executive director of the party and the post will be abolished, while Delport would continue to serve in the Eastern Cape provincial cabinet as transport MEC, De Klerk said.

De Klerk also announced that MP Martinus van Schalkwyk and Senator David Malatsi would become assistant general secretaries, promoting simultaneously a young MP and a black MP to prominent positions in the party.

De Klerk said there were no grounds whatsoever for negative conclusions drawn with the departure soon of deputy constitutional affairs director Leon Wessels and Meyer from politics.

De Klerk said most other changes would only be closer to the 1999 poll. Gauteng MP Aboo Kahn would succeed John Mavuso — to become a member of the Cabinet after the departure of Roelf Meyer — as Gauteng's agriculture MEC, De Klerk said.

Stakeholders in Wits transformation to meet

BD 15/2/96 (5E)

Kevin O'Grady

A CONFERENCE of all stakeholders in the transformation of Wits University is to be held soon, vice-chancellor Robert Charlton announced yesterday.

The decision was taken at a university council meeting last night on the recommendation of four council members who had previously been appointed as mediators in the transformation process, Charlton said.

A steering committee comprising principal stakeholders would be appointed to draw up the programme for the weekend conference.

A 116-page report by a commission of inquiry, headed by adv Malcolm Wallis, into allegations made by deputy vice-chancellor William Makgoba of wrongdoing by 13 senior academics was tabled at the meeting.

However, it was agreed the council needed more time to consider the report and would meet again tomorrow to discuss its response.

The council would also constitute a new tribunal "as soon as possible" to investigate the 13 academics' allegations against Makgoba, Charlton said.

The 13 have alleged Makgoba misrepresented his achievements on his CV, brought the university into disrepute and failed to fulfil his administrative duties. An international tribunal set up to investigate the allegations was disbanded last month after one of its members withdrew.

Archives office goes for the records

(304A) (Red) ARG 15/2/96

A BILL tabled in parliament today will set up a national archives office to manage all central government records.

The National Archives of South Africa Bill defines the relationship between national and provincial archival services and draws all public records, including electronic records, into its ambit.

According to a memorandum to the bill, it will ensure that provisions for public access will mesh with proposed Open Democracy laws.

"Current archival legislation expresses an ethos in public administration wedded to the past."

Existing legislation did not accommodate the new division of functions between central government and the provinces.

It did not address new realities in keeping public records, including electronic records, and did not embrace accountability and transparency.

The bill was the product of a year-long process of consultation with affected groups.

A national archivist will be appointed by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. The archivist will be in charge of arranging, describing and retrieving records, providing information, consultation and research.

The bill provides for a 10-member National Archives Commission, including the national archivist, to advise the minister and help coordinate policy formulation.

The commission will have to keep a list of all non-public records in the country which in its opinion have enduring value.

Corruption: Ethics code finalised tomorrow

ARG 15/2/96 (259) (304A)

Political Correspondent

THE parliamentary rules committes meets tomorrow to finalise a code of ethics against the background of a new survey which reveals that 84 percent of South Africans believe there is some corruption in government.

The belief pervades all races and provinces.

The illegitimacy of the previous government and corruption in the former homelands has had a lasting effect on perceptions of state honesty, according to the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa), which conducted the survey.

Media stereotypes of a "gravy train" have fuelled perceptions of low ethical standards among public officials.

Wilmot James, executive director of Idasa, emphasised that findings revealed only perceptions and that no specific individual or party had been implicated. But perceptions became part of political reality, and presented a challenge to the government, he said.

"The statistics are profoundly disturbing.

"In spite of the deep democratic and moral changes, people have a high level of mistrust and cynicism of officialdom."

The survey underscored the importance of the parliamentary code of ethics.

The government had seized the initiative to regulate the behaviour of its members in a manner consistent with democratic values and the ethics of good government.

The survey, conducted between September and November last year, showed that 85 percent of those questioned felt that elected officials should be more honest than ordinary citizens.

But only 29 percent believed this was actually the case.

More than half believed that people in government worked in their own self-interest rather than in the public interest.

Almost half thought that most or almost all of those in government were involved in corruption, while 84 percent saw some level of corruption in government. Only six percent believed the government was completely "clean".

Forty-one percent believed that the new democratic government was more corrupt than its predecessor. Africans were only slightly less pessmistic than the average about official ethics.

Whites were "downright cynical about such matters," Idasa said.

People favoured extensive monitoring of elected leaders. On salaries paid to MPs, 60 percent of those surveyed believed these were too high.

Seventy-six percent opposed MPs having outside jobs, 66 percent opposed outside income and 57 percent opposed MPs accepting gifts. Two-thirds felt that outside income was likely to lead to corruption.

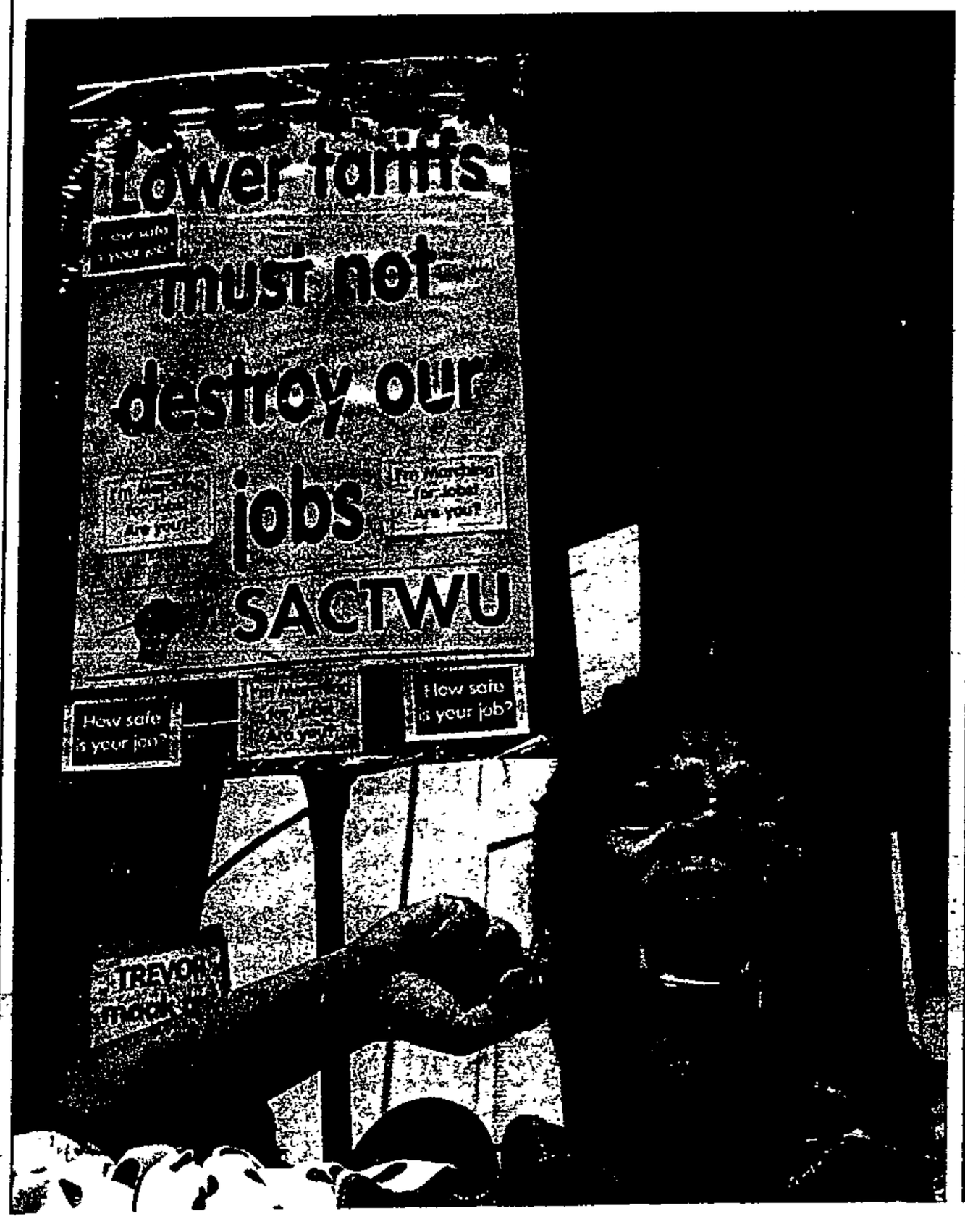
"MPs may be between a rock and a hard place because people overwhelmingly oppose raising salaries as a way to limit MP dependence on outside income."

When the national assembly and senate rules committees meet tomorrow, two unresolved issues are to be discussed: the scope of disclosure of financial interests, and whether the code of ethics should part of internal parliamentary rules or whether it should be a fully-fledged law.

ANC FEARS SURVEY 'UNDERMINES' DEMOCRACY

New govt 'more corrupt' – poll

(304A) CT 15/2/96



THE RESULTS OF A PUBLIC SURVEY conducted by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa show that two-thirds of the public see no lessening of corruption in government compared with the old regime and four out of 10 think it has become worse. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

SHOCK findings that the public feels the new democratic government is as corrupt, if not more corrupt, than the old government were released yesterday by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

Idasa found that 41% of people think corruption has increased, and two-thirds fail to see any improvement in government corruption compared with the old regime.

Almost half of the population (46%) think "most" or "almost all" government officials are involved in corruption and 84% see some level of corruption in government.

The survey results were released in advance of tomorrow's meeting of Parliament's rules committee, which has to decide on a draft code of conduct for MPs and senators requiring them to disclose outside income and assets.

The proposals to control influence-peddling and expose any hidden financial or property interests held by public representatives or their families could be extended to provincial parliaments, government officials and parastatals.

National assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala told a media briefing yesterday the issues surrounding the code had already been thoroughly canvassed and that the rules committee would try to finalise a new code tomorrow.

The head of the rules sub-committee on ethics, Mr Kader Asmal, said last week that one of the guiding principles of the draft code should be that the South African public had the right to be represented by MPs who are "free from the burden of inappropriate influence and who are able, therefore, properly and independently to serve the electorate".

The need for the code has been reenforced by the findings in the Idasa survey, which involved personal interviews with 2 430 people across the country, in urban and rural areas.

Idasa director Dr Wilmot James, said: "The statistics are profoundly disturbing. They suggest that in spite of the deep democratic and moral changes that have taken place, people have a high level of mistrust and cynicism of officialdom.

"The statistics suggest that trust has to be earned, probably over a longer period than we imagined, and that it does not automatically flow from broader democratic transformation."

James said they also suggested that the damage wrought by apartheid ran a lot deeper in the perceptions of people, black and white, and that the illegitimacy of the previous government and corruption of the former homelands had a lasting impact on perceptions of state honesty.

"They underscore the critical importance and role of the parliamentary code of ethics.

"It is probably the most important signal that the government has seized the initiative to regulate the behaviour of its members in a manner consistent with democratic values and the ethics of good government," James said.

The head of Idasa's public opinion survey, Dr Bob Mattes, said the overwhelming perception was that there had been no improvement under the new dispensation.

"The perceptions of gravy train have permeated widely."

These perceptions had to be acted on by Parliament or antagonism would grow and the trust in democracy would decline even further.

Mattes said the main findings were that:

- Ethics and corruption in public office constituted real and widespread public concerns.
- There was widespread popular concern and even doubt about the current ethical standards of elected leaders.
- There was significant public support for strong messages of ethics reform.

The survey found that 85% felt elected officials should be more honest than ordinary citizens, yet only 29% believed that this was actually the case.

Over half (56%) felt that people in the government worked in their own self-interest rather than the public interest.

Many beliefs about ethics and corruption varied widely according to race, but, significantly, public expectations of official honesty and beliefs about actual levels of corruption did not change on racial lines.

Opinion about current levels of official honesty did not vary by race but, importantly, blacks were only slightly less pessimistic about official ethics and corruption than the average of the overall sample.

The survey also found that 60% said parliamentary salaries were too high, 76% opposed MPs having outside jobs, 66% opposed outside income and 57% opposed accepting gifts and hospitality while on the job.

- The ANC said yesterday it was concerned about the Idasa survey as the pattern of such surveys undermined the fledgling democracy.

"In this regard, it will be unfortunate if a public perception were to develop that Idasa seeks not to ensure clean government but to undermine the confidence, legitimacy and status of the democratic government in the eyes of the majority," the ANC said in a statement.

LINKS WITH CUBA, LIBYA CAUSE DISMAY

US soft-pedals on SA's ties

CT 15/2/96 (304A)

WASHINGTON: President Nelson Mandela's statement that Cuba and Libya are South Africa's friends have ruffled a few feathers here but not provoked a hard-line response.

THE United States government will not ask President Nelson Mandela to sever South African ties with Cuba's Fidel Castro and Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, but Washington hopes he will urge them to mend their ways.

"Our positions on Libya and Cuba are well known," a US State Department spokesman said on Tuesday night. "We have urged all nations to join in condemning Libya's sponsorship of international terrorism, and to call for an end to Cuba's oppression of its people.

"We hope that South Africa will take the opportunity to press these important concerns during any exchanges it may have with Libya or with Cuba."

The official had been asked for the Clinton administration's reaction to Mandela's statement in a television interview this week that Castro and Gaddafi were friends of South Africa and he was determined to invite them for a visit.

The statement follows the mini-fuss over Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale's planned visit to Cuba at the end of his current visit to the US.

While Sexwale's plans have attracted hardly any public attention here, they did dismay some conservatives in the Congress, notably Ms Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, chairwoman of the House of Representatives sub-committee on Africa, who protested personally to Sexwale that his presence in Havana would aid the Castro regime.

On Mandela's statement, the US spokesman denied that it signalled a cooling of relations between Washington and South Africa. "US-South Africa relations — based on our mutual support for democracy and human rights — are excellent, as demonstrated by increasing trade, investment and co-operation between our countries," he said.

The US would not ask South Africa to break its relations with Libya and Cuba but would continue to urge that all nations express their concern over acts of state-supported terrorism and egregious violations of human rights.

"We have made clear our view that the international community should isolate the Gaddafi regime until Libya complies with all obligations under United Nations Security Council resolutions."

The US also continued to urge all states to observe the letter and the spirit of the UN sanctions against Libya, the spokesman said. These sanctions did not prohibit high-level contacts with Libya, but called on countries not to expand their diplomatic relations with the Gaddafi regime. — Sapa

THURSDAY
★ FEBRUARY 15, 1996

NP reshuffle sees Schoeman promoted

ET 15/2/96

(304P)

NATIONAL PARTY executive director Fanus Schoeman is to succeed Tobie Meyer as Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, while Marthinus van Schalkwyk and Senator David Malatsi are being appointed to the new posts of assistant secretaries-general of the NP.

This was announced yesterday by the NP leader, Deputy President F W de Klerk.

He also announced that Aboo Kahn, a member of the Gauteng legislature, would replace John Mavuso, who is becoming General Services Minister, as an MEC in Gauteng.

MP Kobus Dowry is being promoted to director in the NP's federal management structure.

Van Schalkwyk and Malatsi will be assistants to Roelf Meyer, outgoing Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development.

Meyer will become NP secretary-general from March 1.

Tobie Meyer, elder brother of Roelf, announced on Tuesday that he was quitting politics to return to full-time farming.

De Klerk said he hoped these announcements would bring an end to "speculation", including "negative conclusions", which were being made about the forthcoming retirements from politics of Meyer and Leon Wessels, deputy chairman of the Constitutional Assembly.

"Both these esteemed colleagues are enthusiastic about the new initiatives within the NP.

"They have made this clear in the announcements they made."

At one stage there had been a possibility that Tobie Meyer would move to the Eastern Cape legislature and that NP Eastern Cape leader Dr Tertius Delport would move from the provincial legislature to the central Parliament, De Klerk said. But in the light of Tobie Meyer's preference to retire completely from politics, this possibility had fallen away.

De Klerk said further movements may take place within the next few months, as several senior politicians were considering retirement. — Sapa

Nats seek new path to opposition

Having dropped its key constitutional demand for power-sharing after 1999, the National Party is struggling to reinvent itself as a party in opposition, writes **Marion Edmunds**

THE National Party has caved in on its central constitutional demand and the African National Congress says it does not believe it will be challenged by the Nats in wrapping up negotiations on the final Constitution.

While the Inkatha Freedom Party and the drafting of Kwazulu-Natal's provincial Constitution and its re-entry into the Constitutional Assembly remain a perpetual headache to the ANC, the NP is laughed about behind its back, and ANC MPs talk openly about the Nats' "stupidity".

This week, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer asked the negotiators in the Constitutional Assembly to scrap the clause in the draft final Constitution which would entrench power-sharing after 1999 — a central demand in the NP's constitutional package.

ANC negotiators say they are bemused at how easily the Nats conceded this principle and have developed a newfound contempt for them for not putting up more of a fight.

Said ANC negotiator Dirk Du Toit: "The NP has no big constitutional vision left and it is too late for it to develop another ... it has nothing left to trade."

"That's cheap politicking," retorted Meyer this week. "I don't know what the ANC is talking about. The Constitution does not only consist of the Government of National Unity — there is a whole variety of checks and balances we want in the Constitution, which we have put into our submissions. There are other alternatives on the table. All we have conceded is that the model of the GNU as it now stands should not be continued. You can't be in a GNU and be an opposition party, it goes against the grain."

Some of the most important checks and balances on executive power will be vested in provincial governments and the debate on this chapter of the final Constitution continues behind the scenes. These bilaterals, however, are characterised by growing consensus rather than party political disputes.

The sacrifice of the GNU principle reflects the belated drive within the NP to become an effective opposition party. It reflects the realisation that he who attempts to have his cake and eat it — be within the GNU and oppose it from within Cabinet — ends up with the crumbs.

This was apparent in FW de Klerk's first speech in Parliament this year. He drooped to new impotence when he pleaded with the ANC to recognise in its government partner an opposition worthy of respect.

"Please listen to what I say," he said to mocking ANC MPs in the National Assembly, "and then debate with us ... on the basis of what we are — and not on the basis of taking pot-shots at the distorted image of us that you yourselves have created."

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon is chuckling at the NP's first real attempts to establish itself in opposition.

"FW is like an ugly person on a first date, trying to talk his way past his face — 'I have inner beauty,' he's saying ... it's all rather pathetic."

Scrapping the GNU clause from the Constitution means that De Klerk and his better-looking crown prince Roelf Meyer will ultimately have to rely on the crumbs from the ANC's table until they develop the sort of inner resilience, spite and spunk that being an opposition party demands. If there is anybody in the NP who realises this, it is Meyer, whose withdrawal from Cabinet indicates that he would rather develop the National Party's power base through working in civil society than cling to a seat in an ANC-dominated Cabinet.

Black Nats, PAGE 13



New impotence: Deputy President FW de Klerk

MHG 16-22/2/96 (304A)

What shape is your business in?

Getting an MPs' code of ethics to work

(304A) MTG 16-22/2/96

A code of ethics for MPs could create a new bond of trust between Parliament and South Africans, but it needs to be independently monitored, argues PAC's Patricia de Lille

THE Joint Subcommittee on Ethics recently passed a report of principles concerning a new Code of Ethics for Members of Parliament. Speaker of the National Assembly, Frene Ginwala, and the chairperson of the subcommittee, Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Kader Asmal, should be given credit for pushing this important initiative to assure all South Africans that their public representatives are acting in good faith and free from any conflicts of interest.

That said, I have some very serious concerns about the subcommittee proposal which will be considered by a joint meeting of the Rules Committees of Parliament next Friday.

In the last meeting of the Subcommittee on Ethics we were rushed to finish our proposal, and as a result some important issues were not properly considered. I appreciate the need to get a code of ethics in place as soon as possible, but the need for speed should not result in a flawed code. I am therefore raising these issues here in an attempt to influence the final proposal, and correct some of the loopholes that remain.

My concern is enforcement. Who will monitor the implementation of a new code, and who will investigate any transgressions?

I recently participated in an Ethics Study Mission to Ireland and the United Kingdom which was organised by the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The delegation included representatives from each party in Parliament, and we discovered how important a code of ethics is to the legitimacy of government institutions. But what I believe was the most important lesson from the experiences of Ireland and the UK was the need for an independent body to monitor the code and investigate cases.

This body could either be a single commissioner, as is the case in the UK, or an independent commission, as is the case in Ireland. In both situations these independent authorities are given strong powers to govern the ethics code and to make recommendations to Parliament for any sanctions that it finds necessary.

The ethics debate in South Africa has thus far focused on what information should be required for disclosure. The parties disagree somewhat over the amount and nature of the information which should be required, but I really believe these issues are not nearly as important as the enforcement question.

Whether the parties agree to disclose a great amount of information, or a significant amount of information, will not greatly affect the goal of transparency. Either way, the public will get the necessary information to determine whether there are conflicts of interests. The really important question is enforcement, and whether Parliament is going to continue to police itself or whether we shall enter a new era of democracy by inviting independent monitors to ensure the effectiveness of the new code.

I know some members of Parliament are nervous about a code of ethics because they see it as an invasion of their privacy. As public representatives we may have to give up some of our privacy in order to be accountable to our voters, and to support the legitimacy of our government institutions.

I also think that a code of ethics will protect members of Parliament. Being an MP is not an easy job, and people are always pressuring you. By having a code of ethics, we will finally have guidelines about the expected conduct of an MP, and we will have a way of showing the public that we are transparent and acting in their interest.

Furthermore, by having an independent authority to monitor the code and investigate cases, we will have a non-partisan hand to guide the implementation of these rules.

In addition to the need for an independent authority, I have other concerns as well. For example, I believe Parliament should pass legislation, not just parliamentary rules, to cover all government officials including Cabinet ministers, members of Parliament, civil servants, and the heads of parastatals. It is not good enough for each of these officials to develop their own codes.

This will take more time to create a larger Bill, so for now we are right to concentrate on a code for members of Parliament. If the existing proposal for a code of ethics is amended to include a provision for an independent authority, it will provide the basis for a new bond of trust between members of Parliament and all South Africans. This bond of trust must be created for the good of our democracy.

Black Nats try to fill the vacuum

(304A) M+G 16 - 22/2/96

Black National Party members feel the hardest road still lies ahead in their attempts to rid the party of its past, writes Vuyo Mvoko

VUSUMUZI VINCENT THUSI, a Gauteng National Party MPL, gazes up at the pictures on the walls of his party's reception room in the chamber, then smiles wryly at the unfolding contradiction.

"Do you remember those chaps?" he asks, pointing at the huge pictures of Hendrik Verwoerd, Hans Strydom, DF Malan, and PW Botha. "They are the ones who thought we would vanish from the face of this earth. This party must bury all those photographs."

Thusi is one of the new recruits to a political party still haunted by its ugly past and desperate to fill a vacuum in opposition politics.

To achieve its goals, many believe the NP needs to strengthen its credibility among black voters, as well as show that its transformation is more than cosmetic.

NP leader and deputy state president FW De Klerk announced recently that plans are afoot for a new-look party. He announced that Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, will relinquish his position at the end of this month to focus on rejuvenating the party as its first secretary general.

But, as black NP parliamentary representatives admitted this week, the roughest road still lies ahead.





Has the NP really changed? "It has changed," insists Thusi, "it's just that the baggage of the past is too much for people to realise that."

The biggest problem faced by the black Nats is credibility. Says Thusi: "If you speak on behalf of the NP, to a very large extent you are not talking policies but race."

"The NP has really shed its past. It's just the perception that still exists. People still see old Nats who were known for certain things which were hurting black people."

'When I looked at what De Klerk wanted to achieve, I felt 'here is one leader, white leader, who has led his people, taking them from those dark ages of apartheid, of Verwoerd and all those guys. He is trying to bring reconciliation, I must try to assist [him]."

To assist De Klerk, Thusi joined the NP in 1993 from the dungeon of the discredited black local authorities, of which he was a councillor despite, by his own admission, "knowing full well that the structure was illegitimate". But he has no regrets: "I had to respond to the calling of the people who voted for me."

Regarding the possible change of the party's name and of forging alliances, he agrees there has to be a move, "even if it means we must leave the NP to form a new movement with new norms and standards".

His dream party will first have to "submit" itself to God, "whether we call him Allah or in Hindu". Secondly, it must look after minorities. "A Venda who comes to Gauteng should

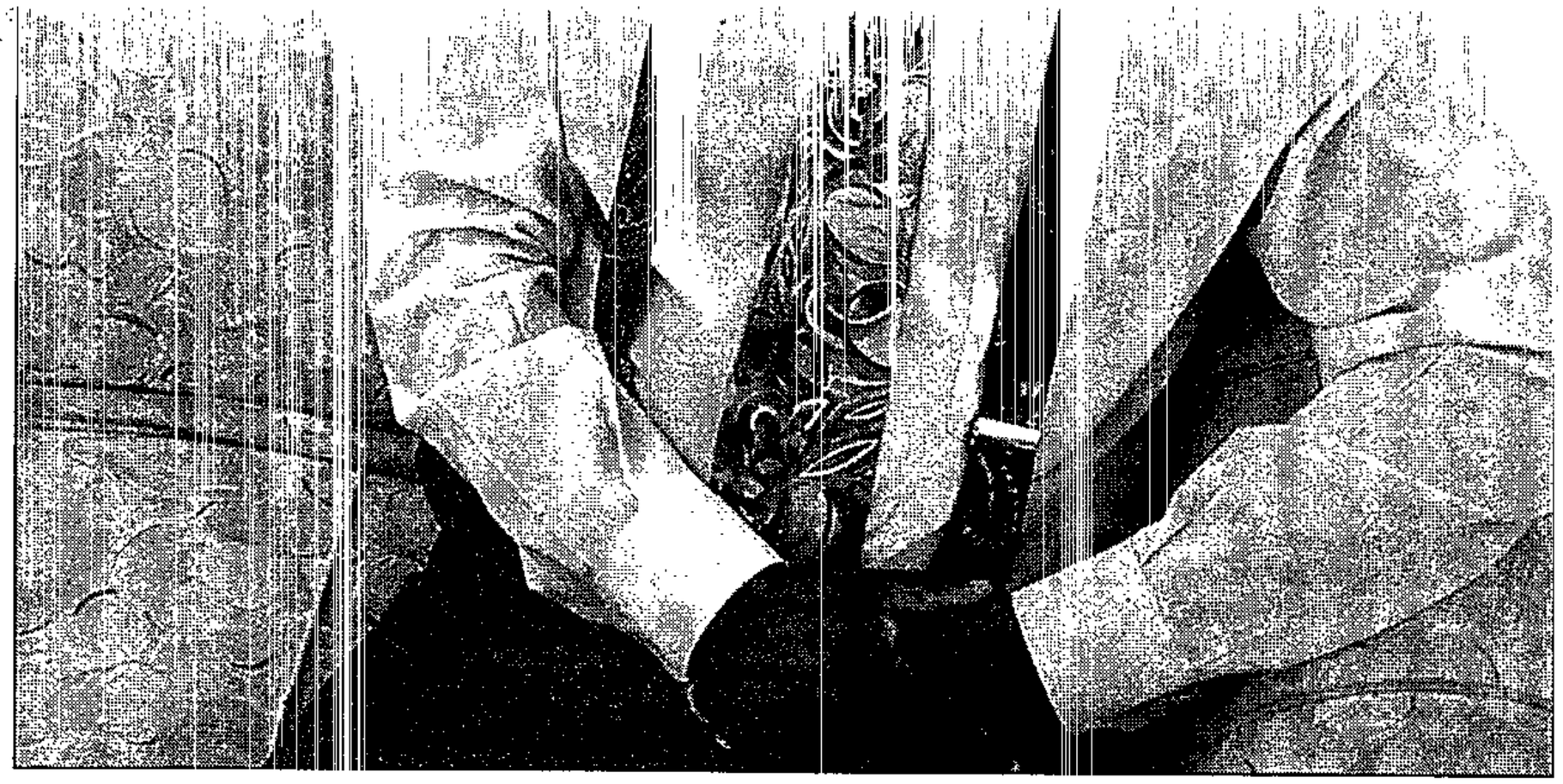
Says Thusi: "We have a lot of white people who, for a long time, were living a different ifestyle and felt that blacks were not eally human beings. Now, coming nto the party, I am fighting to make hem break loose of that attitude."

He adds: "I must be honest with ou. Some do not share the same deals that De Klerk and some of the op leadership share. Some still feel hat, as a minority white grouping, hey can do something, but fortuately they are in the minority."

In parliamentary discussions, the arty sometimes puts its black memers in awkward situations which ave a serious impact on their ttempts to recruit for the party in he townships.

Senator David Malatsi, the most enior black in the NP, blames this n the fact that the party sometimes riticises where it should not, like ashing out at RDP minister Jay Jaidoo.

Not that the NP should not criticise non-delivery of certain issues", Malatsi argues, but it should bear in nind that the RDP is meant to redress imbalances of the past". lthough some of the criticism is valid, he says, it is often "not communicated properly".



Vusumuzi Vincent Thusi: 'The NP has changed, it's just that the baggage of the past is too much for people to realise that'

PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

Malatsi is deputy leader of the NP in Mpumalanga, and is mooted as a possible candidate for the post of deputy speaker, which is to be vacated by Dr Bhadra Ranchod who will be taking up a diplomatic post.

The dilemma of black NP leaders, however, stretches beyond the friendlier walls of Parliament to the attitudes of some of their colleagues in the dusty townships, where "the spirit of tolerance cultivated by President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk has not, as yet, permeated", according to Malatsi, where the main problem he has encountered is the "intolerance of the ANC alliance structures on the ground".

ing.

"If we bash the whites for merely being white and for belonging to th NP, we'll lose a lot of expertise.

"We need more people of colour, who must come into the party and hold them [whites who want to leave the country] by the hand and say: 'Look, you are part and parcel of South Africa in spite of all the wrongs you have done.'"

The question of a black leader for the NP? "It's a simplistic way of looking into the matter. A mere black face will not help. What will help is when the power is with the people.

"This process [of a rejuvenated NP] will breed a new leadership which will change the terrain of our political spectrum.

"We need to inculcate a new mindset into our political terrain. As things are now, we are moving towards a one-party state, which is not good for our fledging democracy."

Malatsi adds that the NP needs to be proactive, otherwise, if it concentrates on being in opposition, "it will remain so even when there is nothing to oppose".

Election losers line up against ANC

Tuyo Mvoko

OPPOSITION parties in Soweto have come together in an attempt to rob the African lational Congress of its dominion ver local politics. But, already, it's ot plain sailing.

The Community Alliance Councilrs (CAC) is a coalition of former canidates of minority political parties ho clubbed together on their own ccord after they were trounced by ne ANC in the local government elecons last year.

For the past couple of weeks they have been meeting regularly at a Soweto secondary school. Now they believe they have found that elusive formula which might pave the way for a national initiative.

In what they presume will be a massive show of strength, on February 17 they will be holding a rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto, where leaders of minority political parties whose members serve in the structure are scheduled to speak.

The executive committee of the coalition, however, is hitting snags already.

The alliance is dominated by the Democratic Party and draws also from the Pan Africanist Congress; from a horde of "community-based organisations" which mushroomed just before the elections — such as the South African Residents Association (Sara) and the Community Indaba, as well as from the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party.

A vengeful Inkatha Freedom Party is partially inside, still busy hitting out at its Soweto leaders like Timothy Mtshali who, prior to the elections last year, dumped the IFP branch chairmanship and stood on the card of Sara. Mtshali is on the coalition's executive committee.

According to IFP spokesman and Gauteng MPL Humphrey Ndlovu, Sara was meant to have been the IFP's "surrogate and younger sister" but, "to our surprise", it was not to be.

Ndlovu feels such things need to be cleared first, although he said he "instructed" his party members to attend the coalition's meetings, "while we are planning to sit down and discuss it fully".

The NP, on the other hand, has expressed doubts and reservations. But the party's Ben Madumise is also on the coalition's executive.

What initially gave birth to the coalition, according to organiser Sam Makurube, was solidarity. "We were harassed just for being members of the DP and for putting up posters."

As to what will happen beyond the 17th and whether the respective political parties will be able fund the coalition's programmes to weaken the ANC, Mtshali said "we cannot divulge anything at this stage, but we have something".

FW plays musical portfolios

(304A)

M+G 16-22/2/96

De Klerk is trying to rejig his leadership to please black and young voters, reports **Marion Edmunds**

THE National Party knows a dash of the tar brush is just not enough these days and has followed up the appointment of its first black Cabinet minister with more black promotions.

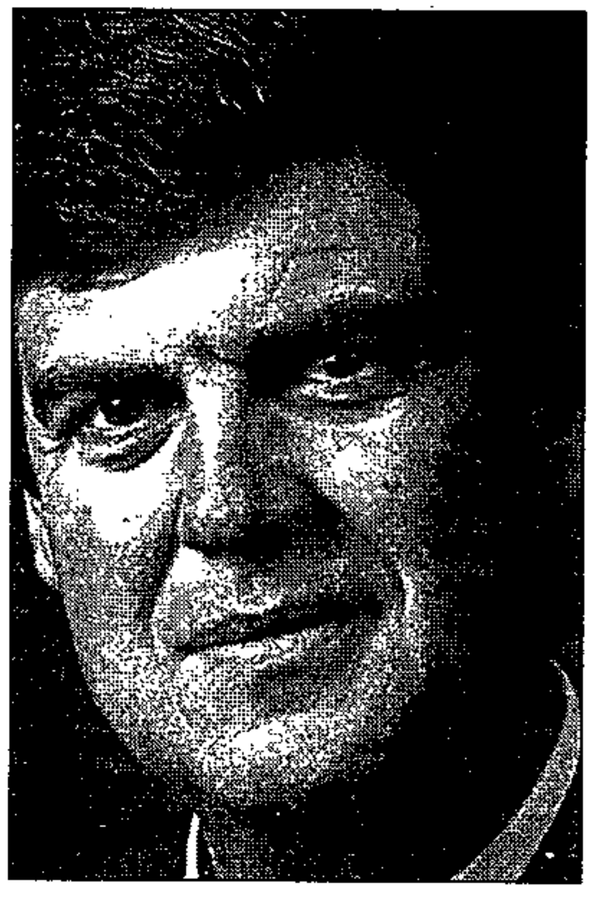
Senator David Malatsi — the most competent black Nat in Parliament — has been appointed assistant secretary-general to the party, along with Marthinus van Schalkwyk, one of the party's most ambitious young leaders.

Last week the NP made history within its own tradition by appointing the current MEC for Agriculture in Gauteng, John Mavuso, to Cabinet as Minister of General Services, replacing Chris Fismer who is taking on Roelf Meyers's Constitutional Development portfolio.

Mavuso's appointment has drawn snide remarks from opposing parties who see him as a party-hopping political hack — a label he rejects.

Certainly, Mavuso has experience. At 68 he has been a member of all three political parties in the Government of National Unity and will meet his old colleagues and bosses of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in Cabinet meetings every week.

Observers believe that this and other appointments are a desperate bid by FW de Klerk to break down the aging white male facade of the party



Leon Wessels: His resignation is a great loss to the NP leadership

and provide evidence of his commitment to non-racism.

At the same time, De Klerk is seen to be balancing black appointments with an infusion of young blood, knowing that his top leadership needs to become more agressive and vigorous if it wants to make an impression on voters before the end of the GNU.

The NP has said on numerous occasions that it realises the importance of the younger generation in the 1999 elections and wishes to prepare to grab that slice of the vote.

Fanus Schoeman, executive director of the NP, has been appointed Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, replacing the older Tobie Meyer who has resigned from politics to farm

Rumour has it that Gert Myburgh, the hitherto invisible Nat Deputy Minister of Justice, might be shifted sideways and that Eastern Cape MEC for Transport, Tertius Delport, could return to the political centre stage in Myburgh's position. While this was denied by De Klerk mid-week, Myburgh's response to the rumours indicate how uncertain his position is.

"The whole situation is fluid and we are prepared to be agile. However I do not intend to resign from politics."

Myburgh said that he appreciated that it was De Klerk's prerogative to shift portfolio's around. In fact, the whole National Party accepts what they call "the leader's prerogative" to shift people around, and many rely on the media — and possibly their horoscopes — for indications of their fate.

Mavuso — who is considered to be the most senior black NP member — was asked to take on the Cabinet position the night before it was announced. He had no preparation for it and still has no idea of his job description because Fismer will take his gambling portfolio with him when he takes over Meyer's job as Constitutional Development Minister.

"It would have been easier if people had prepared me for this — I was beginning to enjoy my present portfolio and I had established a good relationship with those around me," Mavuso said.

When asked what criteria were used to select Mavuso as the first black Nat in Cabinet, De Klerk replied: "I have never motivated political appointments and do not intend doing it now. Appointments are made by the leader of the National Party after proper consultation at leadership level."

De Klerk does not have any black advisors, and while he is shifting his colours around, his advice remains white, male and Afrikaans.

It's likely that the game of musical portfolio's will continue. NP MP Danie Schutte is considering returning to KwaZulu-Natal full-time to head the NP there, and to replace provincial MP, George Bartlett, who is said to be on the point of resigning from his seat. The argument there is that a strong able politician needs to head the provincial NP in KwaZulu-Natal in order to make federalism a reality within party structures.

Change never comes easy and it is not surprising that there are some Nats who feel their political careers are at an end, such as Tobie Meyer. What is surprising is that De Klerk was unable to hold onto two significant players who could have helped him develop the party's new South African appeal.

Deputy Constitutional Assembly chair Leon Wessels, who intends to resign, had a popular following and Deputy Speaker Bhadra Ranchod, who is to become the Ambassador to Australia, was their most significant Indian member to date. De Klerk lacks the players to replace them.

De Klerk also lacks the skill to hide his desperation at the state of the party . In his speech in Parliament this week, he quoted his own apologies for apartheid three times and then called on the party's former arch-enemey, Bishop Desmond Tutu, for approval of the NP's move to non-racism.

Mandela calls MPs to order over language

(304A)

Mail & G. 16/2/96

Mandela has castigated MPs in a behind-closed-doors caucus meeting, writes **Gaye Davis**

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has cracked the whip in the African National Congress's parliamentary caucus with a ferocity that took MPs aback and left some bruises.

In a strongly worded address to the first caucus meeting of the year, he warned MPs not to act in ways that could destroy, in one stroke, months of painstaking effort at fostering national reconciliation — and reminded them that "nobody is above the ANC".

The focus of his anger was a recommendation made last month by Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Defence that English replace Afrikaans as the language of command in the South African National Defence Force.

Singling out committee chair, firebrand Tony Yengeni, for a stinging rebuke, he spoke of the effort he had put into building national reconciliation and his concern that it could be undone by a single action.

Mandela was addressing the caucus last Thursday, the day before he delivered the opening parliamentary address that called on South Africans to rally behind a new patriotism and work together to make the country a winning nation.

It is understood that Mandela was furious about the way the matter was handled by the committee and particularly angry that he had not been consulted before any announcement was made on an issue he is said to view as a matter of extreme national importance.

Informing the committee's recommendation on language was a belief that by maintaining Afrikaans as the language of command and instruction, new SANDF members who did not speak the language would be disadvantaged in terms of their integration and promotion in the defence force.

Mandela intervened swiftly after the committee announced its recommendations, which included the suggestion that no religion be imposed in the SANDF and that there be no discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. It is known that he met Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, as well as SANDF chief George Meiring, who issued internal SANDF communication bulletins to the effect that these decisions were not final and that the status quo would remain.

Mandela later told a gathering of leaders of Afrikaans women's organisations that he had told the committee it was "completely wrong" and that if one wanted to "reduce the country to ashes", one had only to tamper with the language of a group.

His message in caucus was that MPs should realise they were in government because they had been put there by the poorest of the poor, and that nobody could put themselves above ANC policy.

He outlined to the caucus all the efforts he had made to bring Afrikaners into the new political order and accept reconciliation, listing all the disparate Afrikaans groups which he had met. He warned MPs that he would not allow individuals to destroy these efforts and pledged to stop them from doing so.

Committee member Lindiwe Sisulu Guma was also singled out. Mandela addressed her as "my daughter", but surprised those present with the directness accompanying his attack. Other committee members allegedly named by Mandela were Linda Mti and Thenjiwe Mtintso.

One caucus member, who declined to be named, said that Mandela was right in what he said "but when the old man goes over the top, he really goes all the way over".

Approached for comment, Guma said the issue was "too sensitive". Yengeni also declined to comment.



Parliamentary posse: President Nelson Mandela, flanked by Speaker Frene Ginwala, President of the Senate Kobie Coetzee and deputy presidents Thabo Mbeki and FW de Klerk, welcomes the opening of Parliament

PHOTOGRAPH: RODGER BOSCH

Many feel ... way to handle hate speech

BD 16/2/96

(304A)

Harry Schwarz

A DEBATE on hate speech and its relationship to constitutional protection of the freedom of speech is necessary.

One hopes Business Day's editorial comment of January 29 will encourage a meaningful exchange of views.

In addressing the question of reconciling the concept of free speech with that of hate speech, one needs not merely to look at the theoretical concept but must examine the practical situation in the country in which we live. Care needs to be taken in assessing what is needed and not merely a slow reaction or overreaction to oppressive measures of the past.

Some aspects of Business Day's editorial express self-evident truths, or at least I believe them to be so. Laws cannot be used to stamp out ideas. A democratic society requires free and open political debate. Unpopular ideas are entitled to be expressed.

The comparison between pornography and hate speech is, however, in my view not an appropriate one. We can disapprove of both, but they are different in character and specie and need to be addressed differently.

The proposed amendment to the constitution to restrict "advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion that constitutes incitement to discrimination" fails in my view in that it seeks to outlaw only hate speech that incites discrimination and limits the ground on which such hatred is based, such as sexual orientation.

It is easy for a fiery orator to shelter behind the excuse that he did not perpetrate an act of violence, nor did he actually incite it; he merely pointed out how evil and dangerous, repugnant or threatening other groups were and he dissociates himself from the violence committed. This is reminiscent of some of the excuses offered by the Nazis after the Second World War.

We live in a society of many minorities, different faiths and other characteristics. Most of us believe in a non-racial society, but to truly achieve this is a difficult task.

History shows how some politicians find it easier to unite people in hatred than in love.

We cannot assume that no one will seek to obtain support by uniting one group in the hatred of another.

Business Day correctly states that the ANC's object in seeking to eliminate crude racism is a laudable one, but adds that to legislate against it will not achieve the objective. The newspaper states that the DP might be taking the right view for the wrong reason. The DP, among others, has said that a limitation of the nature suggested will or might lead to abuse by the authorities in eventually limiting freedom of speech. The editorial suggests that crude racism will be stamped out when its manifestation comes to be regarded as anti-social.

The possibility of abuse by authority is there, but that can be minimised by appropriate wording in the constitution or other legislation as well as by an independent, honest judiciary. The hope that racism will disappear when it is regarded as anti-social is regrettably not borne out by either the past or the present.

In the US, the first amendment to their constitution allows the channels of communication to be used to broadcast hate speech; there are channels on television and radio which do little else but spew out hatred and seek to give reasons to denigrate others, not as individuals but by reason of their membership of a particular group. There are also many printed publications doing exactly the same. All shelter behind the first amendment and claim innocence when someone influenced by such venom bombs, murders, assaults or discriminates. They claim they do not incite to violence. They merely express opinions, they say.

In the case of Chaplinsky vs New Hampshire, 1942, the US Supreme Court held that the first amendment did not protect "fighting words" — words inflicting injury or tending to incite an immediate breach of the peace. In subsequent decisions, however, anti-hate speech legislation in many states has been struck down.

The argument is that only where there is a clear, present danger, may freedom of speech be limited. There is, however, no restriction on speech that infringes on the fundamental rights of others to dignity, equality and non-discrimination.

In Canada, a different situation prevails. The constitution protects free speech but there is a limitation clause similar to the one in our interim constitution which enables limitations to be imposed if they can be said to be reasonable and justifiable in a free and democratic society.

The provisions of the Canadian criminal code, which restrict hate or racist speech, were upheld despite the freedom of speech provision in the constitution, as it fell within the limitation clause and such speech "keeps the targeted group in a subordinated position through the promotion of terror, intolerance, degradation, segregation, exclusion, vilification", et cetera.

It can therefore be argued that the proposed ANC amendment is unnecessary as legislation to restrict hate speech will be permissible and is enacted if a limitation clause remains in the final constitution, and if the principles applied in interpretation of the limitation clause are those laid down by the President of the Constitutional Court in the case of the State vs Makwanyane, 1995.

It should be pointed out that under the past regime, despite the apartheid policies which were applied, there were provisions in the law that made it an offence to use hate speech causing hostility between different population groups. The comment can be made that the existence of these laws on the statute books did not help race relations, but the answer to this lies in the policies of a government of the day, the police and the attorneys-general.

The question really is whether the clause in the constitution should be amended to deal with hate speech, or whether it should be left to the legislature to enact the legislation the circumstances of the times may require. Business Day's editorial and the DP argue that no such provision should be in the constitution, but do not address the question as to whether there should be separate legislation.

It appears to be implied that there should not be such laws.

Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Poland, Germany and New Zealand are among countries that have anti-hate speech legislation, some in the constitution and some in separate legislation.

I have listened to hate speech in the US, in Germany and, regrettably, in SA. I — and I think many others who, like me, believe in freedom of speech — have the view that the abuse of that freedom can have serious consequences, so I would welcome appropriately worded legislation to deal with the problem. I would feel even more comfortable, as a member of a minority that has for generations in many countries been the object of hate speech which has resulted in more than just words heaped upon the group, if there was constitutional protection.

In my view most South Africans, in majority and minority groups, share that view with me, particularly if they or their forefathers have been victims, whether in SA or elsewhere.

It is not an erosion of free speech it is a safeguarding of freedom in other aspects.

□ Schwarz is a former MP and ... sador to the US.

POLITICAL OPINION

FM 16/2/96
304A

WARNING BELLS

The results of two recent political surveys should sound warning bells for the ANC and all concerned with the consolidation of democracy.

ANC policy on the most contentious issues of the day — power-sharing, capital punishment, abortion and pornography — is dangerously at odds with the convictions of grass-roots ANC supporters and a clash of values is looming.

This is the conclusion drawn by political scientist Prof Hennie Kotzé after comparing the responses of 1 440 opinion leaders from all parties and walks of life with those of the people.

He finds widespread conservatism among ordinary South Africans and a dramatic divide between the ANC elite and its supporters on key issues.

In a separate survey, the Institute for Democracy (Idasa) finds that while the public is positive about parliament's performance over the past year, a "shocking" 57% of respondents — a majority in each racial category — are not satisfied with the way democracy is working.

This may mean that South Africans are dissatisfied with policy delivery rather than the type of democratic system at work as respondents failed to make the distinction between the two.

Idasa's Robert Mattes says though the new democracy is only 20 months old the results show that the honeymoon is over. There does not seem to be a reservoir of good feeling which could carry it through some policy failures. This, coupled with widespread pessimism and cynicism about official ethics and corruption, raises important warning flags.

Kotzé finds overwhelming support for the type of democratic system at work: constitutionally entrenched power sharing. More than 60% of the population — a majority in the ANC, NP, DP and Inkatha — want the Government of National Unity (GNU) to continue beyond 1999.

However, while 67% of ANC supporters favour constitutionally entrenched power sharing, 73% of ANC parliamentarians are dead against it.

There is a similar divide in the ANC over capital punishment, with 58% of the elite against and 65% of supporters in favour of its reintroduction.

At least 70% of the population supports capital punishment unconditionally (NP 86%, IFP 63%, FF 82% and DP 83%).

The ANC is again out of step with its supporters over its plans to allow abortion on demand. Supporters of all parties, with the exception of the DP, are against the legalisation of abortion (ANC 78%, NP 73%, IFP 74% and FF 75%).

All supporters are strongly opposed to pornography (ANC 74%, NP 80%, DP 67%, IFP 68%, and the FF 90%).

Clearly the ANC's liberal outlook is far ahead of society's conservative values, which could create legitimacy problems for the final constitution and new laws.

Government would do well to heed these warning bells by using the constitution-making process to be more responsive to ordinary citizens. ■

PARLIAMENT

BEHIND THE NEW PATRIOTISM

(304A) FM 16/2/96

A key phrase in President Nelson Mandela's address to parliament last week was "new patriotism" — a quality SA was enjoined to embrace with the fervour it has accorded its sporting heroes in rugby, cricket and soccer. But what exactly did Mandela mean?

The outlines of an answer emerged this week in a series of ministerial briefings that attempted to make concrete Mandela's intentions. For investors, it seems that the "new patriotism" entails an acceptance that commitment to the transformation of society means the forgoing of short-term returns on capital "since the question will arise, over and over again, whether we can attain our objective if the profit motive is the only dynamo of our actions."



Nelson Mandela

Mandela said that the question South Africans should ask themselves each day was: "What have I done today to create jobs and improve my skills and those of others?" Within weeks, government "should be able to make major announcements" on its intentions to lead in the sphere of economic growth and development.

This would seem to promise coercive legislation on Minister of Trade & Industry Trevor Manuel's particular bugbear — the "monopolies" that are alleged to dominate the JSE and economic activity as a whole. At a media conference following Mandela's speech, Manuel promised pro-competition laws. Previous leaks from his department suggest that any Bill will be a tough one, for all the ANC's previous repudiation of its traditional belief that "big is bad."

On the broader plain, Mandela identified four areas where, in effect, certain forms of investment (either directly or through levies) would deliver less than normal rates of return in the short term but which in the longer term would transform the economy and provide a sounder basis for sustained growth — and higher returns. They were:

- Education: "Pronouncements about economic growth sound hollow if they are followed up by attempts to block, by hook or by crook, legislation meant to equip children with the required skills. Declarations of loyalty to democracy can only be but mere words if in actual practice people are seen to defend islands of white privilege."

This suggests that privileged parents should wholeheartedly help finance a unitary public education system "available to all South African children." If the new patriotism is here defined as the opposite of ethnic selfishness, it posits greater emotional and financial commitment to the public system by wealthier parents;

- Health: Government's focus is on an expansion of the primary sector — and the tacit appeal is that "those who have resources in abundance" should, in an unspecified fashion, share them;
- Housing: Mandela appealed directly for a "greater commitment on the part of financial institutions to allocate resources to poor areas." He balanced this with a call for "firm indications that the rents and services boycotts have, in the spirit of Masakhane, come to an end."

This linkage — which has never come to fruition — can be seen as an appeal for greater government/private sector co-operation in the labours of upliftment.

There has been no indication to date that any form of prescribed investments for mass housing will be reintroduced, but a comment by Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo indicates well enough the shape of an ideal, voluntary partnership in housing and small enterprise.

Speaking at a mosque in Cape Town, Naidoo expanded on Mandela's message social investors in rural or informal settlements. "Your returns won't be as high as on the JSE — but what are our responsibilities as patriots?"

This comment can be seen as part of a growing campaign by ANC Ministers, in particular, for the private sector to make what at times sound like wartime sacrifices to totally reshape society; and

- Land reform: The fears of commercial farmers are well known. Mandela said: "Soon, the Land Claims Court will begin its work and we are confident that it will deal with the complex problems in a manner that ensures justice and promotes the agricultural interests of the country. No-one has reason to fear: the aim of government is to build, not to destroy ... Thus, when we talk of the new patriotism, we are talking also of efforts of communities to build one another and together build their future."

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, in an interpretation of Mandela's speech, said it meant that existing policies "will be followed with more vigour." Mandela had set out a programme of action and issued "a challenge to participate."

Since all ministries contribute to the President's annual address to parliament, it's apparent that Cabinet has decided that 1996 should at last see the delivery of promises to the majority that transformed SA in April 1994.

The Government of National Unity has been in existence for almost two years and criticisms of its inefficiencies and over-reliance on rhetoric have been mounting.

The appeal to patriotism conceals just the barest hint of desperation. Appeals to patriotism always do. ■

FRIDAY
FEBRUARY 16, 1996 ★

ANC REJECTS PORTRAYAL OF 'CORRUPT' MPs

Some media guilty of 'deep-seated racism'

(304A)
CT 16/2/96

TOP ANC MEMBERS lashed out at the way MPs have been portrayed in some media. This follows the latest Idasa survey which showed that the majority of South Africans questioned their honesty. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

SECTIONS of the media had been racist in trying to show the first black parliamentarians as "corrupt natives", the ANC's senator Mr Bulelani Ngcuka and MP Mr Carl Niehaus MP said yesterday.

Together with ANC caucus chairwoman Ms Baleka Kgositsile, they accused the media of creating a perception that parliamentarians were dishonest.

They spoke after an ANC caucus meeting following the release of an Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) survey which found a majority of South Africans questioned the honesty of politicians and civil servants.

Niehaus said: "It's an approach to try to undermine the institution that is Parliament.

"I don't know what the motives are — whether it is because this is a democratic institution that represents the majority of the people and therefore you try to say things that are going to detract from the good work that is being done."

Ngcuka said these perceptions meant that MPs could be labelled as "as a bunch of corrupt natives — I take strong exception to that".

He added: "You can't blame Idasa. If that is the perception of some of the people, you need to look where that is coming from.

"It's absolutely clear that from the moment we moved in here, we have been subjected to one form of attack or another. Whatever we do is hardly ever presented in a positive manner.

"Is there anything that we have done, one thing, where you can say we are corrupt. Nothing. You can't make that accusation stick," Ngcuka said.

Niehaus said the way some sections of the media had reported on parliamentary salaries had demonstrated "deep-seated racism".

"I feel very strongly that there has been a deliberate attempt by a number of organisations, a number of structures, and unfortunately some in the media have been a part of that, to undermine the legitimacy, the profile of Parliament."

Kgositsile said the perception that legislators were corrupt was created by people opposed to democracy.

"You can't blame the people. You can say that the media have certainly played a role in perpetuating, from day one, an attitude towards Parliament as something that can't be trusted."

The NP's Mr Cobus Dowry said the lack of decisive action and apparent empty promises by ANC leaders were at the root of the public's perception that corruption was rife in all levels of government.

High-profile incidents had contributed to this perception, including the ANC's failure to deal with "problem cases" such as Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Peter Mokaba.

The fraud with the RDP food programmes had also strengthened this perception, Dowry said.

Niehaus also said the ANC caucus had been unable to finalise a decision on the proposed code of conduct for parliamentarians because some members only received copies of the proposed code yesterday and wanted more time to study the proposals.

"I want to make a strong appeal to the media to deal with this matter in the correct fashion and not in the kind of sensationalist way that we have had issues dealt with in the past," he said.

Legislators don't earn their enormous salaries — DP

CT 16/2/96 (304A) (428)

CHRIS BATEMAN

WESTERN CAPE legislators were being paid salaries of between R230 000 and R500 000 a year but had passed only six bills that had anything to do with legislative reform, DP provincial leader Mr Hennie Bester charged yesterday.

Speaking shortly before delivering his reply to Premier Hernus Kriel's "state of the province" opening speech on Wednesday, Bester said he and his colleagues were paid "enormous salaries which quite frankly we don't earn, in terms of what we're delivering to the public".

Bester, who as chairman of the province's Development Affairs Committee gets an annual salary of R230 000, proposed salary cuts "across the board" for legislators, including himself.

Speaking in the legislature, he accused provincial and central government of lagging behind the private sector in housing and service delivery, saying all political energy had gone into "party dogfights" over issues like boundary demarcation which did nothing for the "desperate" people they served. Instead, the fights had "everything to do with party political advantage".

The provincial legislature had put in a "sorry" performance, passing 18 bills since its May 1994 inception, six of which were mere "pro forma" bills designed to set up the new infrastructure, four of which were "minor" adjustments requiring little attention and two of which were appropriation laws.

Only six bills had anything to do with legislative reform and the delivery of better services.

One of these, the Provincial Housing Bill, was not implemented because Pretoria threatened to cut off Western Cape funds if the province carried out its housing plans.

Bester said his own Development Committee had thrown out the Provincial Development Council Bill (incorporating Wesgro into the province) because it was "so badly drafted".

Kriel's call for the urgent drafting of a provincial constitution lacked credibility because it was mere repetition of what he said 12 months ago.

Bester accused the cabinet of refusing to adjust the House rules to give provincial committees powers to probe matters of public interest, saying this prevented proper ventilation of vital issues.

"The ordinary man in the street, including myself, is sick and tired of politics and politicians ... I mean the constant bickering, point-scoring and perpetuated antagonisms and fears. It is this political feuding that prevents progress."

Idasa Parliamentary Record

CT 16/2/96 (304A) (253)

Next week in Parliament

THE National Assembly Portfolio Committee on Welfare is meeting on Wednesday to consider for the first time the Child Care Amendment Act. There have been a number of serious criticisms of the amendments and, in order to assess these criticisms, the committee has requested a full briefing from departmental officials. The amendments are controversial and deal with issues such as child labour and adoption rights.

● ANC MP Carl Niehaus could have found himself in the unusual position next week of chairing his Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services as it scrutinised his own Private Member's bill which seeks to make it possible as an interim emergency measure to imprison children awaiting trial. Recognising the problem, Niehaus has accepted that there should be a joint meeting with the Senate committee, whose chairperson, Senator Bloem, will take the chair.

● On Tuesday and Wednesday the National Assembly Committee on Home Affairs is hearing oral evidence from members of the public and from various organisations on the Films and Publications Bill, which seeks to balance freedom of expression with the need to protect the public, and children in particular, from certain forms of pornography.

● Interviews for the Independent Broadcasting Authority are happening every day next week in the Portfolio Committee on Communications.

● Tuesday (February 20) is the cut-off date for public submissions on the draft final constitution.

For further information, phone Parliament's Public Relations Department on (021) 403-2460/1.

Code of Conduct

MPs' attitudes to a Code of Conduct and additional financial interests.

Other earnings:

● 49% of respondents find it acceptable to have other earnings.

Reasons given are:

● To supplement meagre salaries in meeting basic financial commitments;

● To keep in touch with an important part of the real world;

● To be more independent;

● To attract a better qualified person to parliament;

● To provide job security and provision for life after Parliament, and

● To allow MPs to use their skills and full potential to the benefit of all.

Reasons given for the unacceptability of having other earnings are:

● Parliamentarian work is full-time and all attention should be focused on this; and

● It would create a conflict of interests.

Public Disclosure

● 59% of respondents think all financial interests should be disclosed to the public; 55% think they should be recorded on a parliamentary register.

● 56% of respondents believe the rules should be made law.

Outside Financial Interests

● 41% of respondents think that parliamentary salaries should be reduced proportionately with time taken up by other jobs.

● 66% of respondents accept that having outside financial interests may create conflicts of interest in the performance of public duties as an MP.

● 71% think these rules should extend to civil servants and 66% think it should be extended to the officers and employees of parastatals.

These results are from an ongoing PIMS survey. Thus far there have been 86 completed responses.

Parliamentary ethics

ETHICS, in the context of parliamentary ethics, has more to do with politics than morality.

It is not about making politicians more virtuous. It assumes that politicians will be no more virtuous than the rest of us, but that there are important political reasons for a code of ethics for parliamentarians.

There is an important distinction to be drawn here which was made many years ago by the famous German sociologist, Max Weber, in his classic *Politics as a Vocation*.

He made a distinction between two basic kinds of politicians: those who lived for politics and those who lived off politics.

When we talk of people living off politics, we are talking of people who go into politics as a career, as an opportunity to make money and advance themselves. They happen to choose the political terrain but they are really into this for other purposes.

The politician who lives for politics does so serving some larger cause. This is a very old idea. It is the old democratic notion that politicians can be people who are independent of mind, independent of position and who can, in a rational way, decide matters in the public interest.

But who can actually do that?

We need to consider the social and economic assumptions of this vaunted independence.

Who is in a position to live for politics but not off politics?

It would be fair to say that we now have in parliament many people who have not chosen politics as a career, but who have, through a history of involvement with the struggle, ended up in parliament. They are there because they are living for politics, yet find themselves in the position that they now have to live off politics.

This is where the "gravy train" issue becomes of critical importance.

We should not underestimate the extent to which the gravy train issue is undercutting democratic legitimacy.

In fact, though, very strong arguments can be made why parliamentarians should be adequately remunerated and why salaries, resources, benefits, etc, must attract the best sort of people and limit the opportunities for corruption and so on.

But at the present, suggestions of this kind increase public perceptions of the gravy train.

The more issues of salaries and resources are raised, the more people point to evidence of the gravy train.

How do you uncouple that? I would suggest that this is where the code of ethics comes in. Even if parliamentary salaries seem to be very high – particularly in a country where the levels of poverty, unemployment and need are so very contentious – if it can be established very clearly that there are stringent rules of control, monitoring and accountability, and that these are publicly and clearly perceived, only then can you start to disengage the genuine needs of parliamentarians from the gravy train.

At bottom, ethics thus comes down to the political values of legitimacy and accountability. – Idasa-PIMS

ADVOCATE SANGO PATEKILE HOLOMISA

FACT FILE



Birthplace: Mqanduli, Eastern Cape.
Party: ANC.
Length of membership: 11 years.
Parliamentary duties: Chairperson of Land Affairs portfolio committee; Member of Justice portfolio committee; Member of Theme Committee II of Constitutional Committee.
Most liked aspect of parliamentary life: Discussion of bills in committees.
Most disliked aspect of parliamentary life: Mud-slinging in Parliament; European way of debating.
Most important reforms to be carried out in Parliament: Full involvement of traditional leaders; Removal of photos of past racist leaders.
Greatest fear for the new SA: Revival of racism and tribalism.
First language: Xhosa.
Other languages: English, Zulu, Swazi, Ndebele, Afrikaans.
Region most closely associated with: Transkei.
Highest educational qualification: BA LLB.
Previous employment: Self-employed advocate.
Positions held in the community: Hereditary traditional leader of the Hegebe clan; president of Contralesa.
Favourite newspaper: The Daily Dispatch.
Relaxation activities: Reading, listening to music, watching movies.

MPs, saying it ain't no gravy train, seek greater compensation for their expenses

By CLIVE SAWYER

Parliamentarians, hit hard by the costs of constituency work, have launched a new probe into increasing their compensation for expenses.

The plight of MPs emerged at a meeting of the National Assembly and Senate rules committees and goes a long way towards exploding the "gravy train" myth.

Infuriated MPs this week hit out at sections of the media for what they called irresponsible reporting that helped to build this myth, the pervasiveness of which was revealed by a survey which showed that most South Africans believed the new democratic government to be more corrupt than its predecessor.

According to the survey, by the Institute for a Democratic South Africa, most people do not believe MPs' pay should be increased. But members are hard pressed to serve their constituencies because compensation for essential expenses is inadequate.

In an interview, Democratic Party Douglas Gibson, whose constituency is in Gauteng, said he was often required to return telephone calls from voters.

"I have to return calls and can spend up to 30 minutes helping a voter with a problem, because, after all, that was why they sent me here."

Upcountry MPs were particularly disadvantaged by the limit on telephone units for which they were paid out.

Gibson was unhappy with the term "benefits" being applied to the compensation given to members for their expenses. "If your newspaper sends you on assignment to Port Elizabeth, they pay for the trip. That's not a benefit."

At the committee meeting, ANC MP Johnny de Lange said he was expected to serve a constituency more than 500 km from Cape Town. Because the rules on constituency allowances did not allow payments to individual MPs, he had to pay for petrol and accommodation out of his own pocket.

De Lange said members who had to serve rural constituencies, which often meant driving on bad roads and over mountain passes, faced huge expenses for maintenance of their cars.

Bulelani Ngcuka, ANC chief whip in the Senate, said an effort had to be made to provide humane working conditions for MPs.

The present provision for 24 return air tickets a year was unfair to members who had more than one dependant. The rules allow that once a member has exceeded the allowance of air tickets, that MP has to pay 20% of the costs of air travel, and there are limits on this further allowance.

This extra benefit does not apply to spouses or children of MPs, worsening the disruption to family life caused by the long sessions of Parliament.

A committee which has looked into the question proposed that, over and above the 24-ticket provision, each MP be given an extra four single tickets per child.

A decision on compensating members for travel by car was difficult because it could not be proved that a journey claimed for had actually taken place. It had been recommended that no compensation for this be paid.

On the benefits for spouses, Ngcuka suggested that MPs not "register one partner one month and another the next month".

"We do not want to prescribe to members who their partners are and how long they should retain them," he added.

Star 17/2/96 (304A) (250)

ST 18/2/96

Backstabbing and personality clashes jolt NP

304A

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

THE crisis facing the National Party deepened this week with the acrimonious departure of Deputy Land Affairs Minister Tobie Meyer from his post a week after the announcement by arch-*verligte* Leon Wessels that he was leaving politics.

The resignation came amid growing speculation that another senior NP figure — some said Western Cape leader Dawie de Villiers — was considering leaving the cabinet.

Mr Meyer, whose brother Roelf was recently made party secretary general, said this week: "I had it in mind to retire sometime before 1999. I was probably not ready for it right now."

Nonetheless, he said he remained "loyal to the party".

But NP insiders paint a gory picture of "backstabbing" with ambitious personalities pulling the party to and fro.

They say the ambitions of the NP's Eastern Cape leader, Tertius Delport, who has been lobbying for a job in central government, precipitated the decision to replace Mr Meyer.

But, when Mr Meyer refused to swop positions with Mr Delport, the plan fell flat and party leader F W de Klerk had to search elsewhere for a replacement.

In the end he chose the party's grey man, executive director Fanus Schoeman, for the job — a move which has done little to instil confidence in the NP's commitment to its new direction.

Mr Schoeman was effectively demoted as party strategist with the appointment of Roelf Meyer to the revived post of NP secretary general amid much fanfare on February 2.

Mr de Klerk said this week: "There are no grounds whatsoever for the negative conclusions drawn on the basis of the impending departure of Mr Wessels and Mr Meyer.

"Both these valued colleagues are enthusiastic about the new initiatives within the NP and have stated this clearly in the announcements they have made."

But, what were Mr Wessels' real motives for leaving?

For Mr Wessels and, to a lesser extent, Mr Meyer, the NP's latest change of heart was supposed to usher in an era of political prosperity.

A man who has adapted to the new South Africa better than any of his colleagues, Mr Wessels decked himself out in the new flag and took his place in the cheap seats with soccer fans during the recent African Cup of Nations final.

Always a few steps ahead of his colleagues, Mr Wessels could even have been a candidate for party leader in a changed NP a few years down the road.

The political gossip column in the NP-supporting Beeld newspaper put it this way: "However energetic you are, at some or other time you become tired of always being the advance guard for people who are slow and unwilling to change.

"The announcements of the departure of Mr Wessels and Mr Meyer leave the overwhelming impression among black people that the enlightened are leaving the ship," the column said.

TUESDAY
FEBRUARY 13, 1996 ★

THIRD OF MPs CAN REFER ACTS

ANC about-face on Constitutional Court

CT 13/2/96 (304A)

THE ANC HAS BACKTRACKED on its opposition to a minority party proposal that a third of MPs be able to refer legislation to the Constitutional Court.

IN a major concession to minority parties, the ANC agreed yesterday to a proposal that under the final constitution a third of the members of the National Assembly should be able to refer legislation to the Constitutional Court to rule on its constitutionality.

Previously, the ANC had strongly opposed such a measure, present in the interim constitution, being repeated in the final one.

The proposal was formulated in bilateral talks between the ANC and NP and was presented yesterday to the Constitutional Assembly (CA) streamlining negotiating committee by NP chief constitutional negotiator Roelf Meyer.

A key provision is that if a third of MPs refer an act to the Constitutional Court, the court has to first pronounce whether they have a prima facie case. If not, the parties who made the petition would have to pay costs. This was to prevent frivolous applications, Meyer said.

Another provision says the court could stay the execution of an act pending a final decision on its constitutionality. Ordinary citizens will not have this right.

Senior ANC negotiator Dr Essop Pahad said his party had shifted its position after considering an input from the CA's panel of experts that a similar provision existed in other constitutions to accommodate "the fundamental concerns of other parties".

Colin Eglin (DP) welcomed the "advance", but said the DP wished to submit it to legal experts before further discussion.

Richard Sizani (PAC) said his understanding of the "abstract review" principle was that a bill should be referred to the Constitutional Court before being assented to by the President.

The committee agreed the issue would be review after examination by legal experts and further bilateral discussions between the ANC and PAC.

● The ANC said it would keep an open mind on forthcoming NP proposals for multi-party involvement in the government under the final constitution.

It made the commitment after Meyer told the streamlining negotiating committee that, following inter-party bilaterals, no party was in favour of the current government of national unity arrangements continuing after the expiry of the interim constitution in 1999.

With the concurrence of the NP, the committee scrapped the earlier NP option in the draft constitution for the current government of national unity dispensation to be written into the final constitution. — Sapa

Parliament body postpones decision on code of conduct

(3049) (253) BD 19/2/96

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Foreign policy should not be influenced by international funding of local parties, and declarations of money collected abroad should form part of an MP's code of conduct.

This suggestion was made in Parliament's rules committee on Friday when it was decided that the final decision on the controversial code of conduct would be delayed for three weeks.

DP MP Douglas Gibson said following indications that SA's foreign policy could be influenced by foreign funding, his party felt that a clause should be inserted to deal with it.

He referred to the recent revelations that Taiwan had donated millions to the ANC's 1994 election efforts and suggestions this was affecting policy towards China and Taiwan.

Gibson also suggested that the controversial clauses which, when the code was finally approved, would require MPs to declare their financial interests and those of their spouses be expanded. Parents and siblings' financial interests should also be included.

The committee and ethics subcommittee chairman, Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, were also asked to give members copies of the code of conduct which has apparently been approved for Cabinet ministers.

Friday's rules committee meeting was to have finally approved the ethical code of conduct but, due to the late tabling of the document, party caucuses have been unable to give it their final approval. The decision to postpone the decision was unanimous.

The delay coincides with a row over an Idasa survey last week which showed most citizens think the new government is as corrupt, if not more so, than the previous one. An angry ANC response said the problem lay with those who created the public perceptions of corruption.

Comment: Page 12

I'm no token appointment, says new minister

BD 19/2/96 (394A)

Ingrid Salgado

GAUTENG agriculture and conservation MEC John Mavuso, soon to replace General Affairs Minister Chris Fismer, has denied he is the NP's "token black" appointment in the national Cabinet shake-up.

Mavuso said at the weekend his detractors continued to cling to "narrow, ethnic-based political thinking" and had difficulty "coming to terms with an SA patriot and nationalist coming together with FW de Klerk".

Mavuso becomes minister next month, but does not yet know what his responsibilities will entail. Nor does he know why gambling, traditionally the domain of the ministry, will continue to be administered by Fismer, who replaces Roelf Meyer as Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister. He believes his responsibilities will be similar to those of Minister without Portfolio in charge of the RDP Jay Naidoo — interacting with departments on specific issues.

Seen by some as a political opportunist, Mavuso is alleged to have missed Gauteng meetings to attend horseracing events. He denies he gambles, but admits to owning a race horse.

Mavuso is emphatic that the NP will remain SA's major party after the ANC in the next five years. He predicts NP leadership will be predominantly black within a few years. He was accused number 39 in the 1956/57 treason trial at the hands of the NP.

Mavuso's career began as an ANC national executive committee member in the 1950s and then as an IFP central committee member until 1986. He joined the NP in 1993, after serving on the Transvaal Provincial Administration. He says he is no "political upstart or maverick, jumping from one party to the other". He left the ANC when it "changed" and the IFP because he "dared" to serve on the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

'Crisis looms if ANC fails to honour deal with IFP'

(3044) CT 19/2/96

NAIROBI: The Kenyan mediator who brokered a deal bringing the IFP into South Africa's all-race elections said a crisis loomed because the ANC had failed to honour the agreement under which the IFP took part in the 1994 poll.

"The issue of an undertaking was made and that undertaking has not been honoured. The IFP and the ANC do not want to address the issues and as such cannot agree," Professor Washington Jalang'o Okumu said yesterday.

"A crisis can still be averted. Morally, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the IFP have a point when they feel betrayed. Whether you like it or not, that is the issue," the economics professor said.

When all hopes for a peaceful all-party all-race election appeared to be fading and international mediators such as Dr Henry Kissinger had left SA after failure to get the parties to agree, Okumu went back to Buthelezi and Mandela for talks.

The result was a draft deal in which Buthelezi committed the IFP to the elections, provided further international mediation was pursued on demands by the IFP over several issues, including the form of the post-apartheid state.

"Once an agreement was signed and it gave certain undertakings, surely those undertakings should be adhered to unless all the three signatories say that the agreement is no longer valid.

"Unless this agreement is honoured, political killings will escalate," Okumu predicted.

Okumu spoke before leaving for Norway to address the Nobel Institute on "preventive diplomacy in the 21st century".

He said one of the key issues in the SA dispute was the question of greater powers for provincial governments. The IFP has demanded greater semi-autonomous status for KwaZulu-Natal.

"That was a fundamental issue of disagreement that we decided not to address in the agreement because there was not enough time," he said. "But now the ANC appears to fear that international mediators would give provinces more powers.

"The IFP is not asking for independence for KwaZulu-Natal, so there cannot be such a big fuss."

Okumu said that after the elections, the ANC demanded new terms of reference as a basis for talks on outstanding issues. New terms were drawn up based on what was agreed before.

"They (terms) met the demands of all the parties, a united SA with enough powers for the central government and at the same time recognising the pluralistic, multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic nature of the society."

He saw a solution in "devolution of powers to provinces" — the provinces taking up limited powers in areas a central government is inclined not to perform well.

"The ANC could accommodate that without losing powers to govern effectively from the centre. They may think that if international mediation takes place, it will recommend more powers to the provinces," Okumu said.

"That is not the issue. They will only recommend. The parties can still reject those recommendations," he added. — Reuter

ANC perturbed by govt corruption comparisons

(3049)

Bonile Ngqiyaza

BD 20/2/96

THE ANC has taken strong exception to parallels being drawn between the government of national unity and the old NP government, saying such media-created perceptions are "cynical and unfair".

Disputing an assertion — in yesterday's Business Day editorial — that government's vocal criticism of the media last week and its questioning of the Press's motives indicated the Press was performing well, doing its job of reporting and interpreting public events, the party said this ignored efforts by the present government to act swiftly in detecting and countering corruption.

"The fact of the matter is there is no comparison between the level of corruption in the present government and the previous government," it said.

The government of national unity's approach extended "far beyond mere openness". It sought to achieve greater accountability in government and in its handling of public funds.

"More mechanisms of accountability and oversight still need to be established. This is what the media should be reflecting...

"It does democracy a great disservice to create perceptions which don't match reality," the ANC said.

New talks to avert deadlock

(304A) ARG 20/2/96

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiators, desperate to avoid having to declare a formal deadlock, are to meet next week for multi-lateral talks on provincial powers and a second house of parliament.

The talks, to be held on Monday, will start at 10 am and "continue if need be into the early hours", said constitutional assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa.

The potential for a deadlock poses a grave threat to parties meeting the May deadline for a final draft of the constitution.

While good progress has been made on several other issues, parties are no closer to common ground on provincial powers and the role of the body which will replace the senate after 1999.

Reprimanding negotiators for failing to make progress, Mr Ramaphosa said: "We have been skirting around these issues, jiving around them, shadow-boxing."

Pravin Gordhan, a senior African National Congress negotiator, said his party was very disappointed that after weeks of talks, parties were close to having to declare a formal deadlock.

However, NP negotiators said they believed an accommodation could be reached.

ANC members accused other parties of negotiating in bad faith by reopening questions it was thought had been settled.

The third interim working draft of the constitution lists two options for a second house of parliament. The ANC-backed proposal is for a council of provinces, drawn in part from provincial legislators and possibly local government councillors.

The NP backs a senate of 90 members indirectly elected by provincial legislatures.

Mandela (304A) row: Nzo tries to placate Algeria

ARG 20/2/96

PRETORIA. — Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo met Algerian ambassador to South Africa Said Kitouni in Pretoria today in an attempt to smooth soured diplomatic relations with the north African country.

Foreign ministry spokesman Pieter Swanepoel declined to comment on the nature of the talks, but said the meeting was a follow-up to a protest note sent by the Algerian government this week.

The Algerians are upset about a meeting President Mandela had in Cape Town last week with Anouar Hadaam, a leading member of Algeria's outlawed Islamic Salvation Front (FIS).

Arab ambassadors were expected to discuss the matter in Pretoria later today.

An unconfirmed report said the Algerian ambassador had been recalled to his country for consultations.

The Algerian foreign ministry said the meeting showed "an unacceptable desire to interfere in Algerian affairs."

Mr Haddam, in a statement issued in Washington on an FIS letterhead, said he had urged Mr Mandela to approach the Organisation of African Unity and convince it of the urgent need for "a global, political and just solution to the Algerian crisis". — Sapa-AFP.

Ramaphosa chastises ANC, NP after bitter row

RT 20/2/96 (3044)

POLITICAL STAFF

THE drafting of the new constitution received a setback yesterday with a bitter clash between the African National Congress and the National Party over what the parties consider to be the "heart of the constitution".

After several weeks of bilateral discussions on a future senate and the powers of the provinces, the NP did an apparent about-turn on its earlier positions.

This drew allegations from the ANC that the NP was negotiating in "bad faith" and prompted an angry response from Constitutional Assembly chairperson Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who ordered the two parties to settle their differences at a special meeting next week.

The argument occurred during a session of the assembly's deadlock-breaking sub-committee, which was intended to resolve constitutional differences between the parties in time for the completion of the new constitution by May 9.

The ANC and the NP have held several bilateral meetings to find a compromise on the ANC's proposal to replace the senate with a council of provinces that is more directly representative of provincial legislatures than the current arrangement.

The related issue of the "provincial competencies" determines what powers a provincial government will be able to exercise alongside the national government. It is a key issue, especially for the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party, who each control one province.

ANC negotiator Mr Pravin Gordhan opened the row, saying the two parties were "close to deadlock".

Gordhan, who earlier this month raised the prospect of a deadlock-breaking referendum if the parties were unable to agree on key issues before the May 9 deadline, said compromises were possible if there was flexibility on both sides.

At one stage the parties had reached "80% agreement".

"If we cannot have good faith at the bilateral level, what is the point of continuing these negotiations?" he asked. "Progress is going to be impossible unless the parties negotiate in good faith and maintain consistency."

The NP's Mr Neels Ackermann said it would "take time to reach agreement". His colleague, Mr Piet Marais, said the NP did not regard the disagreement as a deadlock.

Ramaphosa chastised both parties, saying he was "very unhappy and distressed" about the development. He said the parties were "playing yo-yo games and dragging feet".

He ordered the parties to lock themselves up in a committee room on Monday from 10 am and to stay there until they had emerged with an agreement, even if this meant staying "right until the early hours of the morning".

● See Page 3

PREVIOUS BOYCOTT 'SET PRECEDENT'

IFP will recognise final constitution — Buthelezi

(A1B3) (304A) CT 20/2/96

IF THE NEW constitution is drawn up entirely in the IFP's absence, "so be it", says party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

INKATHA'S announcement that it will abide by a national constitution it has not helped to create has reduced political tensions as the deadline for the constitution's completion approaches.

In an interview yesterday, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party was participating in the present parliamentary and executive structures — which it viewed as flawed — and "will abide by the new constitution whatever it is".

Speaking after his meeting with Danish foreign minister Mr Niels Helveg Petersen — who is accompanying Queen Margarethe on her official visit — Buthelezi said there was already a precedent set with the present constitution, which was drawn up in the absence of Inkatha at the Kempton Park talks.

If the present constitution, due for completion on May 9, was again drawn up entirely in the IFP's absence, "so be it".

"And I mean that, I don't speak from both sides of my mouth," he stressed.

"In fact, we are honouring the interim constitution ... we respect the interim constitution more than the ANC and its leader does. It is a matter of record that the cases (which Inkatha has taken to the constitutional court) are based on (this) respect."



WANTS MEDIATION: Chief Buthelezi

In April last year Inkatha walked out of the Constitutional Assembly citing lack of progress on the international mediation agreement which coaxed the party into the 1994 poll.

The Inkatha leader emphasised that he still expected President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk to carry out their part of the bargain. Asked if his party would take part in future elections, Buthelezi said this was a matter for his party's national conference to decide.

Buthelezi's stance was welcomed enthusiastically last night by Constitutional Assembly chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who said he would expect all political parties to regard the constitution as the "supreme basic law" of the land.

Ramaphosa said he therefore expected "all political parties" — including Inkatha — to participate in all structures set up in its name.

Asked if there was a hope of international mediation being carried out, Ramaphosa said there were "a whole lot of things under way", particularly in KwaZulu-Natal — where a provincial constitution was being drawn up — and he was hoping that what was not achieved through previous mediation efforts, would be achieved through negotiation.

Referring to a statement by De Klerk that the need for international mediation could fall away if the issues were resolved through negotiation, Buthelezi said he did not know how he could have reached that conclusion. It smacked of "the old system of dictatorship".

NP KwaZulu-Natal leader Mr Danie Schutte cautiously welcomed Buthelezi's stance but said there was still a danger that a non-inclusive constitutional settlement was "a second-rate prize".

The agreement on mediation should be honoured, as a "repeat performance" of the crisis after Kempton Park would be dangerous in KwaZulu-Natal. — Political Staff

being a hard worker.

Familiar faces for Mavuso, but how many friends?

Star 21/2/96

(304A)

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

South Africa's newest cabinet minister, John Mavuso, will find very familiar faces seated around the table when he attends his first cabinet meeting next month.

There will be President Nelson Mandela and Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo, old comrades from his days in the ANC in the 1950s, and there will be Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, his colleague and leader when Mavuso was a member of the Inkatha cultural movement's central committee in the 1970s and 1980s.

And then of course there will be Deputy President F W de Klerk and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pik Botha, colleagues in his new political home in the National Party.

Mavuso, who was recently appointed Chris Fismer's successor in the General Affairs portfolio, has had a political career that has spanned all three parties that make up the Government of National Unity.

Having come into politics through the ANC in the 1940s, Mavuso ditched African nationalism for Zulu nationalism in the 1970s as a founder member of the Inkatha Freedom Party. He has now emerged as a prominent player in the NP, a party that was once the vehicle of Afrikaner nationalism.

Although speculation about who would be appointed to the cabinet following Roelf Meyer's resignation centred around parliamentarians David Malatsi and David Chuenyane, De Klerk's choice of Mavuso for cabinet post seemed the most logical.

For one thing, he has 10 years experience in provincial government behind him, having served as housing MEC under the old Nat-dominated Transvaal Provincial Administration and as conservation and agriculture MEC in the post-apartheid Gauteng government.

The 69-year-old Mavuso is also the only black Nat with any intellectual substance and – unlike most of his black colleagues – he did not opportunistically jump on to the NP bandwagon because the party was desperate for black faces to display on its mantlepiece.

> **"It is not that I left the ANC, it is the ANC that left me"**

Mavuso is deeply conservative and mouths the kind of "family values" philosophy that De Klerk is trying to adopt as the ideology of the New Age NP.

His conservatism stems from the Zulu traditionalism he imbibed growing up in Pongola in northern KwaZulu Natal. According to Mavuso, who sports the deep ear-piercing characteristic of Zulu traditionalists, he is one of the Zulu monarch's envoys on the Reef.

He resents the permissiveness which he believes the ANC is enforcing on South Africa: the acceptance of abortion, the new South Africa's disregard for the family structure and the breakdown in respect for elders, a phenomenon he says was spawned by the 1980s township uprisings. He even boasts that his 45-year-old brother dare not smoke in front of him out of respect.

The man has paid his dues to conservative politics, having been a senior Inkatha member in Soweto when hostility to the organisation was rife and joining the TPA hierarchy when "working for the system" was tantamount to writing one's own death warrant.

Mavuso's political activism began when he joined he ANC in the 1940s "before the NP came into power" and he rose through the ranks of the organisation eventually becoming Transvaal deputy secretary at the time the movement was banned in 1960. However when the ANC was outlawed, Mavuso was not among those in the inner circle who were invited to continue the struggle underground and thus he ended his relationship with the organisation.

To this day Mavuso insists he has never relinquished his membership of the ANC.

"It is not I that left the ANC. It is the ANC that left me," he says.

But he says he has "not lost a single friend in the ANC" and refers to Mandela as "Nel".

He returned to active politics in 1972 when the remaining political leadership decided to end the 10-year lull in resistance which had followed the banning of liberation movements and jailing of senior leaders.

Mavuso was one of the handful of leaders who met, with the sanction of the exiled ANC leadership, to revive the 1920s Inkatha cultural movement and use it as the nucleus of a new force with which to mobilise blacks.

Mavuso, a Zulu traditionalist to the core, took eagerly to this endeavour.

Even when other leaders who were initially involved in the project, including Nthato Motlana and Sibusiso Bengu, fell out with Buthelezi over what they regarded as Buthelezi's subversion

> South Africa's newest cabinet minister has had a ... three parties in the

of the movement's goals, Mavuso stayed close to the Inkatha leader.

The break came in 1986 when Mavuso accepted a post on the then all-white TPA without consulting Buthelezi. True to his style, Buthelezi used a rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre to rebuke Mavuso for participating in apartheid structures and expel him from the party's central committee.

What irked Mavuso most about this was not so much that the then KwaZulu Chief Minister



olitical career spanning all

overnment of National Unity

chose to rebuke him on a public platform instead of confronting him personally, but that it came from a man who was himself deeply immersed in apartheid structures.

"What I know is that I would never ever have served in a homeland government. I would never have served in any structure in which I would have not had the power and ability to be effective in improving the lives of our people. At least my job in the TPA allowed me to do that and that is why I accepted it," says Mavuso.

Left without a political home, Mavuso tried unsuccessfully to establish a forum of black leaders which only attracted a motley crew of self-proclaimed leaders with little following.

Impressed by De Klerk's and the NP's courage in turning the party's back on its past and "admitting they had been wrong all along", Mavuso decided in 1993 to enter the third phase of his career when he joined the party whose narrow Afrikaner nationalism had catapulted him into opposition politics 30 years earlier.

For Mavuso, the NP had the allure of conservatism that fitted in well with his traditional upbringing.

He sees the NP as the only "decent" party that can challenge permissiveness and lawlessness.

He is totally dismissive of black political parties, which he feels are failing to provide direction for the country .

"The black parties disgust me. As a person of Zulu extraction it pains me to see Zulu people killing each other in KwaZulu Natal for no other reason than ideological differences. And what are the ANC, the IFP and the PAC doing? Nothing!" says Mavuso.

A keen horseracing man, Mavuso seems quite suited to the general affairs portfolio, whose main function is administering the country's burgeoning gambling industry.

He is also reputed to be the type to throw himself at any job with vigour, a quality which will stand him well in national government.

But more than anything his elevation to cabinet will boost his standing in the NP, which he would like to steer into a vehicle for black political and economic empowerment.

Meyer set to focus NP on core values, shed baggage

(304A)

STEPHEN LAUFER

BD 21/2/96

HAS Roelf Meyer been put out to pasture, as some ANC heavyweights believe, or is the NP taking a leaf out of the post-Second World War transformation book of Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in attempting to set up a new unified opposition centred around core values?

Besides indicating where the NP is headed, the answer could have bearing on whether President Nelson Mandela reshuffles his Cabinet to make space for ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa when the Constitutional Assembly completes its work.

If Meyer is to be the key player in the NP's efforts to reform, Mandela could be tempted to make Ramaphosa head of the ANC parliamentary group, allowing him to shadow Meyer in his dual role of secretary-general and parliamentary leader more effectively. With Ramaphosa in a high-profile job alongside chief whip Arnold Stofile, Mandela would be free of the need to reshuffle to find him a portfolio.

But could the pasture theorists be right? They point to the traditional insignificance of the secretary-general's role within the NP. Historically, they say, incumbents have disappeared without trace and that is where Meyer is headed.

What is missing from this argument is an answer to the question why NP leader FW de Klerk should have chosen this moment to sink Meyer, even assuming there was evidence he wanted to do so, which there is not.

As constitutional development and provincial affairs minister, Meyer still had some serious work ahead of him in the KwaZulu-Natal and Western Cape local elections. And in his contribution to the president's debate in Parliament last week, Meyer made it clear that he saw his coming task in a larger context. Ensuring progress towards a multiparty democracy, he said, entailed a realignment of the political scene in SA.

Without it the NP has the life expectancy of a dodo. The Freedom Front has more to say to ethnically-minded white Afrikaners, and the ANC's local election victories in the Western Cape show the NP's coloured vote is vulnerable. But, as a party grouped around core values, the new NP would be free of its ethnic, language and historic baggage.

Meyer's appointment as parliamentary party leader and his retention of the key post of chief NP constitutional negotiator indicate he has been given enough clout to lead the transformation, especially in the light of what has been learned from the German political system.

Under the system, which De Klerk looked at closely during a visit to Germany last year, the parliamentary leader is the most powerful position after the party chief. Like the top job, it is a generalist's position, allowing the incumbent to become involved in every aspect of policy and government. When a party is in power, its parliamentary leader sits at the Cabinet table. In coalition, the incumbent is responsible for the relationship with partners.

If the NP expands on Kohl's model as expected, this will be the second time in its history that it has followed a German example. Hendrik Verwoerd and other architects of apartheid were students in Germany during the 1930s, returning with the racial theories which became the core of 46 years of NP rule.

This time, the task is to create a broad centre-right party able to integrate many elements of the non-violent far right while opening up to growing numbers of conservatively minded and increasingly middle-class blacks.

The NP has already been in discussion with Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front. Further contacts with the white right as well as with the DP, the ACDP and the moderate wing of the IFP can be expected to intensify as the 1999 election begins to focus the minds of the tadpole parties.

Meyer said last week that the process of building a multiparty democracy in which he was involving himself could take place over a period of three to 10 years.

This is roughly the period after 1945 the CDU under Konrad Adenauer required to consolidate the disparate forces of the pre-war anti-Nazi right and centre. He then set about breaking the influence of those opposed to the redefinition of the party as a "volkspartei" able to accommodate a broad spectrum from conservative Christian workers to the newly emergent post-war entrepreneurial class.

De Klerk and Meyer will be seeking to emulate Adenauer's success in reconstituting a fractious centre-right as a broad church. It is only as a broad church, incorporating key elements of the more liberal DP and the white Afrikaner oriented FF that the new Nats will have any hope of becoming a counterweight to the ANC's own broad church.

This centre-right SA "volkspartei" will need to find space for Hernus Kriel and his Western Cape Cabinet colleague Peter Marais, neither of whom is known for a style capable of winning large numbers of black votes. But Meyer's arithmetic might need Marais as the magnet for coloured voters and Kriel as the man to bind in the white right once Viljoen quits politics.

Provided Kriel can hang onto the Western Cape, he could make it SA's equivalent of Bavaria and himself a version of legendary right-winger Franz Joseph Strauss. That way, the NP would guarantee itself both votes and the ability to challenge central government from a provincial base, an essential element of power sharing in a federal constitution without the minority guarantees the NP has relinquished.

The new NP will need to define its core values and identify potential black leaders. Without them the project is doomed to failure in the face of the enormous prestige the ANC enjoys as the nation's liberator. Understanding this, De Klerk last week appointed Senator David Malatse as the party's first black assistant secretary-general.

But with the interim constitution's strict rules against crossing the floor and ANC members generally very loyal to their party, De Klerk and Meyer will battle to identify and nurture the significant black talent they require, as the appointment of the unimpressive John Mavuso to the general affairs ministry shows.

Only on the basis of well-defined values can a new NP hope to chip away at the ANC's aura. Even then it is likely to take well into Thabo Mbeki's second term as president before the NP can even begin to think of rattling the ANC's absolute majority.

The new NP's values are likely to centre around a conservative Judeo-Christian-Muslim ethic, combined with free market economic ideas, calls for a smaller role for the state, and a strong message of individual responsibility.

But, like Kohl, Meyer will understand that the population wants the state to play a role in providing basic welfare and opening the economy to emerging entrepreneurs.

In Germany, this model has brought a high social wage, a strong state pension scheme, and functioning medical care. The "Wirtschaftswunder" — the economic miracle — saw the emergence of a new class of small and medium entrepreneurs, some of which became multinationals.

In SA, the new NP will need to champion universal education, free health care and a realignment of resources away from white areas if it is to capture significant conservative black support.

Meyer can expect help in formulating the new vision from conservative academics, think tanks, and foundations such as the CDU's Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

The message would be developed to appeal to conservatives of all colours, potentially including millions of members of the Zionist Christian Church and other religious groups, emerging black entrepreneurs and the growing black professional middle class.

If Meyer gets it right we may have a real two, or two-and-a-half, party system in SA, like in Britain, Germany or the US, within two decades.

Cosatu wants several changes to draft

Political correspondent

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has asked the constitutional assembly for several changes to the draft constitution.

Cosatu says it may make further submissions about issues which it has asked the assembly to extend the deadline for submissions.

Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa said failure to address the concerns could have serious repercussions, particularly for labour relations and the economy.

The federation also called for the assembly to undertake a comprehensive review of the constitution.

Cosatu said the assembly should not further entrench the rights of minorities, but should ensure that the majority of the people can exercise their will fully.

Consistently with the principle of majority support,

Reaching out to where the Nats have never been before

Roelf Meyer, the National Party's chief constitutional negotiator at the Kempton Park talks, is unexpectedly leaving the Cabinet to become secretary-general of the NP. Argus Correspondent PATRICK BULGER spoke to him.

ARG 21/2/96 (3044)

When Roelf Meyer took over as chief National Party negotiator at the constitutional talks in May 1992, the NP's carefully-planned strategies lay in tatters.

Almost singlehandedly, Meyer saved the day for the NP. It happened like this.

Meyer's predecessor, the highly-respected Dr Gerrit Viljoen, had taken ill and quit the talks. Earlier another senior party negotiator, former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, had similarly succumbed to negotiations fatigue, leaving Dr Tertius Delport holding the candle for the party.

Delport quickly found himself at the mercy of African National Congress negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, and they embroiled in a pointless argument about what proportion of a future Constitutional Assembly could change the constitution.

The ANC was deeply suspicious of Delport, whom it regarded as being too close to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The breakdown in May 1992 of the Codesa talks signalled the end of the NP's attempts to fashion, on its terms alone, the future constitutional direction of the country.

While some heavyweight political careers were ended at Kempton Park, the vacuum created by their leaving presented Meyer with his first big political break.

Until then Meyer, a University of the Orange Free State-educated attorney, had done little to suggest he would rise to great political heights and that, together with Ramaphosa and the late Joe Slovo, he would be credited with the deal that gave South Africa the Government of National Unity and the much-vaunted "political miracle" that was the result of the horse trading that took place late into the nights at Kempton Park.

By a quirk of fate, one of Meyer's most noted recent political actions was his announcing that the NP would no longer insist on the GNU being included as a feature of the future constitution now being negotiated at the Constitutional Assembly in Parliament.

For Meyer, the political circle had been completed and his work as Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development had run its course.

Another challenge now presents itself to Meyer, namely that of using the post of secretary-general of the NP to realign the party to take advantage of an expected political realignment away from the fixed racial moulds of the past and towards a functioning multi-party system.

Meyer's is not an easy task. The NP's opponents never tire of pointing to the party's apartheid past and the ruinous effect of the NP's policies.

And with the Truth Commission coming up, the NP could be in for more image battering.

"It does not help to explain the past," Meyer said in a recent interview in the ministerial office in Cape Town he will vacate at the end of the month to take up his full-time party position.

"We have to put ourselves in the situation of today and make people experience us as part of the new South Africa. People must experience us as being part of the new South Africa".

As is widely known, there are still prominent members of the NP who are less than comfortable in the new situation.

Will Meyer be able to inspire confidence among these members and to what extent will he be able to bring about a change in the mindset of those who regard the NP as the vanguard of minority interests?

Respect is something that is earned, Meyer argues.

In his new position he intends to widen the channels of communication within the party, deal with issues upfront and interact with his caucus colleagues on an ongoing basis.

He intends putting issues like representivity, equality and affirmative action relevant within the NP.

Meyer sees his task as going beyond the building of the NP: "The ANC and the NP still look like they were years ago. We have to integrate the party political scene. If it just goes on in the same format that it is in now, I am afraid we will get stuck with the same problems."

This he sees as resulting in an eternal ANC majority and an effective one-party state.

To achieve the changes, Meyer intends reaching out beyond the NP's traditional constituency which may mean forfeiting support in the short term but gaining new support in the longer term.

He is not looking for alliances with the existing parties in Parliament.

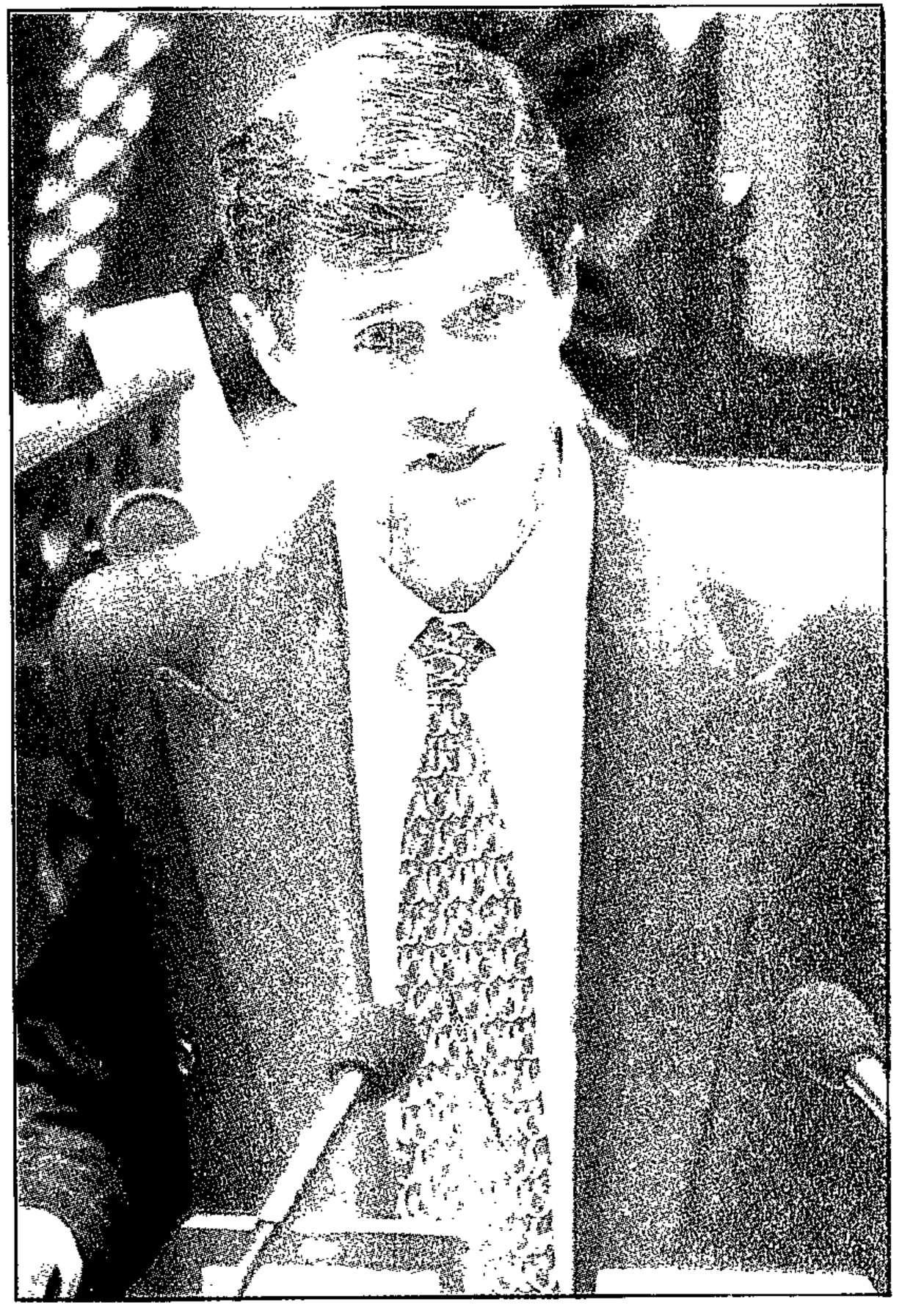
Is this at all possible? Meyer derives inspiration from the NP's difficult journey these past few years and the near-impossible task it faced in removing itself from power without creating a dangerous political vacuum.

He intends approaching his task in the same spirit of optimism and gritty determination that carried him through the years of talks.

"It would be totally silly if the NP, having been part of constitutional reform process in the way that we were, would not in some way be part of the totally new scene as well," he said.

By a twist of fate, Meyer finds himself occupying the same position in the NP as his "negotiating buddy" from the Kempton Park days, Cyril Ramaphosa, finds himself in in the ANC.

The two of them once went on a fishing trip after the Codesa breakdown – just whose bait will prove more attractive to the voters in future elections will determine how successful Meyer has been in his post.



ROELF MEYER: Will he be able to inspire confidence among National Party members?



The neo-fascist Eugene Terre'Blanche and his AWB are seen as irrelevant by most Afrikaners, say observers.

Afrikaner fears about an uncertain future

Sowetan 1/2/96 (304A)

By Rohan Minogue

AFRIKANERS are anxious about their future in the land of their birth and unsure of their position in a South Africa groping towards a new, inclusive, national identity.

Die Volk, as the Afrikaners are known, have always faced their crises more divided than united, but survived and finally overcame. This time the will may be lacking.

"There are many Afrikaners who don't feel a strong sense of political identity as Afrikaners, though they may have language and cultural concerns," says Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Forged in war

The pioneer nation, forged in a brutal war against the British at the turn of the century, has largely retreated to the suburbs and political apathy in the aftermath of the discredited apartheid experiment.

"But there are politicised Afrikaners who are less happy now than they were a year ago and who are nearer to the mainstream than the far right," Lodge says, warning that a relatively small number would suffice to constitute a core of resistance to perceived injustice.

Focal points for protest are the radical reduction in Afrikaans airtime on national television and the concern that soon Afrikaner children will not be able to find Afrikaans state schools.

Blockading

This concern is highlighted by white parents blockading an Afrikaans primary school in the right-wing bastion of Potgietersrus in the Northern Province to keep three black children out.

Men dressed in khaki stood outside the gates of the school, harassing journalists in scenes reminiscent of the bad old days when the Afrikaner was the pariah of the world.

Lodge believes fears about language and culture are quite widely felt but support for a separate Afrikaner state is minimal. The notion has plagued Afrikaner politics for decades, but no politician has ever been able plausibly to answer the question: "Where?"

"The volkstaat – that was always fringe stuff. Even the Freedom Front is very vague and ambiguous on this"

"The *volkstaat* – that was always fringe stuff. Even the Freedom Front (FF) is very vague and ambiguous on this," says Lodge.

General Constand Viljoen left retirement to form the FF and lead Afrikaner separatists when other right-wing leaders resorted to futile and self-destructive boycott tactics in the face of imminent black majority rule.

Settle for less

"All indications now are that Viljoen will settle for a great deal less than geographical and political autonomy," says Lodge.

The general established a good working relationship with President Nelson Mandela, and other FF members have shown themselves able parliamentarians. But the *volkstaat* remains their stated goal.

Most observers dismiss the neo-fascist far right embodied by Eugene Terre'Blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) as an irrelevance.

"Their (swastika-like) symbols have little to do with what is meaningful to Afrikaner nationalists," says Lodge of the declining fortunes of the movement which regularly seized centre stage during South Africa's transition to democracy, despite its small numbers.

Overt racism has long been unacceptable to most white Afrikaners, but this does not imply a willingness to reach out to other Afrikaans speakers – the so-called "Brown Afrikaners" or Coloured people.

"What one doesn't see is that coalition – that pragmatic and humane effort by Afrikaans language speakers to protect their language rights by defining a community in the largest possible way.

"Those most concerned about language rights appear to be most racist," Lodge says.

Few Coloured people have made it to the top ranks of the National Party (NP). Able coloured politicians have turned to Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and the rank and file, who voted largely for the NP in the 1994 elections, may be looking in the same direction.

Change image

The NP is trying to change its image, hoping to attract black South Africans with a blend of conservative policies — small government, low taxes, execution of murderers, self-reliance – but it has a credibility problem.

Its history is that of a party which tried to regulate all aspects of South African life, which ran a social welfare state for the benefit of whites – primarily Afrikaners – and which established a huge bureaucracy to do it.

For all the signs of apathy and division, Afrikaners are not ready to abandon their political role in return for being left alone to preserve their culture, language and relatively affluent lifestyle, Lodge believes.

"If you abandon your political role you abandon effectively safeguarding your cultural, political and economic rights as well.

"All the evidence suggests that white South Africans are still committed to vigorous political participation. Their behaviour in the last two elections has demonstrated they are perhaps more vigorously committed to participation than many black South Africans," he says. – *Sapa-DPA*.

New-vision NP in trouble with blacks

BD 1/2/96 (3049)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — On the eve of the launch of the NP's new nonracial vision by leader FW de Klerk — on the anniversary of his history-making speech six years ago — the NP is in danger of losing substantial black support in KwaZulu-Natal and in the Western Cape.

The launch of this new vision, which apparently includes agreement on establishing a broad moderate front and realignment in SA politics, was seriously harmed when two senior members of the NP in the Western Cape leaked the document to the media.

On top of this obvious indication of discontent within the party itself, sources close to the NP in KwaZulu-Natal said, there was a huge loss of confidence among the Indian community which substantially supported the NP in the 1994 election.

De Klerk, who will open the new Pretoria offices for his party tomorrow on the anniversary of the day he unbanned the ANC and other liberation movements and announced his intention to release Nelson Mandela, has also been harmed by the announced departure from politics of deputy speaker Bhadra Ranchod.

Ranchod's move back to the diplomatic service comes at a time when the NP is in disarray in the Indian community, which it assiduously cultivated in the run-up to the election. Senator Sathie Naidoo, who heads the Chatsworth division of the party, which won the prize for the largest number of new recruits to the NP at last September's congress, has been suspended, adding further to the confusion within the party.

Among the allegations against Naidoo are financial irregularities and failure to attend meetings. While sources said the allegations were without foundation, there has been a heightened tension in the party in Chatsworth as a result.

Naidoo declined to comment when he was approached.

It is understood that there is deep discontent over the fact that in Chatsworth there is no party office in spite of the fact that Parliament is paying constituency allowances to the NP. The complaint is that the NP has thus no way of supporting its voters.

But NP leader in KwaZulu-Natal Danie Schutte said he believed the NP "still has substantial support in the Indian community because they realise that there will be no peace in a KwaZulu-Natal which is dominated by either the ANC or IFP".

The new NP may shed old image

(304A)

Sowetan 2/2/96

FW's vision is not yet clear, but it is known that he is looking for allies

By Themba Molefe and Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondents

WHEN THE CLOCK strikes to signal the dawn of another day tomorrow, the new National Party might have shed everything Verwoerdian, even its name, in its second rebirth in just three years.

The NP faithful meet in Pretoria today under the guise of celebrating the inauguration of their federal council's R4,1 million offices.

The party will also be celebrating the sixth anniversary of leader FW de Klerk's famous February 2 speech which preceded the unbanning of liberation groups and subsequent release from jail of President Nelson Mandela.

In reality, the event is about survival as the NP gathers around De Klerk for guidance and clear vision.

Indeed, De Klerk, former State President and current Deputy President in the African National Congress-led Government of National Unity, plans to do just that.

While the NP leadership and insiders were tight-lipped yesterday one source said a new political movement close to the international Christian Democratic Party would be announced.

It is an open secret that the NP is looking for allies to constitute a strong anti ANC bloc in the 1999 general election.

The new political movement, it is envisaged, will have as its focus a challenge to the ANC in two years' time.

The establishment of the new movement could almost spell the end of the NP with De Klerk as leader.

"If the same leadership is at the helm there won't be much impact, especially if the aim is to draw black support," the source said.

The danger De Klerk faces, the source said, is that the movement's approach might be seen to be anti-ANC and anti-Black.

The source predicts that if the thrust of the movement is Christian and focuses on problems like crime, drugs and pornography there is a strong possibility that a new leader could emerge from within the church itself.

ANC jilts volkstaters

MtG 2-8/2/96 (304A)

The National Party has replaced the Freedom Front as the ANC's sweetheart, reports Marion Edmunds

THE African National Congress has jilted its Afrikaner sweetheart, the Freedom Front, and is courting the National Party, not out of love, but political need.

Over the past few weeks, the ANC has realised more than ever that it needs the NP's support if it wants its way in writing not only the final constitution, but also the KwaZulu-Natal provincial constitution. This was demonstrated last week by the panic that ensued when the NP appeared to be supporting the Inkatha Freedom Party in KwaZulu-Natal in constitutional negotiations, and the ANC appeared to be losing ground.

ANC and NP provincial negotiators were summoned to Cape Town, and the NP was told by ANC leaders, including Cyril Ramaphosa, that it had to remember that it was a party credited with democratising South Africa, and that it should not help the IFP to preserve an undemocratic state in KwaZulu-Natal.

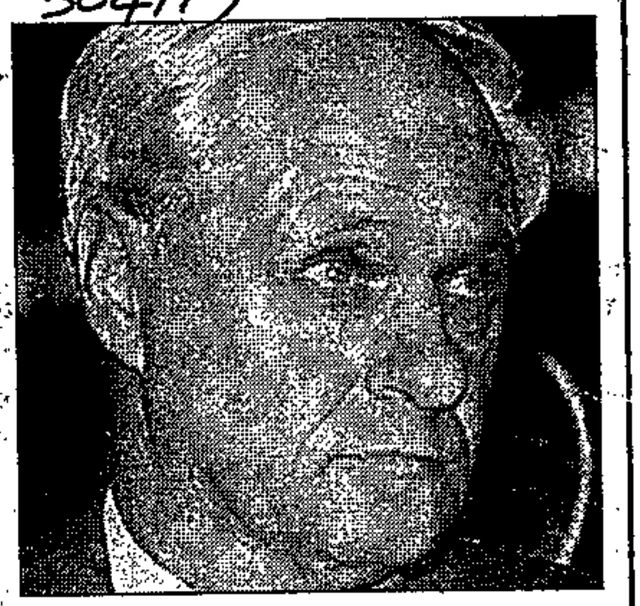
"We want the NP's co-operation in order to improve the constitution-making process and that cannot be done if we push the constitution through the way the IFP is intending us to do," said ANC MP Carl Niehaus before that meeting.

It is ironic that the ANC should feel the need to make that sort of appeal to the NP, given that its members have been spitting insults at the NP in Parliamentary sessions, preferring to use the FF to effect reconciliation with the Afrikaner community.

The FF acknowledges that, in the constitutional stakes, it is now second-best. Its chief negotiator Corne Mulder said this week: "The ANC needs the NP more than the FF because it needs the Nats' support to get a two-thirds majority to pass the final constitution."

The ANC is choosing a path of qualified co-operation with the NP because it wants the constitution to be passed first time round. If the Constitutional Assembly (CA) does not pass the constitution with a two-thirds majority, there will have to be a national referendum, something all politicians would rather do without at this stage.

The FF has been feeling the chill since President Nelson Mandela's anti-*volkstaat* statements on the ANC's birthday. Bilateral talks on a *volkstaat* have failed to get off the ground, and the FF executive had an emergency meeting at the weekend to discuss the future.



Constand Viljoen: The honeymoon is over PHOTO: HENNER FRANKENFELD

Corne Mulder said this week the FF would not budge on its demands for a territorial homeland. Mandela's statements are something of a death-knell, then, given that a *volkstaat* is the FF's defining issue.

Mulder admitted his party had been floundering in the constitutional negotiations, partly because it lacked the experience of negotiating the interim constitution at the World Trade Centre.

"We are at a disadvantage, we have not built up the personal relations that other parties have," he said. These special relationships include the one between the NP's Roelf Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mulder is critical of the turn negotiations have taken, with bilaterals weaving a skein of mystery around the public discussions in the parliamentary chamber.

"This is shadow-boxing. We are dodging the real issues and people are just pushing papers backwards and forwards," he said. "There are some problems that no amount of bilaterals are going to solve ... We need political decisions and these will only be taken if party leaders sit around a table and take them."

NP chief negotiator Roelf Meyer denied this week the NP and the ANC's relationship had shifted gear. "I won't say there is a change ... but there is a general will to get consensus on the constitution in on-going talks," he said. The NP does not take the prospect of a territorial *volkstaat* seriously.

The NP can afford to be even-tempered about its relationship with the ANC because it knows the ANC needs its co-operation. The FF has run out of bargaining chips and, with only nine members in the CA, it is not a force to be reckoned with, unless it manages to attract the newly-forming Afrikaner lobby.

Star 2/2/96

Roelf Meyer quits Cabinet for new top post in NP

(304A)

PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

Roelf Meyer, one of the architects of negotiation politics, is to resign as Minister of Constitutional Affairs to become the National Party's first secretary-general.

Meyer's appointment, takes effect on March 1, and was announced today – the sixth anniversary of the unbanning of liberation movements by the party leader FW de Klerk, who was at the time state president.

The appointment is one of several steps announced in Pretoria today by De Klerk in a move designed to make the NP more relevant in South African politics.

Meyer remains the NP's chief negotiator and takes over immediately as the party leader in the National Assembly. He replaces Dr Dawie de Villiers, who was also chairman of the NP's federal management committee. This position has fallen away.

De Klerk said Meyer's new position entails an active managerial role in the implementation of the party's vision and mission. He will work closely with his party leader, the organs of the party, provincial structures and the various NP caucuses.

De Klerk made his announcement exactly six years to the day since his bold moves, including the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and freeing of Nelson Mandela, turned South African politics on its head.

He said the reality of today was that millions of South Africans were concerned about the debilitating crime wave, signs of moral decay, the disintegration of family life, declining standards, a culture of lawlessness, intimidation, unemployment and the excessive influence of radical trade unions.

He said the simple truth was that only the successful bringing together and mobilisation of all South Africans would ensure true multiparty democracy.

It was equally true that an opportunistic coalition, solely on the basis of a united front against the ANC, was not the answer.

In the same manner, a simple change of name would make very

► ... To Page 2

Roelf Meyer quits job as Minister

(304A)

► From Page 1

Star 2/2/96

little difference.

"Everyone would dismiss it as being simply cosmetic and they would be right. Merely leaving the Government of National Unity and changing to a simplistic role of forceful opposition was also not the answer. It might make a lot of people feel good, but it would not significantly broaden the party's support base."

De Klerk said the NP was not married to its name or to participation in the GNU. However, a name change would only occur within the framework of the NP's new vision. The party would only leave the GNU when it was convinced such a step would promote its vision or that it was in the national interest.

Christian values, norms and standards would form the cornerstone of the new National Party. Party strategists hope this will prove a rallying point for the majority of South Africans.

"While the National Party is now taking, and will continue to take the initiative, we realise that prescriptiveness from our side would be counter-productive.

"At the risk that we may be accused of vagueness and woolliness, we are determined first to reconnoitre the ground step by step, not by ourselves alone but with other roleplayers and, then let the concept take root," he added.

Realignment could only succeed if it grew from healthy interaction between all the relevant roleplayers.

De Klerk said his plan would be to soon bring together around a table a group of South Africans who were outside active party politics to reconnoitre the terrain and give advice.

US urged to cancel all funding of Sexwale trip

ARG 2/2/96 (304A)

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Chairman of the United States House Sub-committee on Africa Ileana Ros-Lehtinen has urged US Secretary of State Warren Christopher to cancel funding entirely for Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale's visit to America next week because of his subsequent visit to Cuba.

It is likely that the Clinton Administration will reject the demands of the Cuban-born congresswoman from Miami who strongly opposes President Fidel Castro.

The US has already withdrawn its original offer to pay the international airfares of Mr Sexwale and four Gauteng officials from Joahnnesburg to America.

But it will continue to pay for them to fly around America and provide them each a daily allowance.

It cancelled payment of the South Africa-US airfares because it regarded this as indirect sponsorship of Mr Sexwale's subsequent official to Cuba which is just a short hop by air from Florida.

Ms Ros-Lehtinen said in her letter to Mr Christopher that it was "disconcerting that Mr Sexwale is utilising the offer of funding extended by the US government for his travel to the US to expand his itinerary to include a visit to a pariah state which is a declared enemy of this country.

"This action is an affront to expressed US national interests and could potentially compromise the US's stance on Cuba.

"In early October 1965, during a conference of solidarity with Cuba in protest of the US embargo, Mr Sexwale announced the union of Gauteng province with Havana province in Cuba, declaring that for Cuba to grow, South Africans had to be the 'catalysts for increased trade'.

"He called for international opposition against the Helms-Burton bill (calling for sanctions against third countries which did business with Cuba), emphasising that 'if Cuba were to go down, that would be the end of South Africa'."

Cabinet post ditched by top NP role

ARG 2/12/96 (304A)

... in favour

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Roelf Meyer, one of the key negotiators who helped mould the new South Africa, is to resign from the cabinet to become a full-time National Party official.

Mr Meyer, the current Minister of Constitutional Development, is to become the NP's first full-time secretary-general as the party embarks on a political revamp. He is to leave the cabinet next month.

His departure from the cabinet was one of the few surprises in a much anticipated speech by National Party leader F W de Klerk today.

Mr Meyer will continue as the NP's chief negotiator in the constitutional assembly.

He will take over from Western Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers as leader of the NP in the national assembly.



Roelf Meyer

Mr De Klerk said Mr Meyer's duties would include an active managerial role in implementing the NP's vision and mission.

Mr De Klerk said the NP intended playing a leading role in unifying a majority of all South Africans in a dynamic movement based on core values and Christian norms and standards.

He conceded that the NP, in spite of its efforts at renewal and change, had not been able to shake off its past in the eyes of many South Africans.

"The NP today declared itself ready for a new spiritual trek toward an unknown political destination.

"We are today launching a new political vision with far-reaching implications for our party," he said.

But he ruled out, in the short term, a formal alliance with other parties, a name change for the NP, or its departure from the government of national unity.

A formal coalition could lead to a loss of support by each of the participating parties, Mr De Klerk said.

Leaving the government of national unity would make a lot of people feel good but would not significantly broaden support for the NP.

"The NP is not married to its name or to its participation in the GNU.

"We shall, however, only change our name when it makes sense in the framework of our mission."

Mr De Klerk said he already had had talks across a broad front about a future political realignment.

"I have been encouraged by the positive reactions I have received."

He intended "fairly soon" to bring around a table a group of South Africans presently outside active party politics to "reconnoitre the terrain and generate advice".

He said he was convinced that South Africa could become a winning country if the core values of the National Party became the cornerstone of the new South Africa.

"I am going to dedicate the rest of my public career to making these values the dynamo of a fundamental political realignment."

The NP's vision was aimed in part at preventing one-party domination and entrapment in a political system patterned on ethnic groups.

There were also deep concerns which had to be addressed.

These included crime, moral decay, continuing political violence, unemployment, and excessive influence of trade unions.

In its vision document, the party described itself as a moderate non-racial federal party.

The party has been studying what it considers to be its ideological equivalents in Europe, United States and elsewhere in Africa.

The document said the NP's values were based on the supremacy of God, religious, political and economic freedom, individual and cultural freedom.

Meyer relinquishes his Cabinet post

Star 3/2/96 (304A)

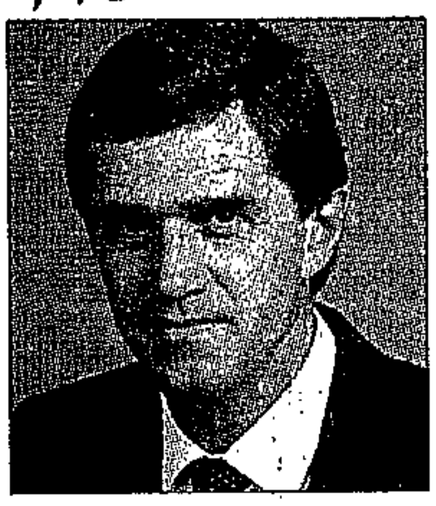
Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer confirmed his resignation from the Cabinet yesterday.

Meyer will assume the new position of secretary-general of the National Party with effect from March 1.

The name of Meyer's replacement is expected to be announced within the next two weeks, although a fuller Cabinet reshuffle is also possible.

Aside from taking on various management responsibilities for the party, Meyer will also lead the NP in the House of Assembly and will be chairman of the party's federal management committee.

Meyer confirmed the move at the official opening of the NP's new regional headquarters in Pretoria yesterday.



ROELF MEYER

The building, named the F W de Klerk Building, cost R4,2-million.

Various senior NP members paid tribute to De Klerk yesterday, exactly six years after his famous speech unbanning the ANC and announcing the imminent release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

"The second day of February has taken on a special place in our history," De Klerk told assembled guests.

The deputy president used the opportunity to announce a new political vision and mission for the NP.

SEE PAGE 3

Roelf's sudden resignation will have ripple effect

By ADRIAN HADLAND

The successor to Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who confirmed his resignation from the Cabinet yesterday, will be announced within the next two weeks, according to Deputy President F W de Klerk.

After opening the National Party's new regional office in Pretoria, De Klerk said Meyer would vacate his post to take up a new position as the party's secretary-general on March 1.

Meyer's resignation means Cabinet personnel will have to be changed for the second time since the 1994 election, after the death of Housing Minister Joe Slovo and the appointment of Sankie Nkondo in January 1994.

Whether Meyer will be replaced by a new NP member, or whether a Cabinet reshuffle will take place, will be discussed by De Klerk and President Mandela over coming weeks.

De Klerk said that, besides the filling of Meyer's Cabinet position, there might be some other minor adjustments. Meyer would retain his position as the party's chief constitutional negotiator but would take over several other key functions for the NP.

These included the role of leader of the NP in the National Assembly and chairman of the NP's federal management committee. Both the posts were held by Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister and NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers.

De Villiers had actually requested some time ago to be relieved of some of his responsibilities, De Klerk said.

With local elections pending in the Cape and other duties tied to his Cabinet portfolio mounting up, he had too much hay on his fork.

Meyer would also assume an active managerial role in the NP's provincial and national structures and would lead the implementation of the party's new vision and mission.

De Klerk, asked whether Meyer's appointment placed him as heir apparent to the NP, said that to earmark anyone in such a way would probably ruin their chances. Should he, or when he, vacated the party leadership, it would be decided by the party in a democratic way.



THE EYES HAVE IT: Deputy President F W de Klerk regards a pensive Roelf Meyer, who appears to be contemplating his future away from Parliament PHOTOGRAPH: ANTON HAMMERL

De Klerk also announced a new vision for his party yesterday saying the NP had declared itself ready for a new spiritual trek towards an unknown political destination.

The difficulty the party had in shaking off its past had motivated it to undertake a process of renewed self-examination. But rather than simply changing the party's name and symbols, a more fundamental programme was required. This involved shaking up the entire party-political pattern in SA and the formation of a new political movement.

"The NP will play a leading role in redefining South African politics by unifying a majority of all South Africans in a dynamic political movement based on proven core values and Christian norms and standards."

Three objectives were needed: the restructuring of the NP itself; positive co-operation with other parties, organisations and individuals; and the creation of a climate for, and stimulation of, incisive debate on the redefinition of the party-political scene.

Discussions had already been held with the DP, the IFP and the Freedom Front on the NP's vision of a new political movement and on the prospects for co-operation on issues where the parties shared common ground, De Klerk said.

Meyer would be responsible for managing this process as well as for building the party. This is a very dynamic challenge facing Meyer.

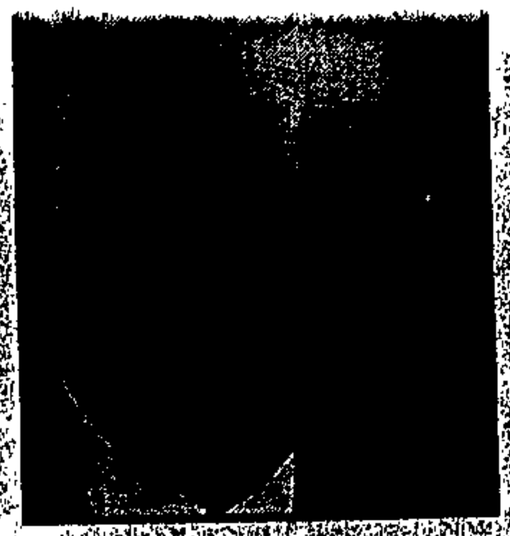
Meyer told the press conference he was delighted to become directly involved in this new phase. "It is time for the new process to start and I am looking forward to it with excitement."

He said his work in inter-party and constitutional negotiations over the past few years had prepared him well.

Meyer said his deputy, Valli Moosa, had been shocked by the announcement. "I spoke to Valli and he was, of course, surprised. We had a very good working relationship but I think he understands."

De Klerk stated that when he told Mandela, the president said he had the highest regard for Meyer and would be sorry to lose him from the Cabinet. Mandela had congratulated him on a good choice.

F W's NEW VISION



F W de Klerk

304A

ARG 3/21/96

■ Nats taken by surprise as FW de Klerk indicates more changes may be made to the top echelon of the party.

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Further changes to the line-up of top Nats in the cabinet could lie ahead in the next two weeks, in the wake of Roelf Meyer's departure from the executive to become secretary-general of the party.

National Party leader F W de Klerk said some other adjustments could follow the move announced yesterday, while senior NP sources have speculated that a serving minister could be given Mr Meyer's Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs job.

The announcement yesterday took rank-and-file Nats by surprise.

Questioned by SATURDAY Argus, Mr De Klerk confirmed that Mr Meyer's appointment had been made shortly before the official announcement yesterday.

At a Press conference, he declined to speculate on who would succeed Mr Meyer in the cabinet.

It is President Mandela's perogative to allocate portfolios, even although the interim constitution provides for the NP to get a share of cabinet seats in proportion to its electoral support.

A key focus of Mr Meyer's new job will be negotiations with other parties and role players, a task which will draw on his skills honed in six years of constitutional negotiations.

Mr Meyer is to continue as NP chief negotiator in the constitutional assembly and he will also succeed Dawie de Villiers as leader of the NP in the national assembly, a move which Mr De Klerk said should not be seen as a vote of no confidence in Dr de Villiers.

"He has a lot of hay on his fork," said Mr De Klerk of Dr De Villiers. Apart from being a cabinet minister, Dr De Villiers is also leader of the National Party in the Western Cape and must lead it in the forthcoming metropolitan elections.

Mr Meyer said he was delighted to get involved directly in shaping the process of political realignment.

Mr De Klerk was quick to dispel speculation that Mr Meyer's appointment annointed him as crown prince of the party.

He said any leader who tried to earmark an heir-apparent was looking for trouble — such a move was likely to damage the chances of a chosen potential successor.

A Nat MP who attended yesterday's opening of the new NP national headquarters confirmed this, saying that Mr De Klerk seemed far from ready to relinquish the reins of power in the party.

Mr De Klerk also declined to say whether the appointment should be seen as a move upwards, downwards or sideways for Mr Meyer: "It is a new challenge," he said.

Observers also noted that failure in the mammoth task handed to Mr Meyer, in shaping the party's future, would count against him in any future contest for the leadership.

Mr De Klerk said he was confident that Mr Meyer — who in the past has been the subject of unhappiness among Nats who regard him as too conciliatory to the African National Congress — would enjoy the support of all party structures in his new role.

Yesterday's speech by Mr De Klerk is seen as being inspired, at least in parts, by pressure on the party leadership to be seen to be taking an initiative after the party's lack-lustre performance since the 1994 election.

While a Press leak and considerable speculation heightened interest in yesterday's speech, what Mr De Klerk had to say left the future of the party only a little less hazy than before.

Responding to some of the speculation, Mr De Klerk said that no name change, disbandment or departure from the government of national unity was in the offing.

While the NP planned a leading role for itself in shaping a new movement, it would join such a movement only if it fully reflected the NP's core values, he said.

"Unless we achieve that situation, the NP is here to stay," he said.

The party had refrained from producing its own map of the political future because it did not want to pre-empt the process.

Mr De Klerk confirmed he already had opened lines of communication with other parties.

In talks in the past 10 days with leaders of the Democratic Party, Freedom Front and Inkatha Freedom Party, he had emphasised that the initiative by the NP was not merely a party political trick.

He had not asked the leaders for a response, but merely to reflect on how the NP saw the process.

ANC thaws towards IFP

(304A) ST 4/2/96

By CRAIG DOONAN

THE ANC and Inkatha are working on a deal aimed at bringing the IFP back into the Constitutional Assembly and finalising a constitution for its Kwazulu Natal power base.

ANC sources say the plan stems from a recent trip to Germany by the National Party's Roelf Meyer, who has just resigned as Minister of Constitutional Development, his deputy, Mohammed Valli Moosa from the ANC, and the Minister of Correctional Services, Sipho Mzimela of the IFP.

The visit led to "informal discussions", according to Mr Moosa's spokesman, Mpho Mosimane.

ANC sources said the meetings were part of a plan to bring Inkatha back to the national constitution-writing process.

In return the ANC would compromise on Inkatha's federalist demands for Kwazulu Natal, leading to the early adoption of a provincial constitution.

Inkatha walked out of the Constitutional Assembly early last year in protest against the collapse of an agreement to take its federal demands to international mediation.

The party has since focused its energies on writing a constitution for Kwazulu Natal with strong federal elements, including "sunrise" clauses — powers ascribed to national government which the IFP wants devolved to the province.

The ANC wants Inkatha to keep the clauses out of the provincial constitution and table them as a resolution in the Kwazulu Natal parliament. When adopted by a simple majority, the resolution could be taken to the Constitutional Assembly.

While top IFP negotiator and hardliner Walter Felgate rejected the idea, other senior Inkatha sources have said the party is keen to get back to the Constitutional Assembly soon and is exploring every opportunity to do so.

A senior Inkatha source said the party realised time was running out and wanted to adopt a provincial constitution before a national one, which the IFP believes will restrict its provincial powers.

The party also wanted to return to the Constitutional Assembly, where it and other supporters of federalism could pursue their cause.

IFP still holding out for mediation

Ulundi – The IFP has reiterated it will not return to the Constitutional Assembly until international mediation takes place.

A resolution reaffirming the party's position, and condemning the media for speculating it would return to the assembly, was taken at a national council meeting yesterday.

The council said a constitutional settlement in KwaZulu Natal would not obviate the need for international mediation.

It said the mediation had been "solemnly promised" in the Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace signed by President Nelson Mandela in April 1994. – Sapa.

Rivals give NP changes thumbs-down

By Jovial Rantao and Mondli Makhanya

Deputy President F W de Klerk's announcement of the transformation of the National Party into a Christian democratic movement – on the sixth anniversary of his unbanning liberation movements – has received a thumbs-down from rival political parties.

De Klerk said during the launch of the NP's "core values" document in Pretoria on Friday that although the NP was not seeking a formal alliance, it had held discussions with various parties on a "new political movement" opposed to the ANC.

The ANC described De Klerk's eagerly awaited announcement as "another failed Rubicon speech" and accused the NP of trying to "peddle a particular version of Christianity for the purposes of defending minority privileges".

The NP was trying to scuttle changes in education, housing, affirmative action and RDP delivery, it claimed.

Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen said the NP needed "a heart transplant" and not just cosmetic changes.

"The NP's new vision is based on a wrong assumption by its leader, F W de Klerk, that South Africans would believe an old NP in a new suit of clothes could change into a dynamic political movement," said Viljoen.

The Conservative Party said that creating a multiracial movement was not the answer to the Afrikaner's problems. Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said there should be a meeting of Afrikaner leaders to discuss "the core problem", the fact that ethnic and cultural diversity in SA is being totally ignored.

De Klerk also announced that the NP is to establish a political academy at its new Pretoria headquarters to train and prepare young people, MPs and MPLs for their tasks.

Meyer's new job could lead to Cabinet shuffle

FW may want to consolidate party's shift towards a wider black audience

by nominating black to replace him

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

The resignation from the Cabinet of Roelf Meyer, the Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister, to become secretary-general of the "new visions" National Party could lead to a major reshuffle, political sources said at the weekend.

Meyer is the second senior member of the NP to withdraw from the Cabinet after Derek Keys resigned from the post of finance minister. But the banker was only nominally an NP member. The party's leader, Deputy President F W de Klerk, must now provide President Mandela with his nomination for a new NP minister. Mandela does not have to accept the candidate and could take this opportunity to reshuffle his Cabinet.

Mandela could promote Valli Moosa

An ANC source speculated that Mandela could promote Meyer's deputy from the ANC, Mohamed Valli Moosa, to that top job and and appoint the NP member nominated by De Klerk to fill another ministerial post.

But Mandela would find it be difficult to give Valli Moosa a Cabinet post without including Constitutional Assembly chairman, Cyril Ramaphosa, who is Valli Moosa's senior in the party. Mandela could possibly offer Ramaphosa the post of minister of foreign affairs, which is held by a former ANC secretary-general, Alfred Nzo, who will have held the job for almost two years, one source said.

Mandela might also use the opportunity to make good Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's undertaking to offer the next Cabinet or deputy's post to a woman. ANC MP Baleka Kgositsile, deeply involved in the constitution-making process, could then fill either Meyer or Valli Moosa's shoes.

NP sources said the elevation of General Services Minister Chris Fismer to a portfolio was "logical speculation" but they also indicated that the NP's decision on the Cabinet issue might be a "total surprise".

De Klerk might also want to make good the party's shift towards appealing to a wider and mostly black audience by nominating a black person.

► More reports ... Page 5

NP relaunch a damp squib as party still clings to its 'white male' image

Star 5/2/96

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

They were all there, the party faithful of the present and the past. They had come to see their leader F W de Klerk cut the ribbon at the party's new Pretoria headquarters and unveil the party's new programme, aimed at making itself more attractive to South Africans across all racial boundaries.

In attendance were former law and order minister Adrian Vlok, once feared by many an anti-apartheid activist; former constitutional development minister Gerrit Viljoen, famous for building a million toilets in the veld; and health minister turned Afrikaner rights activist Dr Rina Venter.

There were also the coloured Nats led by Western Cape Housing MEC Gerald Morkel, and the black Nats led by former ANC-edle David Chuenyane.

There seemed to be a deliberate effort to give these Nats a visible role, just in case one didn't believe the National Party was "the most nonracial party" in the country.

Having been labelled a momentous day in the history of the party (and the country), the NP's launch of its new Core Values document turned out to be a damp squib, with nothing new being revealed.

Leading the De Klerk-flattering charge was Morkel, who was master of ceremonies. At the end of his speech – which followed a short video on the life of De Klerk – one could have been forgiven for believing that the only feat De Klerk was not responsible for was brokering the Bosnian peace deal.

So great is this leader, Morkel said, that it is because of him that we today have the phenomenon of "Feesh and Shooes".

At the end of the ceremonies, CDs of FW's February 2 1990 speech were dished out.

Once the black Nats had finished being made to feel important, they made way for the real Nats – the white Afrikaner male variety.

On De Klerk's right sat outgoing Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister and new party secretary-general Roelf Meyer. On Meyer's right was executive director Fanus Schoeman.

It is in the hands of these white Afrikaner males that the task of making the NP more attractive to the masses out there lies. It is an image the NP would do well to give up if it wishes to extend its appeal beyond its present reach.

Party will make sacrifices, says Meyer

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

The National Party was prepared to make sacrifices to reach out to all South Africans, incoming NP secretary-general Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

NP leader and Deputy President F W de Klerk announced on Friday that Meyer would quit his post as provincial affairs and constitutional development minister at the end of the month to take up a full-time party post. Meyer is also the NP's chief negotiator in the Constitutional Assembly.

He is widely acknowledged as the brightest of the generation of NP leaders De Klerk surrounded himself with in the second phase of the constitutional negotiations after the breakdown of Codesa II in May 1992.

While respected across the spectrum, including within the ANC, Meyer has made enemies in the NP with his verligte approach and his argument for an accommodation with the ANC. But he also considers himself a firm opponent of the ANC and a loyal NP member.

He was the only former NP Cabinet minister to retain his post after the election when President Nelson Mandela named his Cabinet.

Meyer said yesterday he was excited by his new challenge but that it was not yet appropriate to be too specific. He saw his role as "building the party" and "starting the process of seeking co-operation and developing towards a broader movement".

He saw it as a long-term goal and not something that would be achieved "tomorrow". The NP was looking to take advantage of an expected realignment in South African politics.

"If necessary we will make the sacrifices for the party to change from being a party only representative of certain sections of the community towards reaching out to all South Africans," Meyer said.

Norwegians eye role as mediators

(304A)
BDS 2/96

Trevor Bisseker

OSLO — The five-day visit to SA by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, beginning on Saturday, could have an unexpected outcome — a mediatory role for Norway in the KwaZulu-Natal constitutional dispute between the ANC and IFP.

There have been no official approaches, Brundtland told a group of SA journalists in Oslo last week, but she said that if Norway were asked to play such a role "we would consider it".

An ANC promise to allow international mediation on KwaZulu-Natal's claims to regional powers, which persuaded the IFP to take part in the 1994 elections, has not been honoured, resulting in the IFP's absence from the Constitutional Assembly.

Norway has excellent credentials to be a mediator. Apart from its international record as a peace broker and supporter of human rights, it has ties with KwaZulu-Natal going back to its missionary days in the last century.

In a separate interview Foreign Minister Bjorn Godal said Norway had achieved some success in mediation — notably in Guatemala and the Middle East.

Brundtland will be accompanied by Godal to SA — the first time she is taking the foreign minister on an official visit overseas.

"This illustrates the political dimension of the visit," she said.

Vaal bank robbery

progress. The group issued [illegible] of involvement in a appearance at Mvrit- [illegible] ar
government had been asked to clarify

Negotiators urged to entrench constitution

BDS|2|96 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The attorneys' profession is urging the constitutional negotiators to make the final constitution much harder to change once it comes into force.

In submissions to constitutional negotiators on the current working draft of the new constitution, the Association of Law Societies said the constitution was a pillar of a full constitutional order.

Because all other law derived its authority from it, the constitution ought to be entrenched and made much more difficult to amend than ordinary legislation.

The association suggested that changes to the Bill of Rights should require approval of three quarters of all members of the National Assembly and the combined membership of both houses of Parliament sitting jointly.

Also, the association proposed that no amendment of the constitution should be permitted if it clearly violated the values of an open and democratic society based on freedom and equality.

It also suggested the constitutional principles — the general rules negotiated at the World Trade Centre, to which the new constitution must conform — be carried forward into the constitution and entrenched unalterably.

Association constitutional matters standing committee member Ashwin Trikamjee said the situation in Zimbabwe, where the constitution had been gradually undermined by recurrent amendments, showed the danger of a poorly entrenched constitution.

The proposals would ensure the principles that were negotiated at Kempton Park would be retained, and would stay the basis of SA's constitutional dispensation.

The association suggested that the Bill of Rights guarantee "occupational freedom" rather than the more diffuse "economic activity". The freedom to choose one's occupation was a basic human right, while the same could not be said of a broad, potentially open-ended liberty to engage in economic activity.

It proposed that the constitution balance the right to strike against the right to lock out, arguing that to do so would be equitable, and that a lockout was a seldom-used weapon of last resort.

The association cautioned against an unduly lax limitations clause — allowing exceptions and deviations to a generally imposed right — saying this could be used to dilute or even subvert fundamental rights. It also proposed strengthening existing equality and freedom of expression clauses.

Norwegians eye role as mediators

(304A) BDS|2|96

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"This illustrates the political dimension of the visit," she said.

Meyer to waste no time in implementing NP's plan to change politics

(304A) BD 5/2/96

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — NP secretary-general designate Roelf Meyer yesterday said the party's new mission of redefining SA politics would begin immediately with talks with other parties and business, academic and religious leaders to ensure an inclusive process.

Meyer, who has resigned his job as Constitutional Affairs Minister with effect from next month to spearhead the restructuring process, likened the task to multiparty talks on SA's constitutional dispensation.

He said it was not clear at this stage what effect the planned redefinition, announced on Friday, would have on the government of national unity.

A priority in the transformation of politics would be to bring together influential people from outside politics to provide input and to liaise with leaders from other parties. It would be absolutely detrimental to the process if expectations were raised too high, but the process had to begin immediately if it was to be effective.

Meyer said his other main function in his new post would be to build the NP and liaise closely with the NP's regions. He felt the NP should remain in the government and that the concept should be extended into the new constitution, but he conceded "this might become impossible".

Meyer denied his past relationship with the IFP, which has been seen as fractious, would have a negative affect on the restructuring process. "I would like to think that every well-meaning politician would desire a stronger democratic system," he said.

The appointment of Meyer's replacement is likely to be decided within the next week, with some sources suggesting the promotion of one of the NP's black members is likely.

As the interim constitution is not explicit, the ANC believes that the new minister does not have to come from the NP. ANC sources said the NP was considered to be entitled to a Cabinet seat, although President Nelson Mandela could choose the portfolio.

Others argue that having vacated the seat, the NP has the right to choose a replacement to that specific portfolio.

If this is the case, sources suggest that De Klerk might want to promote someone more combative than Meyer to the post, such as MP Danie Schutte.

But it is thought more likely that in line with the desire to promote the restructuring of SA politics, a possible option would be to give the constitutional development portfolio to General Affairs Minister Chris Fismer, and Fismer's post to NP MP David Chuenyane or David Malatsi.

THE NATION

Municipal unions negotiate landmark deal with CMC

☐ *Agreement based on new Labour Act welcomed by all parties*

ARG 5/2/96

ESTELLE RANDALL
Labour Reporter

A LANDMARK agreement, based on provisions in the new Labour Relations Act was signed today between the Cape Metropolitan Council and municipal trade unions.

The agreement grants far-reaching shop steward and trade union rights which have been welcomed by both unions and employers.

The agreement was signed by the South African Municipal Workers' Union (Samwu), the South African Association of Municipal Employees (Saame) and the South African Local Authorities and Allied Workers' Union (Salaawu).

Mark Tinker, head of the Cape Metropolitan branch of Samwu, the union which initiated the agreement, said it was an advance for the public sector.

Willie van Schoor, Cape Metropolitan Council chairman, said the council was "very satisfied with the outcome of the shop stewards' rights agreement which we view as a major accomplishment for the public sector."

Among the rights provided by the agreement are that unions may have one shop steward for every 10 union members, one full-time shop steward for every 1 000 members, company-provided union offices and equipment and five paid working days off for shop steward training.

Executive members of the unions will also have one day off a month to attend to union business and the unions will be able to hold annual general meetings during work hours.

The Cape Metropolitan Council will introduce a training programme for line managers and supervisors to familiarise them with the agreement.



BREAKTHROUGH: The Cape Metropolitan Council and three trade unions today signed an agreement granting significant rights. Front row from left are: Co-chairmen of the staff committee, city councillors Neil Ross and Judy Sibisi with Alex Cannemeyer of the South African Local Authorities and Allied Workers' Union. Back row from left are Mark Tinker of the Samwu, city councillor S G Ngqwebo, H Keyser of the Saame, David Dlali Exco head, Willie van Schoor chairman of the CMC and councillor FH Conradie. Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

Vacant cabinet posts put the pressure on NP

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PRESSURE is mounting in the National Party for black members to be appointed to vacancies in top NP-held posts in the cabinet and parliament.

After the party disclosed details of its vision for the NP's role in a possible political realignment, insiders fear repercussions if members of the old guard are appointed to the posts.

NP leader F W de Klerk has indicated that a reshuffle of some NP-held portfolios is on the cards, probably within the next two weeks.

The job of deputy-Speaker of the national assembly — vacated by Bhadra Ranchod, who is to take up an ambassadorial posting — could go to Mpumalanga senator David Malatsi.

Mr Malatsi, one of the youngest NP MPs, speaks seven languages and is regarded by backers as having the presence required to deputise in the chair of the house.

His appointment was regarded as a likely prospect until the announcement of the departure of Roelf Meyer, Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, to become the first NP secretary-general, prompted a fresh round of speculation in the party.

It is regarded as even more vital for the party to nominate one of its black MPs to a cabinet post.

The party could dip into its pool of provincial MPs in its quest for a black candidate.

The party may also use the opportunity for some reshuffles at provincial level, possibly moving P W Saaiman to the leadership job of the Northern Cape NP, to replace national Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk.

ARG 5/2/96

If Mr De Klerk chooses to pick a new minister from the Nat establishment, and possibly to avoid allegations of appointing a black person merely out of tokenism.

NATIONAL PARTY'S SURVIVAL AT STAKE

FW takes dangerous gamble

(304A) CT 5/2/96



IN A "NEW VISION" F W de Klerk aims to attract conservative black voters, even if this alienates right-wing supporters. BARRY STREEK reports.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's high-risk gamble of taking Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer out of the cabinet to reform the National Party is aimed at the party's survival as a significant political force after the 1999 elections.

To do that, De Klerk and Meyer know that the NP has to be transformed into a centrist non-racial party or alliance that will appeal to conservative black voters — even if this alienates the party's ageing right-wing.

It is a politically dangerous gamble for both De Klerk and Meyer, whose political careers would be ended if it fails, and their opponents are unimpressed, but it is bold.

The NP, like the other parties in Parliament, is protected by the interim constitution from any splits or walkouts because parliamentarians lose their seats if they resign or are expelled and it can replace dissidents.

This security, perhaps false security, guarantees them survival in Parliament until the 1999 elections, but then it is up to the voters — and that is what De Klerk's "new vision" is all about.

In the process, he is expected to promote black parliamentarians, like Senator David Malatsi and former PAC member and now NP MP David Chuenyane, who could be made deputy ministers or even ministers in the inevitable reshuffle caused by Meyer's move.

De Klerk said the vision of a new political movement was not based on hopes of an ANC split in the near future.

"We are targeting their support ... not their leadership," he said.

The new vision included closer co-operation with other political parties toward unifying a majority of South Africans in a new political movement around core values.

One of the main target groups of the movement would be those who had voted for the ANC in the past.

"Nothing of what we are saying is based on any hope, any strategy that the ANC will split. We think that ANC will stick together as a party for years to come."

De Klerk said he had already had discussions with Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen, Democratic Party leader Tony Leon and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

De Klerk said the NP was not contemplating immediate dissolution, thereby creating a vacuum.

"Firstly the NP must grow stronger. A vibrant NP is a prerequisite to ensure the bringing together of people far beyond our support base in a new political movement."

Meyer, who is to become the NP secretary-general and its chief constitutional negotiator, said that building a new political movement should take between three and 10 years,

The ANC deputy secretary-general, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said De Klerk's speech was "an attempt to peddle a particular version of Christianity to defend minority privileges".

Viljoen said the NP needed a heart transplant, not a change of clothing.

Leon said: "I am doubtful whether the NP, given its history, can be the vehicle for redefining South Africa's politics."

Meyer facing up to his new challenge

Star 22/2/96 (30HA)

When the NP's chief negotiator at the Kempton Park talks took the decision to leave the Cabinet and become secretary-general of his party, he knew precisely what his task of reshaping the organisation meant

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

Roelf Meyer, the NP's crown prince and apparent heir-elect to Deputy President F W de Klerk, took only a day-and-a-half to make one of the biggest decisions of his life – that of taking up De Klerk's offer to reshape and reposition the NP.

It meant that Meyer (48) would in all likelihood never again occupy high executive office. In a recent interview in his Cape Town office, the soft-spoken Meyer talked about his decision and about the task ahead.

How did it feel to leave the certainties of cabinet life for a party political role and the life of a member of parliament?

"I am not concerned at all – I am totally ready for the move." He had faced tough challenges before. Like when he took over as the party's chief negotiator at the constitutional talks in May 1992 as the NP's carefully planned strategies lay in tatters. Almost singlehandedly, Meyer saved the day for the NP.

It happened like this. Meyer's predecessor, the highly respected Gerrit Viljoen, had taken ill and quit the talks. Earlier, another senior party negotiator, former finance minister Barend du Plessis, had similarly succumbed to negotiations fatigue, leaving Tertius Delport holding the candle for the party.

Delport quickly found himself at the mercy of African National Congress negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa and they became embroiled in a pointless argument about what proportion of a future constitutional assembly could change the constitution.

The ANC was deeply suspicious of Delport, whom it regarded as being too close to the Inkatha Freedom Party. The vacuum created by the stalwarts leaving presented Meyer with his first big political break.

Until then Meyer, a University of the Orange Free State-educated attorney and former president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, had done little to suggest he would rise to great political heights and that, together with Ramaphosa and the late Joe Slovo, he would be credited with the deal that gave South Africa the Government of National Unity and the much-vaunted "political miracle" that was the result of the horse-trading that took place late into the nights at Kempton Park.

By a quirk of fate, one of Meyer's most noted recent political actions was his announcing that the NP would no longer insist on the inclusion of the GNU as a feature of the future constitution now being negotiated at the Constitutional Assembly in Parliament.

He is ready to earn the respect of his critics in the NP

For Meyer, the political circle had been completed and his work as minister of provincial affairs and constitutional development had run its course.

Another challenge now presents itself to Meyer, namely that of realigning the party to take advantage of an expected political realignment away from the fixed racial moulds of the past and towards a functioning multiparty system.

Meyer's is not an easy task. The NP's opponents never tire of pointing to the party's apartheid past and the ruinous effect of the NP's policies. And with the Truth Commission coming up, the NP could be in for more image battering. "It does not help to explain the past," Meyer said. "We have to put ourselves in the situation of today and make people experience us as part of the new South Africa.

There are still prominent members of the NP who are less than comfortable in the new situation. Will Meyer be able to inspire confidence among these members and to what extent will he be able to bring about a change in the mindset of those who regard the NP as the vanguard of minority interests? Respect is something that is earned, Meyer argues.

At one point Meyer was regarded by some party colleagues as being too close to the ANC and was even described by an unnamed caucus colleague as the most hated man in the party. It was "not nice" to have to endure the whispering campaign. What helped him through these hard times was the belief that he was right. In his new position he intends to widen the channels of communication within the party, deal with issues upfront and interact with his caucus colleagues on an ongoing basis. He intends making issues like representivity, equality and affirmative action relevant within the NP.

Meyer sees his task as going beyond the building of the NP: "The ANC and the NP still look like they were years ago. We have to integrate the party political scene. If it just goes on in the same format that it is in now, I am afraid we will get stuck with the same problems."

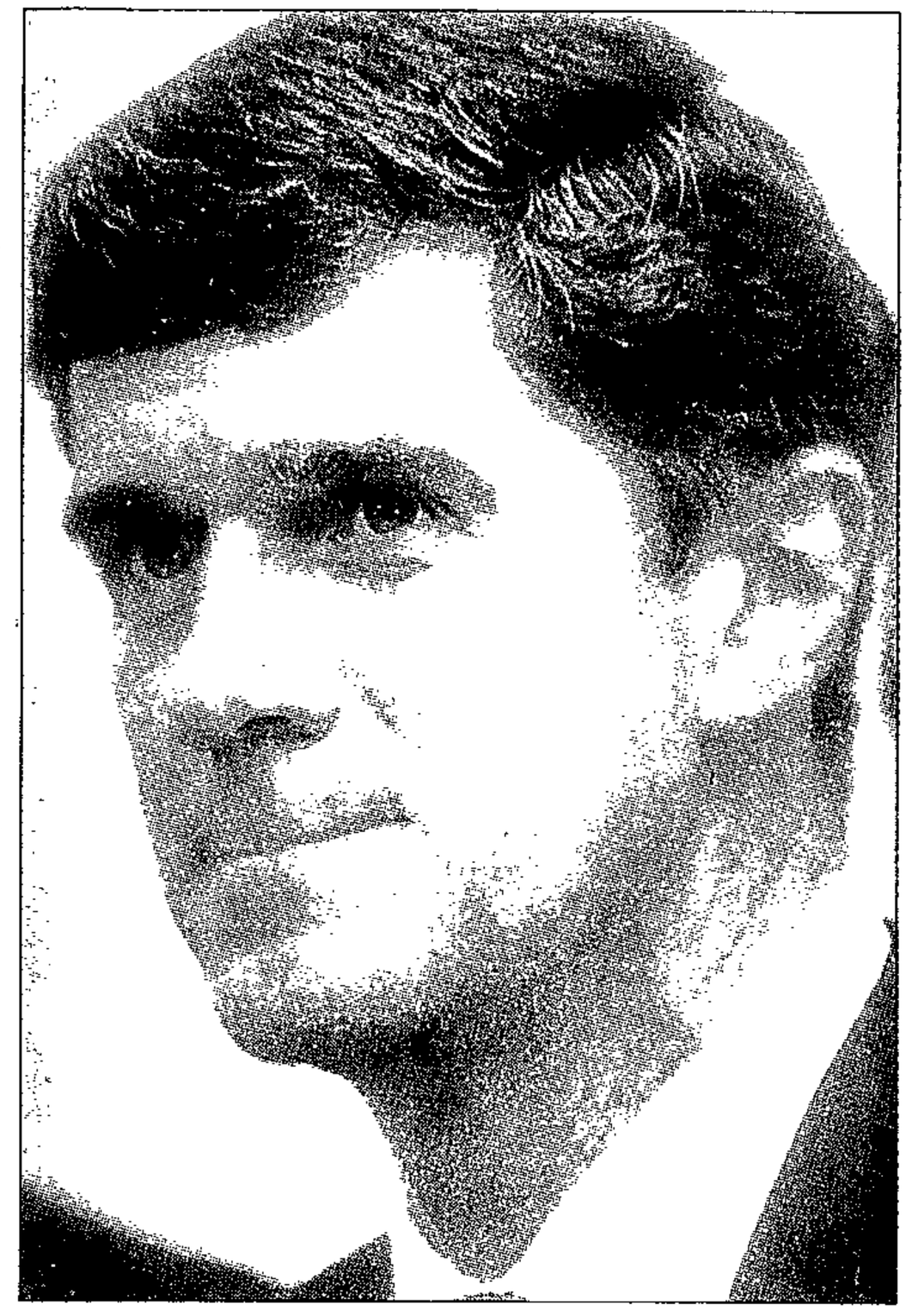
He intends reaching out beyond the NP's traditional constituency which may mean forfeiting support in the short term but gaining new support in the longer term. Can he achieve this most difficult of goals?

Meyer derives inspiration from the NP's, and his own, difficult journey these past few years and the near-impossible task it faced in removing itself from power without creating a dangerous political vacuum. He intends approaching his task in the same spirit of optimism and gritty determination that carried him through the years of talks.

"It would be totally silly if the NP, having been part of constitutional reform process in the way that we were, would not in some way be part of the totally new scene as well," he said.

By a twist of fate, Meyer finds himself occupying the same position in the NP as his "negotiating buddy" from the Kempton Park days, Cyril Ramaphosa, has in the ANC.

The two of them once went on a fishing trip after the Codesa breakdown – just whose bait will prove more attractive to the voters in future elections will determine how successful Meyer has been in his post.



Twist of fate ... Roelf Meyer now occupies the same position in the NP as Cyril Ramaphosa fills in the ANC.

Minister was told: quit or be fired

Star 22/2/96 (304A)

Fraud office probes claims that Williams got large sums to favour firms tendering to handle pension payments

By Jovial Rantao, Patrick Bulger and Mondli Makhanya

Welfare and Population Development Abe Williams was forced to resign from the Cabinet last night or face dismissal. The ultimatum came from his party leader FW de Klerk and from President Nelson Mandela after shock revelations that he was being investigated for pensions fraud, according to Government sources.

The Star understands that the allegations against Williams were of such a nature that De Klerk and his advisers, who were surprised and shocked by the developments, decided, after a hastily convened meeting, to minimise the damage to the image of both the National Party and the Government by letting Williams go.

► Globetrotter Williams always controversial Page 12

The move is seen as a break from the NP tradition to, in times of trouble, stand behind its ministers and officials to the end.

Williams is being investigated in connection with allegations of fraud, corruption and bribery involving millions of rands from social pensions.

Mandela's spokesman, Joel Netshitenzhe, said the president had been contacted by NP leader and Deputy President F W de Klerk "indicating that Minister Williams has offered to resign with immediate effect". The resignation had been accepted.

The Star understands that Mandela has for some time been receiving information from various sources about the alleged corrupt practices in the Welfare Ministry, but has waited for the law to take its course.

De Klerk said that the resignation "should not be interpreted as an admission on his part relating to any crime or irregularity". It was unclear who would replace Williams.

Mandela was yesterday informed by investigators from the Office for Serious Economic Offences (OSEO) of the 9am raids on Williams' Pretoria and Cape Town offices and homes shortly before they took place. The president has also received a report on the investigations from Justice Minister Dullah Omar.

Before Williams' resignation last night, sources had told The Star that Mandela had intended to suspend Williams.

Yesterday afternoon, Williams (52) said in a press statement he was innocent and undertook to give his full co-operation to the investigators. "I have not at any stage acted in an improper manner," he said.

The OSEO's director, advocate Jan Swanepoel, confirmed to The Star that investigators from his office, empowered by a search warrant issued by a judge, had raided Williams' homes and offices yesterday.

The raids were a direct result of an investigation initiated by the Western Cape department of health and social affairs, which alleged that Williams was a recipient of large sums of money in order to promote and favour particular companies that tendered for pension payments.

Western Cape MEC for Health and Social Affairs Ebrahim Rasool, an ANC member, said his office had launched an investigation into allegations of fraud and corruption in the social security unit of the department.

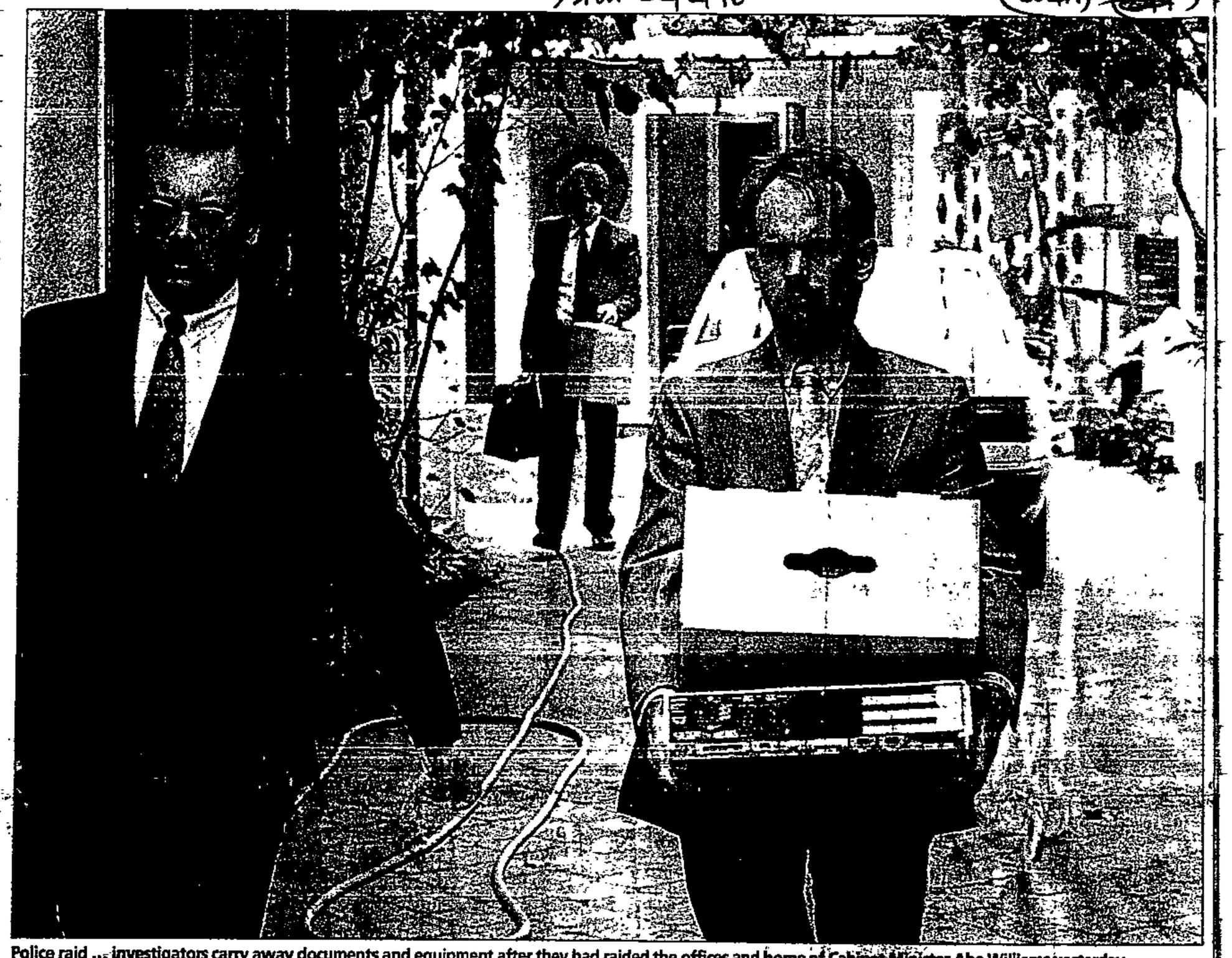
The investigation, under the guidance of a Prof Pieter le Roux, was conducted by Ernst & Young, which has produced a draft report. "The report pointed to a systematic weakness in the administration of pensions and grants, and showed that in some cases, junior clerks were corrupt at the expense of needy people.

"The report also showed that at middle and senior management level there were people engaged in a variety of fraudulent and corrupt practices, ranging from procuring premises and services to purchasing goods and equipment for the department of social services," Rasool said.

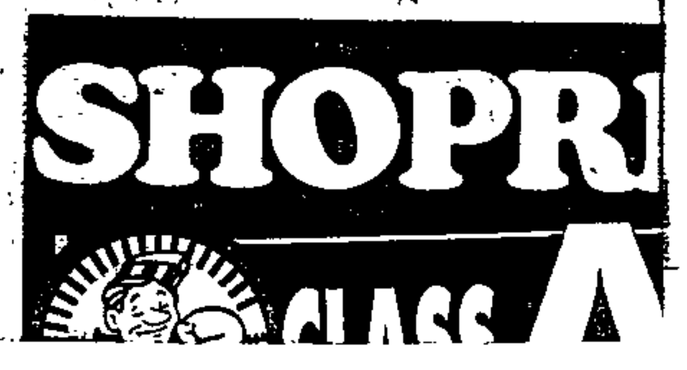
Although the draft report was not conclusive on the matter, it had raised serious questions about the tender awarded to Nisec, a subsidiary of arms manufacturer Denel, for the payment of pensions and grants.

Rasool added that people, including bank clerks and those who worked with Williams, had provided him with information.

"The essence of what they've alleged is that Williams has been the recipient of large sums of money in order to promote and favour particular companies who tendered for pension payments."



Police raid ... investigators carry away documents and equipment after they had raided the offices and home of Cabinet Minister Abe Williams yesterday.



Williams quits Cabinet after raid on offices

BD 22/2/96

Stephen Laufer and Kevin O'Grady

WELFARE Minister Abe Williams resigned from the Cabinet with "immediate effect" last night after the Office for Serious Economic Offences raided his offices and homes in Cape Town and Pretoria.

The move, which follows recent resignations by several other NP members from the Cabinet and the party, will deal a further blow to efforts by leader and Deputy President F W de Klerk to realign his party and raise the profile of its leading black members.

De Klerk said he had held "in-depth" discussions with Williams after the raids and it was decided Williams should resign in the interests of the NP and the government of national unity.

"His letter of resignation makes it clear that his resignation ... should not be interpreted as an admission on his part relating to any crime or irregularity," De Klerk said. He hoped further investigations against Williams would "proceed in a fair and reasonable manner and that justice will prevail".

NP spokesman Danie du Plessis said De Klerk would, in consultation with President Nelson Mandela, decide on a replacement for Williams.

Mandela's spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said the president had accepted Williams's resignation.

The warrants authorising the raids are understood to refer to the award of a tender for the privatisation of the social security benefit cash payment system by the Western Cape government in 1994. They also refer to a literacy programme run by the now defunct House of Representatives, of which Williams was education minister.

The irregularities which led to the Williams investigation were reported to the Office for Serious Economic Offences by University of the Western Cape economist Prof Pieter Le Roux, who investigated the award of the tender on behalf of the provincial government. A separate complaint was made to the office by a competitor of Nisec, the company which won the contract.

The ANC's Western Cape welfare MEC Ebrahim Rasool, who initiated the tender award investigation, said yesterday bank clerks and officials who worked for Williams had stated that the minister "had been the recipient of large sums of money to promote and favour particular companies who tendered for pension payments".

It is understood a national welfare department committee of officials advised the provincial government on the privatisation of pensions payments in the Western Cape, and that they had at a later stage — once Williams had become minister — "indicated" the award

Continued on Page 2

Williams

Continued from Page 1

BD 22/2/96

should go to security company Nisec.

His alarm had grown, Rasool said, when Williams had proposed that welfare MECs of the nine provinces hear a presentation by Nisec.

Nisec did not apparently possess the advanced fingerprint identification technology the tender specified. The company was later bought by Denel Informatics, a division of arms manufacturer Denel.

Nisec/Denel Informatics reportedly earns R12 for each of the 260 000 pensions paid out every month, double the amount paid to the Post Office, which still handles pension payments to whites and coloureds on behalf of the new contractor.

A further clause in the contract guarantees the company payment of the full amount for the Western Cape five days in advance of the monthly pension payout. With minimum social welfare pensions set at R410, this would allow the company to earn five days' interest each month on more than R100m.

Office director Jan Swanepoel refused to comment, saying it was unfortunate the investigation had become public so early.

A Denel spokesman said he could not comment.

Illegal aliens may stay in SA

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Illegal aliens from Southern African Development Community countries may apply for exemption from the law requiring them to be repatriated to their countries of origin, the Cabinet has decided.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel said yesterday the original request for a moratorium on repatriation came from Mozambique's President Joachim Chissano.

If illegal aliens from SADC countries had been resident in SA for five years before making an application they could qualify for an exemption from repatriation.

In addition, an illegal alien must be in productive economic activity in the formal or informal sectors to qualify for exemption.

A long-standing relationship with an SA partner or spouse or having dependent children born and resident in the country would also qualify an applicant.

Gerwel said there was a schedule of crimes which would disqualify any applicant from being granted exemption from repatriation. The schedule had not yet been made public.

The measures did not require additional legislation.

ANC, Cosatu share constitutional views

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Cosatu yesterday spelt out its "non-negotiable" positions in the constitution and said it had the support of the ANC on most of them.

Cosatu's demands dealt mainly with the Bill of Rights and included a call for a right to strike clause but no lock-out, no property and economic activity clauses, worker access to company information, the right to picket and conclude union security agreements, plus a workers' charter.

It also called for a unitary state based on national standards and said only voluntary coalitions should be permitted after the government of national unity concept terminated in 1999.

ANC negotiators confirmed after a meeting with Cosatu that the two sides shared common positions on most issues raised by the union federation, but differed on the demand for the omission of a property clause.

One negotiator said the ANC national executive committee had already decided on the inclusion of a property clause "as long as it does not prejudice essential land reform".

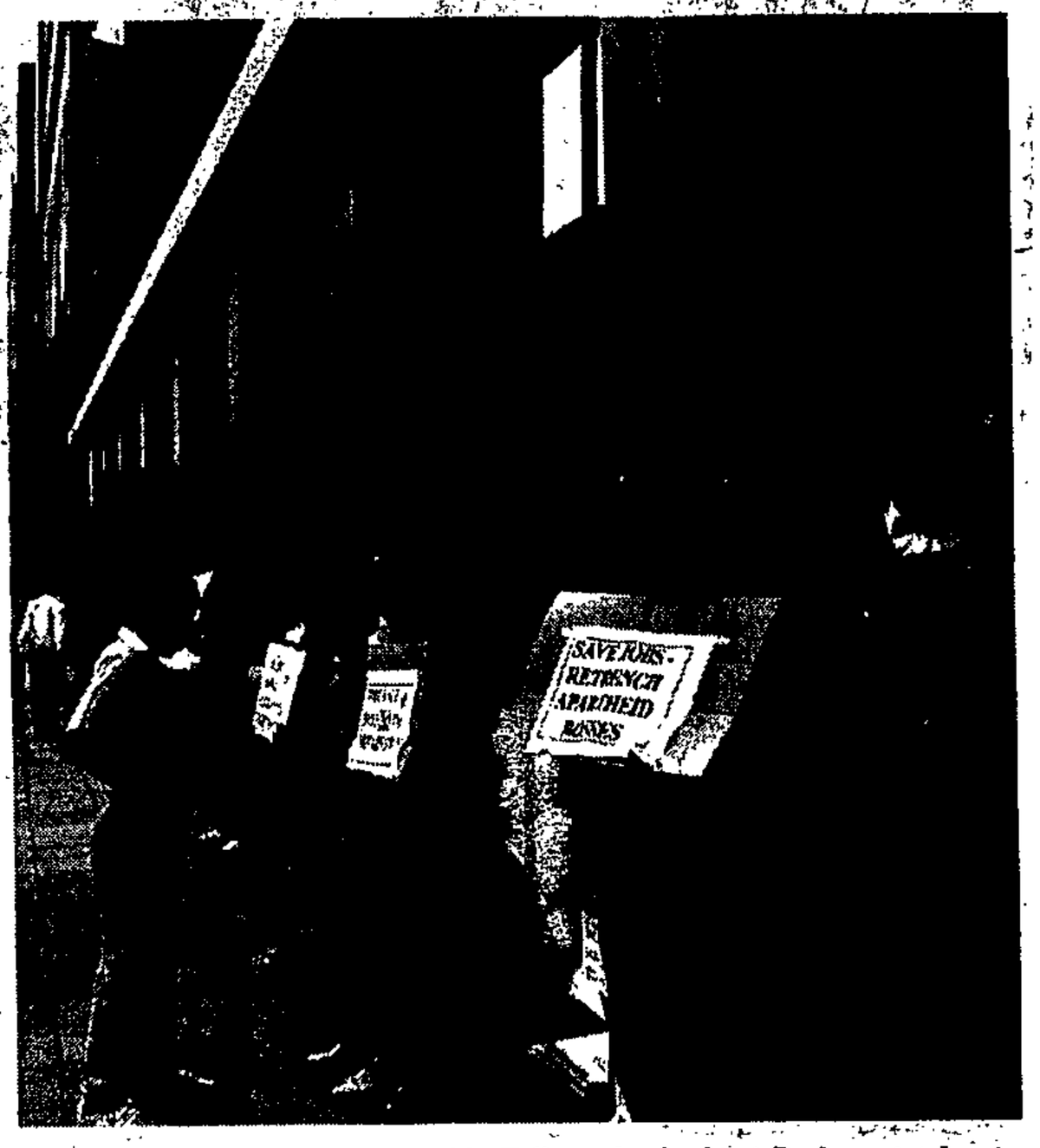
Cosatu senior officials also met an NP team led by its chief negotiator Roelf Meyer to discuss the federation's latest submission to the Constitutional Assembly.

However, Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa told a news conference that the NP had been "evasive" and failed to provide concrete proposals or answers to Cosatu's concerns.

A Cosatu source said the NP was told if the parties in the assembly were unable to resolve their differences it might necessitate the holding of a national referendum. ANC sources did not believe this would be necessary.

Shilowa warned that failure to address Cosatu's concerns "could have serious repercussions for out country, particularly in the field of labour relations and the economy".

Political parties are scheduled to meet tomorrow in private in a bid to resolve some of the more difficult clauses outstanding in the Bill of Rights, including the property-cum-and reform clause, the substitution of an economic activity clause with a freedom of occupation or vocation clause, and the ANC proposal to ban "hate speech".



SACP members picketed outside Telkom in Joubert Park yesterday to highlight their opposition to privatisation, which the party said would 'lead to the enrichment of a selected group of individuals and corporations and ... result in massive retrenchments'. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

Pension payments are safe — deputy minister

ARCT 22/2/96 (304A)

Political Staff

PENSION payments are safe, in spite of the sudden resignation of Welfare and Population Development Minister Abe Williams.

The resignation, after an investigation into alleged pension corruption, will have no effect on payouts of state pensions, grants and other forms of welfare.

This assurance was given today by Mr Williams's deputy minister, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi.

Last week, Mr Williams and Ms Fraser-Moleketi announced wide-ranging initiatives to curb the estimated R1 billion loss to welfare fraud each year. This represented nearly 10 percent of the welfare budget.

Part of the clampdown will involve the re-registration of all welfare recipients and fingerprinting of pensioners.

Ms Fraser-Moleketi said none of these actions would be compromised by the Office for Serious Economic Offences (Oseo) investigation into Mr Williams's possible involvement in welfare scams.

She said Mr Williams's resignation had surprised everyone in the ministry, "but I think he must have felt there were reasons that justified the need for such an action".

Ms Fraser-Moleketi said she was handling welfare matters while waiting to hear from President Mandela about the appointment of a new minister.

She will head the department until a new minister is appointed. Under the government of national unity agreement, President Mandela is expected to consult Deputy President F W de Klerk on a National Party replacement for Mr Williams in the cabinet.

Former minister probed over pension money

ARGT 22/2/96

(304A)

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Provincial Affairs Reporter



Ebrahim Rasool

FORMER National Minister of Welfare and Population Development, Abe Williams, is being investigated for allegedly accepting large sums of money in order to promote and favour particular companies which tendered for pension payments.

He was among the first Labour Party MPs to cross the floor to the National Party in 1989, and was Minister of Sport in the F W De Klerk government. Mr Williams resigned from the cabinet yesterday after police raided his home and offices in Cape Town and Pretoria to search for documents.

Deputy director of the Office for Serious Economic Offences, Tommy Prins, said today: "Our teams have come back with a lot of documentation and are busy going through it now.

"Obviously, we are eager to finalise the investigation as soon as possible."

Mr Williams has denied ever "acting in an improper manner" and pledged his full support for the investigation.

Western Cape Minister of Health and Social Services, Ebrahim Rasool, said yesterday Mr Williams twice tried to set up meetings between provincial ministers and one of the private companies tendering to administer pension payouts.

The company Mr Williams wanted the nine provincial ministers to meet was Nisec - the same company being investigated for irregularities in the tender process in the Western Cape.

The Western Cape was the first province to privatise pension payouts. Nisec was originally awarded the contract. The company has been taken over by Denel, formerly linked to Armscor.

Mr Rasool said Mr Williams was not suspected of acting irregularly with regard to the Western Cape contract.

"The allegations arise with regard to the alleged passing of money after the Western Cape contract had been awarded."

At a meeting between Mr Williams and the nine provincial ministers late last year, Mr Williams "proposed that we all listen to a presentation by Nisec/Denel on pension payouts".

Said Mr Rasool: "I was the one to raise objections to this proposal by Mr Williams on the basis that Nisec was being investigated in the Western Cape and was a competitor for the tenders of some other provinces and that the minister's proposal was highly irregular.

"Mr Williams acceded but again tried to have the MECs have lunch with him in his office where Nisec could speak to us."

Mr Rasool, who said he was addressing the media on the advice of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to advise how the Williams affair affected the Western Cape, went on to explain how a forensic investigation into the tender awarded to Nisec to administer Western Cape pension payments and grants led to a stream of callers and visitors to his office to submit information.

"These people made direct contact with me, believing that there was at last a seriousness in tackling fraud and that their information may have a positive outcome."

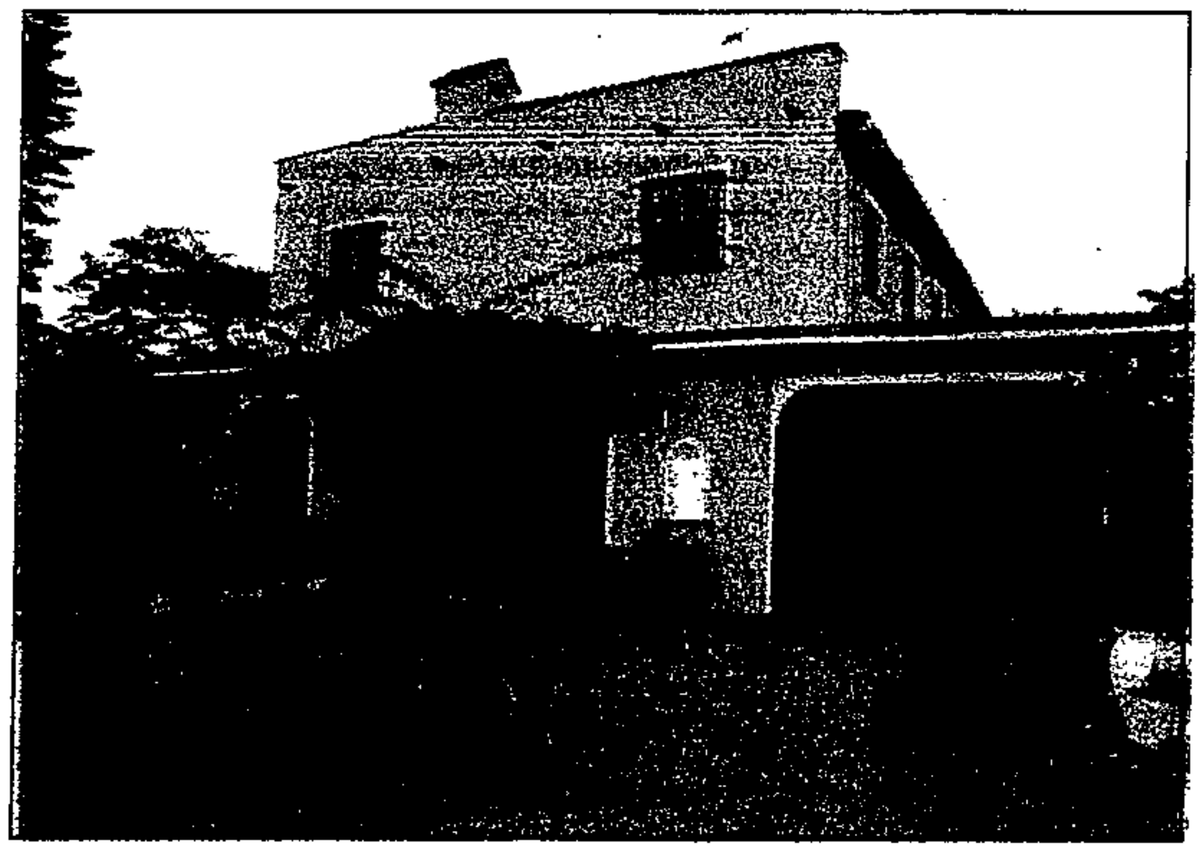
His informants included bank clerks "and those who worked with Minister Williams", said Mr Rasool.

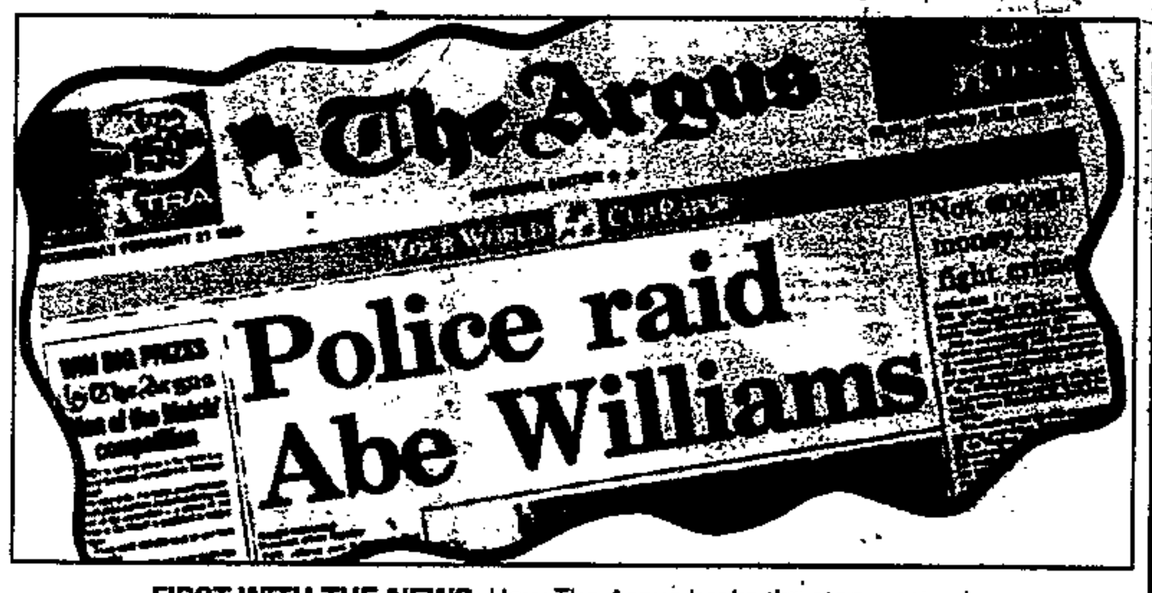


Pictures: LEON MULLER, The Argus.

ON THE MOVE: Abe Williams and his bodyguard were loading suitcases into his car today.

RONDEBOSCH RAID: Members of the Office for Serious Offences swooped on Mr Williams's Rondebosch home, left. They removed documents and computer equipment.





FIRST WITH THE NEWS: How The Argus broke the story yesterday.

He's the fourth minister to leave cabinet since '94

(304A)

Staff Reporter

ARGT 22/2/96

ABE Williams, former Minister of Welfare and Population Development, is the fourth minister who has left cabinet of the government of national unity since it was announced in 1994.

Others who left are Derek Keys, former Minister of Finance, who was replaced by Chris Liebenberg; Joe Slovo, former Minister of Housing who died in January last year and was replaced by Sankie Nkondo; and Roelf Meyer, who recently resigned.

Mr Williams is the only cabinet minister whose resignation came in the context of an investigation into his activities.

He joined the National Party in 1989 and in 1993 was one of the first "coloured" cabinet ministers appointed by the then State President FW de Klerk, who made him Minister of Sport.

WHY WE RAIDED ABE WILLIAMS

(304A)

☐ *Probe revealed 'possible contravention of Corruption Act'*

ARG 22/2/96

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Provincial Affairs Reporter

DETAILS of the investigation into the alleged financial irregularities of former Minister of Welfare and Population Development, Abe Williams, have been disclosed by the Office for Serious Economic Offences (OSEO).

Mr Williams resigned from the cabinet yesterday, hours after his offices and homes were raided by OSEO members searching for documents.

OSEO director Jan Swanepoel said today an investigation into possible irregularities about the award of a tender to Nisec CC for the payment of pensions in the Western Cape had uncovered information possibly implicating Mr Williams.

A search of Nisec's premises led to the extension of the inquiry to "inter alia the payment to and receipt by Mr Abraham Williams of certain amounts of money".

OSEO's information was "possibly indicative of a contravention of the Corruption Act of 1992".

Mr Swanepoel said his office applied to the Cape Town Supreme Court for a warrant to search the offices and houses of Mr Williams, among others.

The warrant was authorised on Tuesday and executed yesterday by members of the police attached to OSEO.



ROGER FRIEDMAN
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Mr Swanepoel said his office applied to the Cape Town Supreme Court for a warrant to search the offices and houses of Mr Williams, among others.

The warrant was authorised on Tuesday and executed yesterday by members of the police attached to OSEO.

Mr Swanepoel said the investigation was proceeding, and would probably take "considerable time".

On completion of the investigation, a report would be submitted to Minister of Justice Dullah Omar and all evidence handed to Attorney-General Frank Kahn.

Mr Kahn would have to decide whether to prosecute Mr Williams or others who might be implicated in the report.

Mr Swanepoel stressed that the fact Mr Williams' homes and offices were raided did not necessarily mean he was guilty of any offence.

Mr Williams yesterday declared himself innocent and pledged to assist the OSEO investigation.

● Mr Swanepoel said he was mystified by a statement from Western Cape Minister of Health and Social Services Ebrahim Rasool to the effect Mr Williams had been declared "a serious economic offender".

"If anyone declared him a serious economic offender, it was certainly not I or OSEO."

Mr Williams has not yet given any statements to the OSEO, reports Tyrone Seale. His legal representative, Frikkie Erasmus, said this morning that while Mr Williams had committed himself to co-operate with OSEO, he had tendered no statements, let alone confessions.

Mr Erasmus also said he was carefully studying yesterday's statements by Mr Rasool with a view to possible legal action over what appear to defamatory statements.

Mr Erasmus said OSEO had confirmed to him the investigation had just begun and the office had no way of certifying individuals as serious economic offenders.

Mr Erasmus said he would establish more facts before contacting Mr Rasool.



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, Chief Photographer, The Argus.

UNDER SUSPICION: Abe Williams, who resigned from the cabinet late yesterday, leaves his Rondebosch home with a security official.

CONTROVERSIAL ABE — pages 3 and 21

Why I resigned

(3500) (304A)

ARG 22/2/96

TYRONE SEALE, Political Staff

FORMER Welfare and Population Development Minister Abe Williams has spoken out about why he resigned after raids on his home and offices by the Office for Serious Economic Offences.

In an interview today, Mr Williams said it would have been unbearably embarrassing for him to remain a member of the cabinet while under investigation.

Speaking from his Cape Town home, Mr Williams said he would retain his seat in parliament.

Asked why he had chosen to resign merely at the announcement of an Oseo investigation into his possible involvement in welfare fraud, Mr Williams said: "It's very difficult to be a minister if there's an inquiry around you. It's unbearable. You have to sit in cabinet and it's embarrassing for you, your colleagues and the president."

On what he would do if he was either cleared or indicted by the investigation, he said he would take that decision at the end of the probe.

Mr Williams declined to speculate on his chances of being cleared, adding "that's why I've appointed a lawyer".

He said he would visit his office today to "clear out a few things".

To an outsider, events appeared normal at the Williams's home in Kromboom Road, Rondebosch, early today.

Mr Williams, dressed in a suit, came out of the house and posed willingly for photographs. He looked relaxed and smiling.

Mr Williams said he planned to consult his lawyer before going to his office.

Two officers from the national protection service arrived to fetch Mr Williams about 7.40 am.

The two men loaded some suitcases into the boot of Mr Williams's blue-and-silver luxury German car.

Meanwhile, political staff report the National Party was reeling in shock today after Mr Williams's resignation.

Senior party members said NP leader, Deputy President F W de Klerk, was expected to be asked today to convene an urgent summit to review what they said was "an atmosphere of crisis and alarm" in the party as it prepared for the Cape metro local government elections in May.

Mr De Klerk announced last night that after an "in-depth" discussion with Mr Williams, the NP's most senior coloured member had decided "to resign with immediate effect from the cabinet in the interests of the NP and the government of national unity".

Earlier, Oseo officials petitioned the Supreme Court for a search warrant and raided Mr Williams's homes in Pretoria and Cape Town as well as his Cape Town offices, and removed large quantities of documents and computer records.

In less than a month, the NP in parliament has now lost four of its most distinguished public representatives. The deputy speaker of the national assembly, Bhadra Ranchod, who is the most senior Indian member, deputy constitutional assembly chairman Leon Wessels and deputy land affairs minister Tobie Meyer have all opted to retire from politics.

LATEST

Move 'commendable'

FORMER Welfare and Population Development Minister Abe Williams did a commendable thing by resigning in the wake of "serious" allegations, President Mandela said today.

Speaking on the steps of Tuynhuys after meeting visiting German Bundestag President Dr Rita Suessmuth, Mr Mandela said this did not mean that by this action Mr Williams was admitting guilt. He declined to comment further. — Sapa.

Controversi

Latest accusations not the first to be levelled at former teacher,

Staff Reporter and Argus Correspondent

RUGBY administrator, teacher, former Labour Party politician, National Party cabinet minister, champion of the coloured community, self-deprecating joker, alleged crayfish hoarder, alleged exam cheat, alleged slumlord in Saldanha Bay ... Abe Williams has had a varied and controversial career.

The current accusations which have surrounded his resignation from Cabinet are not the first to be aimed at him and his department.

The 56-year-old Mr Williams was one of the first Labour Party MP's to walk-over to the National Party in 1989, and in 1993 was one of the first "coloured" cabinet ministers appointed by then State-President FW de Klerk who made him Minister of Sport.

In 1981, when apartheid was still strong, Williams was appointed assistant manager of the Springbok rugby team for the tour to New Zealand.

He and Errol Tobias were the only black members of the touring party, an experience Mr Williams later joked about. "We thought we had to carry the cases but ended up making the speeches," he once told sportswriters.

He has made controversial remarks in speeches – including an allegation that affirmative action would only benefit blacks.

Speaking at Genadendal before the April 1994 general elections, Mr Williams said brown people would have to wait until blacks had jobs. "Why must the colour of our skin count against us again? Why must the colour of our skin, which counted against us in the old South Africa, also count against us in the new South Africa? The ANC will discriminate against us again. We are past the times of toyi-toyi, protest, marches and swear words. The election is not about the past, it is about the future."

It was a theme he returned to the following year in the run-up to what was supposed to have been Cape Town's local government elections, postponed because of court action. Mr Williams said the ANC weren't the only ones in the struggle. "My message to you is to ask yourself the questions: 'Why do we, the brown community, need to feel less important than our fellow Afrikaners? Why do we, the brown community, take second place when it comes to affirmative action?' "

It was Deputy President De Klerk who put forward Mr Williams' name to President Mandela when he drew up the post-election cabinet in 1994.

His appointment as Minister of Welfare raised eyebrows and Mr Williams's performance in cabinet since then has been lacklustre.

Since taking over the Welfare Ministry in 1994, he has been criticised by the African National Congress and his own deputy, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, for dragging his feet in drawing up a White Paper on Welfare; failing to produce any meaningful legislation; not appointing a director general; and maintaining apartheid practices in the department.

The Welfare Department has been plagued by fraud allegations, especially relating to pension schemes. In November last year, investigations were carried out in six provinces into massive corruption involving millions of rands in state pensions.

In 1994, government estimated about R1-billion was being paid out annually in fraudulent disability and pension claims. Mr Williams admitted to Parliament last year that more than R15-million in social allowances had been embezzled or stolen from the Welfare Department in the last three years. He pledged to tighten controls on the system and crackdown on pension cheats.

In the past, Mr Williams has been accused of using taxpayers money for his own personal use – allegations he has shrugged off by attributing them to work-related duties.

A R71,000 trip to the Far East with his wife in 1983 while he was Sports Minister was supposedly "to investigate the connection between culture, tourism and distance educatio

A visit to a topless bar in Town in November was an "o study of the plight of street chil

And he was "overcharged" by agents when he paid R600,000 Bloubergstrand beach house that estate agents had put a va only R450,000 on the hous Williams replied: "Well, then, I ably paid too much for it."

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He was also accused of che while a student at the University Western Cape.

'Corrupt at the expense of needy'

Press statement by Ebrahim Rasool Western Cape MEC for Health and Social Services

I have been advised this morning that the raids by the Office for Serious Economic Offences have occurred and that Minister Williams has been declared a Serious Economic Offender. This, I think, simply means that strong suspicions regarding his conduct exist and that these will now be fully investigated.

We have reached this stage following the Forensic Investigation initiated and launched by my office last year into allegations of fraud and corruption in the Social Security unit of our work. This forensic investigation was conducted by Ernst & Young under guidance by Professor Pieter le Roux. We have in our possession the first draft of the report.

The report pointed to systematic weaknesses in the administration of pensions and grants, and showed that in some cases there were junior clerks who were corrupt at the expense of needy people.

The report also showed that at middle and senior management level there were people who engaged in a variety of fraudulent and corrupt practices ranging from procuring premises and services to purchasing goods and equipment for the Department of Social Services.

Although the report is not entirely conclusive on this matter, it does raise serious questions about the tender awarded to NISEC (now belonging to Denel) for the payment of pensions and grants.

It raises questions as to how the tender was awarded, whether NISEC can deliver a fraud-free pension service, and whether we are getting our money's worth from NISEC.

On the first two issues raised in the report, I will provide greater details at a later stage. The third issue around NISEC is the subject of a current investigation by OSEO, following the raids last year in September on NISEC and I am sure that OSEO will be guiding us further in our relationship with NISEC.

All of this is important for considering the raids this morning on Minister Williams.

I have, in the Western Cape Legislature, already raised my feeling that the fraud levels we've inherited from the National Party could not simply be the work of officials. I believed then that political sanction must have been available through commission or omission.

This feeling was confirmed when speaking to people who responded to our call for information. These people made direct contact with me, telephonically or in meetings, believing that there was at last a seriousness in tackling fraud and that their information may have a positive outcome.

These people, including bank clerks and those who worked with Minister Williams, are vulnerable and I respect their plea for confidentiality.

The essence of what they've said is that Minister Williams has been the recipient of large sums of money in order to promote and favour particular companies who tendered for pension payments.

My alarm grew when, at a MINMEC meeting between the National Minister, the Deputy Minister, the Provincial MECs and officials of welfare from across the country, Minister Williams proposed that we all listen to a presentation by NISEC/DENEL on pension payouts.

I was the one to raise objections to this proposal by Minister Williams on the basis that NISEC is being investigated in the Western Cape and was a competitor for the tenders of some other provinces and that the Minister's proposal was highly irregular.

Minister Williams acceded but again tried to have the MECs have lunch with him in his office where NISEC could speak to us.

This confirmed the stories related to me by my informants and I am confident, that having made all of these available to the investigating team, and that these have resulted in a Declaration of a Serious Economic Offence against Minister Williams, today's raid may have the effect of putting at the disposal of OSEO the necessary evidence which may prove or is likely to prove corruption, fraud or bribery.





)versial Abe

)3044) ed at former teacher, rugby administrator and cabinet minister

ARG 22/2/96

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And he was "overcharged" by estate agents when he paid R600,000 for a Bloubergstrand beach house. Told that estate agents had put a value of only R450,000 on the house, Mr Williams replied: "Well, then, I probably paid too much for it."

He also raised the wrath of female delegates at a conference on violence against women in Cape Town last year when he said it had given him the opportunity to look at some beautiful ladies. But he is also on record as saying men needed to change their attitudes and perceptions about women's role in society.

In 1984, Mr Williams made headlines when the tenants of 40 houses he owned at White City in Saldanha Bay complained he had increased their rent three-fold after buying the houses, which had no electricity or running water, from a fishing company.

In 1989, thieves broke into his house in Saldanha Bay and allegedly stole 80 crayfish tails from his freezer. Mr Williams, who helped arrest the men, swore there had been only 25 crayfish tails in the freezer.

He was also accused of cheating while a student at the University of the Western Cape.



THE RECEIVING END: Controversy always seems to follow former Welfare and Population Development Minister Abe Williams. Here he patiently waits for protestors to hand him their petition.

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MAN FOR ALL SEASONS: Williams was a keen sports administrator in his younger days. Left, he dons his 1981 assistant manager's blazer for the ill-fated 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand.

MAKING THE GRADE: Williams, below, is capped as a social worker at the University of the Western Cape in 1982.





HAPPIER TIMES: Abe Williams and his wife Esme are all smiles as they attend the opening of parliament.

The bell tolls for NP, says ANC

304A ARG 22/2/96

The African National Congress has issued the following statement on the resignation of Abe Williams:

THE African National Congress has taken note of Mr Abe Williams's resignation as Minister of Welfare. It is significant that the resignation follows soon after the raids by the Office for Serious Economic Offences on his houses and offices.

Without pre-judging the outcome of the investigations that are currently in progress, the ANC urges the Office for Serious Economic Offences to move as fast as possible in order for the facts to become known.

No person, regardless of the high position that he/she occupies, or has occupied, can be above the law.

The law must act without any fear or favour. A very clear message must be sent to whoever is involved in criminal activities: you have nowhere to hide.

The current investigation by the Office for Serious Economic Offences into corruption in the Department of Social Welfare, follows the Forensic Investigation which was initiated by the office of Mr. Ebrahim Rasool, ANC MPL and MEC for Health and Social Welfare in the Western Cape.

Mr Rasool previously stated in the Western Cape Legislature, that the fraud levels that the Government of National Unity inherited from the National Party could not simply be the work of officials.

He insisted that political sanction must have been available.

Yesterday Mr Rasool mentioned that information in his possession seems to implicate Mr Williams in having played exactly such a role.

It is important to note that ANC members of the Government of National Unity are taking the lead to expose fraud in the previous National Party government.

They are also in the forefront to develop a code of ethics for members of parliament and other mechanisms to ensure that the current government is clean and accountable.

Those who recently made sweeping statements about perceived levels of corruption in the current government, will hopefully now take note of the effective and very positive contribution that ANC members of the GNU are making to root out the corruption that we have inherited from the National Party.

It is true that blame must be apportioned where it is due, but it is surely not asking too much to expect that the ANC's clear commitment to fight corruption should also receive the recognition that it deserves.

The current allegations against Mr Williams once again highlight the gross mismanagement of our country's resources by the previous National Party regime.

Surely the very serious fraud which has been uncovered in the Department of Welfare and which MrWilliams is alleged to have been involved in, could not have taken place without a general atmosphere of corruption and condoning of corrupt practices.

In this regard the National Party and its leadership, who also formed the core leadership of the previous government, cannot escape a major share of the blame.

Every time further information comes to light about the National Party's performance in the past government, more and more questions are raised among the electorate about whether the NP is deserving of even the very limited support that they received during the last elections.

The voters of the Western Cape and of South Africa are ready to pass a harsh verdict. The bell is tolling for the NP.

A career dogged by controversy

MELANIE GOSLING
STAFF REPORTER

FROM a primary school teacher in the tiny West Coast town of Saldanha in 1977 to national Minister of Welfare and Population in 1994, NP member Abe Williams' career has been dogged by controversy.

While he was seen as something of a hero in the 1980s by many white South Africans as a "trouble-shooter" on Danie Craven's SA Rugby Board, travelling all over the world to plead for SA's re-admission into the international arena, he has also been accused of cheating in examinations while a student at the University of the Western Cape, of hording illegal crayfish and of being a slumlord in Saldanha, demanding high rentals from the poor.



ACCUSED: Abe Williams

In 1984 Williams hit the headlines when tenants of 40 houses he owned at White City, Saldanha, complained that he was milking them by high rentals for slum housing with no electricity or running water.

The tenants, mostly seasonal fishermen, said that when Williams bought the houses from Southern Seas Fishing Enterprises, he upped their rent by nearly three times. As many as nine people lived in the squalid two-roomed houses.

In 1989 thieves broke into Williams' house in Saldanha and stole two silver dinner services. They also allegedly stole 80 crayfish tails and 40 crayfish from his deep-freeze. Williams was instrumental in arresting the men, giving chase in his car and firing warning shots, but later swore that he had only had 25 crayfish in his home. The legal limit was 20.

As Department of Education and Culture Minister in the House of Representatives in 1993, he caused an outcry when he ruled that no substitute teachers could be appointed while teachers were on leave. Subsequently the Supreme Court ruled his decision was not valid.

In the same year he got flak for spending over R9 000 of taxpayers' money on a NP tea party in Atlantis for Ms Marike de Klerk.

Last year he was harshly criticised for his handling of the investigation into social payments fraud.

THURSDAY
FEBRUARY 22, 1996 ★

Huisamen: Williams never got one cent from me

ET 22/2/96 (606) (304A)

DALE GRANGER

IN his "private capacity as minister'' Mr Abe Williams "never received one cent from me", said Mr Michau Huisamen, who was managing director of Nisec when it was awarded the CPA pension payouts in December 1994 until the company was taken over by Denel in September of the same year.

He was responding to a statement by Western Cape MEC for Health and Social Services, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, that Williams had been declared a "serious economic offender" and that a report into administration of pensions and grants "raises serious questions about the tender awarded to Nisec" and "whether Nisec can deliver a fraud-free pension service, and whether we are getting our money's worth from Nisec".

Rasool said information indicated Williams "has been the recipient of large sums of money in order to promote and favour particular companies who tendered for pension payments".

Huisamen said he and Williams "only met at a parliamentary function months after the tender was awarded".

"It seems Minister Rasool is trying very hard to discredit Nisec right from the beginning and trying very hard to score a lot of political points at the cost of others like Minister Williams.

"This is a bit rich from Mr Rasool, who invited me to a Sunday night supper at a hotel about two months after the tender was awarded," he said.

He said he and Williams had met at the parliamentary function as he was a sponsor of the parliamentary rugby team, and also donated hundreds of thousands of rands to the Eastern Province rugby team and the University of Port Elizabeth.

"These types of money (donations) are not strange," he said, adding that Rasool was making "allegations that somebody gave Minister Williams money to favour Nisec — this is quite obvious from his statement".

The investigation into how Nisec had won the tender from the Cape Provincial Administration to administer pension payouts was launched in September last year when the Office for Serious Economic Offences raided its offices in Cape Town, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth.

Computer records, lists of company assets, accounting books and other documents were seized.

In the contract Nisec is being paid R125 million over five years and R1,5 billion is paid to Nisec for pensions and grants to 260 000 people in the Western Cape every year.

After the raid on Nisec offices, Democratic Party leader Mr Hennie Bester asked how two CPA employees, Mr Anton Scholtz and Mr André Louw, had joined the employ of Nisec shortly after they had won the tender. He also asked why the company was being paid to administer payouts to white and coloured pensioners of the former House of Representatives and House of Assembly when the Post Office had been subcontracted for the former, and ATM banks for the latter.

Nisec is also alleged to have charged the Western Cape Legislature several million rands above the "agreed-upon figure".

'Stokvel to pay out its investors'

Sowetan 22/2/96

By Musa Zondi
Consumer Reporter

MR WALTER Wright, director of the Mini Millionaire stokvel, yesterday gave his word that all the investors would be paid out next week – at the latest.

Speaking from Berlin, Germany, Wright said he was aware of the report that appeared in *Sowetan* yesterday and wanted to assure his investors and agents that they would be getting their money.

Scores of Wright's clients had complained to *Sowetan* that they had not received their returns even though they were promised payouts in December last year.

"I have been in this business for the past six years and in that period we have always paid out all our investors. In the past six months I have been tied in to a particularly large deal and sometimes things do not go the way that they are planned.

"We have had a few problems along the way but we can assure you that the money will be transferred by this weekend and our members will be receiving their investments plus profits by next week.

"I will be back in the country next week and by that time, all our investors should have received their money," he said.

The delay was partly caused by the United States government shutdown last year just before Christmas which forced civil servants to stay at home for at least four weeks.

It was at this time, Wright said, that the delays started but all had been sorted out now.

He said he had kept in constant contact with his agents, who, in turn, relayed messages to other investors.

"My integrity means more to me and as a Christian, I will not and cannot do harm to my investors," he said.

One caller to *Sowetan* said yesterday that he was confident that investors were still going to get their money.

Williams quits cabinet position

304A 36B 27A

MINISTER of Welfare and Population Development Mr Minister Abe Williams resigned his Cabinet position in the interests of the National Party and the Government of National Unity, NP leader Mr FW de Klerk said last night.

Williams, the most senior black NP member, quit after raids by the Office of Serious Economic Offences on his homes and offices in Cape Town and Pretoria earlier yesterday.

De Klerk said in a statement that he had held an "in-depth discussion" with Williams after the raids.

"Flowing from this discussion, he has decided to resign with immediate effect from the Cabinet in the interest of the National Party and the Government of National Unity."

Williams' letter of resignation had made it clear that the resignation should not be interpreted as an admission relating to any crime or irregularity.

"I would like to thank Minister Williams for his service in the National Party in his capacity as Minister and should like to express the hope that further investigations will proceed in a fair and reasonable manner and that justice will prevail.". - Sapa.

Sowetan 22/2/96

Exit Abe Williams

Abe Williams (304A) has weathered many a political storm in his career. Will he survive the latest scandal? Political Correspondent **Rafiq Rohan** does not think so ...

Sowetan 23/2/96

ABE WILLIAMS' political career has always been clouded in controversy but he has always been able to bounce back. However, after this week's allegations by Western Cape Health and Social Services MEC Ebrahim Rasool that Williams is guilty of corruption and fraud, it would take something of a miracle to restore any trust in him.

Firstly, he is not likely ever to be forgiven by colleagues in his National Party for adding to the party's crises as it furiously tries to gain legitimacy.

Almost on the eve of the Cape Metropole elections, this scandal around Williams erupts. It virtually rules out any chance of the NP enhancing its image nationally and, most significantly, current prospects of entrenching its position in its only power base in Western Cape look extremely bleak.

To many political observers it comes as no surprise that Williams will end his political career under a cloud. The NP, one observer quipped, should have been a lot more circumspect before giving Williams such a senior and powerful position in government as Minister of Welfare.

If anything, his history indicates that his first and foremost concerns were his own welfare rather than that of the millions of pensioners and socially deprived people to whom he was supposed to be a servant.

As early as when he was a student at the University of Western Cape, allegations emerged of his not so above-the-board style of operation. There were claims, which he has never denied, that his university qualifications were obtained through cheating in exams.

Later, as a member of the tricameral parliament, he was instrumental in travelling abroad during the height of apartheid and pleading for the bastion of apartheid sport – rugby – to be returned to the international sporting fold.

The South African National Council on Sport saw him as one of the main defenders of sport under apartheid. At the time he was a close friend and colleague of rugby boss Danie Craven.

Williams crossed the floor in 1989 from the Labour Party to join the NP. Because of his earlier close relationships with NP figures, observers were not surprised when he crossed over.

As his stature in the discredited apartheid political system grew, so did his wealth. He became a much-despised landlord, owning some 40 houses in the West Coast town of Saldanha.

Most of the tenants were poor fishermen who depended largely on their income from seasonal fishing. In 1984 they were in an uproar because of the condition of his houses.

Tenants said they lived in slum conditions, the houses had no running water or electricity and that Williams demanded exorbitant rents.

In 1989 he was caught out in a scam around the lucrative crayfish industry. Thieves broke into his house and made off with some of his expensive silverware. Shotgun-style, he gave chase and the thieves were caught.

It was announced that the thieves also stole 80 crayfish tails, the most expensive part of the shellfish, from his freezer. At the time it was illegal to have more than 20 crayfish in your possession.

Later, red-faced, he denied there were 80 crayfish. He said there were 25 in his freezer, which still meant that by his own admission he had at least five more than the law allowed.

He was appointed Minister of Sport by his leader Mr FW de Klerk and, during his administration, was criticised for lavish spending, including the purchase of a fleet of top-of-the-range BMW cars for himself and staff.

The name given to him by people in the Cape was "Fat-Cat Abe". This title was prominently displayed on many a poster by protesters during the apartheid years.

Other criticisms levelled at him include spending taxpayer's money on an NP campaign trail in the form of R9 000 for a tea party for De Klerk's wife, Marieke (who was never forgiven for labelling coloured people "non-people").

He was also taken to court where a ruling was made against him to appoint substitute teachers while teachers were on leave.

Last week, during the briefings by all Ministries of the media in Cape Town, Williams – in what now sounds like some sort of premonition – spoke at length about corruption in the pension payout systems.



Abe Williams ... his party will not forgive him for adding to their crises.

He spoke of ongoing police investigations "at high level", of arrests and imminent arrests. Little did anyone realise how high level the investigations were, and how close to Williams himself this was going to be.

Then on Wednesday teams of detectives launched simultaneous raids on his Cape Town and Pretoria offices and houses, taking away documents.

At the time, Williams – unaware of his crumbling world – was attending his last Cabinet meeting. He came out, learnt of his fate and after an "in-depth" briefing with De Klerk, tendered his resignation.

He emphasised that the resignation was not an admission of guilt. But, as the ANC said in a statement, "Mr De Klerk should tell the country what his 'in-depth' discussion with Mr Williams encompassed, and why this led to the conclusion that Mr Williams should resign immediately".

Indeed, De Klerk may have to spell that out if he does not want this to become the focal point of the election campaign in the next two months.

February last year.

ANC blames Nats for Abe Williams

National Party MP is said to have received lots of money for 'favours'

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress is patting itself on the back following allegations that the now former Minister of Welfare, Mr Abe Williams, was engaged in fraudulent activities and corruption.

The ANC says the National Party must share in the blame. President Nelson Mandela said Williams had done the commendable thing by resigning.

The Office for Serious Economic Offences (OSEO) launched a dramatic search-and-find operation which involved raiding Williams' houses and offices in Cape Town and Pretoria in a synchronised operation on Wednesday. Files and documents were removed by the OSEO and are currently being examined.

The OSEO said that it extended its investigation to the former minister after it uncovered information possibly implicating Williams while investigating possible irregularities in the awarding of a tender to Nisec cc to pay pensions in the Western Cape.

A search of Nisec's premises led to the extension of the inquiry to, *inter alia* , "the payment to and receipt by Mr. Abraham Williams of certain amounts of money."

This information could be "indicative of a contravention of the Corruption Act of 1992", OSEO director, Mr Jan Swanepoel, said yesterday.

The lid was lifted by the local Minister of Health and Social Services Mr Ebrahim Rasool, who said he had information showing that Williams was guilty of "corruption, fraud or bribery".

"Williams has been the recipient of large sums of money in order to promote and favour particular companies who tendered for pension payments," Rasool said.

Justice Minister Dullah Omar said he had authorised the issuing of the warrant to search Williams' premises. Immediately after this warrant was carried out Williams resigned.

National Party leader, Mr FW de Klerk, issued a statement saying that Williams' resignation "should not be interpreted as an admission on his part relating to any crime or irregularity".

The allegations against Williams, the ANC said, highlight the "gross mismanagement" of resources by the NP regime and that the fraud uncovered could not have occurred had it not been condoned.

"The National Party and its leadership, who also formed the core leadership of the previous government, cannot escape a major share of the blame," the ANC said.

● See page 12

A monolithic monument to waste

If the Government were a private organisation, how would it measure up in respect of management practices? Badly, to put it mildly

By Helen Grange

Anarchists looking for ammunition, look no further. There is ample evidence that government, or our Government at least, is a monolithic monument to inefficiency, bad management practices and questionable business ethics.

It is all contained in the latest Auditor-General's performance audits covering 11 State departments, five statutory bodies and two former own affairs administrations – conducted over the period from July 1994 to July 1995 and tabled in Parliament this month.

The impact of this state of affairs in the public service is an enormous waste of taxpayers money, ironic considering the perennial cry by government departments for bigger budgets.

Inefficiency in planning, budgeting, authorisation, control, procurement and utilisation of resources bedevils all the departments audited to a greater or lesser degree.

At the Office of the State Tender Board, for example, the audit found that a specific contractor was repeatedly used to the disadvantage of the State. Owing to repeated defaults by the contractor, the Department of Public Works had to pay an extra R750 000 in 1987 for the completion of a contract.

The audit on the Agriculture Department found that agricultural land was still not utilised to the best advantage of the State and development actions still did not take place according to an acceptable norm and at an affordable unit cost.

At the Government Printing Works, duplication of printing activities at departments occurred commonly, because of poor co-ordination between the works and departments.

For instance, a survey in 1990 found that departments spent at least R9-million on text processing equipment, binding equipment, film processors, cameras, sheet markers and other printing and binding equipment from January to December 1989, while about R5-million was spent on similar equipment at the Government Printing Works during the same period.

And in the SA Police Service, mismanagement of stock was particularly evident. Z88 pistols were acquired from Armscor for more than they could be bought for from retailers, and needs for weapons, clothing and textile items were not properly assessed, leading to shortages or surpluses.

A common trend in government departments is their inefficiency in collecting debts in the form of taxes, payment for services or fines.

The ability of the inland revenue department to collect taxes has run down to the extent that billions of rands in state income is forfeited each year.

Judging from the past, corrections will be slow

For example, although 36,75% of the total value-added tax debits of R1 338-million had been outstanding at the inland revenue office in Johannesburg, only 19 cases were handed over to the State Attorney. And 67% of the debits had already been outstanding for more than nine months.

Auditor-General Henri Kluever has subsequently warned that the collection of tax, which was the "basis on which the RDP and the success of the new South Africa should be built, will fall apart if the personnel and funding position of the inland revenue is not addressed".

More than R5-billion in tax was outstanding on March 31 1994 and outstanding interest for value-added and income tax amounted to R1,7-billion. Kluever said that since interest on outstanding interest was not charged, the State was forfeiting about R257-million a year.

Millions of rands are also being forfeited annually at the State Attorney's offices because of its inefficient debt collection system.

The audit found that at the office in Cape Town, nine debt collection cases, with a total value of R4,5-million, were not put on record timeously and amounts owned were consequently understated.

Potential State income is also lost as a result of the Transport department collecting inadequate fines from foreign ships polluting our seas.

In America a ship is fined R2-million ($500 000) for polluting the sea, while in South Africa a maximum fine of R250 000 is applicable for a similar offence and R200 000 for oil pollution.

Most of the state departments were found to have ineffective policies controlling their needs determination. This afflicted the State Tender Board in particular, which wasted much money on bad contracts or consultancy services which were not the most cost effective.

In one case, the House of Assembly unilaterally cancelled an ad hoc contract for the erection of classrooms since a need for them no longer existed, causing the State a loss of R53 126.

Corrective steps are being taken in the departments audited, but implementation of these will be slow judging by the action taken following previous performance audit recommendations.

(Performance audits were done on the former administrations of the House of Delegates and House of Representatives, the Departments of Agriculture, Finance, Health, Home Affairs, Justice, Land Affairs, Mineral and Energy Affairs, Transport, SAPS, the SA Tourism Board, the Office of the State Tender Board, the SA Medical Research Council, the Office of the Compensation Commissioner, the Government Printing Works, the Fund for the Training of Unemployed Persons and Mintek.)

Star 23/2/96

(30M)

stole. Such libel is being maliciously spread and I am therefore find out why I was dismissed, ... have still not heard a word."

BD 23/2/96

Denel denies role in alleged irregularities

(293) (300) (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — SA's arms manufacturer Denel has denied involvement in any allegedly irregular payments that might have been received by former Welfare Minister Abe Williams in connection with social welfare pensions in the Western Cape.

Denel owns 51% of Nisec, the company which won the contract to pay the monthly R1,5bn to Western Cape pensioners each month using a sophisticated fingerprint system.

MD Johan Alberts said yesterday that the Western Cape administration invited the tenders in early 1994 and Denel became involved in Nisec, which is now a registered company, only in September. "Denel denies that there has been any involvement on their part to secure the tender and dismisses the allegations that Denel may have been involved with payments to obtain or maintain the contract in question."

This denial followed a statement by Office for Serious Economic Offences director Jan Swanepoel who said it was an investigation and search of Nisec's premises that necessitated the extension of the investigation into the alleged receipt of money by Williams. This, said Swanepoel, could indicate a contravention of the Corruption Act.

A war of words has erupted between the ANC and the NP over Williams's resignation. The ANC said it had always fought corruption in the NP, while the NP contrasted its own prompt action over Williams with the ANC's months-long wrangle in the Winnie Mandela and Allan Boesak affairs.

NP leader FW de Klerk had not named a successor to Williams by last night.

Comment: Page 18

Schutte switch leaves Nats even more depleted

(304A) ARG 23/2/96

Political Staff

THE National Party – rocked by the resignation of Welfare Minister Abe Williams – is set to lose another experienced parliamentarian when former deputy minister Danie Schutte takes up the party leadership in KwaZulu-Natal.

Mr Schutte, who has played a major role in the NP's constitutional negotiations team, will leave parliament in May to replace the NP's outgoing provincial leader, George Bartlett, NP leader Deputy President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Although the departure of Mr Schutte to provincial politics means an NP hardliner and conservative is leaving politics at central level and providing an opportunity for the NP to make another affirmative action appointment, it leaves the NP further depleted at national level.

So far this year, the NP has lost Deputy Speaker Bhadra Ranchod who is due to take up a diplomatic post, Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer who is leaving Cabinet to take up the post of NP secretary general and Mr Williams whose sensational resignation this week could be a body blow to the NP's attempts to win the local government elections in the Western Cape where Williams was a prominent political, social and sporting figure.

No replacement for Schutte has been named named.

Poll looms on seat of parliament

(304A) ARG 23/2/96

CLIVE SAWYER, Political Correspondent

DEEP divisions in the cabinet and major political parties on the future seat of parliament may force a national referendum.

This prospect comes amid continuing speculation about the findings of independent auditors commissioned to investigate the costs of a two-capital system.

While some sources have indicated that the findings favour neither Cape Town nor Pretoria, others have said the costs of the present system would make consolidating legislative and executive government in Pretoria the most efficient option.

While Pretoria protagonists in the cabinet favour a decision on costs alone, their opponents believe other factors like the impact on national unity should be taken into account.

Those in favour of Cape Town are expected to argue that the costs in the auditors' report reflect several one-off expenses related to the transition to a new dispensation and are not a fair reflection of the future workings of the system.

Complicating the differences of opinion in the cabinet is the disagreement on the issue within the African National Congress and National Party.

While the ANC's national executive committee is understood to be fairly evenly split on the capital question, most in the inner-circle national working committee are expected to favour a move to Pretoria.

It is understood an attempt was made to raise the question in the ANC's national executive committee, but this was defeated by those in favour of Cape Town.

The NP is also at odds, although its leader, F W de Klerk, has endorsed the Cape Town campaign publicly.

NP negotiators told the constitutional assembly this week the party was involved in a complex process in deciding its policy on the future seat of parliament.

There are two routes which could lead to ordinary citizens being asked to decide a question which has stymied political decision-makers.

One could flow from constitutional negotiators reaching deadlock on the issue, a situation which would be averted only if the ANC persuaded other parties to omit the matter from the constitution.

The other is that a referendum would be held in accordance with President Mandela's wish that the issue be as widely canvassed as possible.

Mr Mandela has emphasised repeatedly that he does not support either of the campaigns by Cape Town and Pretoria to be the future parliamentary capital.

Unless handled with the greatest sensivity, it could prove divisive to a degree the country could not afford.

Mr Mandela has insisted that all concerned be consulted, including all ministries and departments, business and labour and the cities themselves.

Last month's public endorsement by several cabinet ministers, across party lines, of the Cape Town campaign caused dismay in the highest circles.

A possible compromise, if there is no agreement to specify in the constitution where parliament should be, would be to provide for the question to be reconsidered after a certain number of years.

But those in favour of Pretoria could paint Cape Town into a corner by linking the questions of parliament and the 2004 Olympics and forcing Cape Town to choose between the two.

A spokesman for the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament, the lobby group campaigning to keep parliament in the Cape, said the group would welcome a referendum.

Support for legislature to join top body

(304A)

CHRIS BATEMAN
CT 23/2/96

A PROPOSAL that the Western Cape legislature join the prestigious Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to gain expertise was unanimously supported by members yesterday.

Deputy Speaker Ms Mampe Ramotsamai said that MPLs were "missing out because it's very important we learn about other constitutions and expose members to international resources".

She revealed that of the country's nine provinces, only Mpumalanga and the Western Cape had yet to join the association.

The NP's Mrs Annette Reinecke put the annual subscription to the association at R25 000 (including sending a representative to its annual planning conference).

The DP's Mr Hennie Bester said it would also be an opportunity to contribute to "an Africa that doesn't abound with democratic legislatures".

Business slams draft constitution

(304A) CT(BR) 23/2/96

By Fiona Leney

Johannesburg — Influential local business organisations said yesterday that proposals in the draft constitution on land reform, labour relations and economic activity could cripple the government and scare away investors.

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) and Business South Africa (BSA) separately submitted their views on the draft to the constitutional assembly.

Stephan Malherbe, who drafted BSA's submission, said that the present draft risked damaging democracy because so much government policy would be subject to legal review.

Both groups argued strongly that court involvement, through judicial review of allegedly anti-constitutional activities, would lead to endless, expensive and unnecessary litigation.

The BSA stance was more conciliatory, while Sacob's wide-ranging paper took a more trenchant stance on issues such as land reform and the death penalty, which it wanted retained as a matter for legislative decision. Sacob said freedom of information could be damaging to the competitiveness of business.

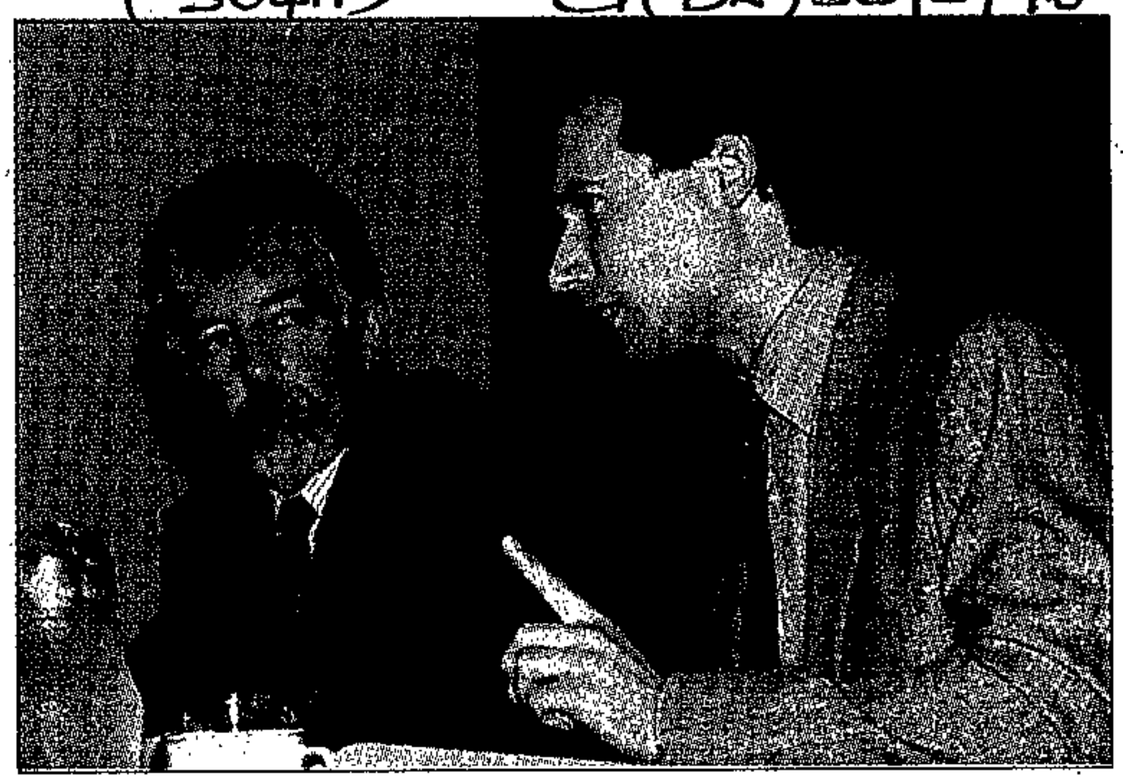
Constitutional protection of all property rights was of prime concern to both BSA and Sacob. Both bodies said that existing protection had contributed to international confidence in South Africa, and the inflow of capital.

Where the two bodies differed was on how best to release land. The BSA proposal explicitly provided for land reform and expropriation in the public interest, as long as fair compensation was paid, while Sacob took a much harder line. But Sacob had no quarrel with the restitution of land unjustly taken in the first place.

Both groups wanted the right to strike excluded from the constitution. Malherbe warned that were the constitution to tie the government's hands in framing future labour policy, this could have a disastrous effect on future job creation efforts.

Both groups said that if the right to strike was enshrined in the constitution, it had to be paired with the right of an employer to enforce a lock-out.

Protection for the right to economic activity, or, in the words of BSA, the right to "livelihood and to engage in the business of choice" was also a key concern. Sacob said "retention of this right, already included in the interim constitution, would transmit an 'investor friendly' signal to South Africa and the rest of the world. Its exclusion from the final constitution would have the converse effect".



POINTED WARNING *Stephan Malherbe explains BSA's submission to the constitutional assembly, while Bokkie Botha, the chairman of BSA's standing committee on social policy, looks on* PHOTO: JOHN WOODROOF

'SEARCH DOES NOT INDICATE GUILT'

Williams affair rocks NP

CT 23/2/96

THE NP REELED under the shock of Mr Abe Williams' resignation from the cabinet yesterday, despite praise from President Nelson Mandela. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

AS the political consequences of Welfare Minister Mr Abe Williams' resignation from the cabinet widened yesterday, the Office for Serious Economic Offences warned that the investigation into the alleged irregularities would probably take a "considerable" time.

For the National Party, the news could not have come at a worse time — and the announcement yesterday that veteran politician Mr George Bartlett was also to quit active politics has compounded the impression that senior Nationalists were deserting a lost cause.

Williams was one of the key figures in the NP's surprise victory in the Western Cape in the 1994 election. He denied yesterday that he would resign from the NP or from Parliament, and he was praised by President Nelson Mandela for quitting — but his resignation from the cabinet was a serious blow for the NP's bid to broaden its base by portraying itself as non-racial.

This followed the decision of Deputy Speaker Dr Bhadra Ranchod to quit active politics, the resignation of other NP leaders such as Deputy Land Affairs Minister Tobie Meyer, and the suspension of youth leader Pierre Jeane Gerber and Senator Sathi Naidoo, one of its few black parliamentarians from KwaZulu-Natal.

Yesterday, there was considerable speculation in NP ranks about who Williams' successor will be — perhaps a woman such as Sheila Camerer or someone from the provinces. The NP may use the opportunity to negotiate a cabinet reshuffle so that the Welfare portfolio is re-allocated.

Yesterday the director of the Office for Serious Economic Offences Jan Swanepoel said in a statement that during a search of Nisec, a subsidiary of the state-owned Denel, "information came to light which was followed up and eventually necessitated the extension of the inquiry to inter alia the payment to and receipt by Mr Abraham Williams of certain amounts of money, possibly indicative of a contravention of the Corruption Act 1992".

Swanepoel said, however, the investigation would probably take "a considerable time".

When it was completed a report would be submitted to Justice Minister Dullah Omar and all evidence would be handed over to the attorney-general.

Swanepoel also said it had come to his attention that Western Cape Health and Social Services MEC Ebrahim Rasool had alleged in a press release that Williams had been declared a "serious economic offender".

"If anyone declared him a serious economic offender, it was certainly not I or the Office for Serious Economic Offences."

The fact that Williams' offices and houses were searched did not mean that he was guilty of any offence, Swanepoel said.

Mandela said that Williams had done a commendable thing by resigning in the wake of the serious allegations.

Speaking on the steps of Tuynhuys after meeting visiting German Bundestag President Dr Rita Suessmuth, he said this did not mean that by this action he was admitting guilt.

He said the matter was subjudice and he did not want to comment any further.

Support for legislature to join top body

CHRIS BATEMAN
CT 23/2/96 (304A)

A PROPOSAL that the Western Cape legislature join the prestigious Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to gain expertise was unanimously supported by members yesterday.

Deputy Speaker Ms Mampe Ramotsamai said that MPLs were "missing out because it's very important we learn about other constitutions and expose members to international resources".

She revealed that of the country's nine provinces, only Mpumalanga and the Western Cape had yet to join the association.

The NP's Mrs Annette Reinecke put the annual subscription to the association at R25 000 (including sending a representative to its annual planning conference).

The DP's Mr Hennie Bester said it would also be an opportunity to contribute to "an Africa that doesn't abound with democratic legislatures".

NON-PAYMENT CRISIS IN W CAPE

Masakhane campaign now 'dead as a dodo'

CT 23/2/96

THE WESTERN CAPE legislature heard yesterday that for any chance of survival iKapa tariffs would have to go up 2 500%. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

THE Masakhane campaign to get people to pay for services was "dead as a dodo" — with 85% of all local authority grants for the Western Cape servicing iKapa, Lingelethu-West (Khayelitsha) and Crossroads — the provincial legislature heard yesterday.

DP leader Hennie Bester labelled Masakhane "dead as a dodo", citing a drop in Soweto rent payments, during a snap debate on the R50-million cut in the intergovernmental grant to the province for 1996/97.

Introducing the debate Local Government MEC Peter Marais said iKapa cost the fund R3,810m a month as it had "no other income source". Even if all iKapa residents paid their accounts, their tariffs would have to go up 2 500% for any chance of financial survival.

Last year inter-governmental grants to iKapa "came nowhere near" meeting minimum expenditure, and salaries alone ran to R4,4m a month.

He warned that the grant cuts posed the danger of labour and political unrest, non-delivery of services, the hiking of Cape Town rates to carry iKapa and a total rent boycott across racial lines in protest against unequal rates and service charges.

Responding to suggestions by Bester that he set up "bare minimum" administrations so that black local authorities could at least collect payment, Marais revealed that in Crossroads no accounts had gone out because no debiting system existed.

"I agree with him (Bester), but who pays for creating the administrative capacity when central government is cutting our grant this year by 37,8%?" he asked.

Non-payment had also created crises in Albertinia, Heidelberg, Tulbagh, Barrydale, Bitterfontein, Goodwood/Ruyterwacht, Graafwater, Lamberts Bay, Pacaltsdrop, Wolseley, De Rust, McGregor, Riviersonderend and Sedgefield.

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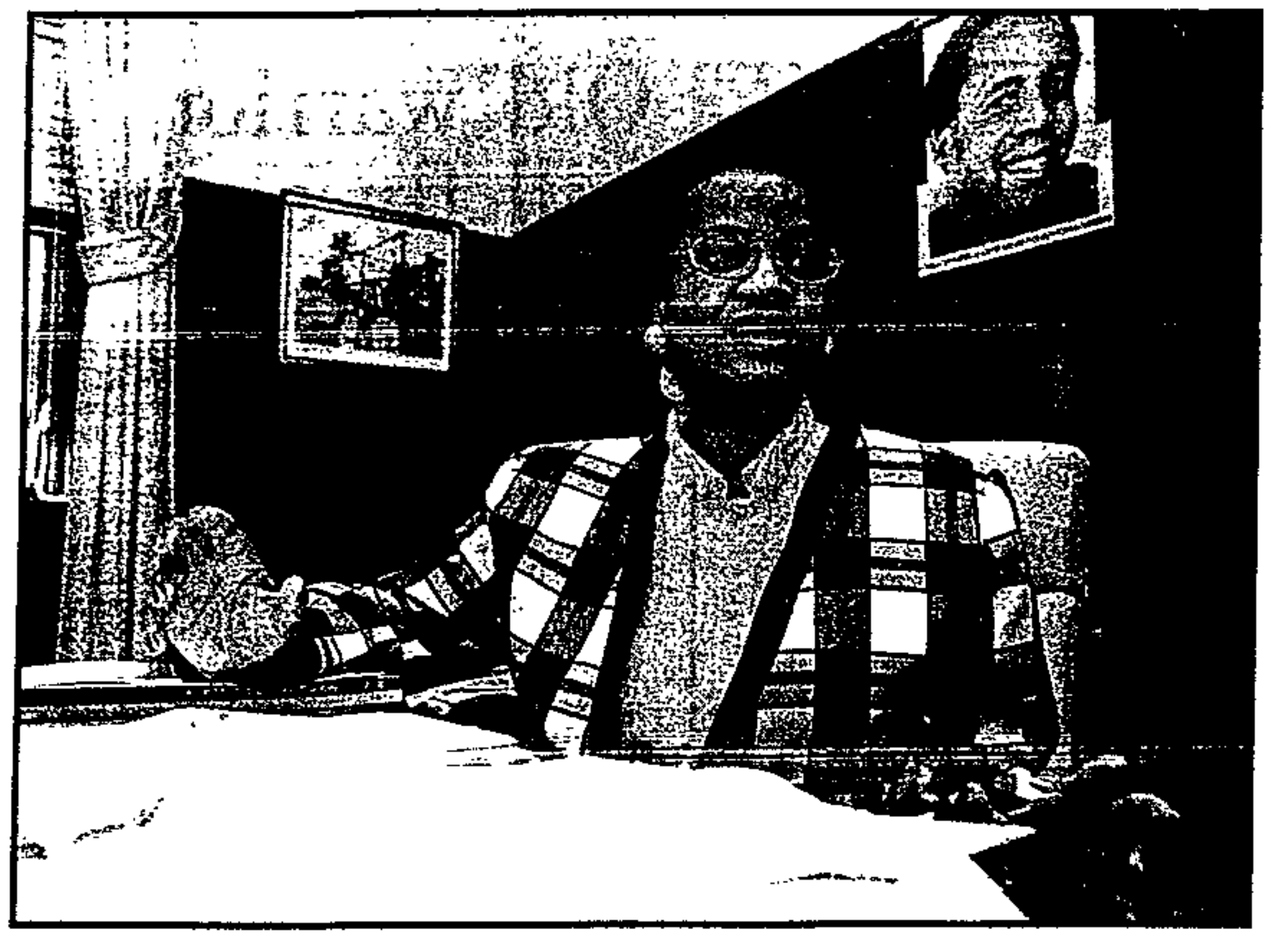


Picture: DOUG PITHWEY, Staff Photographer.

☐ **BE POSITIVE:** Chairperson of ANC parliamentary caucus Baleka Kgositsile says the media must be more positive in its coverage of the transition South Africa's first non-racial parliament is going through.

Media told: 'Be positive on parliament'

MXOLISI MGXASHE
Staff Reporter

(304A) ARG 24/2/96

IF the media wants be seen as being truly committed to the process of transforming parliament into an effective tool of social change, it must desist from being a perpetual messenger of bad news.

This view was expressed by chairperson of the African National Congress parliamentary caucus Baleka Kgositsile in an interview with SATURDAY Argus on the ANC's role in transforming parliament from an apartheid-inherited institution into a true "people's parliament".

A move towards these goals occurred two weeks ago when portraits, busts, paintings and other artifacts that had decorated the national assembly during the days of apartheid were removed and replaced by artworks inspired by the resistance to apartheid.

The changes in the environment of parliament have been given boost by President Nelson Mandela's "transformation" opening address to parliament and by the draft bills tabled by various ministries spelling out their plans for radical social change in the years to come.

Ms Kgositsile, who holds a powerful position, presiding over about 326 men and a substantial number of women in the ANC caucus, has an important part to play in quickening the pace at which things are done in parliament. She said the media, which she believed should be playing a more positive role in presenting the real situation faced by the new members of parliament, was not doing its work as an important vehicle for public education and democracy.

"Instead we are being bombarded left and right and the problems we have inherited from apartheid are being ignored and we are expected to do miracles where our predecessors failed dismally to build democracy in the country.

"What the media seems to have concentrated on mainly is the so-called 'gravy train' tune which has almost become a song-of-sixpence. It was quite understandable for people living in the squatter camps and those who are poor and sick to perceive us as passengers in this train.

"But, for others who have for decades monopolised wealth and affluence up till this day, I think it is sheer malice and hypocrisy to talk of the 'gravy train' when they refer to the new MPs and senators."

Ms Kgositsile said there were basically two functions the ANC caucus was focusing on in the process of transformation and these meant improving the work and efficiency of parliament and turning it into a "true people's parliament".

Right now, she said, a number of ANC MPs were setting up constituency offices throughout the country which are going to serve as "branches of parliament at the grassroots".

People from various walks of life would have opportunity to discuss any issue with their members in parliament and their staff.

Ms Kgositsile said in addition to the setting up of constituency offices, portfolio committees, will now be able to go to the people and seek their views on a number of issues being raised in draft bills.

She said these public hearings would also be another way of dealing with a great risk MPs faced of being lobbied by big companies which paid them "handsome monies" in order to raise certain questions in parliament.

Ms Kgositsile said the portfolio committees would listen to the general concerns of constituents and residents.

She said the committee's views would not necessarily represent the views of any specific party.

She said the process of legislating was quite new to many people in parliament and a great deal of patience, teaching and explanation was needed in meetings preceding the tabling of draft bills in order to reach consensus among ANC members, including those who did not understand English and Afrikaans.

She said what had amazed her in the media's coverage of parliament was its overemphasis of "the so-called absenteeism," and the occasional failure by parliament to meet the quorum requirement.

This was not anything unique to the new parliament in this country. Other parliaments overseas, including Britain and Australia, faced these problems too because of the wide responsibilities of members of parliament. "We are not saying we should not be criticised for any mistakes. That is what a democracy is about."

precious gift of a healthy baby boy. Zachary Anthony, born February ... | nue, Westridge at 2 pm on Tuesday 27 February 1996 pra- | Vincent, June and families. | Leigh, Yolanda and | Fondly remembered

SA 'seeks closer ties with Europe'

ROME — South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said he hoped for closer co-operation with Europe as his country sought to "heal the wounds of the past".

"We are convinced that if the European Union market were to open up to our country, it would give us a great deal of encouragement and would contribute a great deal to the efforts our country is now engaged in seeking to heal the wounds of the past," Mr Nzo said in Rome.

He earlier held talks with his Italian counterpart Susanna Agnelli. Italy holds the rotating EU presidency until June.

EU foreign ministers agreed last June to begin talks on a wide-ranging co-operation treaty with South Africa and Italy would like to have it signed by the end of its term.

Ms Agnelli said: "We hope that it will be possible to sign an agreement for co-operation between the EU and South Africa even if, at the moment, there are a few resistances from other partners in the EU.

"We hope it will be possible to overcome this and to be able to sign the agreement and probably to have President Mandela come to the Florence summit in June." — Reuter.

End of road for man in the

ST 25/2/96

ABE WILLIAMS, who resigned as Minister of Welfare this week, was the life and soul of any social event.

More often than not wearing a flamboyant white panama hat, the amiable bear of a man liked nothing better than to lead his pals in the singing of *Kaapse gommaliedjies*.

But not everybody appreciated buffoonery and many of his political colleagues detested his frivolous behaviour in public. "Between you and me," whispered one this week, "his going could prove to be a blessing in disguise."

Mr Williams's career was dogged by controversy. His antics often caused the National Party as much embarrassment as Winnie Mandela brought the ANC.

He could hardly have dreamt, when he began his career as a primary school teacher in Saldanha Bay, that he would one day sit in President Nelson Mandela's cabinet.

That he reached such dizzying heights is a tribute to his staying power. But along the way he earned the wrath of many of his own coloured people, earning names like "traitor" and "lackey" and "kreefdief" (crayfish thief).

Teachers hated him for his autocratic style when he was Minister of Education and Culture in the now-defunct House of Representatives. In 1993 he decreed that no substitutes should be appointed when teachers went on leave.

NORMAN WEST charts the rise and fall of the tenacious Abe Williams, a man considered by many of his own people to be a lackey

The Cape Teachers' Professional Association, then led by Franklin Sonn, now the ambassador to Washington, took him to court and won the case. "Autocratic Abe" as he was then called, was forced to withdraw his ruling.

The "*kreefdief*" posters held aloft by protesting students had their origin in an incident in 1989 when thieves broke into his Saldanha house and stole two dinner services and allegedly 80 crayfish tails and 40 crayfish from his deepfreeze.

Mr Williams gave chase in his luxury state car, fired a couple of warning shots when he spotted the villains and so helped the cops nab them. The legal limit at the time was 20 crayfish a person. Mr Williams swore only 25 could have belonged to him.

He was perhaps first thrust into notoriety when he accepted the position of assistant manager of the 1981 Springbok rugby team pleading for international readmission of South African sport. This was in defiance of a call from the South African Council On Sport that there should be "no normal sport in an abnormal society" and an international call to isolate South African sport.

Mr Williams was shunned by his community and widely ostracised as an "Uncle Tom" of the apartheid regime.

When Allan Hendrickse and his Labour Party decided to contest the elections for the House of Representatives in 1984, Mr Williams was elected by the small number of voters who did not boycott the poll.

He and Mr Hendrickse became the best of friends.

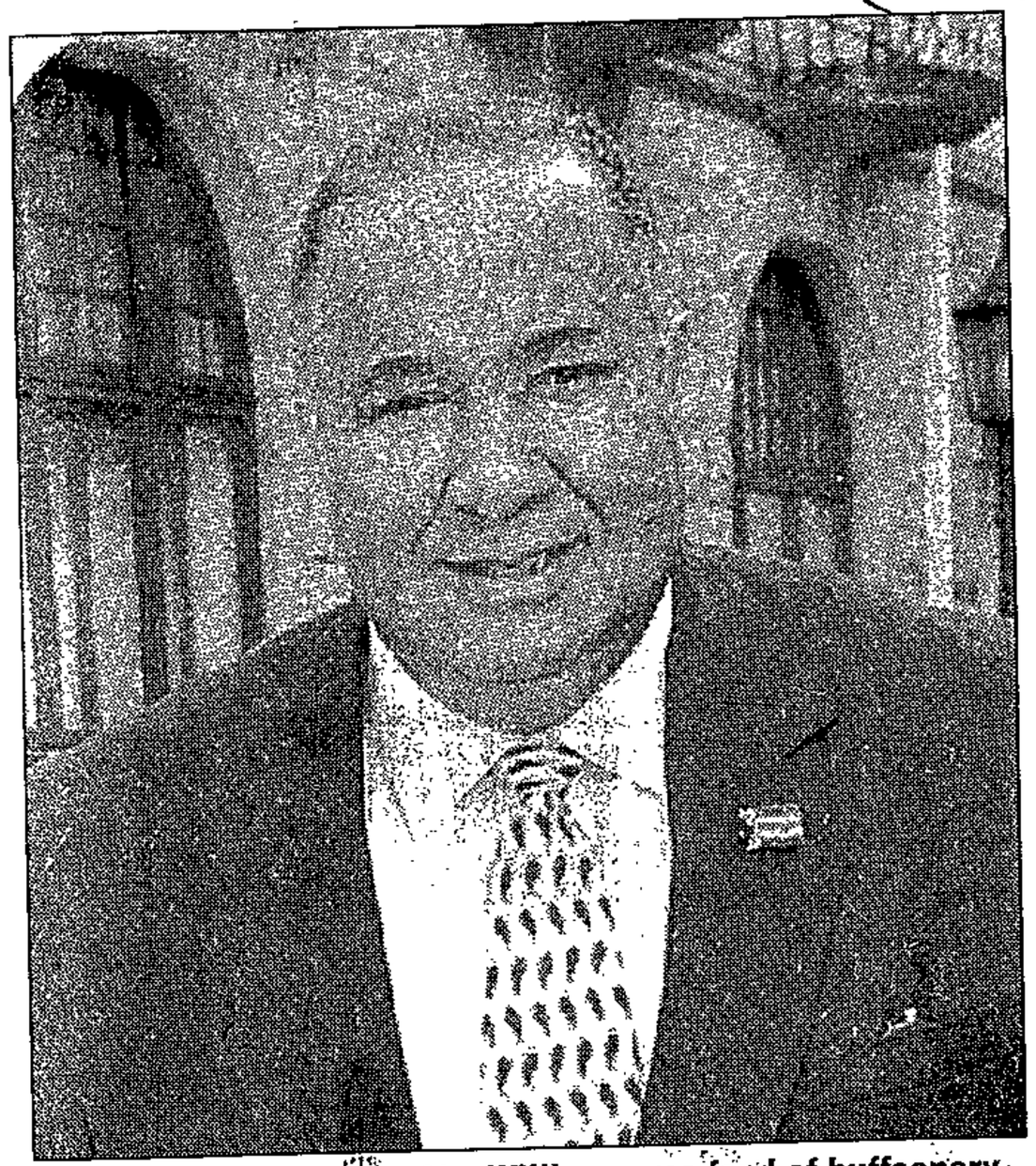
Mr Williams was soon appointed the national secretary of the Labour Party and later the Minister of Education and Culture.

Gerald Morkel, who is now the housing minister in the Western Cape legislature, grew fed-up with Mr Hendrickse's autocratic style. In 1991 he led a rebellion and joined the NP.

Mr Williams followed suit and, after the 1994 elections, became Minister of Welfare and Population Development, a move most people saw as his reward for being such a loyal supporter of NP ideology.

Ironically, a glossy four-page insert with a picture of Mr Williams as minister appeared in newspapers on Friday proclaiming a campaign to rid the welfare system of its "immense" problems.

"It is estimated that close to R1-billion is lost through inefficiency and fraud in the system," the insert declared.



ON THE WAY OUT ... Abe Williams was fond of buffoonery

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

BANK officials and staff members who had worked for the former Minister of Welfare and Population Development, Abe Williams, provided the information which led to this week's swoop on his homes and offices this week by the Office for Serious Economic Offences.

Last week, Mr Williams announced in Parliament that the government was launching a nationwide cleanup of pension fraud, which, he said, was costing the taxpayer an estimated R1-billion a year.

This week, he resigned his post amid allegations that he had been receiving money from Nisec, a company which had successfully tendered to pay out pensions in the Western Cape.

The chain of events which led to his shock departure began when the deputy head of the Office for Serious Economic Offences, Tommy Prins, applied for a warrant to search Mr Williams' Rondebosch and Pretoria homes, and his Cape Town office.

On Wednesday, police seized several documents relating to the pension fund.

The Pinelands home of the former chief director of the Western Cape's Department of Social Welfare, Dr Ebrahim Jarodien, was also raided by officials.

The swoop was the culmination of a year-long investigation started by Western Cape minister for Health, Ebrahim Rasool, after the disclosure that the Western Cape lost R240-million a year in welfare fraud.

Mr Rasool, who in 1994 inherited a five-year contract between his administration and Nisec to pay R1,7-billion a year in grants and pensions to 260 000 people in the Western Cape, said his investigation revealed astonishing facts.

He believed that "political sanction must have been available through commission or omission" and that the fraud could "not simply be the work of officials".

His appeal to the public to come forward with information had resulted in calls and visits from Mr Williams' former staffers and bank officials.

Mr Rasool said Mr Williams was not suspected of acting irregularly before the contract was awarded. However, money had changed hands after the tender had been finalised.

In terms of the contract, Nisec is being paid R125-million over five years.

Mr Rasool said a report on the administration of pensions in the province raised serious questions about the award of the tender to Nisec "and whether we are getting our money's worth from them".

This week the head of the Office for Serious Economic Offences, Jan Swanepoel, said that on September 5 the unit had decided to launch an investigation into possible irregularities concerning the award of the tender to Nisec.

"Certain information" came to light during a search of Nisec's premises, which necessitated the "extension of the inquiry to, inter alia, the payment to ... Mr Williams of certain amounts of money", which possibly indicated "a contravention of the Corruption Act of 1992".

Mr Swanepoel said the investigation would probably still take considerable time. Once completed, a report would be handed to Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar. The evidence would also be handed to the attorney general.

"The fact that Mr Williams's offices and houses were searched does not mean he is guilty of any offence," said Mr Swanepoel. The investigation into how Nisec won the tender began in September with police raids on its Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, and Cape Town offices.

Computer records, lists of company assets, accounting books and other documents were seized.

Asked why two Cape provincial officials, Anton Scholtz and Andre Louw, were employed by Nisec shortly after the company was awarded the Western Cape tender, a Nisec source said that it "had been expected that the successful company would take staff from the CPA who had the necessary expertise to get the new system up and running".

Mr Rasool said the earlier situation in which Nisec had access to R100-million for 17 days before pensions were paid out, had been remedied and the company now received the money only two days before payments were due.

Denel's managing director, Johan Alberts, said Nisec CC — which was previously owned by Michau Malan Huisamen of Port Elizabeth before being taken over by Denel — had lodged a tender to pay pensions in the Western Cape on April 5 1994. On June 16 that year, Mr Huisamen was told that the company had been awarded the tender.

Mr Alberts denied that there was any involvement by Denel "to secure the tender" and dismissed allegations that the company had made any payments "to obtain or maintain the contract".

In another twist to the saga, Mr Williams announced that he was going to sue Mr Rasool for an "extensive amount".

This followed claims by Mr Rasool at a press conference on Wednesday that Mr Williams had been declared a "serious economic offender". This was denied by Oseo, which said that Mr Williams was merely being investigated for a possible contravention of the Corruption Act.

FROM THE

GALLERY



By RAY HARTLEY

Williams brings rude awakenings

ST 25/2/96 (3049)

CRISP, to the point, and decisive, Welfare Minister Abe Williams's resignation must rank as the crowning achievement of his otherwise mediocre political career.

With a haste he never showed while bumbling his way through his ministerial responsibilities, he quit his post five hours after police on Wednesday searched his houses and offices for evidence of his involvement in alleged fraud.

That afternoon Mr Williams attended a cabinet meeting — and used the opportunity to catch up on lost sleep, nodding off during a presentation by the Minister of Water Affairs, Kader Asmal.

Awakened by the ending of the meeting and then jolted by news of the searches, Mr Williams was wide-eyed by the time he made his appearance in the National Assembly during question time.

His brow creased in consternation, he took advantage of the sanctity of the chamber to stay away from journalists and ponder his position, at one time talking to the NP's Western Cape leader, Dawie de Villiers.



FRONT-RUNNER . . . Gerald Morkel

Later that evening it was all over, and for the fourth time in as many weeks, Deputy President F W de Klerk issued a statement on the departure from office of another senior party leader.

For all its panache, Mr Williams's resignation couldn't have come at a worse time for the NP — the departure of a senior black leader hard on the heels of the departures of the enlightened Leon Wessels, Tobie Meyer and Bhadra Ranchod from the national stage.

Again Mr de Klerk faces the critical question of whom he will choose to replace Mr Williams.

At the top of this week's speculation list are the NP's Western Cape ministers Peter Marais, Patrick McKenzie and Gerald Morkel, the ever-eager Tertius Delport and the party's women candidates, Sheila Camerer and Peggy Hollander.

Whoever he may choose, Mr De Klerk's decision to promote Danie Schutte to the Kwazulu Natal cabinet this week shows he is faltering on the road to transformation. Coming from the party's belligerent right, Mr Schutte is one of the most prominent opponents of the party's secretary general, Roelf Meyer.

Mr Schutte was one of those who led the charge of the white brigade against the Education Policy Bill at the end of last year's session, openly contradicting the party's stated desire to reach black voters.

The vacancy created by the departure of George Bartlett gave Mr De Klerk an opportunity to strengthen Mr Meyer's hand in a key province.

Should Mr De Klerk choose to promote another member of his party's right to the cabinet in place of Mr Williams, he may be hammering the final nail into the coffin of Mr Meyer's hopes of turning the party around.

Already Mr Meyer faces an uphill task. He will have to get major decisions past the party's federal executive, a structure containing a lot of unfriendly faces.

Consisting of the party's provincial leaders, its ministers, Western Cape premier Hernus Kriel and the party's five deputy chairmen, the forum already has a hostile disposition.

Among those Mr Meyer has to get his plans past are Mr Schutte, Mr Delport and Mr Kriel, all party heavyweights with a direct line to Mr De Klerk.

By contrast, his supporters are wan and inexperienced, or, in the case of Western Cape leader Dawie de Villiers, said to be losing interest in politics.

Mrs Camerer and David Chuenyane are also named as Mr Meyer's supporters; along with Gauteng leader Pik Botha, who has had very little to say in public about the party's new direction although he comes from the party's enlightened wing.

Sensing the NP's vulnerability this week, the ANC mentioned in passing during its routine caucus briefing on Thursday that an election was a possibility if the constitution was not agreed to by the May 9 deadline.

Of all the parties in Parliament, the NP must be the one that would benefit least from an election right now. Already the party faces a local government election in the Western Cape in May.

Mr Williams's rapid resignation may have been intended to soften the corruption blow ahead of the election, but the bruise will show for a long time.

NP 'not daunted' by Williams' step

Sowetan 26/2/96 (304A)

De Klerk believes that his party's vision will soon be achieved

NATIONAL PARTY leader FW de Klerk said the party would "rise above" last week's resignation of Minister of Welfare and Population Development Mr Abe Williams amid allegations of corruption.

"We have to rise above that and I am sure we will," Deputy President De Klerk told reporters at the weekend.

Williams quit on Thursday after his home and offices were raided for evidence connecting him to the fraudulent use of pension moneys running into millions of rands.

Williams denied any wrongdoing.

Three other NP officials have left in recent weeks for "career or family reasons," according to the party leadership.

The departure of the most senior non-white NP politician – one of six members of the conservative NP in President Nelson Mandela's 32-member national unity cabinet – could not have come at a worse time.

The party is seeking to broaden its base ahead of partial elections at the end of May in the Western Cape, its stronghold, and in KwaZulu-Natal Province, the bastion of the Zulu Inkhata Freedom Party.

De Klerk announced earlier this month that his party was repositioning itself ahead of general elections in 1999 as a "moderate – truly non-racial and Christian" party that will serve as a "counterbalance" in South African politics.

The NP has denounced the "monolithic and mono-ethnic" hold over South African politics enjoyed by the ruling African National Congress since the country's first multiracial elections in April 1994.

"It's not socially acceptable in black circles to say that you are an NP supporter," De Klerk complained.

"Millions of South Africans share our values. We want to convince them that we have really changed," De Klerk said, while acknowledging that the NP is burdened by its past role as the architect of apartheid. – *Sapa-AFP.*

Squatter shacks razed by Alexandra residents

Sowetan 26/2/96 (304)

By Russel Molefe

MORE than 400 angry Eastbank, Alexandra Township, residents yesterday descended on the "Rasta informal settlement" and demolished about 50 shacks which have mushroomed near their upmarket homes.

The residents also set some of the building materials on fire in an apparent bid to prevent the squatters from re-erecting their structures which mushroomed about three weeks ago.

Sowetan was told the "Rasta informal settlement" was an extension of the "Highway informal settlement" which hit the headlines last year when violence erupted because the invaders resisted relocation.

The decision by residents to demolish the shacks was taken at a mass meeting which lasted about two hours yesterday.

The residents, armed with hammers and iron rods, then marched to the informal settlement where they ripped down the shacks.

Minutes later, gunfire was heard and pandemonium broke out with residents retreating to their homes.

Squatters said they were made to pay R50 for a site by a man who had also put up a structure in the area which he used as an office.

Mr Khathatso Mabena said they were told the R50 was for installing water pipes and other services.

"I paid R50 last week and bought building materials worth about R500 from the hardware store. I was about to complete the erection of my shack when the residents came and demolished all the structures here," he said.

By late yesterday, several shacks had been re-erected and police were on standby following threats of revenge at night by the squatters.

New career path for the man who would rather go fishing

ALAN FINE

(304A)
BD 26/2/96

SPECULATION over an imminent major Cabinet reshuffle among ANC ministers, sparked by comings and goings in the NP, is probably exaggerated and premature.

But there is likely to be a couple of new faces appointed around mid-year. The number of column-inches used to describe that event will depend, crucially, on whether it involves making space for ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa once he has wound up his job as Constitutional Assembly chairman.

There are as many theories on these issues as there are politicians and commentators. As it is likely that a final view has not yet crystallised even in the mind of President Nelson Mandela, it would be extremely foolish to make predictions. Nevertheless, it is possible to paint a few scenarios based on talk around the corridors of Parliament, Shell House and elsewhere.

There is only one minister who, it is generally expected, will go into retirement soon — Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, at 70 the oldest Cabinet member next to Mandela himself. Though some of his colleagues have often had media fingers pointed at them for alleged poor performance — Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu is a case in point — the president's office does not necessarily concur. They (and in Bengu's case, health permitting) are likely to be kept on to complete the jobs they have begun.

As far as can be ascertained, Mandela and Ramaphosa have not discussed the latter's future. The professional view seems to be that he should complete his present task before being distracted by what comes next.

But it is difficult to imagine that both Mandela and Ramaphosa have not spent some time pondering the question.

To assess Ramaphosa's short-term future, it is necessary to look further ahead — at his prospects beyond 1999. It is openly accepted by his close associates — and, presumably, by Ramaphosa himself — that he is not in the running to succeed Mandela as president. The job is as good as Thabo Mbeki's.

But Ramaphosa is clearly, after Mandela's departure, the ANC's number two leader. And if the Mbeki-Ramaphosa enmity of the past were to continue into the post-Mandela era, without the presi-

dous consequences for the ANC and for the government.

A rapprochement, and a chain of events based on it, is logical, since the antipathy was based on the 1994 contest for the deputy presidency (and, perhaps, early conflict between the "exiles" and the "internals") rather than on ideology.

The solution seems obvious. As one of Mbeki's closest associates put it recently, a Mbeki and Ramaphosa presidency/deputy presidency is the ANC's "dream ticket" for 1999.

Whether that transpires depends on whether past differences can be overcome.

From Mbeki's perspective, this would depend on his accepting that Ramaphosa no longer considers himself a challenger. It is not clear whether this message has got through. ANC sources say relations between the two now seem more cordial than in the past, but no one knows whether they have discussed and resolved their differences.

A resolution could do more than clear a career path for Ramaphosa and soften ANC divisions. According to a widely held perspective, it could also improve, over time, the quality of the Cabinet generally.

It is widely muttered that Mbeki has, in order to strengthen his position, used his influence to bring into the Cabinet a number of individuals who are his allies, though not necessarily the best people for the job. Be that as it may, an implicit or explicit agreement between the two to work towards a Mbeki-Ramaphosa ticket in 1999 raises the question of what would be Ramaphosa's best path towards



RAMAPHOSA

stature of his job as secretary-general of the ANC, or entering a senior Cabinet post.

The secretary-general route may seem unconventional, but it is a definite option. NP leader FW de Klerk has put his most trusted colleague into an equivalent post (though, admittedly, in very different circumstances). In the ANC, party building and organisation is considered a critical task in the period leading up to the second general election. Convincing traditional supporters that the party has delivered as much as it reasonably could have done in its first term in office will be a challenging task for a top politician.

Having said that, a top Cabinet

A simple replacement by Ramaphosa of Nzo is not on. When he turned down the foreign ministry in May 1994, it was not only out of pique at having been passed over for the deputy presidency. It was also because, although it is a senior position by international standards, it would take him out of the internal process of rebuilding the country.

A popular candidate for Nzo's post is Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Nkondo. Since she has not proved to be a "natural" at housing, and she enjoys the personal support of Mbeki, who keeps a close eye on the foreign ministry, she seems a likely candidate.

That would open up a key ministry, but is it the right job for Ramaphosa? A year ago, when Joe Slovo died, many saw Ramaphosa as a worthy successor. Given the aplomb with which Slovo had handled the portfolio, it would have been a worthy challenge for a top ANC leader. However, the timing was difficult with constitution-writing gaining momentum.

Now it is a portfolio which has lost some of its lustre — perhaps not the place for a soon-to-be deputy president. Anyway, after his constitution-writing job it may be seen as something of a demotion. And there may be another worthwhile candidate in the wings.

It is no secret that the RDP fund, administered by Minister Jay Naidoo, is becoming increasingly unpopular among those charged with overseeing the country's finances. Originally established as a source of additional funds to be used to "leverage" line ministries to-

in the finance ministry and, more explicitly, in Gill Marcus's highly regarded parliamentary finance committee. Also, such leveraging that was needed has occurred.

There may be a case for a department in the Office of the President to monitor the RDP process, but whether a multibillion-rand fund run by a minister is still necessary is another question. If not, Naidoo would be an obvious choice for the housing ministry.

Where, then, for Ramaphosa?

The most thought-provoking idea yet raised goes like this: a man destined for the deputy presidency in just three years requires a really top job. Take, further, the fact that Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg entered politics reluctantly — at a time when a non-ANC, establishment figure was needed to maintain investor confidence after Derek Keys's resignation — and would not necessarily be averse to being relieved of the post, having achieved that goal. The majority party in the new government, too, has proved its commitment to fiscal responsibility and discipline.

Although Ramaphosa has no specialist financial background, he would not be the first SA finance minister to start off that way. He is a quick learner, and certainly has the political clout to impose financial discipline on Cabinet and party colleagues. He would also have the backing of a deputy, Alex Erwin, who has demonstrated the expertise necessary to hold the ministerial post himself.

Of course, this thinking developed before the currency crisis of the past 10 days, and any thinking along these lines would have to consider the possible consequences of rocking the boat.

On the other hand, the existing authorities' performance in this crisis hardly shone. Nor does Liebenberg's proposal for tax on life insurers' assets instil much confidence.

In any event, the sense of crisis could well have dissipated by the time such an appointment has to be made.

On the other hand, none of this may happen. It is all still in the melting pot.

Ramaphosa, for all that anybody knows, may choose instead to quit politics altogether and take up a career in business.

Or, as he said two weeks ago when asked about his most burning

New career path for the man who would rather go fishing

ALAN FINE

(304A)
BD 26/2/96

SPECULATION over an imminent major Cabinet reshuffle among ANC ministers, sparked by comings and goings in the NP, is probably exaggerated and premature.

But there is likely to be a couple of new faces appointed around mid-year. The number of column-inches used to describe that event will depend, crucially, on whether it involves making space for ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa once he has wound up his job as Constitutional Assembly chairman.

There are as many theories on these issues as there are politicians and commentators. As it is likely that a final view has not yet crystallised even in the mind of President Nelson Mandela, it would be extremely foolish to make predictions. Nevertheless, it is possible to paint a few scenarios based on talk around the corridors of Parliament, Shell House and elsewhere.

There is only one minister who, it is generally expected, will go into retirement soon — Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, at 70 the oldest Cabinet member next to Mandela himself. Though some of his colleagues have often had media fingers pointed at them for alleged poor performance — Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu is a case in point — the president's office does not necessarily concur. They (and in Bengu's case, health permitting) are likely to be kept on to complete the jobs they have begun.

As far as can be ascertained, Mandela and Ramaphosa have not discussed the latter's future. The professional view seems to be that he should complete his present task before being distracted by what comes next.

But it is difficult to imagine that both Mandela and Ramaphosa have not spent some time pondering the question.

To assess Ramaphosa's short-term future, it is necessary to look further ahead — at his prospects beyond 1999. It is openly accepted by his close associates — and, presumably, by Ramaphosa himself — that he is not in the running to succeed Mandela as president. The job is as good as Thabo Mbeki's.

But Ramaphosa is clearly, after Mandela's departure, the ANC's number two leader. And if the Mbeki-Ramaphosa enmity of the past were to continue into the post-Mandela era, without the president's statesmanlike presence to hold the line, this would have serious consequences for the ANC and for the government.

A rapprochement, and a chain of events based on it, is logical, since the antipathy was based on the 1994 contest for the deputy presidency (and, perhaps, early conflict between the "exiles" and the "internals") rather than on ideology.

The solution seems obvious. As one of Mbeki's closest associates put it recently, a Mbeki and Ramaphosa presidency/deputy presidency is the ANC's "dream ticket" for 1999.

Whether that transpires depends on whether past differences can be overcome.

From Mbeki's perspective, this would depend on his accepting that Ramaphosa no longer considers himself a challenger. It is not clear whether this message has got through. ANC sources say relations between the two now seem more cordial than in the past, but no one knows whether they have discussed and resolved their differences.

A resolution could do more than clear a career path for Ramaphosa and soften ANC divisions. According to a widely held perspective, it could also improve, over time, the quality of the Cabinet generally.

It is widely muttered that Mbeki has, in order to strengthen his position, used his influence to bring into the Cabinet a number of individuals who are his allies, though not necessarily the best people for the job. Be that as it may, an implicit or explicit agreement between the two to work towards a Mbeki-Ramaphosa ticket in 1999 raises the question of what would be Ramaphosa's best path towards that goal. There are essentially two choices — raising the profile and stature of his job as secretary-general of the ANC, or entering a senior Cabinet post.



RAMAPHOSA

The secretary-general route may seem unconventional, but it is a definite option. NP leader FW de Klerk has put his most trusted colleague into an equivalent post (though, admittedly, in very different circumstances). In the ANC, party building and organisation is considered a critical task in the period leading up to the second general election. Convincing traditional supporters that the party has delivered as much as it reasonably could have done in its first term in office will be a challenging task for a top politician.

Having said that, a top Cabinet post would be as logical a route to go. The question is: which one?

A simple replacement by Ramaphosa of Nzo is not on. When he turned down the foreign ministry in May 1994, it was not only out of pique at having been passed over for the deputy presidency. It was also because, although it is a senior position by international standards, it would take him out of the internal process of rebuilding the country.

A popular candidate for Nzo's post is Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Nkondo. Since she has not proved to be a "natural" at housing, and she enjoys the personal support of Mbeki, who keeps a close eye on the foreign ministry, she seems a likely candidate.

That would open up a key ministry, but is it the right job for Ramaphosa? A year ago, when Joe Slovo died, many saw Ramaphosa as a worthy successor. Given the aplomb with which Slovo had handled the portfolio, it would have been a worthy challenge for a top ANC leader. However, the timing was difficult with constitution-writing gaining momentum.

Now it is a portfolio which has lost some of its lustre — perhaps not the place for a soon-to-be deputy president. Anyway, after his constitution-writing job it may be seen as something of a demotion. And there may be another worthwhile candidate in the wings.

It is no secret that the RDP fund, administered by Minister Jay Naidoo, is becoming increasingly unpopular among those charged with overseeing the country's finances. Originally established as a source of additional funds to be used to "leverage" line ministries towards RDP-type priorities, the fund's existence is unpopular both in the finance ministry and, more explicitly, in Gill Marcus's highly regarded parliamentary finance committee. Also, such leveraging that was needed has occurred.

There may be a case for a department in the Office of the President to monitor the RDP process, but whether a multibillion-rand fund run by a minister is still necessary is another question. If not, Naidoo would be an obvious choice for the housing ministry.

Where, then, for Ramaphosa?

The most thought-provoking idea yet raised goes like this: a man destined for the deputy presidency in just three years requires a really top job. Take, further, the fact that Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg entered politics reluctantly — at a time when a non-ANC, establishment figure was needed to maintain investor confidence after Derek Keys's resignation — and would not necessarily be averse to being relieved of the post, having achieved that goal. The majority party in the new government, too, has proved its commitment to fiscal responsibility and discipline.

Although Ramaphosa has no specialist financial background, he would not be the first SA finance minister to start off that way. He is a quick learner, and certainly has the political clout to impose financial discipline on Cabinet and party colleagues. He would also have the backing of a deputy, Alex Erwin, who has demonstrated the expertise necessary to hold the ministerial post himself.

Of course, this thinking developed before the currency crisis of the past 10 days, and any thinking along these lines would have to consider the possible consequences of rocking the boat.

On the other hand, the existing authorities' performance in this crisis hardly shone. Nor does Liebenberg's proposal for tax on life insurers' assets instil much confidence.

In any event, the sense of crisis could well have dissipated by the time such an appointment has to be made.

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Or, as he said two weeks ago when asked about his most burning ambition, he may choose to go fishing in Norway or Scotland.

NE

LOCAL ELECTION ISSUES SET

NP maps out new leading role

CP 26/2/96 (304A)

HERMANUS: The National Party intends to reshape itself into a centrist political party that will win support from many who voted for the ANC in the last election. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** and **BARRY STREEK** report.

THE National Party is confident it can shrug off a string of recent setbacks and emerge as the leading force in a new centrist political movement capable of defeating the ANC at the polls.

Party leader Deputy President F W de Klerk told a media briefing here over the weekend that unless there was strong opposition to the ANC grounded in core values supported by the NP, democracy in South Africa would be under threat.

Some of these core values, according to Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel, would feature in the run-up to the May 29 elections in the Western Cape.

Two of of the most important issues the party would address were corruption and non-payment for services, he said.

The central government had offered relief for arrear rates in black areas, but its failure to do so in other areas was regarded as racist by white and coloured communities.

Other issues likely to feature were the housing, security and policing, affirmative action, efficient devolution of services and ethical issues such as abortion, prostitution and pornography.

Kriel also called on political parties not to allow racism and to avoid personal attacks during the election campaign.

The "very fragile situation" in the provincial government could be jeopardised by the elections.

A good working relationship had been built up in the past two years and he hoped the election would be contested on party-political differences, rather than personal attacks and MECs pointing fingers at each other's handling of portfolios.

Referring to the shock resignation of former Welfare Minister Abe Williams, De Klerk said Williams was neither pushed nor fired, but had resigned, after discussions with him, because it was in the best interests of the government, the NP and Williams himself.

The resignation had been in line with NP policy that when a member of the executive was under a cloud, he or she should resign.

The NP had criticised the ANC over the Allan Boesak, Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela affairs, and "then we were put to the test: We did what we said they (the ANC) should".

On the NP's future De Klerk said the party's new vision was directly in line with the policies and philosophies of "centre or centre-right" political parties across the world. The core values encapsulated in the new vision were shared by millions of South Africans who had voted for the ANC in 1994.

Boost for fight to keep Parliament

CT 26/2/96 (304A)

ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE battle to keep Parliament in Cape Town has been given a major boost by a surprise National Party decision to back the status quo.

After a protracted and often bitter contest between powerful pro-Pretoria and Cape Town lobbies in the party, the group favouring the legislature remaining in the city has finally gained the upper hand.

In the past few weeks NP negotiators in the deadlock-breaking committee of the Constitutional Assembly have reported that the party was unable to take a clear stand on the sensitive issue.

But the NP's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs, Roelf Meyer, revealed at at the weekend that the party had decided to support Cape Town.

The NP believed any change to the status quo should require the backing of two-thirds of parliamentarians in a free vote, said Meyer, one of the leading proponents in recent years for a Gauteng-based legislature.

The Democratic Party has proposed that Cape Town's status as legislative capital be entrenched in the new constitution, while the African Christian Democratic Party wants the status quo retained without the constitutional stipulation.

The ANC remains sharply divided but the pro-Cape Town lobby is confident of majority support if MPs are given a free vote.

At the moment, the draft of the final constitution merely states in clause 45 (3) that "The seat of the National Assembly is ..."

The NP's latest decision should bolster its prospects in the metropolitan election on May 29 and will increase pressure on the ANC to take a clear stand on the issue.

Dr David Bridgman of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament said CAP welcomed the statement.

"It is clear that the views of the people are being accepted."

Closer ties for SA, Algeria

ALGIERS: President Nelson Mandela's special envoy, Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad, said yesterday South Africa was planning to develop its relations with Algeria, including the opening of an embassy.

In a statement broadcast after a meeting here with President Liamine Zeroual, he said that he had come to deliver a special message to Zeroual from Mandela on the need to strengthen bilateral ties.

He added that Mandela's message also said SA was determined to do everything to support the democratic process in both countries and to condemn all forms of terrorism.

Sapa-Reuter-AFP

Phosa for centralised outlook

(304A) BD 27/2/96

Ingrid Salgado

POLITICAL leaders needed to rethink channels via which the IFP could return to the Constitutional Assembly but should not entertain constitutional proposals that would allow provinces to rule in an "isolated enclave", Mpumalanga premier Mathews Phosa said in Durban last night.

If the ANC and IFP were satisfied with a constitutional model based on some form of asymmetry and that was the means by which the IFP would return to the constitution-making process, then "so be it", he said at a forum of Tribute magazine.

Phosa dismissed as "complete rubbish" the NP and IFP's attempts to categorise the ANC as proponents of a unitary state.

He criticised the interim constitution's "shortcoming" in not providing a mechanism for provincial cabinets, or at least all nine premiers, to discuss crucial issues of policy co-ordination with the national Cabinet. It was critical that provincial role-players were national players to ensure clear institutional links between the two levels of government. Premiers and a number of MECs should be allocated seats in the Senate or council of provinces, he said.

A centralised approach was needed if SA was committed to alleviating poverty, fighting literacy, raising education standards and improving productivity and investment. "It is shortsighted to say that you can divide the economy of Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal into rigid ... compartments." However, provinces should have concurrent powers with central government on water affairs and regional development co-operation. Mpumalanga had "gained enormously" from engaging with international provincial partners like Mozambique.

Marais tipped to replace Williams

CLIVE SAWYER, Political Correspondent

WESTERN Cape Minister of Local Government Peter Marais is being tipped to replace former welfare minister Abe Williams in the national cabinet.

While President Mandela and Deputy President De Klerk met briefly yesterday for talks, their offices were reticent to comment today on how soon an announcement would be made.

Mr De Klerk's office said the consultation process was continuing. It is reliaby understood that Mr Marais met Mr De Klerk today.

Another possible successor to Mr Williams is Conrad Sidego, the ambassador to Denmark.

While he is considering his response to a National Party approach about the cabinet post, he is known to be interested in a private sector position.

NP sources have indicated that Mr De Klerk is likely to want to pick someone from the Western Cape to replace Mr Williams to perpetuate the regional representation among Nats in the cabinet.

Another option would be to pick Northern Cape Provincial Minister Peggy Hollander, who apart from having the cachet of being a woman is well thought of in the highest circles of the party.



Peter Marais



Abe Williams

Mr De Klerk emphasised at the weekend that steps were to be taken to ensure the line-up of NP national and provincial ministers was representative of the party's constituencies.

Western Cape housing MEC Gerald Morkel, named in earlier speculation about the cabinet post, is understood to have turned down the offer.

Another provincial minister who could be appointed is police MEC Patrick McKenzie. ARG 27/2/96

If Mr De Klerk asks Mr Mandela to appoint one of the Western Cape ministers to the national executive, further talks will have to be held with Premier Hernus Kriel on possible changes to the provincial cabinet. (304A)

NP MAY NAME AMBASSADOR

Sidego, Marais in line to replace Williams

(304A) CT 27/2/96

TOP CONTENDERS FOR Abe Williams' job seem to be retiring ambassador to Denmark Conrad Sidego and Western Cape MEC Peter Marais. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

SOUTH AFRICA'S ambassador to Denmark and former journalist Mr Conrad Sidego was being widely tipped by National Party sources yesterday as the successor to former Welfare and Population Development Minister Abe Williams.

Another strong contender, however, is the Western Cape MEC for Local Government, Peter Marais.

Interviewed last night on the eve of his return to Copenhagen to complete the final month of his ambassadorship contract, Sidego confirmed an "informal" approach by NP members, but said his first choice remained the private sector.

"I'm surprised they thought of me — I'm not a political animal but it would be very challenging and one of the areas where we could and should make a big difference in South Africa, especially in the RDP."

Williams resigned last week after his homes were raided by investigators from the Office for Serious Economic Offences in connection wih allegations of pension money fraud and the controversial awarding of a tender to Nisec for welfare and pension payments.

He has denied any wrongdoing.

Yesterday President Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk met for half-an-hour, but neither would say whether anyone had been agreed upon as Williams' successor.

Most NP sources agreed that the replacement would have to be coloured and a Capetonian to maintain party credibility in advance of the May 29 elections.

Sidego accompanied Danish Queen Margrethe II on a tour of South Africa last week.

He said he was "considering" the NP approach, along with several "well-advanced" private sector offers.

Marais yesterday wrapped up his legal responsibilities in preparing for the May 29 elections by signing the proclamations on rural councils and wards and the number of councillors.

With backing from Premier Hernus Kriel and Western Cape Leader of the House Gerald Morkel, Marais is the most senior Western Cape coloured contender.

Other top contenders are Police MEC Patrick McKenzie, Northern Cape MEC Peggy Hollander, and MP and former Deputy Justice Minister Sheila Camerer.

Chiefs back draft constitution

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN: The KwaZulu-Natal House of Traditional Leaders has given its support to the draft constitution but suggested that all the Zulu king's actions should be countersigned by the premier to validate them.

In terms of the interim constitution, any proposed legislation that has a bearing on traditional communities should be referred to the House of Traditional Leaders for comment and suggestions.

The house, chaired by IFP president and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, discussed the draft constitution on Friday.

The suggestion that the king's actions should be countersigned includes a paragraph saying that the "person of the monarch is inviolable and is not subject to responsibility and accountability".

Another suggestion is that indigenous and customary laws should not be modified or repealed by ordinary national or provincial law.

(3049)
CT 27/2/96

New US envoy hails good ties

(304ft

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Star 28/2/96

The US's new ambassador to South Africa, James A Joseph, says expanding ties between the US and SA are based on four areas of natural ties and common commitment.

Presenting his credentials to President Nelson Mandela yesterday , Joseph said US President Bill Clinton was elated by the close relationship.

Joseph said shared values were a common commitment to the principles of human rights, a free and open economy, and a peaceful resolution of conflicts, while shared political interests facilitated peace and



Ambassador James Joseph

stability in the region as well as internationally.

"As the only country to have developed, then destroyed, a nuclear weapons capacity, South Africa has gained a very special moral standing among the nations of the world," he added.

A third area of common ground related to shared economic interests, and he said the US had a $4-billion (about R16-billion) trade relationship with SA.

The fourth common area of co-operation was sharing civic culture, which had flourished "even in the worst days of apartheid".

He added: "If a functioning nonracial democracy can finally prevail in SA, it will give new hope to many around the world who are eager to demonstrate that diversity need not divide, that the fear of difference is a fear of the future, (and) that inclusiveness rightly understood and rightly practised is a benefit and not a burden."

Demand

nd for 10th province shocks ANC

Star 28/2/96 (304A)

DEBBIE YAZBEK



Perception is that the Afrikaner minority can be forced into the melting pot of assimilation: this is a recipe for conflict – Freedom Front's Constand Viljoen

By Patrick Bulger
Cape Town

The Volkstaat Council (VC) dropped a political bombshell yesterday when it proposed that a tenth province for Afrikaners should be provided for in South Africa's new constitution which is due for completion by May 9.

The proposal set off a furious war of words between the two parties locked in sensitive bilateral negotiations on a volkstaat: the ANC and Gen Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front.

The VC, a statutory body provided for in the interim constitution in terms of an agreement reached between the ANC and Afrikaner separatists before the 1994 election, was set up to investigate how the volkstaat ideal could best be accommodated in the final constitution.

The council delivered its dramatic and unexpected demand at a meeting of the Constitutional Assembly's deadlock-breaking committee.

Although the VC had released a report last year calling for the creation of an Afrikaner-dominated tenth province, it was not expected to make this demand in the constitution-making body. Except for the Freedom Front, which gave the proposal its qualified support, no other party backed the proposal.

The ANC, in rejecting it, lashed out at it as "an apartheid-style province" and said it was "shocked and disappointed".

"This reflects poorly on the council and the Freedom Front. This is hardly the way in which good-faith negotiations are conducted or the confidence of the ANC gained," it said in a statement.

Replying to the ANC, Viljoen said the Freedom Front still wanted to resolve outstanding problems by meaningful negotiations.

"This is a serious situation and gives the perception that the ANC has decided that a minority can be forced into the melting pot by assimilation. This is a recipe for conflict and is not in the country's interests," he said.

Delivering the council's proposals, VC member Prof Hercules Booysen did not say where the 10th province would be, and conceded that it could not be demarcated by May 9.

However, the constitution should provide for self-determination for minorities and make constitutional provision for "an Afrikaner province" whose borders would be negotiated with the nine existing provinces.

Booysen argued that Afrikaners were dissatisfied with the Government, the SABC and the business sector and their handling of mother tongue education and religious instruction, and that only territorial self-determination would provide adequate protection.

"Self-determination in such a province can only be realised if the province is endowed with demarcated and exclusive legislative, executive and judicial powers with which Parliament cannot interfere."

He listed the powers as "exclusive powers in respect of education, health, welfare, agriculture, local government, a provincial police force, provincial transport, provincial taxation, provincial courts, and the power to conclude treaties with other states in respect of these matters."

To ANC questions whether the Afrikaner province enjoyed "proven support" within the Afrikaner community, VC representatives replied that it was not their duty to find consensus among all Afrikaners on a future volkstaat.

Malan and 10 others to f

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Malan and 10 others to f[illegible]

Afrikaner demand for province angers ANC

(3014A)

David Greybe BD 28/2/96

CAPE TOWN — A demand yesterday by the Volkstaat Council — against ANC expectations — that the new constitution provide for a tenth province for white Afrikaners has infuriated the ANC.

ANC senior negotiators, speaking after council members had addressed the Constitutional Assembly deadlock-breaking committee, vowed never to agree to the demand for a separate white Afrikaner constitutional entity.

Council members said the most favoured area for the proposed province was the Pretoria area "where the Afrikaner forms a majority and has historically enjoyed self-determination and freedom".

Its size, according to council chairman Johann Wingard, would depend on "how big you (other parties in the assembly) are prepared to go".

Angry ANC negotiators maintained council members had indicated in private talks last Wednesday that they had dropped their demand for an Afrikaner homeland in favour of so-called "cultural councils" to protect their interests.

At no stage did the council or Freedom Front, in separate negotiations, raise the possibility of a tenth province, they said.

The negotiators admitted they were caught by surprise, but accused the council of "bad faith negotiations".

The ANC said later it was "shocked and disappointed" by the latest development. It was a great pity the council had chosen to advocate an apartheid style separate province "during a period in which consistent progress is being made in promoting a new national pride and identity".

NP negotiator Andries Beyers rejected the demand for territorial self-determination as "impractical".

DP chief negotiator Colin Eglin said: "There is a fundamental difference between recognising and managing cultural diversity as opposed to creating a territorial constitutional entity, as proposed by the council."

The council said self-determination in a tenth province "can be realised only if the province is endowed with demarcated and exclusive legislative, executive and judicial powers with which Parliament cannot interfere".

It demanded exclusive powers in education, health, welfare, agriculture, police and other departments.

Fernwood due for debate

ARG 28/2/96 (304A)

Staff Reporter

THE public may soon be able to make proposals about the future of the beautiful, but expensive Fernwood Club for parliamentarians in Newlands.

On March 5 Sipho Shezi the director-general of Public Works, other senior officials from the department and possibly the minister of public works Jeff Radebe, will brief the parliamentary committee on public works about the future of Fernwood.

Mr Shezi said the government could not afford the upkeep of the 17ha Fernwood Club while struggling to maintain institutions that are higher up on the scale of the government's priorities.

Maintenance of the main house, five tennis courts, two bowling greens, cricket ground, swimming pool, large braai area and extensive gardens consume between R500 000 and R750 000 of taxpayers money every year.

Options mooted previously range from selling the property outright or leasing it to the public for social events to reduce running costs and to ensure the better use of the club's facilities.

African National Congress MP Brian Bunting, a South African Communist Party member, has even suggested the site be used for working-class housing – a suggestion not likely to be looked upon with great enthusiasm by some residents of the upmarket area.

However, not all MPs may take kindly to losing the use of the parliamentary social club in the leafiest part of Newlands, below the mountain.

In the apartheid days, Fernwood provided MPs with a leisurely venue for functions such as Sunday braais, tennis and cricket matches.

But, ANC parliamentarians have also learnt to enjoy the venue in their own way:

Neighbours complained about the loud noise from the music blasting out of the club during a party held a fortnight ago.

The property is owned by the Department of Public Works, which acquired the first of the Fernwood estates 15 portions in 1935.

Constitution 'must include Volkstaat'

(304A) CT 28/2/96

SOUTH AFRICA'S final constitution should provide for a 10th province, for Afrikaners, the Volkstaat Council proposed to the Constitutional Assembly (CA) yesterday.

Its powers should be those of a constituent state in a normal federation, the council said in a submission tabled at the CA's streamlining negotiating committee.

The council, formed under the Interim Constitution to report on measures to effect self-determination, said these powers should preserve a people's identity and culture.

Council spokesmen said support for its proposal had been proven by the fact that 640 000 people had voted for parties supporting this philosophy in the 1994 election.

CA chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa ruled that the council should appear before the committee possibly on March 15. — Sapa

ONLY DETAILS DISPUTED

All parties favour ethics code

CT 28/2/96 (304A) (259)

ALL PARTIES AGREE there should be a parliamentary code of ethics, but differ about how much of members' personal affairs should be disclosed. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

PROPOSALS for a strict code of ethics for parliamentarians were released yesterday — but the parties don't agree about some of its key clauses.

While they agree on the need for a code of conduct, crucial differences must still be resolved.

The responsible sub-committee, chaired by Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, said MPs would have to disclose the nature of their shareholdings, but there were differences about whether the number and nominal value of shares should be disclosed.

The parties agreed that directorships and commercial partnerships should be disclosed, but differed about the extent of disclosure.

They also agreed that foreign visits should be regarded as benefits in kind, but the National Party was opposed to disclosure in the case of a foreign visit funded by a member's party.

It was proposed that information on land and property assets, including leases and existing bonds, be disclosed without revealing exact addresses and the names of banks holding bonds.

But the NP, Democratic Party, Freedom Front and African Christian Democratic Party felt only property providing income should be disclosed, and that residential and vacation homes need not be.

They agreed that all parliamentarians should be covered by the proposed register, but the NP, DP and FF felt spouses, permanent companions and dependent children should be excluded.

Instead they felt the rules should prohibit using a spouse,



IN THE CHAIR: Kader Asmal

permanent companion or dependent child to divert interests and forestall disclosure.

The sub-committee proposed that any outside employment by MPs should be disclosed, although the actual remuneration need not.

MPs could not be paid for lobbying or representing a particular interest group in Parliament, but members involved in consultancies or retainers should disclose that interest as well as benefits in cash or kind derived from them.

Sponsorships and assistance from non-party sources, gifts in excess of R350 and material benefits will have to be disclosed.

"Receipt of a private or publicly funded pension should be disclosed, but not the actual amount."

The PAC, however, felt the amount of all publicly funded pensions should be disclosed.

The sub-committee said the information members were required to disclose "must as far as possible be contained in a register of members' interests which will be accessible to the public".

It also said the Inkatha Freedom Party did not favour disclosure in a register, but proposed that members should publicly declare any personal pecuniary interest in a matter before Parliament.

Ambassador refuses to fill Williams' post

304A

By Jovial Rantao
Political Reporter

Outgoing South African ambassador to Denmark Conrad Sidego was asked to consider – but turned down – an offer to take over the welfare and population development portfolio left vacant by the resignation of NP cabinet minister Abe Williams.

In a telephone interview from Copenhagen, Sidego told The Star the request had been made by "senior NP officials" while he was in SA with Danish Queen Margrethe II on an official visit.

"I felt flattered that people thought I could take over (from Williams). It would be a challenging thing to do, given the central role that welfare plays in the RDP, but I decided to stick to a decision I took some time ago to go back to the private sector."

Sidego's four-year stint as ambassador ends tomorrow.

Sources told The Star that NP leader F W de Klerk's office had been inundated with communication from welfare organisations and experts pleading that an expert in the welfare and population development field be considered to replace Williams.

Star 29/2/96

Star 29/2/96 (304A)



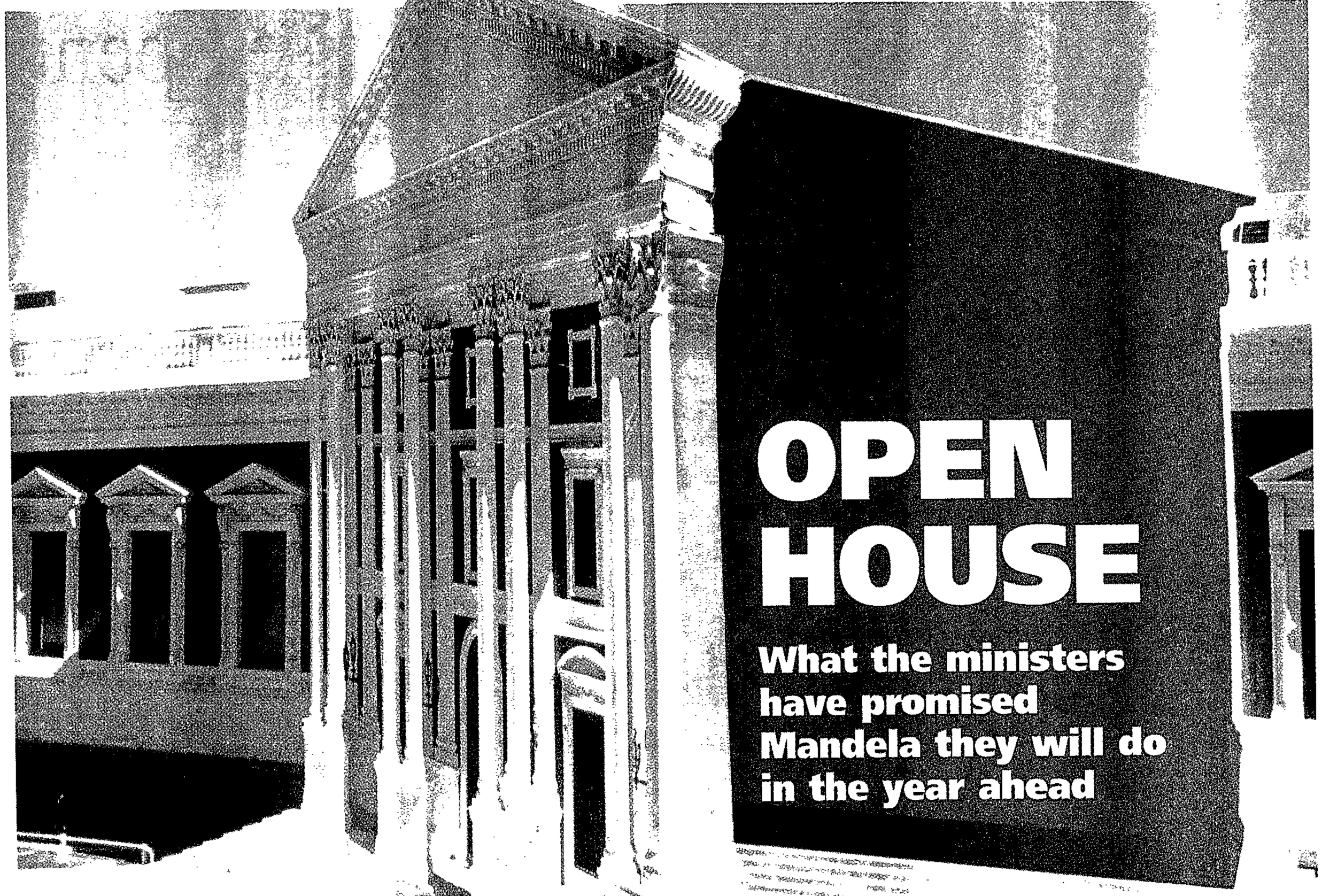
TRADE AND INDUSTRY
Trevor Manuel

Break the grip that conglomerates such as Anglo American, Old Mutual and Sanlam have on the economy and eradicate bad business practices. To introduce a new competition policy to promote economic growth. Also expected is a new Liqour Act before the end the year and plans to develop small and medium-sized enterprises.



HOUSING
Sankie Mthembi-Nkondo

Embark on wide-ranging efforts to unblock and fast-track the delivery of houses through joint initiatives with the private sector aimed at delivering low-cost housing. These initiatives include encouraging bond defaulters to resume repaying their loans so that financial institutions can extend credit to new home owners.



OPEN HOUSE

What the ministers have promised Mandela they will do in the year ahead

TEXT: JOVIAL RANTAO
GRAPHIC: GAIL IRWIN



WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY
Kader Asmal

After successfully making clean and safe water available to over 12 million to 15 million South Africans and successfully transforming itself, the ministry has embarked on a three- to four-year process of working out the developmental needs of the whole South Africa in the context of the Southern African Development Community.



HEALTH
Nkosazana Zuma

Pilot through Cabinet and Parliament the long-debated health plan designed to give South Africa's health care system a major revamp. If the plan is approved, employers will have to provide a basic hospital or medical aid plan for all employees and every South African will have access to free primary health care.



LABOUR
Tito Mboweni

To successfully implement the



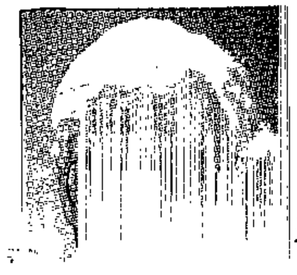
RDP
Jay Naidoo

To attack poverty, inequality and



DEFENCE
Joe Modise







JUSTICE
Dullah Omar

Implementation of new crime-combating measures which in-



SAFETY AND SECURITY



LAND AFFAIRS
Derek Hanekom

Major challenge will be the imple-tation o: the

is expected to boost employment and contain sweeping changes to basic conditions of employment, such as reduced work hours, longer leave, increased maternity leave and more pay for night work. The new law also seeks to protect vulnerable employees such as domestic, security and farm workers.

...ety, ensuring sustainable economic growth which creates jobs and meets the needs of South Africans by securing a partnership between the Government, its people and social partners. The objectives should be achieved in a climate free from violence, crime and corruption — underpinned by a new patriotism.

...formation processes. Conclude negotiations on defence and security agreements with South Africa's neighbours and round off the year-long Defence Review which will address the future force levels, structure, missions and tasks of the National Defence Force and budgetary imperatives pertinent to defence.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Alfred Nzo

Co-operate with neighbours in southern African region to lay down the groundwork for projects which would contribute significantly to the development of the sub-region. Press to secure the Free Trade Agreement with the European Union. Through SADC to work out ways to deal with defence, security and politics of the region.

FINANCE

Chris Liebenberg

Maintain fiscal discipline which will make the targeted budget deficit of 4,5% of gross domestic product achievable this year. Lift exchange controls which stand in the way of greater foreign investment.

...ing, providing for confiscation of the proceeds of criminal activity, fighting organised crime, an improved witness protection programme and securing greater judicial control over the release of parole offenders. Seeing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission off to a smooth start.

...improve po... gathering dramatically, tighten security controls at the country's ports of entry. Negotiations have started to secure the transfer of defence force personnel to the police force. The soldiers would be used to create new public order units in all nine provinces and to reinforce other under-strength units. Also in the pipeline are plans to improve police pay.

the programme wi... tution, redistribution and tenure reform.

"One of the big challenges for this year is no doubt going to be the issue of security of tenure. There's no way we're going to redistribute the amounts of land that will satisfy people in the next few years, but what we can do and have to do is to ensure that people living under insecure tenure are offered greater security of tenure under a very wide range of circumstances," said Hanekom.



In his opening speech to Parliament, President Nelson Mandela highlighted the tasks faced by each of his Cabinet ministers in tackling head-on the challenges all South Africans wake up to on a daily basis.

South Africa, Mandela said, should unite at all levels of Government and society to build a better life for all by providing, among other things, more jobs and houses through a multi-pronged strategy that includes boosting economic growth and fighting crime.

In separate 30-minute briefings that followed the presidential address, Cabinet ministers spelt out their response to the challenge as articulated by Mandela. Their plans for 1996 ranged from bold drastic measures to transform departments to feeble presentations.

Plans were revealed to reform South Africa's economy by boosting growth and unlocking greater job creation. Other plans include an investment in infrastructure, including municipal services, housing, construction and telecommunications. The following are the plans to which the ministers committed themselves.

■ **HOME AFFAIRS: Mangosuthu Buthelezi** To successfully introduce the new identification systems in the form an identity card, a new passport — with a separate one for children — and an automated fingerprint identification system. To combat the influx of illegal immigrants through the application of strict control measures and intensified law enforcement actions and to pilot the draft Film and Publication Bill through Parliament and work on reducing the number of public holidays.

■ **AGRICULTURE: Kraai van Niekerk** To formulate an agricultural tariff policy whose objective would be to bring agricultural trade in line with the GATT principle of a fair and market-orientated agricultural system. The Ministry plans to deal with issues related to food security, agricultural finance, international and regional relations and bilateral agreements and deregulation

■ **CORRECTIONAL SERVICE: Sipo Mzimela** To implement a multi-pronged strategy to transform the prisons service and promote the rehabilitation of prisoners. The plans include the establishment of youth development centres, the demilitarisation of the service, affirmative action, retraining and reorientation of staff.

■ **POSTS, TELCOMMUNICATIONS AND BROADCASTING: Pallo Jordan** The conclusion of a policy formulation process and to tackle the issues pertaining to deregulation, commercialisation and equity restructuring of telecommunications. In broadcasting the challenge is to ensure that the agencies for mass communication reflect pluralism and the cultural diversity and multiplicity of interests in the South African society.

■ **ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS AND TOURISM: Dawie de Villiers** Restructuring of tourism industries to create jobs. Improve the safety of tourists, infrastructure and other job-creating efforts within the ambits of the RDP. Elicit a Cabinet decision on whether or not St Lucia should be mined.

■ **WELFARE AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT: Abe Williams** (new minister to be named) To institute effective management as well as computer and information systems that will combat fraud and inefficiency in the social security system which has left the elderly and poor R1-billion poorer. Key new directions in welfare service delivery will be through low-cost family-centred, community-based development strategies and rehabilitation programmes.

■ **PUBLIC WORKS: Jeff Radebe** Fight South Africa's massive unemployment by getting all government line-function departments to adopt labour intensive technology which will yield at least 300 000 jobs annually from 1998.

■ **EDUCATION: Sibusiso Bengu** The minister plans to enhance the implementation of the National Students Financial Assistance Scheme, for which R300-million has been made available, build classrooms to the value of R1,2-billion through the National School Building project, launch a national school register, promote Adult Basic Education and Training and early childhood development programmes.

■ **TRANSPORT: Mac Maharaj** Introduce and implement changes which will enable the taxi industry to be regulated and controlled. To ensure that the industry is formalised and restructured and receives economic assistance. Meeting RDP objectives through an infrastructure programmes and launching development corridors to enhance regional economic development.

■ **ARTS, CULTURE, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: Ben Ngubane** The ministry plans to establish cultural heritage sites which could benefit up to 2 million locals through job-creating tourism-orientated projects, use the R50-million in RDP funds to initiate community centres and restructure the performing arts and filming industries. It also plans to investigate the inclusion of and emphasis on arts, culture, science and technology in the school curriculum.

■ **GENERAL AFFAIRS: Chris Fismer** (now John Mavuso) Oversee the legislation of the National Gambling Bill and the rationalisation of the existing casinos in South Africa's nine provinces.

■ **MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS: Pik Botha** To enhance the energy-generation capacity of South Africa and Africa south of Sahara by being involved in projects such as the Inga project which can generate 50 000 megawatt of electric power. Standardisation of tarrifs and the reduction of suppliers and producers to ensure efficient and quality electricity. To introduce the new Mines, Health and Safety Bill in Parliament.

■ **SPORTS AND RECREATION: Steve Tshwete** To maximise the provision of basic sports facilities to the disadvantaged communities both in rural and urban areas. Introduce provincial sports academies in the nine provinces to enhance sports developments and excellence. Assist and support Cape Town's bid for the 2004 Olympics.

■ **PUBLIC ENTERPRISES: Stella Sigcau** Together with other government departments and trade unions, to review and find a harmonious way to implement the Government's plans to privatise State assets.

■ **PUBLIC SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATION: Zola Skweyiya** Continue with processes to right-size the public service, reduce the wage bill, retrench excess and redundant workers, retrain laid-off workers and institute a human resource development strategy to meet challenges faced by the new public service. Crucial to the civil service transformation process is the Presidential Review Commission.

■ **PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Roelf Meyer** (now Chris Fismer) Oversee the local government elections in KwaZulu Natal and the Western Cape and the adoption of the new Constitution. Drive the Masakhane campaign which is crucial to the successful implementation of the RDP.

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GRAPHIC MOVES J5974/5

POLITICS

Parties agree in private talks to replace Senate

BD 29/2/96 (282 304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Parties in the Constitutional Assembly had agreed in private talks to replace the Senate with a powerful provincial house of parliament, senior negotiators said yesterday.

One negotiator said: "What is being resolved are largely the operational details of the (proposed) national council of provinces and some aspects of its functions."

Negotiators were still discussing the composition of provincial delegations, and whether they would vote "en bloc" or along party lines.

Parties also had to decide whether to allow for local government representation on the council, in line with an ANC proposal to treat local government as a separate government tier in the new constitution.

Only a week ago the ANC and NP were at loggerheads over an NP document which the ANC claimed undid weeks of progress in private talks on the issue of the senate.

The proposal for a provincial council was originally tabled by the ANC, and was based on the German model. The council would, according to the third draft proposal, have strong blocking powers to safeguard provincial interests.

Technical experts are now working on a fourth draft, to be discussed in a new round of private talks scheduled for this weekend.

The council, according to the draft, "shall have the powers to review legislation regarding national competencies, and to initiate, amend or reject national legislation in respect of functional areas in which the provinces have concurrent legislative and executive authority". A two-thirds majority in the council would be required for "any constitutional amendment" that have an impact on provincial powers and functions.

An ANC negotiator indicated the ANC would back an NP proposal for a 90-member council — 10 from each province — to ensure smaller party representation. Five would be permanent and five chosen on a "floating or rotational" basis. The ANC originally proposed six a province.

A DP proposal that council members vote on an individual basis on matters pertaining to national competencies had also found favour with the ANC. But the ANC was insistent delegations vote "en bloc" on provincial matters.

Yengeni causes stir with 'white theft' claims

(3049)

BID 29/2/96

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — ANC MP Tony Yengeni claimed in the National Assembly yesterday that whites gained their wealth by theft, sparking an extended bout of accusations and counter accusations — and some humour.

Opposition MPs thought Yengeni had called DP leader Tony Leon "a thief" during a debate on racial quotas in the workplace. DP MP Kobus Jordaan asked Yengeni to clarify and withdraw his comment. Yengeni said he had in fact commented that whites in general had stolen their wealth from the majority of South Africans.

Asked by Deputy Speaker Bhadra Ranchod whether this implied white MPs were thieves, Yengeni said he could not withdraw his general belief but he withdrew any implication against any specific MP. Ranchod accepted this withdrawal, but was later asked by Leon to reconsider his ruling because it contradicted earlier rulings that racist statements made in Parliament were unacceptable.

Leon said the comment was a "vulgar racist generalisation" which opened the way for racial slanging matches across the floor of Parliament.

Ranchod acceded to the request.

NP MP Frik van Deventer said if whites were considered thieves, it would have to be decided if they had the right to sit in Parliament.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said later that he would raise the issue with the ANC because it exposed "nakedly racist hatred" which contradicted the "new patriotism".

In the following debate on whether Russia would invite SA to nominate a candidate for a space flight, IFP MP Koos van der Merwe suggested Yengeni's name be put forward. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said the only candidate being considered was a certain K van der Merwe. This lightened the tone of a fractious debate.

CORRUPTION

FM 23/2/96

TRANSPARENCY VS PRIVACY

(304A) (358)

The need for a parliamentary code of ethics has been underscored by the shock findings of an Institute for Democracy (Idasa) survey that South Africans think the new government is at least as corrupt, if not more corrupt, than the old.

Two-thirds of the population fails to see any lessening in government corruption, while four people in 10 think it has increased.

Idasa attributes the public's jaded perception of parliament to negative media coverage and the deep-seated suspicion of officialdom instilled in people by the apartheid and homeland governments. It is not an indictment of any one party.

Unfortunately the ANC missed the point and decided to shoot the messenger. It accused Idasa of failing to build and consolidate "our fledgling democracy."

ANC MPs Carl Niehaus, Baleka Kgositsile and senator Bulelani Ngcuka responded by giving journalists a tongue-lashing for portraying MPs as dishonest through "racist" and "sensationalist" reporting, particularly over the issue of MPs' salaries.



Baleka Kgositsile

The ANC is understandably rankled as it has pushed for a code of ethics more inclusive and binding than the other main parties would prefer.

All parties agree on the need for a code of ethics but they differ over the extent of disclosure. The debate comes down to the relative importance of members' right to privacy versus the public's right to know.

Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, chairman of the subcommittee which has drafted a code of ethics, says the creation of a new open, transparent and accountable SA in which corruption cannot easily take root requires elected leaders to ensure that their integrity and that of their institution is beyond question.

The draft code proposes that all politicians record their interests in a computerised register that is open to the public and updated every six months.

All MPs and senators must disclose shareholdings, outside employment, directorships, commercial partnerships, consultancies, gifts in excess of R350, hospitality, benefits, pensions, land and property assets.

Ordinary members' spouses, permanent companions and dependent children must also disclose their interests. The NP, DP and the FF disagree with this recommendation.

DP MP Douglas Gibson says only those interests which could create a potential conflict should be disclosed, not inconsequential details of personal finance. Furthermore, if the intention is to prevent a member from diverting interests to a trusted relation, then siblings and parents should also be included.

The majority of Idasa's respondents (57%) favour full financial disclosure but are divided over the disclosure of family income.

The NP, DP, FF and ACDP say only property providing a source of income should be disclosed, while the ANC and PAC want detailed disclosure of all land and property holdings, including all leases and holiday homes.

Parties also have conflicting views over whether the number and nominal value of shares held should be disclosed or just the fact of the shareholding.

Because of the urgency, committee members feel the code should be regulated initially by parliamentary rules despite the danger that members could postpone the receipt of kickbacks until they have left parliament. This would be prevented if the code was made law.

Legislation could also cast the ethical net wider to include serving and non-serving MPs as well as public officials, heads of public corporations and members of provincial legislatures. The Joint Rules Committee has postponed a final decision for three weeks to give ANC MPs more time to deliberate. ■

FRIDAY
MARCH 1, 1996 ★

SUPPORT MOTIVATED BY FEARS

More Pretoria whites now want Volkstaat

CT 1/3/96 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG: A survey conducted for the Volkstaat Council has shown that white support for the Volkstaat concept has increased in the Pretoria area since 1993.

UP to 60% of white residents of Pretoria and its surroundings would support the establishment of an Afrikaner Volkstaat in the area if a referendum were held today, according to a survey released by the Volkstaat Council yesterday.

The area has been identified by the council as the core region of the proposed Afrikaner homeland.

The survey was conducted by research firm Opdatum Opnames and analysed by former Human Sciences Research Council director Dr Lawrence Schlemmer, who was contracted by the Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, to which the council reports.

Schlemmer said the support for the concept of an Afrikaner homeland was motivated by concerns and dissatisfaction among Afrikaners about crime, personal security, employment prospects, affirmative action and educational standards.

In his summary of the report, Schlemmer said between 55% and 60% of the "rate-paying and tenant population" of the traditionally white Pretoria area would support the establishment of a volkstaat in the region.

There would be between 40% and 50% support among non-Afrikaners for this idea and between 60% and 65% of Afrikaners would support the concept.

Only between 7% and 16% of the people in the area said they would oppose the idea.

The survey also found 30% to 40% of the people in the area would be "prepared to make sacrifices" to live in a Volkstaat.

The fact that it would be centred in a major metropolitan area played a role in this willingness to sacrifice. Schlemmer said support for a volkstaat had increased since the last survey on the subject was done in 1993, and he predicted that the support would increase further if the economic upturn were to subside and Afrikaner concerns about education policy grew.

In his reaction, council chairman Johann Wingaard said the survey concurred with the council's view that self-determination and a volkstaat should be part of the South African solution.

Mr Kevin Kaveny, of the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament (CAP), said the survey was "like a kiss of death" for the Pretoria campaign to take parliament away from Cape Town.

Councillor Clive Keegan said Pretoria remained a hotbed of reactionary racism and had lost all morally legitimate claim to become the seat of the new republic's legislative capital.

● The Volkstaat Council will host an international conference on self-determination in Somerset West next week.

It will cover aspects of the self-determination debate. Foreign delegates will include activists and self-determination experts from Germany, Switzerland, Ethiopia, Palestine and Germany.— Special Correspondent

Corruption 'an apartheid legacy'

(304A) (25?)

CT 1/3/96

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela said yesterday a national commission would be launched soon to stamp out an "apartheid legacy" of corruption.

"From recent and current investigations it would appear that wide-spread corruption — endemic in the apartheid-era — has continued to plague our society. This cannot, must not and will not be tolerated," he said in a written response to a senate question.

"It is of the utmost importance that corruption at every level should be publicly identified as soon as possible and eradicated swiftly and efficiently," he added.

"Plans to set up a national commission against corruption are well advanced ... hopefully it will be very soon."

Mandela's legal adviser, Mr Nicholas Haysom, said discussions were under way on terms of reference for the probe, which would concentrate on corruption under apartheid rule.

"It could be running within the next month or two," he said. Mandela initially announced his plan for a nationwide probe into corruption last October. — Reuter

'60% whites back volkstaat'

(3049) ARG 1/3/96

UP to 60 percent of white residents of Pretoria and its surrounding areas would support the establishment of an Afrikaner Volkstaat in the area if a referendum were held today, according to a survey released by the Volkstaat Council (VC).

The area has been identified by the VC as the core region of the proposed Afrikaner homeland whose feasibility and location it is researching.

The survey was analysed by former Human Sciences Research Council director Lawrence Schlemmer, who said the support was motivated by concerns and dissatisfaction among Afrikaners about crime, personal security, employment prospects, affirmative action and educational standards. — Sapa.

The Star ... Friday March 1 1996

'Volkstaat feasible in Pretoria'

Star 1/3/96 (304A)

Survey indicates majority of white residents approve of concept

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

Up to 60% of white residents of Pretoria and its surrounding areas would support the establishment of an Afrikaner volkstaat in the area if a referendum were held now, according to a survey released by the Volkstaat Council (VC) yesterday.

The area has been identified by the VC as the core region of the proposed Afrikaner homeland, whose feasibility and location the council is researching.

The survey was conducted by research firm Opdatum Opnames and analysed by former Human Sciences Research Council director Lawrence Schlemmer, who was contracted by the Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, to which the VC reports.

Schlemmer said support for the concept of an Afrikaner homeland was motivated by concerns and dissatisfaction among Afrikaners about crime, personal security, employment prospects, affirmative action and educational standards.

In his summary of the report, Schlemmer reported that between 55 and 60% of the "rate-paying and tenant population" of the traditionally white Pretoria area would support the establishment of a volkstaat in the region.

Among Afrikaners, between 60 and 65% would support the concept while between 40 and 50% of non-Afrikaners would support the idea. Only between 7 and 16% of the people in the area would oppose it.

Concern about crime, security, employment a motivating force

The survey also found that 30 to 40% of the people in the area would be "prepared to make sacrifices" to live in the proposed volkstaat, with the fact that it would be centred around a major metropolitan area playing a role in this willingness to sacrifice.

Schlemmer said support for a volkstaat had increased since the previous survey on the subject was conducted in 1993, and he predicted that support would increase further if the economic upturn subsided and Afrikaner concerns about education policy grew.

In his reaction, VC chairman Johann Wingaard said the survey concurred with the council's view that self-determination and a volkstaat should be part of the South African solution.

He said it was now time to exercise principle 34 of the interim constitution, which states that a constitutional provision will be made for a volkstaat if there were proven support for it.

"South Africa is on a highway with the negotiations and writing of its final constitution. This is now the ideal time to give constitutional form to principle 34, seeing that the proven support has now been shown," he said.

■ The VC will next week host an international conference on self-determination in Somerset West near Cape Town.

The conference will cover various aspects of the self-determination debate and will include the political, legal and practical justification for this.

Foreign delegates will include minority activists and self-determination experts from Germany, Switzerland, Ethiopia and Palestine.

'Death kiss' for parliament move

ARG 2/3/96 (30A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Staff Reporter

PRETORIA'S bid for parliament has been given a "kiss of death" by a Volkstaat Council survey showing that more than half of the city's whites want it to be the capital of a future volkstaat.

This "is the final nail in Pretoria's coffin," said Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP) executive director Kallie Hanekom, pointing to confirmation of the validity of the survey by one of the country's foremost researchers of public opinion, Lawrence Schlemmer.

"We always thought Pretoria was closer to Potgietersrus when it came to its true self," said Mr Hanekom.

"The expensive advertising campaign to support their parliamentary aspirations was always a great scam," he said.

As lobbyists intensified their efforts in the capital-battle, Mr Hanekom predicted the African National Congress caucus now would have "little option, but to come out in support of Cape Town".

The National Party caucus formally backed the status quo last weekend, aligning themselves with the Democratic Party and African Christian Democratic Party.

Mr Hanekom said: "As an Afrikaner myself, I cannot see how Pretoria, which aspires to be the 'spiritual home', national symbol and a source of security and protection for Afrikaners and descendants of the 17th-century Dutch and French settlers, can be the seat of the new South African 'rainbow' parliament."

Clive Keegan, co-chairman of the Cape Town City Council's executive committee, said Pretoria had shown itself still to be "the apartheid capital" of South Africa.

"Pretoria clearly remains a hotbed of reactionary racism — the "Deep South" of South Africa — and has lost any legitimate claim to be the seat of the new Republic's parliament.

"Like Potgietersrus, Pretoria has at last shown its true colours, and they can write off the millions of rands they wasted on cynical TV advertising campaigns to persuade us that they had changed. Ironically, in recent times, they have taken great delight at pointing to the liberal Cape as being historically unsuitable."

Cape Town's belief in maintaining the status quo had, once again, been vindicated, "not so much by our unassailable arguments, but by Pretoria's proven inappropriateness as a symbol of reconciliation and nation building."

Mr Keegan said it was remarkable that the ANC now stood alone on this issue.

"The survey surely must make them take the plunge and put to bed any thoughts on moving parliament."

DP to probe ministers on overseas travelling

ARG 2/3/96 (263) (304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Staff Reporter

■ Taxpayers are soon to discover just how much they paid for cabinet ministers' trips last year.

EVERY member of Nelson Mandela's cabinet will be grilled in the weeks to come on details of their overseas travel last year — the purpose of the trips, who accompanied them and how much it all cost.

This information is being brought into the open through a series of questions to ministers by Democratic Party MPs and senators.

They are concerned that not all overseas travel by ministers and their minions is politically justifiable. So far, four questions for written replies have been tabled — focusing on overseas travel last year by Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Pallo Jordan, Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Agriculture Kraai van Niekerk and Minister of Transport Mac Maharaj.

The typical question format is: "How many days did he and/or his deputy minister spend outside the borders of the Republic, what was the purpose, destination and duration and cost of each visit, and who accompanied him and/or his deputy minister in each case?"

Increased contact with the international community is a natural and welcome consequence of South Africa's democratic transition, says DP senator James Selfe, but globe-trotting ministers need to be reminded that they are spending taxpayers' money and should assess usefulness of trips more carefully.

Spending on such trips — which is governed by ministerial rules — does come under the scrutiny of the auditor-general and parliament's public accounts committee, and gross wastage or irregularities would come to light in this process.

But Mr Selfe points out that the onerous workload of the committee often does not leave time for probing questions on the political advisability of or justification for ministerial travel, or just getting more details on who went on the trips, why and at what cost.

"The purpose of the questions is to determine whether taxpayers' money is being appropriately spent in terms of priorities South Africans have articulated," he told SATURDAY Argus.

"A lot is being spent on travel and it comes on top of a great deal of money spent on specialised advisory services — formal advisers attached to various ministries as well as delegations and groups of people who come to South Africa to give us the benefit of their wisdom.

"What we are trying to tie down is whether or not these trips are essential to the national interest or whether they are simply discretionary trips which may or may not have some indirect professional benefit to the incumbent in the position or the ministry at large.

"There are many urgent things that need to happen right now, and if you look across the spectrum of government activity, there's a huge amount of activity in flying around, attending conferences, consulting ... and there's very little action."

The DP was determined to convey to ministers that "there's no such thing as 'their money' ... it's taxpayers' money". Mr Selfe acknowledged that "some overseas travel is extremely valuable".

"It allows immediate access to information and experience that other countries have had on subjects we are only just getting to grips with, things such as the ethics of MPs, or civilian control of the intelligence system.

"Clearly, if you want to get a good system of parliamentary control over government, it is necessary to tap the experience of other countries which have wrestled with these things for a long time.

"But, you have to look at each trip, each conference, each advisor, each process of consultation and ask: Is this justifiable against the cost to the taxpayer?

"Some clearly will be, and some clearly will not be.

"We will be looking critically at what sort of staff accompany the minister in each case and whether this is justifiable."

Obviously, there was a greater necessity for some ministers to travel more than there was for others.

Obviously Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel and Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo needed to travel more.

"If there was a particularly alarming reply, that could become the subject of an oral follow-up or an interpellation (mini-debate)," he said.



Friendship focus — all eyes on us.!!

(304A) ARG 2/3/96

MICHAEL MORRIS
Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa's singularly uncritical response to Cuba's shooting-down of two civilian aircraft last weekend has sharpened the focus on Pretoria's friendly relations with Havana ... as well as with pariah state Libya.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has made it clear that the shooting-down of the civilian aircraft by a Cuban Mig 29, the United States' angry response and the publication this week of a damning United Nations report on Cuba's "serious" human and political rights abuses will not influence South Africa's co-operative stance towards Cuba's beleaguered socialist leader, Fidel Castro.

On Monday, responding to the MiG-29 attack, President Clinton closed the air routes, restricted the movements of Cuban diplomats, expanded the reach of the US-based Radio Marti broadcasts to Cuba and promised to compensate the families of the four men killed in the attack by using Cuban assets frozen in America.

The US also called on the international community to condemn the incident.

But South Africa's response was a three-paragraph statement merely confirming the downing of the aircraft, urging all countries to adhere to the provisions of international aviation protocols and appealing to the US and Cuba to "exercise maximum restraint" and to "resolve the matter through negotiations".

■ South Africa's pursuit of friendly relations with countries like Cuba and Libya is being closely watched abroad.

There is not a critical word in it.

While American diplomats insist they are barely concerned about the South African-Cuba friendship — one described it as "merely a tiny burr under the saddle" — they concede that "we would appreciate President Mandela's support" in putting pressure on Havana to commit itself to a transition to democracy.

There is an understanding of the historical ties between "South Africa's liberation struggle and Cuba's support for revolutions across the world".

"We don't expect South Africa to turn its back on Cuba. The fact is, this is not a big deal. Cuba doesn't threaten us, nor does South Africa's relations with Havana. We have bigger fish to fry, and this does not alter our relations with South Africa."

However, South Africa's dalliance with Libya is another story. One diplomat said: "You don't hear people raising the issue of South Africa's relations with Cuba much, but they feel strongly about her stance on Libya.

"Our position is that it's clearly up to South Africa to conduct its own foreign affairs, but we sincerely hope it will use its contacts with Libya and other countries to reinforce respect for human rights and democracy."

On the Cuban question, South Africa is — as the Department of Foreign Affairs puts it — "firm in our view that it is in the interest of South Africa to have diplomatic relations and multilateral ties of co-operation with Cuba". This view it says it shares with the Organisation of African Unity, the European Community, Latin America and the Caribbean community.

South Africa has opposed a UN resolution criticising the absence of free political activity in Cuba on the grounds that "what we need to do is to try to see to it tht the Cuban situation is improved not by isolation, but through dialogue and a non-confrontational diplomacy".

South Africa not only opposes the US's trade embargo, but, as the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday: "Cuba needs trade, investment, tourism and new technology and South Africa can make a contribution to this." It would be through this form of contact that Pretoria could influence Havana along the road to democracy.

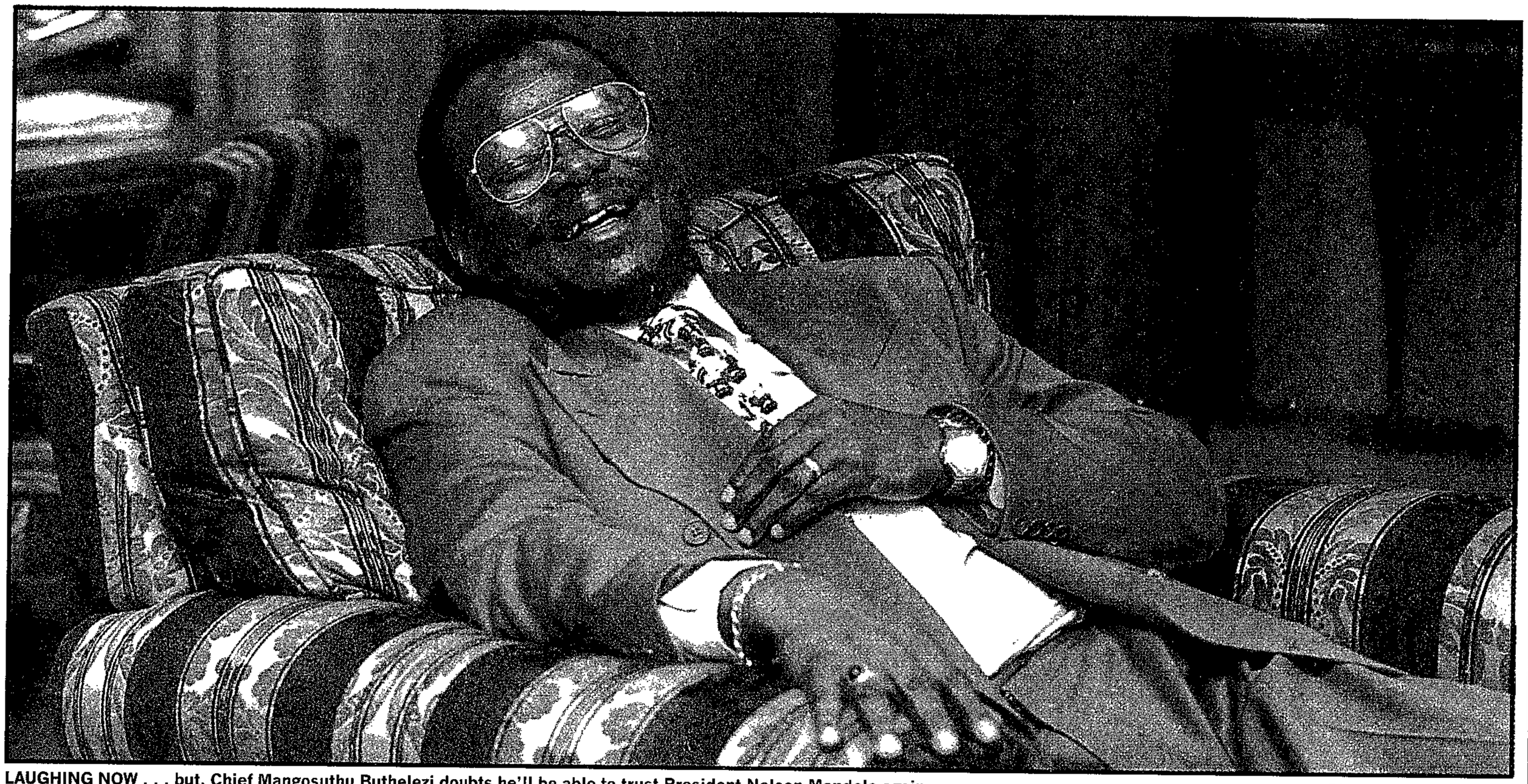
In contrast, a US congressional committee this week approved a bill imposing new sanctions on Cuba aimed at shutting off Castro's supply of foreign investment and hasten his downfall.

The US has enforced an economic embargo on the island for 32 years, while critics believed it would isolate the Cuban people and make a transition to democracy more difficult.

While American diplomats play down the potential impact of South Africa's support for Cuba, it is clear that even if it is only a "tiny burr" under the saddle of US diplomacy, it remains a burr.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi talks to RAY HARTLEY about his frustration at being turned into a bit player in the government of national unity

(304A)



LAUGHING NOW . . . but, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi doubts he'll be able to trust President Nelson Mandela again

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

ST 3/3/96

The bonsai minister's winter of discontent

LIKE a bonsai plant in the hands of a compulsive gardener, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Home Affairs Ministry has been pruned, snipped and sometimes hacked into a fraction of its former glory.

When he took office in May 1994, Chief Buthelezi was widely believed to have been given a major cabinet portfolio in exchange for his last-minute decision to take part in the election.

Since then, the gardener's meticulous notebook would have recorded the pruning off of the once mighty ministry's key functions.

"Autumn 1994: sawed off broadcasting and gave it to Pallo Jordan and gave film branch to Arts and Culture. Winter 1994: lopped off local government elections and passed them to independent task group. Summer 1995: snipped of Central Statistical Services for RDP office."

And on the list of things to be done this autumn?

"Cut firearm and driver's licences from identity books and give them to the Safety and Security and Transport ministries."

Last week the pruning shears flashed again, lopping off Chief Buthelezi's ability to determine government policy on aliens.

Despite strenuous objections from Chief Buthelezi and his department, the cabinet decided to allow aliens from neighbouring countries to take up residence in South Africa if they were economically active or had been living in the country for at least five years.

Overruled on one of his few remaining line functions, Chief Buthelezi finds his view of the government of national unity has soured to the point where he admits: "I must say that I'm very unhappy. My existence in the cabinet is not a happy one."

Like his colleagues in the National Party, Chief Buthelezi has been paying the price for the Faustian bargain that saw him give up his ability to oppose in exchange for a consensus-building role in the country's first democratic government.

In cabinet, he says from his parliamentary office in Cape Town, he has tried to pursue his federalist political agenda, presenting memorandums when he believes that the powers of the provinces are being disregarded.

"All that happens is that whoever is presiding says: 'Well, the secretariat must note that this memorandum says that.' Then the meeting just goes on, which I find extremely frustrating and very stressful," he says.

Words like "frustrating", "stressful" and even "depressing" pepper Chief Buthelezi's conversation these days, underlining the extent to which he believes he has been betrayed by the new South Africa.

Reduced to redesigning the South African passport ("It's almost forgery-proof") and a new identity card ("It's a more convenient fingerprint system"), he has effectively been elbowed off the political centre stage.

What really hurts Chief Buthelezi is what he calls a major problem of trust between himself and President Nelson Mandela.

Public displays of bonhomie, such as that late last year on the steps of Tuynhuis when they called each other Madiba and Shenge, should not be misread as signs of warmth, he says.

"It's just politeness, it's just African culture. Even when I'm critical of the President, I try not to be abusive not just because he's President, but because he's my elder brother," Chief Buthelezi says.

THE truth, he says, is harsher: "My trust in my President has been eroded to the extent that I don't know if it can ever be restored."

He says the origin of this breach of trust is President Mandela's refusal to honour a signed undertaking to bring international mediators into the writing of the final constitution. "If an agreement I made with him, which he signed with his own hand of his own volition, cannot be kept, how am I supposed to react? What else can he say that I will take seriously?

"It's a terrible thing, it's painful for me," Chief Buthelezi says.

Closing his eyes to consult an internal almanac, he lists a string of dates and broken undertakings: May 1994: Kwazulu Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose writes to President Mandela — no reply is received; December 22 1994: the amakhosi send a delegation with grievances — no response to date; October 28 1995: the amakhosi submit another memorandum — still no response is received.

"I don't know whether the President is busy or if it is just his style of administration," says Chief Buthelezi with feigned puzzlement.

The sum total of all this has been to keep him and his party out of the writing of the final constitution.

"I feel very, very frustrated, very depressed because I reckon that a fundamental law like a constitution is something that should really be inclusive; that should be accepted on the basis of give and take," he says.

What are the chances of the Inkatha Freedom Party returning to the constitution-making process?

"For now I can't see that we'll go back. I'm quite definite, I'm almost definite but of course I can't pre-empt and say members of the Inkatha national council won't change their minds," he says.

And if the constitution is written without Inkatha?

"I don't know if it will ever go away that we have a constitution that is not inclusive. Throughout the history of man, a disaffected minority has been just as dangerous as a disaffected majority."

Compared to the bellicose threats he made before the April 1994 election, Chief Buthelezi's current utterances are mild, tempered by a state of inner turmoil.

Even raising the topic of hit squad investigations and the looming Truth and Reconciliation Commission elicits an agitated response.

"It seems they (the ANC) want to rewrite history, because everyone knows who declared the people's war. They told the whole world that they were declaring the people's war [illegible] every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot', they said."

It is ludicrous, he says, to suggest that the violence in Kwazulu Natal has been caused by Inkatha members who were trained by the security forces in unconventional war in the Caprivi strip in 1986.

Then come the kind of words that anger the ANC most: "When MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) was trained, what were they trained as? They were trained as hit squads, actually."

But instead of being prosecuted along with Inkatha members involved in the "chicken and egg" violence, MK soldiers are being honoured, he says.

"The hit squad [illegible] ANC are already being called veterans, they are being given military awards, they have been given pensions, I mean its extraordinary."

What has left Chief Buthelezi especially frustrated is the ANC's steadfast refusal to accord him a co-determining role on the national political stage.

For the balance of forces has changed since the election. The ANC has been accepted as a tolerable governing party, even by Chief Buthelezi's erstwhile supporters in the conservative white business community.

It is as if this sea change in passed Chief Buthelezi by, leaving him unable to refashion his agenda.

One product of that change is that the ANC majority has treated Inkatha more as a security threat than as a serious political player.

Instead of making political concessions to bring Chief Buthelezi's party back to talks, the ANC has been biding its time, waiting for the courts to undo Inkatha's last shred of legitimacy.

WITH a string of investigations implicating IFP leaders in hit squad activities and other forms of organised violence, and plans to shift the funding of traditional leaders to central government, ANC leaders figure that Inkatha will soon lose its grip on its traditional power base in Kwazulu Natal.

Pruned down to printer of passports and identity cards and shunned as a national political player, the bonsai chief may have cause to feel frustrated, stressed out and

Bid to expose Nat secrets

By CYRIL MADLALA

DRAFT legislation that will bar South Africa's security organisations from destroying sensitive information was tabled before a parliamentary portfolio committee this week.

The National Archives of South Africa Bill will also shorten the waiting period before the public can have access to state secrets locked up in government archives.

The Bill provides for archival records to be made available to the public after 20 years. Now the law only allows this after 30 years.

The Sunday Times revealed last year that Deputy President F W de Klerk had tried in vain during his last days as president in 1994 to keep the government's cabinet minutes under wraps for an additional 10 years.

The documents cover the years of P W Botha's rule from 1978 to 1989 as well as Mr de Klerk's rule up to 1994.

Dr Ben Ngubane, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, will brief the committee on Tuesday on the Bill.

It provides for the establishment of national archives that will ensure the proper management and care of all government records, including electronic ones.

A recording of the conversation between Mr Botha and President Nelson Mandela while the latter was in prison was destroyed as it was not regarded as being an item for the archives.

Under the proposed law this will not be possible.

The national archivist will keep a register of public records in the country which are of national significance. It will be an offence to destroy any records without the approval of the authorities.

Draft legislation to secure the prompt return of abducted children to their countries also reached a parliamentary portfolio committee this week.

The Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction Bill will oblige South Africa to co-operate with other countries to combat the illegal transfer and failure to return children.

South Africa's accession to the Hague Convention fulfils one of the country's obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The South African Law Commission has recommended that South Africa should accede to the Hague Convention, and that a chief family advocate should act as a central authority, as required by the convention.

The advocate will liaise with authorities in other countries when a claim has been lodged that a child under the age of 16 has been abducted, and his or her return is being sought.

(304A) ST 3/3/96

SINUSITIS

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NP meeting poorly attended

CT 4/3/96

CHRIS BATEMAN
LOCAL GOVERNMENT WRITER

(304A) (285)

THE National Party's Tygerberg strongmen tentatively courted voters in their new bed-fellow suburb of Khayelitsha at the weekend — without incident — at a meeting attended by about 200 at the Nolungile Primary School in Site C.

Chairman of the NP's Tygerberg sub-structure strategic committee Mr Frik van Deventer said that, while poorly attended, there had been no heckling or intimidation of the two dozen NP members.

Asked if any of the party, many of whom were entering the township for the first time, went armed, he replied: "There was not a single weapon, not even a pocket knife among us."

Van Deventer said his party was "realistic" about its limited capacity to win any of the 22 wards in Khayelitsha, but added that three positions were set aside for the township in the top 13 listed candidates, thus ensuring NP representation.

He said of his former opposition to including Khayelitsha in the Tygerberg sub-structure on economic grounds: "When the court backed the Demarcation Board, I told people we don't question the courts and promised a meeting in Khayelitsha within one month —and this was it."

Van Deventer put the poor attendance down to "the end of the month, and a big stokvel".

Govt needs to work out why citizens are not paying their dues

(125) (304A)

STEVEN FRIEDMAN

BD 4/3/96

HOW committed are South Africans to democratic government? At first glance, the question seems absurd. Surveys show public enthusiasm for our new democracy, particularly among the previously voteless, and there are spontaneous shows of public affection for the president and other government figures.

So most South Africans do welcome democracy's advent. But liking democratic government is not necessarily the same as committing to it. We do a lot better on the first than the second.

It is a cliché, but nevertheless true, that democracy means not only rights, but obligations.

Citizens are entitled to vote, to hold government accountable to them and the like — but are also expected to obey the rules which Parliament makes. And, most obviously, citizens are expected to pay for democratic government.

How keen are South Africans on obeying rules?

There is no great rush to report criminals to the police. As for the rule which says we should contribute to government, our record is poor. Only about a quarter of the population pay income tax, most township residents do not pay for services and several universities face bankruptcy because students will not pay fees.

Not all of this means that most citizens do not believe democratic government is worth paying for. Some of it — no one is sure how much — has to do with a simple inability to pay: many people do not pay income tax because their income is not large enough to make them liable.

But many tax avoiders probably do earn enough to pay; many who do not pay for services could, presumably, afford to do so.

So why do they not? Particularly since most citizens now recognise the right of government to govern? No one knows for certain: there are as many theories on the problem as non-payers.

For many in the old establishment, the answer is easy — everything can be explained by talking about a "culture of entitlement". This means that voters, particularly those who won the right to vote two years ago, believe that government, and society, owe them everything and that they owe both nothing.

But, while this may describe the attitudes of some intellectuals and special interests, research into public attitudes shows grassroots citizens do recognise that they have obligations to society and that democratic government is a partnership.

Focus group studies show that few people expect housing or education to be free. There is also much support for the idea that citizens should pay for electricity and water and that, if government offers citizens something, they should offer something in return.

Which suggests that the problem may not be so much the attitudes of citizens but some naive assumptions among decision-makers and opinion-formers about what it takes for citizens to meet their side of the democratic bargain.

Through the apartheid years we were told that the system was illegitimate and unjust, which it was. We were also told that most people bent or avoided the rules because they did not believe them to be just, which they did.

But we were also told — and most anti-apartheid politicians assumed — that as soon as the system was just and legitimate people would obey its rules.

This missed a crucial point: ensuring that citizens accept the rules enough to stick to them even if they would prefer not to. Achieving this does not fall out of the sky the moment people are able to choose their own government. It must be worked at by democratic governments.

The problem is not restricted to new democracies such as ours: amusing stories are told about the extent to which Italian citizens went to avoid paying tax on their restaurant bills.

But it is more difficult for a fledgling democracy, particularly one with a history in which people have become used to evading the rules. Simply assuming people will obey the rules the moment they elect government may lead to explanations like the "culture of entitlement" which implies that, since the government is now legitimate, people do not pay because something is wrong with their attitude to society.

It also led some of our new decision-makers to believe that, if the President and the archbishop of Cape Town told people to pay they would, simply because they are both respected. Or, more generally, that if a legitimate government asked people to meet their obligations, they would.

These strategies tend to take citizens for granted by assuming that they will do whatever their elected leaders tell them to do. It ignores the reality that citizens may have good reason not to comply with the rules. and that their willingness to do so must be earned by government, however popular it is.

It is government's job to ensure that citizens who want to meet their obligations can do so. There is no point in telling people to pay for services if they have to go to extreme lengths to do so because the office which is supposed to receive payment is inaccessible — or closed.

It must also work to ensure that there are clear benefits for those who stick to the rules: there is equally no point in encouraging citizens to report crime if they have no guarantee that the police will protect them and arrest the perpetrator. This also suggests that there must be penalties for those who do not.

And it must, of course, ensure that people get what they are asked to pay for — adequate services, personal safety and so on.

All of this places the ball firmly in government's court. It needs to work at understanding why citizens do not meet obligations if it wants to come up with remedies.

At present, if the attitudes revealed in surveys are accurate, most people do not need lectures on meeting obligations — the principle is accepted. But something is getting in the way of turning the principle into practice.

Finding out what that something is requires politicians and officials to know a great deal more about citizens, and about how our society works, than they do now.

If democratic government does not know why citizens are not sticking to the rules, it is not democratic enough — at least in the sense that it is not sufficiently in touch with those it represents.

And it is surely in its power to find out if it really wants to know. So establishing a form of government in which people are more likely to want to stick to the rules than to break them is not easy or automatic. It is a goal which a new democratic government has to set for itself.

This is, in one sense, good news. It means that the failure thus far to persuade citizens to comply with the rules does not mean that democracy has failed, merely that it has some way to go. Those who bemoan the "culture of entitlement" assume that everything has been done to ensure that citizens keep their end of the deal. In reality, the job has hardly begun.

But it does also mean that instant solutions will not work: government needs to do far more to sort itself out and to understand those on whose behalf it governs. And this is unlikely to be achieved by strategies which aim at immediate results.

Its first step may be to take the problem seriously enough to recognise that elections have not solved the problem — they have merely made it possible to begin seeking solutions.

□ Friedman is director of the Centre for Policy Studies.

TUESDAY
MARCH 5, 1996 ★

JACOBSZ JOINS EXODUS

Leading Nat MP to quit Parliament

CT 5/3/96

(304A)

THE NATIONAL PARTY is to lose its sixth MP this year at the end of this month, reports Political Writer **BARRY STREEK.**

ANOTHER senior Nationalist, Dr Francois Jacobsz, announced yesterday that he will resign from Parliament at the end of this month to concentrate on his business interests.

Jacobsz, 70, is also chairperson of the audit commission.

He quit as the National Party's finance spokesperson last year. His contribution to parliamentary finance committees is respected by all political parties.

The party's Western Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said Jacobsz had made valuable contributions to a number of committees and commissions and as a business leader he had brought special expertise to the party and to Parliament.

De Villiers said he understood personal reasons had lead to Jacobsz's resignation.

Jacobsz, who was a member of the President's Council for 15 years and was elected MP for Helderberg in 1989 to replace former Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis, said he would now concentrate on international trade in commodities mined and refined by companies in which he has major interests. He had discussed his resignation with party leader Deputy President F W de Klerk, and with De Villiers, he said.

Last week former Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach announced his retirement for medical reasons.

This followed decisions by the deputy chairperson of the constitutional assembly, Mr Leon Wessels, the Deputy Speaker of the national assembly, Dr Bhadra Ranchod, and the Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Mr Tobie Meyer, to retire, and the resignation of Mr Abe Williams from the cabinet after raids by the office for serious economic offences on his Cape Town and Pretoria homes and offices.

The NP's chief whip in the Western Cape legislature and former MP, Mr Adriaan Jordaan, resigned from the provincial legislature after admitting he had leaked an internal party document to the press.

Job creation a part of IFP's manifesto

BD 5/3/96

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The IFP election manifesto for KwaZulu-Natal advocates the formation of a business commission to spearhead job creation at local level, and proposes that state land be hived off to the private sector.

The manifesto proposes forming crime commissions to combat criminal activity, and the extension of the SAPS reservist system "to allow for local authority volunteer reserve systems".

The manifesto also commits the IFP to a referendum on whether the death penalty should be reintroduced.

The eight-page manifesto, sent to IFP branches, has not been officially unveiled to the public. The IFP is expected to launch its campaign for the May 29 election in the next few weeks.

The manifesto states local authorities would take the initiative to create opportunities for disadvantaged communities with business plans aimed at boosting local economic activity, and by reducing "unnecesary red tape which inhibits business activity".

The business commission would encourage the "structured" development of tourism to create employment without "adversely impacting on" the environment; secure sites for small businesses at low or deferred charges; implement preferential rating systems for vocational and educational institutions; and identify areas where deregulation would increase efficiency.

The manifesto refers to a single business commission, but the IFP is believed to envisage a commission for each of eight regional councils. In the case of the crime commissions, the manifesto states they would be established in every local authority to "monitor and report on criminal activity in a co-ordinated and comprehensive manner, and to produce effective programmes to combat crime".

Other proposals on crime are tougher sentences; stricter bail conditions; police salaries to be commensurate with responsibility and value of the profession; and removal of officers from desk work to do "active" policing.

The manifesto says that local government has a role to play in resolving historical disparities in land distribution and in maximising the use of available land. Local authorities should be bound "to provide formal justification for any land vacant. If a satisfactory explanation is not provided, the land should be offered to the private sector".

"Massive potential can be unlocked by harnessing currently redundant or unproductive land held by the state or its agents," the manifesto says.

However, IFP-controlled local authorities would "resist attempts by central government to nationalise communally-owned land" as the IFP believed "development of this land must be vested in comunities themselves".

Mining 'not for women'

~~212~~ 211

Wyndham Hartley

BD 5/3/96

CAPE TOWN — NP and ANC members agreed on one thing yesterday — women should not be allowed to work at the "coal face" in SA mines.

However, they faced opposition from their own colleagues in the mineral and energy affairs committee during a briefing on the new Mine Health and Safety Bill.

Government mining engineer Dick Bakker, briefing the committee, said that women were no longer prohibited in the new legislation from working underground. He explained that in the past it was specifically outlawed for women to go below the surface unless it was in an administrative capacity or for research purposes.

The ANC's Ismail Mohamed remarked that women were clearly genetically different from men and should not be allowed to work underground. Elizabeth Thabethe (ANC), the only woman MP present, said to prevent women from working in mines would be a breach of the constitutional freedoms which they now enjoyed.

Traditional leaders' council law rejected

BD 5/3/96 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Legislation was tabled in Parliament yesterday to circumvent difficulties in the creation of a national council of traditional leaders.

The legislation was rejected by the IFP, mainly because it would prohibit council members from simultaneously holding seats in regional and national parliaments.

The creation of the council is provided for in the constitution, but its establishment has been delayed because the formation of regional councils has been stalled in some provinces by infighting among traditional leaders. Legislation requires that all regional bodies have to be established before a national body can be formed. Council members are elected by an electoral college drawn from the regional houses.

The Council of Traditional Leaders Bill circumvents this problem be providing that each house nominate three members to sit on the national body.

IFP MP Walter Felgate said the prohibition on council members serving as MPs or members of any provincial legislature was one reason for his party's opposition. The provision would, for example, exclude Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the council.

Felgate said discussions aimed at formulating rules for the working of the council had started last year. The rules had been endorsed by the parliamentary constitutional affairs committee.

But the legislation contradicted several agreements, including an agreement that members of the council did not have to belong to regional houses. The legislation included other clauses not previously agreed, Felgate said.

Hesitant Mandela gives nod

(304A) Sowetan 5/3/96

Sowetan Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has agreed in principle to a referendum among Afrikaners on the *volkstaat* issue. But he has asked Afrikaners to define who an Afrikaner is.

He again hinted at a possible referendum after the release this week of the results of a telephone poll which found up to 65 percent of Afrikaners in Greater Pretoria supported a *volkstaat*.

Addressing journalists at his Pretoria residence, Mandela said he had put it to the leaders who claim to speak on behalf of Afrikaners that a referendum would be necessary to test support for a *volkstaat*.

"I have put to them a simple condition. I have said: before we can give serious attention to their demand (for a *volkstaat*) there must be a referendum among the Afrikaners."

However, he added that he had also made it clear to them that the results of a referendum will not necessarily bind him but would be an important fact to consider.

"I want a clear definition as to who is an Afrikaner.

"Is it a white person who speaks Afrikaans or is it anybody, black or white, who speaks Afrikaans?

"If they answer those conditions then we can address the question of a *volkstaat*.

But you can't just address it in the air," Mandela said.

Speaking about renewed rumours concerning his health, Mandela said he spent more than an hour at the cardiologist for a scan yesterday morning.

Mandela, who turns 78 this year, welcomed the further tests because at his age he needed to be sure that not only my clock (pointing to his heart) is operating but every other vital organ.

In another development yesterday, Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Valli Moosa rejected the results of the *volkstaat* survey as being unrepresentative.

Wednesday March 6 1996 THE CAPE

Constitutional deadlock as parties clash on 3 issues

ARLT 6/3/96 (304A)

☐ Property clause, death penalty and strikes are the key

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

WITH two months to go to deadline, parties in the constitutional assembly remain deadlocked on three key issues.

These are the property clause, the death penalty and the right to strikes and lockouts.

Negotiators are trying today to find common ground on the competencies of provinces and on a second house of parliament.

Some agreements were reached during a meeting yesterday of the constitutional committee sub-committee designed to break deadlocks.

A source of contention was the phrasing of a clause barring "unfair discrimination" against any one, on the basis of race, gender, marital status, sexual orientation, age or other criteria.

At issue was whether the words "nor any person" should be included in the bar on such discrimination, effectively making "private" discrimination unconstitutional.

The African National Congress believes such a bar, included in the bill of rights, should apply to all sectors.

The Democratic Party is to consider a compromise on its opposition to the inclusion of a constitutional bar on hate speech, although negotiator Dene Smuts warned that the party might dig in its heels.

In an apparent reference to an alleged remark by ANC MP Tony Yengeni, she said her party would passionately uphold Mr Yengeni's right to freedom of expression.

Sheila Camerer of the National Party said her party favoured a general limitation clause in the constitution, rather than the proposed one specifying which areas should be excluded.

In the discussion on the clause protecting privacy, the ANC said the proposed bar against people or homes being searched, possessions being seized and communications infringed should have as its test whether such action was arbitrary or not.

POLITICS

Relations with US said to be stable

(304A)

Wyndham Hartley

BD 6/3/96

CAPE TOWN — SA's relations with Cuba and Libya posed no threat to US relations, Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Tebogo Mafole said yesterday.

Briefing the Senate foreign affairs committee, Mafole said the US and SA had agreed to treat the relationship with Cuba and Libya as points of difference that will not "rupture our relations".

He said the popular perception that US-SA relations were on the verge of collapsing as a result of Cuba and Libya were incorrect. There were more points of agreement with the US than differences, he said. Mafole said there was a great deal of "Afro-pessimism" and it was up to SA to get beyond it by providing sound returns on investments.

Asked about the situation in Nigeria, his colleague from the Africa desk, Anthony Mongalo, said that SA was following a dual strategy based on re-establishing democracy in Nigeria and "constructive engagement" on human rights abuses. Mongalo said that the recently returned SA high commissioner to Nigeria had held talks with Nigeria's foreign ministry yesterday.

This was part of SA's approach of using its access to Nigerian military leader Sani Abacha to keep up the pressure for the release of political prisoners.

Constitutionality of Bill to be tested for first time

BD 7/3/94 (304A) 252

Susan Russell

THE constitutionality of a parliamentary Bill will be tested for the first time when minority parties challenge the validity of proposed new legislation setting out national education policy in the Constitutional Court today.

At issue are provisions of the National Education Policy Bill which the DP, IFP and NP contend violate the provinces' constitutional right to legislative and executive autonomy.

The parties claim the Bill, if enacted, will unconstitutionally compel unwilling provinces to implement Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu's policy.

Bengu is opposing today's application. Written submissions already put before the court on Bengu's behalf argue that the minority parties' objections are misconceived.

The government submits that the Bill specifically requires any national policy to be determined subject to the constitution generally and that ultimate decisions relating to education policy issues vest in Parliament and not the Minister.

It is also submitted that enforcement of education policy on unwilling provinces is neither dictated by the Bill nor an inevitable consequence of the minister's policy-making powers.

According to government the Bill also envisages substantial constraints on the ministerial power to make policy and recognises the importance of broad participation by all those with an interest in education matters.

Government in its written argument also rejected as "misconceived" the IFP's contention that the minister's powers conferred by the Bill amount "to an impermissible delegation by Parliament of legislative functions to a minister".

The NP has also submitted written argument in which it contends that the Bill permits the minister to usurp the executive powers of the provinces.

According to the DP the disputed provisions oblige provincial governments to implement the minister's national education policy.

If the court found that this was not the case however and that the provinces were free to ignore his policy, the DP said its constitutional objections to the Bill would fall away.

ANC and NP agree on 'co-operative governance'

BD 7/3/96 304A

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and NP have agreed that the German constitutional principle of "co-operative governance" between national, provincial and local levels of government will underpin the constitution.

The DP said after the ANC and NP announcement in the Constitutional Assembly deadlock-breaking committee yesterday it was prepared to support the principle as long as it did not result in "dictation from the centre".

Central to the principle of co-operative governance will be a powerful provincial house in Parliament — to be known as the national council of provinces — to replace the Senate.

The ANC, NP and DP gave their backing to the concept but must still hammer out some of the functional details of co-operative governance and the council of provinces.

The aim of the national council of provinces concept — also based on the German model — is to force political co-operation between parties in provinces as well as among provinces.

ANC senior negotiator Johnny de Lange said the nine provinces would have more "collective" powers than the "individual" powers they enjoyed under the interim constitution.

The interim constitution did not provide for co-operative governance, but had built into it a "strong conflictory component".

De Lange said: "It is no good talking about reconciliation in our private lives or on television while our institutions of governance relate to each other in a conflictory manner."

NP secretary-general Roelf Meyer said co-operative governance "will not only reflect how provinces should interact with national government, but how national government should interact with the provinces".

Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa afterwards described the day's developments as "revolutionary". For the first time, a single draft document on provincial and national legislative and executive competencies as well as a second chamber existed for parties to work from.

Ramaphosa said it meant intergovernmental relations would be structured for better co-ordination between the three tiers of government. A top ANC negotiator described the current intergovernmental set-up as "a mess".

DP chief negotiator Colin Eglin said he had no problem philosophically with the principle of co-operative governance as long as it was not another "buzzword" for centralisation.

VOLKSTAAT

304A

FM 8/3/96

LINGUISTIC NOURISHMENT

Afrikaner fears that their language and identity are under siege on the school front will increase support for the idea of a *volkstaat*, observes sociologist Lawrence Schlemmer.

His comment comes amid emotional turmoil in the Afrikaans community over the admission of black pupils to Afrikaans schools, from Groblersdal in Mpumalanga to Trompsburg in the Free State.

In an independent assessment of a survey of attitudes towards the idea of a *volkstaat* in formerly white areas in and around Pretoria, Schlemmer endorses the finding that between 55%-60% support the idea. Comparing the results with those of a 1993 survey, he adds: "The level of support . . . has increased in recent times."

Commenting on the survey — commissioned by the *volkstaat* council and conducted by *Opdatum Opnames* — Freedom Front chairman Pieter Mulder adds a corollary to Schlemmer's observation.

Mulder believes there is minimal apprehension over the admission of blacks to Afrikaans schools where there is acceptance by black parents that their children will be instructed through the medium of Afrikaans. But he contends that apprehension increases markedly if the advent of black pupils is associated with demands for instruction in English.

Pressure for the introduction of English as the language of instruction is experienced as a rerun of the "social engineering strategy" of Lord Alfred Milner, who, according to Mulder, tried to use English as a means of integrating Afrikaners in an emerging nation and thereby depriving them of their separate identity. It intensifies Afrikaner fears that there's a covert ANC strategy to emulate Milner. Afrikaner unease over developments on the school front is raised by the downgrading of Afrikaans on SABC television, Mulder says.



Pieter Mulder

Volkstaat council chairman Johann Wingard notes that Principle 34 of SA's interim constitution states that constitutional provision can be made for Afrikaner self-determination on a territorial basis if there's proven support for it.

Referring to the *Opdatum Opnames* survey findings, Wingard says: "SA is now in the final straight in the negotiation and writing of the final constitution. It is the ideal opportunity to give constitutional status to Principle 34 because proven support has now been shown."

Release of the survey findings — and Wingard's plea for Afrikaner self-determination to be given constitutional status — is a sequel to an earlier call by the *volkstaat* council for the establishment of a 10th province for Afrikaners. Wingard sees no contradiction between the demand for an Afrikaner province and the quest for a *volkstaat*: the province is a step towards the *volkstaat*.

Elaborating on the means of achieving a *volkstaat*, Mulder distinguishes between two paths to the same destination:

- Either a *volkstaat* can be declared in an area where Afrikaners are in the majority (and, with judicious drawing of boundaries, they may constitute a majority in Greater Pretoria); or
- A particular area can be designated as a *volkstaat* and Afrikaners encouraged to move there.

The ANC has meanwhile rejected the call for an Afrikaner province as an "apartheid-style" province.

Wingard is undeterred. He believes that the ANC can be persuaded to revise its stand. "It was not National Party policy to give black people the vote," he says. "Afrikaners will have to get a *volkstaat* through their own efforts." ■

MAIL & GUARDIAN
March 8 to 14 1996



Leon Wessels: Has announced that he will give up politics to follow a legal career

POLITICS: Senators and MPs opt for the private sector

MPs plan a mass exodus

(304A) M+G 8-14/3/96

Marion Edmunds

Many members of Parliament and senators have decided to give up politics after 1999. For some, politics is a life-long calling — for others, it is a stepping stone to greater things.

The ANC's chief whip in Parliament, the Rev Arnold Stofile, is encouraging MPs and senators to enroll in part-time university courses so they are better placed to seek jobs after 1999, should they not return to Parliament as the elected representatives of the people.

While the numbers of students in Parliament are not known, insiders say many parliamentarians have taken up this option.

Many MPs are doing management and self-improvement courses

"It's obvious 1999 will see a different group of MPs," Stofile said this week. "Some will come back, but others will not ... most of us arise from the struggle and have no profession ... these energies must be used to find skills."

It is clear some MPs do not need to be encouraged to look outside Parliament for better pickings in the private sector.

Insiders have hinted that African National Congress MP Saki Macozoma might resign this week and take up a corporate post.

He has resigned his position as chair of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Communications, in the meantime, as he considers his options.

And on the opposition benches, National Party MP Francois Jacobz announced his resignation from politics this week so that he could pursue his business interests.

He follows Tobie Meyer, who is going farming, and Leon Wessels, who wants a legal career.

ANC insiders say senators, in particular, have their eye on the job market, given the Senate is likely to be replaced by the Council of Provinces, and there will not be the same number of seats available after 1999.

While Stofile is encouraging his parliamentarians to look ahead, he is also concerned about improving their performance while still in Parliament.

A number of MPs are doing management and self-improvement courses, "a mixture of Dale Carnegie and voice projection", according to an insider.

Stofile has also employed two full-time clerks to simplify legislation and explain issues to MPs who, after two years in government, are still struggling to understand the parliamentary process.

Stofile says the party would like to employ, funds permitting, an adult educator, to teach the parliamentarians administrative and bookkeeping skills so that they could better run their constituency offices and their private lives.

And should the budget stretch further, Stofile said he would like to appoint one more person: a counsellor who could help the stressed out, disoriented MPs cope with the burden of their jobs.

"We need a person who can sit down and counsel them on their private problems. Many of our MPs came straight from prison and from exile and have hardly had the time to settle into normal living before being thrown into Parliament. I know of seven marriages which have broken up because of this," he said.

Ruling on disclosure code of ethics for MPs irks ANC

ARG 9/3/96 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER, Political Correspondent

THE parliamentary code of ethics will require MPs to disclose only the nature and not the extent of shareholdings.

But this ruling could change because the ANC is unhappy with it. The party favours full disclosure of MPs' financial interests, in a way similar to its own internal code of conduct.

The ANC told a joint meeting of the national assembly and senate rules committees that it was agreeing to a limited form of disclosure so that implementation of the code of ethics could go ahead as soon as possible.

ANC senator Bulelani Ngcuka said his party would have preferred the rules on disclosure of shareholdings to provide for details of market value to be recorded, rather than nominal value as in the regulations approved yesterday.

Parties have deadlocked for months about the issue.

The committees accepted that it would left to individual political parties to guide their members about whether they could have outside employment while serving as MPs.

"Any outside employment should be disclosed, although the actual remuneration need not be revealed."

A recent survey by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa showed that 76 percent of those polled believed that MPs should not be allowed to hold jobs outside their parliamentary duties.

"We are paid enough," said Kader Asmal, who chaired the sub-committee which produced the proposed code.

"If you want to earn more, you must reconcile that with parliament."

SACKING TO BE CHALLENGED IN COURT

NP to have Naidoo removed from senate

CT 11/3/96 (s304A)

DURBAN: Senator "Sathie" Naidoo will today become the first politician to be removed from Parliament for political reasons, when the NP takes action against him.

THE National Party will take steps this morning to end controversial Chatsworth Senator Arulsivanathan "Sathie" Naidoo's membership of the senate — and he has already told Parliament he will challenge his sacking in court.

NP KwaZulu-Natal chairman Renier Schoeman last night rejected "any sentiment" that the decision, which was unanimous, was racist, and said a sizeable number of the 30-member head council were black.

Mr Naidoo, the first member of the former House of Delegates to join the NP in 1990, will be the first politician to be removed for political reasons from Parliament. The head council's decision to sack him follows his suspension from the parliamentary caucus on November 10 last year.

NP provincial secretary Mr Chris van der Berg said the party "had no intention of providing reasons for the decision and was not obliged to do so".

Under section 51B of the interim constitution, a senator must vacate his seat if he ceases to be a member of the party that nominated him.

The NP said last night Van der Berg would inform senate president Mr Kobie Coetsee this morning that Naidoo must vacate his bench.

Naidoo said from Chatsworth last night he remained loyal to the NP and to Deputy President F W de Klerk.

An NP source said the senator was constantly absent from party meetings, had adopted "a cavalier attitude" when dealing with party funds, and was rarely seen in KwaZulu-Natal. "The complaints came from the bottom up."

It is understood the party will select another Indian representative to replace Naidoo, with former Durban Bay MP Anoop Beesham heading the list. — Own Correspondent

Tough decision for SA in UN lobbying

BD 11/3/96 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — SA faces a testing decision in an international lobbying campaign by five countries for three seats on the UN security council.

Foreign affairs deputy director-general Abdul Minty said at the weekend SA was one of many countries being lobbied by Sweden, India, Australia, Japan and Portugal for the vacancies. Normally, decisions were taken by countries in a particular region, but when no agreement could be reached then support for a particular candidate was sought worldwide.

In two regions, Asia and Europe, no agreement had been reached and countries involved were interested in obtaining support from all UN members before the vote took place in November.

Minty conceded that in both the case of the European group and the Asian group, SA faced difficult decisions because the candidates could all justifiably call on SA's support. No decision had yet been taken, and often no decision would have to be taken as some countries would withdraw from the race closer to the time of the vote.

"What we would normally do is look at their contribution to the UN, what previous terms they have served and how countries in their regions feel," Minty said.

Other considerations would be the state of mutual relations and trade flows between the countries involved.

In these decisions, deals were often cut between countries for mutual support, but because SA had until recently not been part of the UN, it was not bound by any reciprocal deal.

It was possible, however, for SA to call on the support of countries it had supported when the restructuring of the UN took place, although Minty said this was unlikely. Support for SA in a restructured security council could come from any of the countries it supported in the current races.

The restructuring of the security council was being discussed but nothing had yet been finalised, he said. However, the thinking was that the five permanent members on the council should be increased by one or two countries from each region.

It was considered likely that Germany and Japan would be included.

Two African countries, Nigeria and Egypt, had already announced their candidacy, he said.

SA's position was that it did consider itself an appropriate country to be a permanent security council member, but that regional organisations should make the final decision.

However, the debate on the restructuring of the UN was still "up in the air" and it was also not clear whether the new permanent members would enjoy veto rights as the current members did, Minty said.



Mandla Langa, right, convenor of the task group on government communications appointed by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki last year, fields questions at a news briefing in Johannesburg yesterday. Also in attendance were task group members Stephen Mncube, top, and Raymond Louw.
Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

Govt communication task group seeks input

Kevin O'Grady (304A) BD 12/3/96

A TASK group which was appointed last year by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki appealed yesterday for public assistance in its six-month, R3,7m investigation into the "efficacy or otherwise" of government communications.

Convenor Mandla Langa said the group needed submissions from the media, government departments, institutions of civil society and private individuals which it would use in formulating recommendations by the end of September.

The group had been directed to examine government communication at international, national, provincial and local levels, and had to recommend new policies, structures and facilities, information delivery mechanisms and staffing and budget models, Langa said.

It would review the relationship between government and non-government information providers, government communications training, capacity building and affirmative action policies and how ownership and control of the media affected government's communications.

However, the group already appears to have taken a softer position on the ownership issue than when delegates to a conference on government communications in Arniston last year took a hardline stance on the subject, some calling for government to place adverts only in publications that had acceptable affirmative action policies.

Group member and communications lawyer David Dison said attempts to overplay the importance of the ownership and control issue in the group's brief were a "red herring".

"Whether we like the concentration of media ownership in SA or not is not the question that is being addressed by us," he said. The group would deal only withthe issue inasmuch as it affected government communications.

"The report that we have to deliver relates to how government should best communicate given a set of factual situations, and one of those situations is the fact that the media is heavily concentrated in ownership," Dison said.

"The concentration of ownership in SA has something to do with the way in which government messages or government communication will ultimately be published." he said.

Govt bid to nullify model angers MEC

BD 12/3/96

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — An apparent bid by central government to override a Western Cape provincial proclamation on a model for rural government has angered the province's local government MEC Peter Marais.

He has accused the ANC of playing a "dirty game" to get its own way, and said yesterday that the provincial cabinet would have to decide what action to take. Marais said he was alerted by Deputy President FW de Klerk and provincial NP leader Dawie de Villiers last week that the Local Government Transition Act Amendment Bill had a clause which threatened to invalidate the proclamation.

The ANC in Western Cape has opposed the model for rural government on the grounds that it gave unfair representation to farmers and was unconstitutional. It agreed to allow the rural elections scheduled for May 29 to proceed on the basis of the model but planned to challenge its subsequent implementation in court.

Sources said Constitutional and Provincial Affairs Minister Chris Fismer introduced the relevant amendment. Fismer was in the Free State yesterday but indicated through departmental officials that he did not wish to comment on the issue.

Marais said the offending clause removed provincial discretion in the choice of rural model and would force Western Cape to adopt the model used in seven other provinces.

"What worries me is that the ANC allowed all the ANC-controlled provinces to choose their own model as long as this was not in contradiction to the Act. But they want to impose and dictate a model in this province," Marais said. "We have been pushed into a situation of non-cooperation with central government."

Marais believed Fismer wanted to enforce the adoption of the Free State model which guaranteed farmers 10% of the seats on transitional rural councils. If a model gave farmers 30% of the seats as nominations, as was the case in Western Cape, they would be subject to election on the voters roll. The Western Cape model gave farmworkers 30% of the seats, with 40% being elected on a proportional basis.

Marais objected to this. saying one minority group could not vote on the representatives of another minority group, and warned that farmers would object to a new model being foisted upon them. He warned that if the Bill was promulgated it would delay rural elections as a new model would have to be devised, approved by stakeholders and promulgated.

Volkstaat survey rejected as flawed

BD 12/3/96 (304)

PRETORIA — A recent survey showing most people in and around Pretoria favoured a separate Afrikaner state was a fallacy, the Pretoria City Council said yesterday. Council spokesman Peet du Preez said only people likely to support a volkstaat had been polled.

"If the survey had been done in any other city in SA, and the right target group was selected, the same result would be obtained," he said. "Unfortunately for Pretoria, the survey was conducted here."

In a survey commissioned by the Volkstaat Council, about 60% of whites questioned in and around Pretoria said they would support a volkstaat in an area such as Pretoria.

Releasing the results about two weeks ago, researcher Prof Lawrence Schlemmer stressed the poll had not been designed as a study to cover the whole population.

"Here lies the scientific fallacy," said Du Preez. "The survey is not representative of the city's population. All surveys ignoring the collective ideas of all cultures are flawed in principle."

Du Preez said a recent survey for the city council showed Pretoria was seen as a city which had adapted to the new political dispensation.

About 77% of people polled in Pretoria, the Witwatersrand, Cape Peninsula and Durban had expressed this view, and 50% favoured Pretoria as the capital city.

"In general Pretoria is viewed as being progressive, business-oriented and adapted to the new SA," Du Preez said. "Reports like the one published by the Volkstaat Council cause great damage to Pretoria and its people." — Sapa.

If the US has a duty to SA, the ANC-led govt has a duty too

SIMON BARBER in Washington

(304A) BD 12/3/96

it is about to become more so when President Bill Clinton signs into law the Cuba Liberty Act, passed last week by the House and Senate.

Fidel Castro has shown once again that he is a master at getting the Cuban exile community in Florida and New Jersey to tie Washington in knots. One can hardly doubt that this was his intention when he authorised his air force to shoot down the two Cessnas operated by Miami-based Brothers to the Rescue last month.

It is no less implausible that Brothers to the Rescue was itself looking for trouble. The more militant exiles and Castro think in a like manner. Both need America; one side to stay in power, the other to help it win power.

The latest outrage served both their needs equally. The Clinton administration, under pressure from non-Cuban US companies anxious to invest in Cuba, was drifting dangerously close to offering detente and ratcheting back the embargo. The Cuban antagonists knew this had to be stopped.

And now it has been. Huge majorities in Congress voted, much as they did in the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, to take the initiative for Cuba policy out of the administration's hands and into their own. Clinton, badly needing the electoral college votes of Florida and New Jersey (which is often overlooked as an exile stronghold) next November could only acquiesce.

Castro and the hardline exiles are both rejoicing over section 3 of the Act, which contains its main teeth and purports to tighten the embargo. It was drafted in large part by Nick Gutierrez, an attorney for the National Association of Sugar Mill Owners of Cuba and the Cuban Association for the Tobacco Industry, which represent interests dispossessed by the revolution.

Section 3 does this by giving leave to Cuban-Americans expropriated of assets worth more than $50 000 at the time of Castro's takeover in 1960 to sue, in federal court, foreign companies doing business on land these exiles once owned. The theory is that this will persuade the companies to respect an embargo that only the US imposes, and thus further starve Castro of the outside investment he now needs more desperately than ever.

Yet Louis Desloge, a Cuban-American management consultant and co-founder of the US-Cuba Foundation, a conservative non-profit organisation that has recognised the nuttiness of US policy, argues the real purpose is slightly different. Namely, that it is to enable the richest of the exiles — $50 000 was a lot in 1960 — to shake down foreign investors for a piece of the action on Cuba.

Let's say an SA company wants to mine the island's nickel reserves on land once owned by a family now living in Miami. That family is empowered by section 3 to tell the SA company: cut us in on 10%, and we will agree not to make life miserable for you in a US court. Gutierrez has already admitted to the Miami Herald that this is what he had in mind when he helped write the law.

His clients, he said, had their eye on British-American Tobacco which they believe is operating a joint venture with a Brazilian company on land confiscated from them.

On the face of it, it is a no-lose proposition for the fatter exile cats. They either get to re-establish a potentially valuable foothold in Cuba — at no cost and in defiance of the embargo they have worked so hard to maintain — or they drive off investors altogether, which in their view can only hasten Castro's collapse. The only risk is that some hardy soul will fight section 3 all the way to the Supreme Court, where it would probably be struck down, or that Clinton would exercise the waiver power granted by the Act to delay the section's effective date. But he is not likely to do that until after November, and that is assuming he wins the election.

In the meantime, Castro is also in clover. Section 3 has most of the US's allies crying foul about the violation of their sovereignty, which must be a heartwarming sight to El Jefe: he blows a few pests out of the air in complete disregard for international law, not to mention basic humanity, and lo, Congress reacts in way that shifts international opprobrium onto the US.

Domestically, he has got a powerful propaganda tool. As DesLoge puts it: "What could be more useful to Castro in his efforts to shore up his standing with the Cuban people. The spectacle of Congress kowtowing to Batista-era plantation owners and distillers provides Fidel with his most effective propaganda weapon since the debacle of the Bay of Pigs.



CASTRO

"Castro surely knows that the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people — 60% of whom were born after 1959 — would deeply resent what can be characterised, not unfairly, as an attempt to confiscate their properties and reversion of control over Cuba's economy to people who symbolise the corrupt rule of the 1950s."

This is a mess of which, if it were wise, the SA government would stay clear. It is one thing to criticise the bizarre way the US reacts to Castro; a lot of sensible people, conservative Republicans among them, think the embargo is wrongheaded and this latest bit of theatre utterly absurd. But virtually everyone these days agrees that Castro is an unspeakable thug, the departure of whose regime, in as bloodless a manner as possible, is devoutly to be desired.

America's domestic political calculus or, to put it more bluntly, the rabidness of some in the exile community, makes it difficult for Washington to pursue this goal in as judicious or sensible a manner as the cooler heads of both political parties might wish.

But the anger of the exiles deserves some understanding. They are by no means all fat cats plotting to get their old property back. The majority are people driven from their homes by a totalitarian system that denied them the right to think for themselves or express their individuality in any meaningful way much less offer them a vote worthy of the name; a system that has sent, and is still sending, thousands to prison for daring to criticise the existing order.

But for the displacement and the suffering of these people — some of whom have spent as long in Castro's gulag as President Nelson Mandela spent on Robben Island — the ANC and its alliance partners, who themselves have every reason to empathise, express not one iota of consideration.

And no, Cuba is not some oasis free of racial discrimination.

Half of Cuba's population is black. Did Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale or his Northwest counterpart Popo Molefe, both of whom have instituted "sister" relationships with Cuban provinces, ever stop to ask their hosts why only two members of the 26-member politburo are black, or why there have been so many instances in which Cuban police officers have harassed black visitors and diplomats, mistaking them for locals.

This is not an ideological point. It is an empirical one based upon the reporting of groups like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, all of whom reported with equal vigour the obscenities of the National Party regime. For the ANC-dominated government to refuse to codemn, or even criticise, the Castro regime, even when it blows unarmed civilian aircraft out of the sky, is intensely hypocritical.

Ambassador Franklin Sonn likes to say that the US has a "moral" duty to mount a "Marshall plan" for SA. If so, the SA government has a like duty to abhor publicly the behaviour of the Castro regime — not because that is what America wants to hear, but because the regime, in terms of the very standards the ANC says it hold most dear, is morally reprehensible.

By all means criticise American policy. That will earn you no enmity in this country.

But refuse to criticise the palpable unpleasantness of Castro's rule, and that will cause even sensible people to wonder about your own inclinations.

If the US has a duty to SA, the ANC-led govt has a duty too

SIMON BARBER in Washington

(304A) BD 12/3/96

US POLICY towards Cuba has long been fatuous, and it is about to become more so when President Bill Clinton signs into law the Cuba Liberty Act, passed last week by the House and Senate.

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America's domestic political calculus or, to put it more bluntly, the rabidness of some in the exile community, makes it difficult for Washington to pursue this goal in as judicious or sensible a manner as the cooler heads of both political parties might wish.

But the anger of the exiles deserves some understanding. They are by no means all fat cats plotting to get their old property back. The majority are people driven from their homes by a totalitarian system that denied them the right to think for themselves or express their individuality in any meaningful way, much less offer them a vote worthy of the name; a system that has sent, and is still sending, thousands to prison for daring to criticise the existing order.

But for the displacement and the suffering of these people — some of whom have spent as long in Castro's gulag as President Nelson Mandela spent on Robben Island — the ANC and its alliance partners, who themselves have every reason to empathise, express not one iota of consideration.

And no, Cuba is not some oasis free of racial discrimination.

Half of Cuba's population is black. Did Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale or his Northwest counterpart Popo Molefe, both of whom have instituted "sister" relationships with Cuban provinces, ever stop to ask their hosts why only two members of the 26-member politburo are black, or why there have been so many instances in which Cuban police officers have harassed black visitors and diplomats, mistaking them for locals.

This is not an ideological point. It is an empirical one based upon the reporting of groups like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, all of whom reported with equal vigour the obscenities of the National Party regime. For the ANC-dominated government to refuse to codemn, or even criticise, the Castro regime, even when it blows unarmed civilian aircraft out of the sky, is intensely hypocritical.

Ambassador Franklin Sonn likes to say that the US has a "moral" duty to mount a "Marshall plan" for SA. If so, the SA government has a like duty to abhor publicly the behaviour of the Castro regime — not because that is what America wants to hear, but because the regime, in terms of the very standards the ANC says it hold most dear, is morally reprehensible.

By all means criticise American policy. That will earn you no enmity in this country.

But refuse to criticise the palpable unpleasantness of Castro's rule, and that will cause even sensible people to wonder about your own inclinations.

Volkstaat survey finding dismissed

(3044) Star 12/3/96

A recent survey finding that most people in and around Pretoria favoured a separate Afrikaner state was dismissed by the Pretoria City Council yesterday.

Council spokesman Peet du Preez said that only people likely to support a volkstaat had been polled.

"If the survey had been done in any other city in South Africa, and the right target group was selected, the same result would be obtained," he said. "Unfortunately for Pretoria, the survey was conducted here."

In a survey commissioned by the Volkstaat Council, about 60% of whites questioned in and around Pretoria said they would support a volkstaat in an area such as Pretoria.

Researcher Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, when he released the results, stressed that the poll had not been designed as a study to cover the whole population.

"Here lies the scientific fallacy," said Du Preez. "The survey is not representative of the city's population. All surveys ignoring the collective ideas of all cultures are flawed in principle."

He added that a recent survey conducted for the city council found that Pretoria was seen as a city which had adapted to the new political dispensation.

About 77% of people polled in Pretoria, the Witwatersrand, Cape Peninsula and Durban had expressed this view, and 50% favoured Pretoria as the capital city.

"In general, Pretoria is viewed as being progressive, business-oriented and adapted to the new South Africa," Du Preez said.

"Reports like the one published by the Volkstaat Council cause great damage to Pretoria and its people." – Sapa.

CT 13/3/96

Mandela tries to save Bok

(304A)

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday intervened to save the Springbok as a symbol of South African sport when he called an emergency meeting with top National Sports Council officials.

Mandela, who supports the retention of the emblem, was reacting to a recommendation by an NSC commission of inquiry last week that the 101-year-old Bok emblem should go because it was "deeply offensive" to many South Africans.

Mandela's spokesman, Mr Parks Mankahlana, said Mandela had met NSC president Mr Mluleki George, Sport Minister Mr Steve Tshwete and director-general Mr Mthobi Tyamzashe at Tuynhuys yesterday "to put forward his case".

A further meeting between Mandela and the full executive of the NSC was also scheduled within the next few days. A final decision on the fate of the Springbok will be taken at a council meeting of the NSC on March 30.

Several other prominent figures have also thrown their weight behind the fight to retain the Bok, most notably Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The South African Rugby Football Union yesterday declined to comment, saying it was prepared to wait for the final outcome.

Opposition to the retention of the Springbok came from the PAC, which said up to President Mandela's intervention it was commonly agreed that the Protea was to be the new emblem. It was "unfortunate that Mandela and a few others were using their influence to reverse the recommendation by the NSC". — Sapa





Moses Mayekiso (left) and Baleka Kgotsisile have resigned from Parliament.

(304A)

ANC MPs quit

Shock as Mayekiso, Kgotsisile and 2 others resign

By Rafiq Rohan and Themba Sepotokele

THE African National Congress Government has a whole new crisis on its hands. Members of Parliament, many disenchanted by the media perception that they are enjoying themselves on the "gravy train", plan quitting Parliament because of the damaging effect this impression has had on their personal lives.

A number of these MPs, some of them very senior, could be leaving Parliament after the Constitution is formalised in May, while many have decided not to return in 1999.

Mr Saki Macozoma and former civics leader Mr Moses Mayekiso have already announced their resignation. Macozoma is believed to be heading for the private sector, while Mayekiso has been recalled by the civic movement.

Among those who are also on their way out are Ms Baleka Kgotsisile and Ms Mavivi Manzini.

ANC Chief Whip in the Senate Mr Bulelane Ngcuka confirmed Macozoma's resignation and said two more had also indicated they would resign.

While Kgotsisile told *Sowetan* yesterday that she would like to quit soon, Manzini said she would not be back in 1999.

"If I had my way I'd leave immediately but it's not my personal decision," Kgotsisile said.

She said her main focus has been the Constitution but she was also involved in the transformation of Parliament which is still incomplete.

"I prefer working for the ANC in Shell House," she said.

> **"I will not be surprised if this unnatural lifestyle results in seeing more marriages of MPs ending up in the divorce courts"**

The "gravy train" perception, an MP argues, has also been created from a racist perspective.

"There are people out there, particularly from the white mainstream Press, who went overboard when the new Government came into power and invented the gravy train notion.

"This was done purely because they could not come to terms with the reality that, for the first time, tax money was being paid to blacks to run the country. There was no major outcry when whites ran the country," one MP, who plans to resign, told the *Sowetan* yesterday.

"To say that the criticism does hurt us is putting it mildly," the MP said.

Another huge factor disillusioning the MPs, the source said, is that they could not make ends meet on the salaries they receive, the work they put in and having to run two households – one in Cape Town and others in the towns and cities where they come from.

"This divided existence is seriously impacting on our family life. Our children have to deal with being uprooted from their schools and placed in new environments. The children and spouses have to put up with long periods of our absence.

"I will not be surprised if this unnatural lifestyle results in more marriages of MPs ending in the divorce courts."

It is clear that a mass exodus is starting, the MP said, and this could be damaging for the Government if top-class thinkers leave.

Mayekiso dispelled rumours that there were organisational problems.

"I was recalled by Sanco because the organisation is embarking on a new phase and needed a new approach," he said.

Foreign affairs looks at priorities for embassies

Stephen Laufer BD 14/3/96 (304A)

FOREIGN affairs was already looking at its priorities in terms of opening new missions and rightsizing existing embassies and consulates, Minister Alfred Nzo said in response to a Budget increase below the inflation rate.

Foreign Affairs received a 0,7% hike to R1,146bn.

Besides the inflation gap, the department has also been hit by the fall in the value of the rand since mid-February which has made the upkeep of dollar-based missions at least 8% more expensive.

Overseas allowances to diplomats and rents for offices and residences have been affected by the rand's recent decline. Unlike older embassies and consulates, where chancery buildings and official ambassadorial residences are often government property, newer missions — opened since SA's readmittance to the world community — were reliant on rental accommodation, paid for in foreign currency.

While currency fluctuations made balancing the books difficult, foreign affairs faced the challenge of having to open further new missions. spokesman Pieter Swanepoel said.

Senior government representatives, including President Nelson Mandela and Nzo, had promised several countries that SA would establish a diplomatic presence in the near future. Among countries expecting to accredit ambassadors in the new financial year are New Zealand and Algeria.

The need to expand diplomatic representation would have to be balanced by "rightsizing" in other countries, possibly including staff cuts and the closure of entire consulates or even embassies in capitals which could be conveniently served from neighbouring countries, Swanepoel said.

How Parliamentary committees work

CT 15/3/96 (304A)

WHEN Health Minister Dr Zuma appeared recently before the National Assembly Portfolio Committee to justify her department's expenditure on he *Sarafina 2* Aids play, it put the health committee – and the whole system of parliamentary committees — under the spotlight.

What is the origin and purpose of the committees?

And what are their powers and functions?

Origin and rationale

PARLIAMENTARY committees were originally established around the world to improve the parliamentary performance on the basis that it is much easier to have a detailed discussion amongst a small group of MPs in a committee than in a full sitting of parliament.

The South African system

THERE were committees in the old South African Parliament, but their role was very limited. In reality they were little more than secret rubber-stamps for the laws put forward by the old Government.

The parliamentary committee system was revitalised after the election in 1994 and the doors flung open to the Press and public.

Before there were just 13 committees; now there are 26 basic "portfolio committees" and a host of other types. There is a portfolio committee for each state department, consisting of about 30 MPs, drawn in proportion from each party represented in Parliament.

Power and functions

THE DUTY of each of these portfolio committees is to act as a Parliamentary watchdog on all aspects of the portfolio — defence, housing, health, etc — entrusted to it, including the legislative programme.

This is potentially the most effective way in which Parliament can ensure that government discretion is exercised honestly and fairly.

Rule 52 of the National Assembly rules provides for committees to:

"Monitor, investigate, inquire into and make recommendations relating to any aspect of the legislative programme, budget, rationalisation, restructuring, functioning, organisation, structure, personnel, policy formulation or any other matter it may consider relevant, of the government department ..." assigned to it.

To achieve these goals, a committee may summon any person to appear before it, or produce any document which it requests; receive representations from interested persons; hold oral hearings; and meet at any venue when Parliament is not in session.

Comment

ON PAPER, therefore, the committees have extensive powers.

But it is still too early to say how they will use these powers as the system develops further.

The approach currently arises from committee to committee and much depends on the particular committee chairperson.

As *Sarafina 2* and other less publicised cases have shown, their precise role has still to be clearly defined.

❑ Compiled by the parliamentary information and monitoring service at Idasa's public information centre.

PARLIAMENTARY PROFILE



FACT FILE : KEN ANDREW

Birthplace: Cape Town
Party: DP
Length of Membership: 34 years
Parliamentary duties:
Chairperson of joint standing committee on public accounts.
Member of the finance, trade and industry RDP committees.
Member of theme committees 3 and 6.2.
Alternate member of the constitutional committee.
DP spokesperson on finance and economic affairs.
Most liked aspect of parliamentary life: Policy development
Most disliked aspect of parliamentary life:
Frustration caused by political disorganisation of parliament.
Most important reforms to be carried out in Parliament:
Better secretarial and research assistance for MPs, committee chairs and committees (including equipment).
Changes in rules to make parliamentary processes more relevant and topical.
Substantially changed political functioning and management of parliament.
Most important accomplishment since becoming an MP:
Removal of pass laws.
Opening of white schools.
Assisting hundreds of individuals.
Greatest fear for the new South Africa: Lawlessness accompanied by economic stagnation.
Marital status: Married
Number of children: Two
First Language: English
Other Languages: Afrikaans
Region most closely associated with: Western Cape
Highest Educational Qualification: Masters degree in business administration
Favourite Newspaper: Cape Times
Relaxation Activities: Road running, hiking, cinema, watching sport, theatre, meals with friends, travel, cycling, tennis, bridge.

NEXT WEEK IN PARLIAMENT

WITH the holiday on Thursday this is a short parliamentary week. The most interesting meetings next week look like being defence committee meetings. The export of arms will be the subject discussed on Monday at 2pm in the Good Hope Chamber, when the Joint Standing Committee on Defence receives the first report of the sub-committee set up by Parliament following the Cameron Commission. The Cameron Commission heard extensive evidence on all aspects of Armscor and the arms trade. The sub-committee has been chaired by Minister Kadar Asmal.

On Tuesday at 8.30am (Room M46 Marks Building), the Joint Standing Committee on Defence will again meet, this time to be briefed by the minister himself. The head of the National Defence Force, General Meiring, will also be present as will the Secretary for Defence, Mr Pier Steyn. An annual report will be presented by the minister with the main point of discussion being the success of the transformation process in the Defence Force.

The Select Committee on Agriculture and Land will meet to discuss the Marketing of Agricultural Products Bill as well as the Communal Properties Associations Bill [illegible] Senate Wing).

Another interesting meeting should be the Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services which meets on Tuesday at 10am (Room 454, Old Assembly Wing). They will be dealing with the very important issue of health care in prisons.

A working group consisting of people from the department and people from other interests groups, e.g. Lawyers for Human Rights and the Aids Law Project, was established to draft a report on health care. The report was circulated and submissions on the report were received from the Primary Health Care Unit of UCT and from the Aids Law Project. The portfolio committee now has the task of assessing the report and the various submissions in order to finalise its own response.

With the Constitutional deadline fast approaching, the sub-committee of the constitutional committee will be meeting on Monday and Friday.

Parliament and the Constitutional Assembly are hectic, with committee meetings taking place daily and often on very short notice.

❑ For a regular update on what committee meetings are happening, and for further information on any of the above committees, please phone the Public Relations Department of Parliament on: (021) 403-2198.

Winnie backs beleaguered Chief Holomisa

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

(3049) CT 15/3/96

MRS Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has come out in support of senior ANC caucus member Chief Phatekile Holomisa, who faces "serious" ANC disciplinary charges today.

In a letter to Holomisa, she praised his efforts to open dialogue between the ANC and IFP and said the ANC Women's League, of which she is president, could not understand why this should lead to disciplinary charges.

She also criticised the ANC secretariat for allegedly disregarding instructions by its caucus to hold discussions with the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa).

Chief Holomisa is president of Contralesa and Madikizela-Mandela is its treasurer.

The ANC's senate chief whip, Bulelani Ngcuka, said today's disciplinary hearing wasn't discussed at yesterday's caucus meeting.

But he said any charges before the disciplinary committee were considered serious, although he hadn't seen the indictment.

The hearing follows a charge laid by ANC KwaZulu-Natal leaders before the ANC disciplinary committee.

The charge followed a march on Union Buildings shortly before local government elections in November last year. Holomisa participated in the march with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and IFP-supporting chiefs in a protest about the position of traditional leaders.

ANC stung by opinion polls

(3044) ARG 15/3/96

CLIVE SAWYER Political Correspondent

STUNG by opinion polls which have exposed dissatisfaction with the government and politicians, the African National Congress is reviewing its response to surveys.

The ANC caucus was briefed yesterday by MP Saki Macozoma on the role of surveys in society.

Mr Macozoma outlined to colleagues the role of opinion surveys in politics and business.

He was asked to submit a written report to the next caucus meeting in two weeks' time on how ANC members should respond when asked to take part in surveys.

Caucus spokesman Bulelani Ngcuka said the discussion had been prompted in part by polls by Idasa and Stellenbosch University academics.

Among recent conclusions of such surveys were that people believed the new government to be more corrupt than its predecessor, and many believed MPs should not be paid more.

Mr Ngcuka said information requested in surveys "had been used against us".

ANC members had asked for guidance on whether to respond to requests to take part in polls.

It was accepted that surveys were a part of life. "We cannot as MPs not participate," he said.

The question was how the information obtained was being used.

The possibility of a Ministry for Youth has not been ruled out. This emerged during a briefing to the caucus on draft legislation to protect the interests of youth.

President Nelson Mandela told the caucus that advocate Louis Skweyiya was to be nominated as the first inspector-general of intelligence.

The post will involve monitoring of the activities of all four civilian, military and police intelligence agencies.

The inspector-general will investigate and prevent abuses.

The nomination of Mr Skweyiya, brother of Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya, will be put to a joint sitting of parliament where the appointment will have to be approved by a 75 percent majority.

setting up a panel to judge Gcaleka's claims — suggest-

M+G 15-21/3/96

Controversy hits archives Bill

(304A) (2413)

Gaye Davis

CHANGES to the National Archives Bill that bring under political control decisions on what records should be kept and what should be destroyed have caused an outcry among archivists and historians who helped draft the new law. But a clash with Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Dr Ben Ngubane may yet be averted.

In the face of an avalanche of criticism, he indicated this week he was "not wedded" to the amendment, which was made before the Bill — drawn up by a national consultative forum — came before a parliamentary portfolio committee.

The initial draft put the power to make decisions on what should be kept and what destroyed firmly in the hands of professionals, to prevent a repetition of past abuses, when records were destroyed for political ends.

Members of the consultative forum, including the South African Society of Archivists (Sasa), bombarded the portfolio committee with objections and complained that the minister had not consulted the forum before making the changes.

"The argument for a new Bill was that professionals, rather than politicians, should be in charge of deciding what should be kept and what should be destroyed," said Sasa chair Barbara Conradie. "Now it's been changed back."

Ngubane said he made the amendments to provide the Bill with "an integrated mechanism for accountability" with regard to the destruction of records.

He said the Bill did not provide for political control of records disposal, but recognised the need for political responsibility by establishing the principle of concurrency — joint responsibility for decisions by the minister, the national archivist and the National Archives Commission. Ngubane noted the "serious concerns" that had been raised. Ministerial accountability to Parliament and to Cabinet was necessary, but possibly there were other ways of achieving this, he said.

Week's Budget Wound

SA being led towards a very pale shadow of German federalism

(304A)

ALAN FINE BD 15/3/96

THE debate on provincial powers — the most vigorously contested area in the constitutional negotiations — has moved a long way during the past 12 months.

A year ago, a special ANC constitutional conference devised a model which purported to enhance provincial powers by empowering a a senate or council of provinces to veto any legislation affecting provinces, though provinces would have no real executive powers.

A more sceptical view saw the proposal as a sleight of hand which turned provincial governments into mere administrators of national laws. The council of provinces, carrying a large ANC majority, would be no protection at all for the couple of non-ANC provinces.

The latest draft proposals, published in the Constitutional Assembly last week, are the product of numerous bilateral ANC-NP meetings following a multiparty trip to Germany in January to study that country's constitution.

The proposals reflect, at first sight, a significant shift away from original ANC positions towards a more meaningful federal structure. But all is not as clear as it may seem.

Given that the German constitution, or Basic Law, has been used as a model, it is useful to measure the proposals against it.

The Basic Law spells out a range of powers exclusive to the centre — such as defence, foreign affairs, currency and citizenship.

Furthermore, like the draft, it lists areas where both central government and Länder (provinces) may exercise power concurrently. These include civil and criminal law, public welfare, mining, industry, banking, labour, hospital fees and the environment.

In these areas, central government laws override those of Länder under three specific circumstances:

- Where a matter cannot be effectively regulated by a single Länd;
- Where regulation of a matter by a Länd might prejudice the interests of other Länder; or
- Where it is necessary to maintain legal or economic uniformity throughout the country.

This is not dissimilar to our interim constitution. These provisions ensure there is no overlap between central government and Länder powers. Where conflict arises over grey areas (which happens surprisingly seldom, students of the system say) it is the job of the constitutional court in Karlsrühe to adjudicate.

The three clauses seek a balance between, on the one hand, creating a single nation and ensuring a rational approach to economic, legal and social development in the country while, on the other, ensuring that the culturally distinct Länder enjoy autonomy in areas where the national imperatives would not be adversely affected.

The Länder enjoy exclusive powers over the (unspecified) remaining areas of government. In practice, these include construction, culture and school education.

As in the Basic Law, our Constitutional Assembly's draft proposal contains a schedule setting out "concurrent functional areas". There has been no real negotiation over the list. But it seems to have been lifted from the interim constitution, with a few functions due to be added.

It seems that the list will be extensive, covering almost every functional area other than those exclusive to central government.

These include school education and cultural affairs (excluded in the Basic Law). The schedule appears to leave no significant areas over which provinces would enjoy exclusive powers. The only exclusive provincial power explicitly referred to in the draft is the power to draft and amend provincial constitutions — hardly an "operational" function.

Given that the constitutional principles in the interim constitution require that provinces must enjoy both concurrent and exclusive powers, it is a moot point whether this will pass muster in the Constitutional Court.

Beyond this, the real "meat" lies in section 3 of the draft, dealing with conflict between national and provincial legislation — which could occur in any of the designated concurrent functional areas. The section is the local equivalent of the Basic Law's three points discussed earlier. But it is very different.

The section provides that national legislation should prevail over provincial legislation if the former is necessary "for the achievement of a national objective". The NP wants the provision to refer to an "essential national objective".

The DP, whose proposal is true to the Basic Law, wants legislation to be "necessary" for the achievement of "essential national objectives". The courts would determine what is necessary.

The section goes on to define when a national law "must be regarded as necessary for the achievement of a national objective". Firstly it incorporates, in slightly amended wording, the first two Basic Laws provisions. So far, so good.

The national override would also apply to any law which "establishes norms and standards, structural regulatory or other frameworks, or national policy aimed at achieving uniformity across the nation with regard to a matter which, in the interest of the country as a whole, requires uniformity". Although there is elaboration, this appears to be in line with the third provision of the Basic Law, except for the "necessary" concept advanced by the DP. Crucially, though, it enables the Constitutional Court to adjudicate if the national interest "requires" uniformity in any of these cases.

From here, things really start to go off the rails.

The fourth set of circumstances in terms of which national laws cannot be overridden by provincial legislation is where these laws deal with: "the maintenance of national security; the maintenance of economic unity; the protection of the common market in respect of the mobility of goods, services, capital and labour; the promotion of economic activity across provincial boundaries; the promotion of equality and equal opportunities; or the protection of the environment".

In general, the first four properly belong to the centre — they are, arguably, an elaboration of the third Basic Law provision. But the German and DP "necessity" concept is again missing. For the last two conditions, related to equality and the environment, a court role seems even more vital.

Unfortunately, while the draft contains a reference to the national interest, the NP has, inexplicably, proposed removing it altogether. If this were to occur, the court's only right would be to determine whether a law actually dealt with "equality and equal opportunities". If the answer were yes, the law automatically overrides any provincial law. This would significantly denude provincial legislatures of powers that they enjoy under the interim constitution.

Finally, and this is the real sting in the tail, the draft provides for national laws which do not fall into categories specified as relating to national objectives.

Central government may, if it chooses in these cases, claim nevertheless that the particular legislation aims at achieving national objectives — what law does not? In these cases, the Council of Provinces would decide on central government's claim.

Here we have the return of the spectre of an ANC-dominated Council of Provinces deciding on the balance of power between the centre and the provinces. Not surprisingly, the NP wants the council decision to be unanimous. This would give, say, the Western Cape or KwaZulu-Natal representatives on the council a veto over such laws. There is no sign the ANC would agree to this.

For a majority party which inclines towards the centralisation of power, the beauty of section 3 as a whole is that national legislation can be defined either as aimed at achieving one of the specified national objectives (in which case it overrides conflicting provincial law), or not. If not, the Council of Provinces can rule that there is some unspecified national objective at stake. And then the national law still prevails. This single clause could effectively prevent any independent legislative action by any provincial legislature.

The constitutional principles state that provincial powers may not be reduced. The Constitutional Court would have to do a lot of intellectual gymnastics if it were to accept this clause.

This entire section developed at closed sessions between the ANC and NP. The overriding impression is of an NP, only halfheartedly committed to the entrenchment of provincial power anyway, being led by the nose and bamboozled by the obviously superior and sharper ANC negotiators.

In the continuing absence of a strategically sophisticated IFP, all that stands between this very, very pale shadow of German federalism and its adoption in the assembly is the DP's Colin Eglin. And that is asking a lot of one person.

Embassies without envoys cause concern

BD 18/3/96 (3049)

John Diudiu

MORE than 10 SA embassies abroad are without ambassadors, fuelling concerns that SA's foreign representation is not up to scratch.

A foreign affairs spokesman said at the weekend that some positions had been vacant for nearly a year, while some had just been created.

Embassies in Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Ireland, Kenya, Luxembourg, Morocco, New Zealand, Portugal and the EU were without senior diplomats.

New missions included Ireland and Argentina, while New Zealand was previously served from Australia.

The Luxembourg mission was previously served by the Belgian mission.

The Danish mission will become vacant when its head, Conrad Sidego, leaves at the end of the month to take up a post at Nasionale Pers.

Sources have attributed delays in filling the posts to government's desire to appoint suitably qualified black diplomats.

Of the vacant positions, the EU mission is by far the most important. Apart from being SA's largest trading partner and investor, the EU is one of the main donors to this country. The EU mission, vacant since Neil van Heerden's departure more than a month ago, has been the subject of intense speculation recently.

Trade and diplomatic observers say the slow progress towards an EU decision on a free trade accord with SA could be the result of government's delay in appointing a successor to Van Heerden, which could be interpreted as a "lack of interest".

Regarding Australia, sources said that although the level of trade with SA was still low, there was immense potential for growth.

A spokesman for the department said the the process of appointing people to the vacant posts was under way.

Office bearers who abuse public funds must pay the price

(304A)

STEVEN FRIEDMAN BD 18/3/96

GOVERNMENTS which act when public money is misused are far more likely to be taken seriously by voters than those who try to wish — or talk — the problem away.

That may be the lesson of some recent events and of a public opinion survey which has irked the majority party, and it may need to be digested by ANC opponents as well as by that party.

The survey, by Idasa, found that most voters believed the current government was as corrupt as its predecessor. The ANC has responded indignantly — mindful, no doubt, of what most voters thought of that predecessor. But why should voters feel this way? Sure, some corruption allegations have surfaced in the past two years, but hardly enough to suggest that this government rivals the unenviable standards set by the previous one.

The answer may lie less in the number and scale of the allegations than in what the majority party has, or rather has not, done about them.

When allegations were made about Alan Boesak, the ANC leadership at first seemed more concerned to save his reputation than to discipline him.

When claims were made about then deputy minister Winnie Mandela, she was fired not because of these accusations but because she was disloyal to the government. When R14m was spent on a theatrical production, the majority party caucus rallied around the minister whose department was responsible.

While little action has been taken against any of the accused, those involved in at least two of these incidents have been quick to make some accusations of their own: the allegations were painted either as a conspiracy against those who had fought apartheid or as racism.

The ANC's response to all this, judging by some of the statements issued by its department of information, is to cite the resignation of former welfare minister Abe Williams as evidence of a commitment to clean government. Recently, it also announced a planned investigation into corruption under the old regime as similar evidence.

The problem, of course, is that Williams was an NP minister, so his fate says nothing about the majority party's willingness to act against its own members. The fact remains that the only ANC office bearer to lose a post was disciplined for a lack of loyalty, not for allegedly abusing public trust — and that the majority party has not yet disciplined any national office bearer for malfeasance.

The investigation into the past seems suspiciously like an attempt to show that, because the apartheid government was venal, we have no need to worry about what this one does. All of this is familiar. The NP also loathed acting against ministers accused of impropriety. Indeed, far from relieving them from ambassadorial posts, it used to hand these posts out to those forced to leave the Cabinet under a cloud.

The Idasa survey — and, despite the abuse heaped upon it, nobody has yet seriously challenged its findings — suggests that while this approach may make politicians feel better, it disturbs voters. And with good reason.

No one should seriously expect every incumbent in a political system to be honest: corruption is, alas, an ever-present temptation to people entrusted with others' money, and government does entrust officials and elected representatives with citizens' money.

This is as true of established democracies as of new ones, of industrial as well as developing countries: to name obvious examples, Italy, the US and Britain have had more than their share of corruption allegations this decade.

Any government which claims, therefore, that it has managed to find a set of public officials and elected politicians who are all so squeaky clean that they never break the rules is likely to be treated by voters with deep suspicion.

So the real test is what governments do about misuse of public funds when it happens — not the extent to which they insist on being judged by their ability to prevent it from happening at all.

Acting against the culprits — or even against those who allowed others under their control to be culprits — is far more likely to win public confidence than blaming the claims on racists or by insisting that other governments were worse.

The survey perhaps shows that it does not matter how many NP ministers resign or how many new cases of old-order corruption are unearthed (as if any more were needed). Voters will probably remain sceptical until the majority party shows itself willing to act against those within its own ranks who do not look after public funds.

We might also ask whether appeals to township residents to pay for what services they receive from government will be heeded when people are not sure what will become of their money.

The majority party's failure to act is, in some ways, predictable.

We are emerging from a history — and we may take decades to emerge from it — in which the country was clearly divided between "them" and "us". When claims are made against public figures, there is an immediate tendency for "us" to band together against "them".

ANC defensiveness also owes much to a widespread perception among its MPs that most whites assume that blacks cannot run a country and that they have been waiting with an air of inevitability for black ministers to mess up or run off with the loot. There is more truth to this perception than many whites would care to admit: the inevitable consequence is a tendency to assume that any action against a minister will simply confirm the prejudice.

This does not excuse the failure to act, but those who are now muttering "I told you so" ought to be aware of it.

It is worth noting, therefore, that, while the ANC at national level has not been prepared to act against its own ministers, the same is not true in some provinces.

When Free State premier Patrick Lekota discovered that his housing MEC was accused of impropriety, he immediately suspended him — and then fired him after an investigation found that the allegations against the MEC had substance.

This should have been heralded as a major breakthrough for clean government — which, in principle, it was. In reality, however, the event passed almost unnoticed. About the only attention it received was from some minority parties in Parliament, who cited it as evidence of ANC malfeasance.

In a slightly different category, an ANC MEC in the Eastern Cape was fired after it was discovered that he was distributing arms to combatants in a local conflict.

Again, the event made little impact, at least outside the province.

All this suggests that the fight against corruption or incompetence or impropriety requires a change of mindset both from the national ANC and from its opponents.

From the former, it requires an acceptance that a willingness to act against inevitable abuses is a far likelier route to credible government than denying their existence.

From the latter, it requires a willingness to treat our new political order on its merits. A tendency to assume that the new incumbents will botch the task of government unless compelling contrary evidence is produced is likely to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

This does not require a willingness to ignore corruption, but an understanding of the need to encourage attempts to fight it as well as denouncing the failure to do so.

From both, it requires an acknowledgement that incompetence and some ministerial failures are inevitable, and that governments should be judged, at least initially, by whether they act against them, and not by whether they make them magically disappear.

□ **Friedman is director of the Centre for Policy Studies.**

ANC Youth League demands the end of Springbok emblem

ARG 19/3/96 (304A)

Sapa and The Argus Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. – The African National Congress Youth League in the Eastern Cape has come out in support of a recommendation to do away with the Springbok symbol.

It said in a statement yesterday that its executive meeting had decided all symbols representing a divided society and responsible for suffering and hardship under apartheid should be scrapped.

"South Africans of all races put their whole weight behind the national rugby team during last year's World Cup, with a resolve to close a chapter of discrimination by one of the sporting codes that served the interests of the apartheid system.

"We demand the implementation of the promise by the National Sports Council and the entire sporting fraternity to do away with this symbol of apartheid after the Rugby World Cup."

The ANCYL also condemned alleged non-payment of rent and service charges by the province's MPLs.

"The executive committee noted with grave concern the continued non-payment of rent and service charges by most of the MPLs and other officials.

"This matter has serious implications for the efforts of the democratic movement and the government to re-establish a culture of payment."

The executive resolved to:

● "Condemn with contempt" the non-payment of rent and service charges by government officials and politicians, "including our comrades".

● Call on the provincial government to deduct outstanding money from the salaries of those concerned and to evict any official who resisted payment.

Meanwhile, the sensitive issues surrounding the fate of the Springbok as national rugby emblem have been discussed by a high-powered delegation at President Mandela's Houghton, Johannesburg, home.

The president, who has on occasion worn the Springbok jersey as a signal of his support for its retention, met the National Sports Council's executive committee yesterday afternoon.

"I am encouraged that the matter is in the hands of dynamic and upstanding people and am satisfied with the way it is being handled," Mr Mandela said at a Press conference afterwards.

He said the matter was very sensitive and could not be discussed before the NSC met at the end of the month.

The president said he had been forced to put his point of view forward when he came out in favour of the retention of the Springbok emblem.

"I appreciate the anger of sportsmen about not being consulted on the matter. No one has a right to make proposals about such an issue without consulting the body which is in control of sports, not even the president," he said.

But NSC president Mululeki George said he was not in the least upset with Mr Mandela for making his views known.

Minister of Sport Steve Tshwete, who was also at the meeting, confirmed he had met South African Rugby Football Union president Louis Luyt and other members of the Sarfu executive in Pretoria yesterday.

He could not divulge details, but admitted that issues involving dismissed Sarfu chief executive Edward Griffiths had been discussed.

He said any comment on the subject of Mr Griffiths' possible reinstatement would pre-empt the NSC's meeting scheduled for next week.



LIGHTING THE FUSE *The Soweto uprising of June 16 1976 sowed the seeds of the NP's demise*

19/3/96 CT. (BR)

Black man's burden

(3044)

MAJAKATHATA MOKOENA

'You burned the country and left to lead a comfortable life abroad. And now you come back with your fancy clothes and advantages'

The words rang out eloquently as they were not quite expected from a woman who had watched me grow up playing barefoot in the dusty streets of Soweto. I stood there slightly dumfounded, but not too surprised as this was inevitable.

Having just returned from 17 years of political exile, I had expected something of a hero's welcome. After all, I had brought the heightened political awareness and activism to my area of Soweto. Before then, it had been one of the least politically active areas of Soweto. Perhaps because of its relative poverty compared with nearby Rockville. I had dragged it into politics after the June 1976 student uprisings.

Naturally, I was the star of the occasion, although some did not want to associate with me for fear of reprisals from the South African security forces. My own life had suddenly become one of a fugitive sleeping wherever he could be accommodated; a criminal in the eyes of the South African police. However, a part of a collective icon in the eyes of most oppressed, in the form of the Soweto students' representative council.

The woman's remarks hurt and I realised that I had not prepared enough for them. Having received my first degree in economics and political science from the prestigious Amherst College in the United States, I also held an MA in international studies from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and having completed the first year of an MBA from Harvard, my prospects were brighter than most of my childhood peers.

Did I live in comfort in exile? Relatively speaking, yes. I had been blessed with attending school with the elite of the world, had worked in prestigious corporations and had lived in many countries throughout my exile years, although I had to beg to get my rent paid on numerous occasions.

Did I burn the country? Of course. It was part of the struggle. Bombing railway signaling systems to ensure the success of a stay-away strike was one of the things I had engaged in during the struggle.

I remember vividly a cold June morning when I tried in vain to persuade my peers at Orlando High School to boycott their examinations in solidarity with the striking junior high schoolers who were forced to use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. I remember standing next to student leader Tsietsi Mashinini at my school weeks later berating my colleagues for writing examinations instead of joining the pivotal demonstration that fateful Wednesday in 1976. Yes, not only had I burned the country, I had led thousands of students out of the classroom into the streets and some to their deaths.

This was, after all, part of the struggle. "A struggle without casualties is no struggle at all" had been the cry of all activists in the face of adversity. Now, the political struggle was coming to an end; Nelson Mandela was finally out of prison, exiles were allowed to return, and the multi-party negotiations were proceeding relentlessly in Kempton Park.

Armed with two degrees, and another half done, I also had valuable business skills none of my childhood peers could ever dream of. In fact, one of them had been unemployed for more than 10 years. He was the lucky one. Many others had never had the opportunity to see the inside of a factory.

The white owners did not want to hire radical anti-apartheid activists. Some had turned to selling alcohol and others had turned to crime.

By 1993, unemployment had reached about 50 percent, most of it borne by blacks. Violence on the Reef, both political and criminal, increased and exceeded that of New York City. The people I grew up with were left behind, with no bright prospects in the new South Africa, although they bore the deepest scars of the battle against apartheid.

The old lady's accusation fit the shoe, and it was, ironically, the people she was speaking for who came to my defence, although they were horrified that, having returned to South Africa a few days before, I already had a job with Anglo American. If the struggle was about liberation, I thought, then political freedom should bring about a better standard of living for those who had sacrificed their lives to attain it.

But who should provide for their new expectations? Certainly not the white companies, who were already complaining of the threat of higher taxes from the new government. Not individual whites either. They were either leaving the country or, like their corporate counterparts, were complaining about impending higher taxes.

These were people who, only four years before, would have supported my execution without thinking.

But those like me who had the opportunity to study abroad now have the responsibility to restore the self-reliance and dignity chipped away by years of white domination among the black population of the country. It helps that we are still young and have time to make it happen given a chance.

It will be hard, but can the unequal distribution of wealth in our country be maintained without major societal disruptions? Some corporate executives argue that a redistribution of wealth may lead to a decline in overall competitiveness of the country. Exactly what do we mean by this buzzword of the 1990s?

Most people in the West probably mean that competitiveness is having the best standard of living in the world, or close to it. This, in turn, is mainly controlled by productivity. The whites in South Africa, on the other hand, are preoccupied with the preservation of their life styles relative to the blacks.

> ***We should do whatever is necessary to increase productivity, even if it reduces the living standard of the country's minority***

They are blinded by their comparative prosperity at the expense of the country's overall competitive health. We should do whatever is necessary to increase overall national productivity in South Africa, even if it reduces the relative standard of living for the country's minority. I am sure that the majority of the whites will disagree.

But this only shows that the problem facing South Africa, particularly its black majority, is much larger than expected. I know now, that we cannot just bandage the wounds of the struggle and hope for the best.

But what should be done, and where should the country be headed? The question puts us all on trial and cuts to the nature and purpose of all organisations in the country, including companies and the government.

This is the question about national strategy. What should our national strategy be in an increasingly competitive global marketplace? How will this strategy be adapted to long-range planning and operational decision making? What determines the scope of operations, the markets, the product choices, in our region and in the global economy?

What about our workforce's wanting technical skills? What future strategic options does it provide us with? How does the country's corporate and public leadership ensure that the chosen strategy mobilises, and drives the operation of the country as a whole?

Answering these questions calls for a clear definition of strategy and a concept of how to set it. A complete overhaul of the problems brought about by apartheid, and the struggle against it, is required. The entire social and economic fabric of the nation has to be re-engineered, and made to be self-supporting and conducive to further growth.

We begin with the blessings of a rich country, to the extent that basic factors of production are the essential source of advantage, but also with the naggings of incompetent leadership. Not only do we have to undo the follies of previous governments, we also have to set new standards of performance for the entire economy and for the region.

Already younger children, black and white, find the bickerings caused by the apartheid era struggles largely irrelevant. It is our duty to facilitate a more united country for them to succeed in.

But structural impediments abound. Apartheid limited the motivation of individuals, crucial for entrepreneurial innovation, to whites. Even then, the whites were constrained by the impaired rivalry among domestic firms caused by the country's Volkskapitalism policies, which led to an ethnically delineated, conglomerate-dominated corporate structure.

With domestic companies' global strategies largely impaired by reduced competitive capacity and worldwide economic sanctions, the size and growth of domestic demand limited to approximately 5 million whites, in a country of about 45 million, the economy remained constrained below its potential. Despite the enormous economic power of South Africa in the region, black participation in the formal economy as business owners is estimated to be no more than 3 percent of total private sector output, while black firms account for about 70 percent of the informal economy.

About 66 percent of the country's 1 million businesses are small, informal, unregistered operations in which 2 million to 4 million people work full or part time. This unmeasured sector of the economy is estimated to amount to between 12 percent and 41 percent of GDP. Most of these are trading, 55 percent, followed by production and construction, 23 percent, and services, including transportation, 16 percent. There are about 1,5 million home-based black businesses in the country.

Informal sector income amounts to about 23 percent of black people's earnings. Transportation and other services provide the largest income.

These micro-enterprises mostly provide work for the owner, but almost half use other family members and about 16 percent have employees. The bulk of black enterprise is in retailing, taxis, street hawkers, construction, and small scale manufacturing like welding and gate manufacturing. Our burden is much heavier than the one the whites before us have ever carried.

During the struggle, we measured success by the distance the South African government was forced to move in the direction of abolishing apartheid. The problems we face now have a different measuring stick, and not many know how to use it except the whites we fought only a few years before. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that the whites were not as good as they had claimed with the economy.

In fact, by the end of 1994, declining domestic investment, dependency on primary commodities, reduced inflows of external capital and sanctions had collectively contributed to an economic slowdown.

The rand's value was cut in half and the country was unable to pay its foreign debts. Inflation averaged almost 15 percent a year between 1980 and 1988, leading the government to tighten monetary policy and increase real interest rates. The result was a deep recession worsened by the severest drought the region had seen in decades. We were, and still are, in quite a state.

☐ *Continued tomorrow*



UNITED FRONT: DP Western Cape leader Hennie Bester (left), Premier Hernus Kriel and ANC provincial leader Chris Nissen pledged the support of their parties yesterday to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

PICTURE: CLIVE SMITH

W Cape parties back keeping parliament

(304A) CT 21/3/96

CHRIS BATEMAN

ALL parties in the Western Cape legislature pledged yesterday to back the campaign to keep parliament in Cape Town and to enshrine this in the new constitution.

The DP's Mr Hennie Bester challenged ANC secretary-general and Constitutional Assembly chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, to "publicly affirm" Cape Town as the seat of parliament when the ANC launches its local government election campaign in Mitchells Plain today.

Bester said Ramaphosa's exhortations to all South Africans to help write the new constitution had led to an "overwhelming response" from those in favour of formally enshrining Cape Town as the parliamentary seat.

Surveys since 1994 had also shown increased support for this sentiment.

Appealing for "certainty", Premier Hernus Kriel said history had shown the more relaxed atmosphere of Cape Town was conducive to good government.

Kriel said the judicial (Bloemfontein), administrative (Pretoria) and legislative (Cape Town) arms of government should be entrenched in the constitution, supporting de-centralisation.

"We want to look at whether the Constitutional Court should not sit in KwaZulu/Natal," he said.

ANC provincial leader Mr Chris Nissen admitted his party had not yet decided nationally (on the siting of parliament), but accepted Bester's challenge which he said would "weigh heavily" in ANC deliberations at the weekend.

He said the Western Cape ANC supported keeping Parliament in Cape Town and entrenching this in the new constitution.

The provincial branches of the African Christian Democratic Party and the Freedom Front also supported these stands.

ALLEGATIONS OF FRONT COMPANY

Abe 'was paid thousands'

(3044)

A LETTER IN THE Cape Times' possession links Abe Williams to payments. **CHRIS BATEMAN** and **DALE GRANGER** report.

FORMER Nisec director Mr Michau Huisamen last night admitted paying "about R100 000" into an account called the West Coast Community Development Fund (WCCDF) — which is said to be a front company for former Welfare and Population Development Minister Abe Williams.

Williams earlier admitted receiving an undisclosed sum, but claimed it was "totally unrelated" to the R149 million five-year contract to Nisec to administer the Western Cape's pension payouts.

The Cape Times has obtained a copy of a letter written this week by the office for serious economic offences (OSEO) director Mr Jan Swanepoel to Nisec lawyers.

It reveals it was at Huisamen's Port Elizabeth premises that OSEO found documents linking Williams to payments.

The letter seeks to clarify it was at Huisamen's (Armsec) company office and his home, not Nisec premises, that the documents linking the two men was seized.

Cape Times sources claim to know of just under R1m allegedly deposited in the WCCDF account. Huisamen last night admitted paying money to the WCCDF from his security company Armsec, saying: "We did make a donation to the fund, but definitely not for that (R1m) amount".

He said the document OSEA found in his office was, "I think, for the amount of R50 112, a donation, a sponsorship".

Asked how much he had given the fund, he replied: "About R100 000 or less, I think, I'll have to go and have a look."

Huisaman said his company made many such donations to projects, including the Sport Foundation Trust, the RDP, the Parliamentary Rugby Club, the Zwide Sports Ground and the Eastern Province rugby team.

"Donations and sponsorships must be seen in that light. It was a meagre amount in the broader spectrum."

Huisamen said the R50 112 donation to WCCDF was made on May 25 last year after he had sold his shares in Nisec and resigned as managing director.

He said Nisec was awarded the Western Cape tender to administer social welfare pension payouts a year earlier and that "to try to link the two (WCCDF payment and Nisec tender) is absurd".

● Western Cape Police Services MEC Patrick McKenzie is to take over as Minister of Welfare and Population Development.

THE ARMS SCANDAL DOSSIER — Page 4

'Take siting debate off poll agenda'

(304A) CT 22/3/96

THE debate on whether Parliament should moved should be removed from the election agenda, Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

The issue was being dealt with by Parliament and should definitely be excluded from the constitution. Interviewed at an ANC Human Rights Day and election rally in Langa, Ramaphosa was reacting to the cross-party stand taken in the Western Cape legislature this week to keep Parliament in Cape Town and to have this enshrined in the constitution. The ANC's position was not to include the seat of parliament in the constitution. — Political Writer

Front may settle for culture clause

(304A)

David Greybe

BD 22/3/96

CAPE TOWN — The Freedom Front had privately indicated willingness not to demand an Afrikaner homeland, on condition the ANC agreed to an NP "cultural protection clause" in the new constitution, sources said yesterday.

The NP has proposed the establishment of a "commission on culture" with powers to set up cultural councils if requested by minority groups. The "minority" issues of education, language, culture and self-determination have moved to the constitution-making centre stage, and are expected to come to a head in private talks next week.

Senior ANC negotiators have indicated a possible willingness to accommodate the NP's proposal on a cultural commission. However, ANC and NP sources were reluctant yesterday to predict the outcome of the negotiations on issues of concern to minority groups. One said: "The issues are so sensitive anything can still happen."

The NP has been at the forefront of

Continued on Page 2

Culture clause

(304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 22/3/96

the negotiations on education, language and culture in the Bill of Rights with the ANC but, importantly, has found support from the DP for its proposal that SA look at the Indian constitutional experience as a way to resolve the education issue.

Article 30 of the Indian constitution states: "All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice." The state may similarly not discriminate on the funding of schools. The NP wants culture to be added to a similar clause in the new SA constitution.

The NP and DP both stress that discrimination by schools on the ground of race would "obviously" be outlawed in the new Bill of Rights.

The negotiation process intensified earlier this week when a delegation made up of the NP, CP, Freedom Front and various Afrikaans educational and cultural stakeholders met Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy, Leon Wessels, to discuss the "protection of Afrikaans schools".

The group will meet the ANC next Tuesday at Ramaphosa's request.

Mandela alleges plot by right wing to topple govt

Farouk Chothia

NEWCASTLE — President Nelson Mandela claimed yesterday that powerful right-wing elements were plotting to overthrow government.

Addressing about 250 businessmen and professionals at the launch of the ANC's local government election campaign in KwaZulu-Natal, Mandela said the ANC was in office but not in control of government.

The SAPS was being infiltrated by young provocateurs who plotted "day and night" to topple government.

The ANC was gradually getting on top of the levers of power, but the process would take time.

Mandela said it was disturbing that the overwhelming majority of South Africans still thought they were fighting against apartheid, and opposed anything aimed at building a new SA.

He said those who accused him of pandering to white interests needed to realise that the liberation struggle had not resulted in the "enemy lying on the floor begging for mercy".

A healthy looking Mandela raised the prospect of his death and said he was approaching "the final end with a smile" because the South African miracle had been achieved by the entire population and not any individual.

However, South Africans needed to stop thinking in terms of the interests of separate race groups and should rise above ethnicity to look at the population as "one of brothers and sisters".

On foreign visits he had found violence and crime were of paramount concern to investors. KwaZulu-Natal would never attract large-scale investment for as long as political violence continued.

Linda Ensor reports that the ANC kicked off its Western Cape local government election campaign yesterday with trade and industry minister Trevor Manuel telling voters in pre-

Continued on Page 2

Mandela

Continued from Page 1

dominantly NP-supporting Mitchell's Plain that the ANC was the only party which could deliver on RDP promises.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Posts and Telecommunications Minister Pallo Jordan told the crowd the party would strive for a better life for all.

Manuel said the people of Mitchell's Plain had made a mistake by voting for the NP in 1994, but by voting for the ANC in local elections they would ensure that the RDP came to their area.

Leading ANC candidates including Cape Town deputy mayor Theresa Solomons and Khayelitsha mayor Vuyani Ngcuka also addressed the Mitchell's Plain crowd, promising jobs, houses, sports facilities, crime prevention and the write-off of millions of rands in arrear rentals.

The ANC announced well known Cape Town architect Revel Fox as its candidate for the Newlands/Bishopscourt ward where Mandela will vote.

Mandela exposes plan to topple Government

(3044) Sowetan 22/3/96

By Simon Zwane and *Sapa*

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela said yesterday the South African Police Service was being infiltrated by *agents provocateurs* who are planning to overthrow the Government.

He said there were "powerful elements in this country planning to overthrow this government". He did not elaborate.

Speaking at Newcastle in KwaZulu-Natal at the beginning of the African National Congress' local government election campaign, Mandela warned that those who were accusing him of pandering to the interests of whites should realise that liberation in South Africa was not brought about by a military victory. "It did not result in the old enemy lying on the floor pleading for mercy.

"I'm approaching the final end with a smile on my face because the South African miracle was achieved by everyone," Mandela said.

He called on opinion makers to stand up and make themselves heard.

"It is not a time for religious leaders and business people to take a back seat. Principals, lecturers and students cannot continue to keep quiet while hit squads are murdering people," he said.

Mandela said there was still a tendency among all population groups to think in terms of race. Whites still tended to think in terms of issues that affect them. "The time of white domination is past, never to return."

Other race groups also thought in terms of their race, he said.

Mandela also appealed to the public to support and protect members of the police and the army. He was reacting to the murder of three policemen on Sunday.

Nzo faces balancing act

(304A) ARG 23/3/96



❐ **BABY TALK:** Pro-independence presidential candidate Peng Ming-min of the Democratic Progressive Party pats the cheek of a toddler on the last day of his campaign in Kaosiung. Taiwan holds its first direct presidential election today.

Foreign Minister's 'sensitive' China visit

■ Pretoria was attempting to perform a delicate juggling act between China and Taiwan in the face of increasing pressure from Beijing for South Africa to sever its long-standing diplomatic ties with the government in Taipei. However, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo's visit appears to be sending an extremely mixed message.

JOHANNESBURG. – Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo will have to perform a delicate balancing act between China and Taiwan during a ground-breaking visit to Beijing starting tomorrow, say diplomatic analysts.

The Foreign Ministry said yesterday the four-day visit to improve high-level dialogue and communications between South Africa and China was "long overdue".

But it added in a comment likely to dismay Beijing that "South Africa wishes to maintain friendly and cordial relations with both China and Taiwan".

"The minister (Nzo) intends to visit Taiwan at a later date," the ministry said in a statement.

Diplomatic analysts said Pretoria was attempting to perform a delicate juggling act between China and Taiwan in the face of increasing pressure from Beijing for South Africa to sever its long-standing diplomatic ties with the government in Taipei.

"This visit appears to be sending an extremely mixed message," said Sarah Pienaar, director of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

She said the timing, with Mr Nzo arriving one day after arch-rival Taiwan holds its first direct presidential elections in the face of strong hostility from China, could not be more sensitive.

China has increased tension in the region with war games off the Taiwanese coast in the run-up to the polls.

Pretoria appeared to be undermining "Taiwan's very acceptable efforts at democratisation", she added.

Taiwan would certainly lie at the heart of the talks, however. "There's not much else to be discussed," said Ms Pienaar.

Political analysts said the government was under pressure from the business community to boost ties with China for long-term trade reasons.

But they noted that Taiwan was also South Africa's seventh largest trading partner, with two-way trade of R6,8 billion last year, according to the Taiwanese embassy.

Trade with the mainland rose from R54,6 million in 1991 to R5,07 billion last year.

South Africa's diplomatic ties with Taiwan are a hangover from the apartheid era and the government in Taipei has been at pains to strengthen them with substantial aid since the first black majority government came to power in 1994.

Beijing meanwhile maintains an active "cultural mission" whose chief is ambassador in all but name and has direct contacts with top-level government officials.

The Foreign Ministry said China was a growing political and economic power in Asia and globally, and bilateral relations, especially trade, had grown considerably over the past four years.

Both countries were also members of the United Nations and other multilateral bodies and both played "constructive roles in these organs".

"Contact between South Africa and the People's Republic of China is essential in this regard," it added.

Senior government officials said, however, Mr Nzo's visit was more of an exploratory nature and no quick switch in policy should be expected.

Sources within the African National Congress (ANC) said party members were divided over a break with Taiwan in favour of China.

Last year, Defence Minister Joe Modise recalled that Beijing, during the anti-apartheid struggle , had urged the ANC and its rival Pan Africanist Congress to settle their differences between themselves before seeking China's support.

He said it was now the turn of China and Taiwan to sort out their own differences. – Reuter.

Taiwan goes to the polls as China threatens war

TAIPEI. – President Lee Teng-hui, whose democratic reforms have led to the elections in Taiwan, is favoured to beat his three challengers and win another four years in office, in

are one country.

Mainland China has never elected a president by universal suffrage and Taiwan's president was until now appointed by an electoral col-

dent Lee's running mate, warned yesterday that Taiwan still needed to remain vigilant.

The election campaign has been a contest between forces that want to reunite with China

MP proves he missed the gravy train

ARG 23/3/96 (304A)

■ An African National Congress member of parliament has bared all – figuratively, anyway – to prove that he and most other legislators, do not have seats on the gravy train.

MICHAEL MORRIS
Staff Reporter

MEMBERS of parliament say that the harder they work, the poorer they become - and, to prove it, full details of Maritzburg MP Yunus Carrim's income and spending have been published in the latest issue of *Parliamentary Whip*, journal of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa's Public Information Monitoring Service.

The figures show that of his basic monthly pay of R16 100, expenses incurred chiefly in his tasks as an MP amount to R14 108, leaving him with R2 158 for personal use. Mr Carrim used to be a senior lecturer in sociology – where he would end up with about R4 500 in his pocket after expenses.

Today, his biggest expenses – after tax and pension – are the repayment, fuel and running costs of two cars (a 1994 Toyota Corolla 1,6 in Cape Town, and a 1992 Mazda 323 in Maritzburg), his telephone and fax bills, his constituency contributions and two compulsory payments to the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

His justification for having two cars is that he is a Maritzburg MP serving three constituencies – Maritzburg Northern Areas, Ladysmith and Bergville – which he visits as often as possible when in Natal. Having two cars, *Parliamentary Whip* editor Richard Calland believes, is "therefore, not unreasonable".

Mr Calland approached Mr Carrim to disclose his balance sheet after the MP had written to a Natal newspaper inviting constituents to inspect his pay slips and bank statements.

Mr Calland notes in the article that the "impression given by many press reports is that the new dispensation had come to power and immediately announced a huge pay hike" when, in fact, the old government had established the Melamet Commission which recommended the increase.

Mr Calland adds: "The mainstream Press has not presented a detailed breakdown of MPs' pay. The issue has been surrounded by an emotive coating that has disguised the financial reality of life in the new South African parliament."

He believes that while Mr Carrim's case is not necessarily typical, "the position in which he finds himself is both representative and revealing of that financial reality".

The political sensitivity of the matter was heightened by an Idasa survey which showed a large percentage of respondents perceived widespread dishonesty and corruption on the part of elected officials, and considered the present government no better than the previous one with regard to ethics and corruption.

HOW MR CARRIM SPENDS HIS R16 000

Mr Carrim's salary is R16 100 (R193 200 a year) with a monthly income tax refund of R166 (R2 000 annually).

His outgoings are:

Income tax R4 226 (R50 712)

Pension R1 006 (R12 072)

Rent in Cape Town R470 (R5 640)

Medical Aid R423 (R5 076)

Compulsory ANC membership R750 (R9 000)

Compulsory SACP membership R250 (R3 000)

Contribution to cost of constituency offices R500 (R6 000)

Cape Town car repayment R1 515 (R18 180)

Cape Town car insurance R334 (R4 008)

Maritzburg car repayment R1 361 (R16 333)

Maritzburg car insurance R233 (R2 796)

Servicing of both cars R163 (R1 956)

Books R81 (R975)

Three answering machines R98 (R1 187)

Filing cabinets R75 (R900)

Lap-top computer R133 (R1 600)

Briefcase R32 (R395)

Stationery R61 (R743)

Business cards R37 (R450)

Extra telephone bill R39 (R471)

Photocopying at parliament R66 (R800)

Postage R50 (R600)

Donations to public events/needy R37 (R450)

Telephone/fax R883 (R10 600)

Petrol R917 (R11 004)

sics unit gave evidence on DNA, blood "I can confirm a match and say The Foreign Ministry said yesterday the rumbo to the bous

TerreBlanche dumps reconciliation strategy

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche yesterday said he could no longer commit himself to promoting reconciliation because nearly two years of passive resistance against the Government had proved fruitless.

"I am no longer prepared to act as a peacemaker while waiting for amnesty to be granted to our people," he told reporters in Pretoria before the burial of murderer Lood van Schalkwyk.

Van Schalkwyk, who had been ill for some time before dying last Saturday, was serving a 25-year sentence for two fatal bomb attacks in 1990.

TerreBlanche accused the Government of using the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act to create crime by not granting indemnity to right-wing political prisoners. – Sapa

(304A) Star 23/3/96

Luanda dry after water system damaged

Luanda – The Angolan capital Luanda ran out of piped water yesterday, forcing many of its 3 million people to queue for supplies ferried in by lorry.

"The city is dry," said an engineer at the city's water company, Empresa Provincial de Agua de Luanda.

"The situation is very serious. Luanda has no water, not even in its three reserve tanks, and I don't foresee that the problem will be resolved before next week." He said the city water system had been affected since Tuesday, when heavy rain damaged the main electricity line providing power to pump water from a water station north of Luanda.

Trucks ferrying water from stations on the Bengo River stood in queues in the city's streets as women and children collected containers. – Reuters

Star 23/3/96

EU finalises trade offer to SA – still protectionist, but progress

Brussels – European Union ambassadors agreed yesterday on the details of a trade offer to South Africa, ending months of wrangling and dissension.

Now EU chiefs are waiting with bated breath to see whether SA will agree to negotiate on the basis of the offer – which contains a strongly protectionist strain.

The trade strategy goes before EU foreign ministers in Brussels on Monday, when it is hoped it will be endorsed without dispute.

This will be the fourth meeting in a row at which the foreign ministers will have been asked to agree to relaunch negotiations – but the first at which there is hope they will be able to break the log jam.

The most controversial element of the proposal is the exclusion of 38% of South African agricultural exports from the terms of the proposed free trade area between the EU and SA.

An earlier restricted list has been lengthened this month, mainly at French insistence. It now also includes oranges, fresh apples and pears during a longer season, tinned pears, tinned apricots, tinned peaches and grape juice.

There is also a separate list of products which are not currently exported in volume from SA to the EU – which will also be kept out of the free trade framework. These include beef, maize, sugar, spirits and dairy products.

South Africa will have to ask itself whether it is interested in a so-called free trade agreement, from which so much agricultural trade is excluded. However, EU officials sounded out their SA counterparts before the latest "hit list" of excluded agricultural products was agreed upon.

EU commissioner for SA João de deus Pinheiro is set to fly to SA in May to relaunch negotiations. His spokesman João Vale de Almeida said Pinheiro would meet Minister of Trade and Industry Trevor Manuel then in order to formally launch the new round.

Abdul Minty, Deputy Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, gave a cautious welcome to the news, warning that SA still has the option of refusing the EU trade offer once it has been formally presented. "We will have to see what space is left for our negotiators," he said. – Independent Foreign Service

Star 23/3/96

MP discloses details of monthly pay as proof he's not on the gravy train

Star 23/3/96 (304A)

By MICHAEL MORRIS

An ANC member of Parliament has bared all – figuratively, anyway – to prove that he, and most other legislators, do not have seats on the gravy train.

Indeed, MPs say that the harder they work, the poorer they become. Full details of Pietermaritzburg MP Yunus Carrim's income and spending have been published in the latest issue of Parliamentary Whip, journal of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa's Public Information Monitoring Service.

The figures show that of his basic monthly pay of R16 100, expenses incurred chiefly in his tasks as an MP amount to R14 108, leaving him with R2 158 for personal use.

Today, his biggest expenses – after tax and pension – are the repayment, fuel and running costs of two cars (a 1994 Toyota Corolla 1,6 in Cape Town and a 1992 Mazda 323 in Pietermaritzburg), his telephone and fax bills, his contribution to constituency offices, and two compulsory payments to the ANC and the SACP.

His justification for having two cars is that he is a Pietermaritzburg MP serving three constituencies. Having two cars, Parliamentary Whip editor Richard Calland believes, is "not unreasonable".

Calland approached Carrim to disclose his balance sheet in Parliamentary Whip after the MP had written to a Natal newspaper inviting his constituents to inspect his pay slips and bank statements. Calland notes that the "impression given by many press reports is that the new dispensation had come to power and immediately announced a huge pay hike" when, in fact, the old government had established the Melamet Commission which recommended the increase.

He adds: "The mainstream press has not presented a detailed breakdown of MPs' pay. The issue has been surrounded by an emotive coating that has disguised the financial reality of life in the new South African Parliament."

He believes that while Carrim's case is not typical, "the position in which he finds himself is both representative and revealing of that financial reality".

DP accepts new hate-speech provision

By CYRIL MADLALA

HATE speech will not be protected by the constitution if it causes harm, constitutional negotiators agreed this week.

The ANC has proposed that the right to freedom of expression should not extend to "advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion that constitutes incitement to cause harm".

Democratic Party negotiator Dene Smuts, who had put up a fierce fight in the negotiations to prevent a constitutional ban on hate speech, this week settled for this "second prize".

She had previously argued that the right to express any views should not be immunised, and that it should be left to legislation to deal with the consequences of hate speech.

The ANC, concerned about the racial tensions of the past, had insisted that a message be sent through the constitution that certain kinds of speech would not be tolerated.

Negotiators have identified a need for the state to regulate any media funded by taxpayers' money.

The legal experts that assist in the negotiations were asked to give an opinion, and this week they tabled a report. They said constitutional provisions could not be adequately reflected unless it was clear what problem it was negotiators wanted to address.

"From the debates and proposals of parties, there seem to be a number of different understandings as to the reasons why such a clause may be required," the experts said.

One reason was that it was important to prevent the government covertly establishing or maintaining a newspaper with slush funds to ensure that its policies were supported by what appeared to be an independent voice.

The experts pointed out that the constitutional proposals which required impartiality or diversity would not solve the problem of such funding. "What was especially wrong with The Citizen was not that it failed to present a diversity of views, but that it was secretly funded by the government."

They suggested the solution lay in transparency and access to information, rather than in a requirement for diversity and impartiality, and made two recommendations.

One was that no provision should be made under the freedom of expression clause, or in the chapter on state institutions supporting democracy.

The other was to make a constitutional provision for creating an independent authority to regulate broadcasting and ensure fairness and diversity.

ST 24/3/96 (243) (3049)

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Land issues 'key' to chiefs' survival

BD 25/3/96 (30A)

Stephen Laufer

CONTROL of land allocation could be crucial to the political survival of traditional leaders in many rural areas, a study to be published today shows.

The land allocation function, says the study entitled Down to Earth — Land Demand in the New SA, is "critical to traditional leaders because it is one of the few remaining actual powers and sources of influence they have".

But in many areas an increasing land hunger and tendency towards urban settlement structures was fuelling warlordism.

The picture was not uniform across the country even though traditional authorities were central to land administration in all provinces except Gauteng and the Western Cape.

While the land allocation practices of many traditional leaders were "clouded by corruption, patronage, and, increasingly, the influence of market forces", many chiefs were still committed to traditional tenure forms out of a genuine concern for welfare and equity.

Complicating the picture, said one of the study's authors, Prof Tessa Marcus of Natal University, was an increasing tendency towards urban settlement patterns even in rural areas.

Reduced plot sizes, the conversion of arable and grazing land to residential use, and increasingly fragile kinship relations were weakening traditional authority.

Most people who supported the traditional authority system did not necessarily support individual traditional authorities.

As a result, such institutions were increasingly succumbing to "the sway of powerful individuals who take and maintain control over the allocation of residential sites with the assistance of informal armed forces and party political patronage."

But the traditional tenure system had also guaranteed access to land for even the poorest of rural residents, and the baby should not be thrown out with the bath water during the land reform process.

There was a danger that a move to freehold ownership without any alternative tenure possibilities or guaranteed access to common pasturage would finally dispossess those unable to articulate or pay for their land needs adequately.

Injection

The success of alternative mechanisms for administering communal land would depend on the emergence of effective local government to provide support and services. Marcus said this could work only if there was considerable injection of finance and skills into the rural areas.

A lack of sufficient resources would make land released under reform programmes prone to "elite capture". Those who had historically been well placed — often for the wrong reasons — would be in the best position to take advantage of new land allocations.

Researched over a two-year period in all nine provinces, the study is the first attempt to analyse popular land needs across SA.

SA diplomatic ties with China on cards

(304A)

Pretoria looks at keeping off-shore and on-shore options but China makes it clear that it will not tolerate any ambiguity from SA

Star 27/3/96

AFP
Beijing

South Africa signalled yesterday its intent to open diplomatic relations with Beijing, Taipei's rival. This was a blow to Taiwan that fell just three days after its presidential elections.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo made the comments at the end of a 48-hour trip to Beijing, the first by a South African foreign minister.

He made no reference to any change of plans for Pretoria's relations with Taipei.

A Taiwanese official in Taipei said South Africa sought "official relations" with China but would retain "diplomatic ties" with Taiwan, an idea that was immediately rejecteded by a Chinese spokesman.

"There are relations of long standing," Nzo told journalists. "All that needs to be done in the near future is the establishment of – hopefully – diplomatic relations."

"After reporting to the president (Nelson Mandela), an announcement will be made," he said.

Nzo met President Jiang Zemin, Premier Li Peng, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Foreign Trade Minister Wu Yi. He said all the meetings were "very cordial, very nice", but refused to give details.

"Mandela has said SA will keep links with Taiwan"

In Taipei, a Taiwanese Foreign Ministry official said the government had no knowledge of any change of diplomatic relations by South Africa.

"Our understanding is that Pretoria would like to develop official relations with China, but not at the expense of sacrificing its diplomatic ties with the Republic of China," said director Chin-tien Yang of the African affairs department.

An official at the South African embassy in Taipei said Taiwan should not worry.

"President Nelson Mandela has always insisted that Pretoria would maintain official ties with Taiwan even if it establishes formal relations with Beijing," he said.

But Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang made it clear China would not tolerate any ambiguity by Pretoria.

"South Africa must first sever so-called diplomatic relations with Taiwan before establishing diplomatic relations with China," he told journalists.

Nzo denied there was any link between his visit and Taiwan's presidential election at the weekend.

He said it was just coincidental and added it had not been discussed with Chinese leaders.

Taipei and Beijing have been locked in a fierce struggle for international recognition since the end of the 1949 Chinese civil war.

Taiwan is a major, long-standing investor in South Africa.

► Olive branch held out ... Page 4

the councils on 5 July.

Women still a minority in govt structures

Sonile Nggivaza

ONLY 18, 5% of all local councillors in rural and urban areas were women, ANC MP Lydia Kompe said in Johannesburg yesterday.

She told a rural local government conference that although women made up 51% of SA's population, the recent local elections had not reflected that situation.

Only 14, 6% of women representatives worked at the executive level of local government structures, she said.

Kompe attributed the limited representation of women to a political bias towards male candidates by the major parties. She said the entrenchment of the male-dominated traditional authorities in local government structures would have "serious immediate and long-term implications" for the participation of women, especially in rural communities.

Kompe criticised the Local Government Transitional Act of 1993 for failing to legislate the status of women as an interest group. "The result has been that some provinces have chosen not to classify rural women as such."

At the conference, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Valli Moosa said the establishment of a national rural local government ministry was not such a good idea. He suggested that government become involved in local government issues only when it was "absolutely critical ... because of the detail involved".

The conference reiterated the position taken by the national land committee yesterday for democratic government to take precedence over all other forms, but said it appreciated the need for local government to be as representative as possible.

Ministerial merry-go-round

But cabinet reshuffle prompted by Liebenberg's departure is not a cause for the jitters

(304A) ARG 29/3/96

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

JUST lately, markets and media have been only too ready to see the Goths at the gate of the Rainbow Nation.

This has been typified by the continuing jitters about President Mandela's health, and when these were quashed by comprehensive medical tests, there was even wilder speculation that the president was to announce his retirement at the end of the year.

Against this background, the reaction of some political parties and market observers to the departure of Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg was predictable.

The Freedom Front said it reflected badly on the country that it had used up two finance ministers since the 1994 election.

The Democratic Party described Mr Liebenberg's resignation as ill-timed and said it would do nothing to help settle financial markets already made jittery by the rumours about the president's health.

DP leader Tony Leon said Mr Liebenberg's replacement would have to remember it was the financial markets which determined South Africa's interest and exchange rates.

"It is not a party political decision whether you can or cannot buck the markets," he said during yesterday's first reading debate on the Budget.

The National Party's reaction was even more predictable, with the party patently discomfited by the portfolio it once held in the person of Derek Keys passing to its larger partner, the African National Congress.

The NP has been at pains in the past to claim that its influence on fiscal policy, even its very presence in the government, is balm to foreign governments and investors.

It pointed with glee to the plunge in



GILL MARCUS ... new Deputy Minister of Finance.

deserve the bouquets. It was really the other 26 ministers who delivered the goods.

"The minister of finance can do very little if he does not have the support of others."

Reliable sources have indicated that family pressure played a role in Mr Liebenberg's departure, thus ruling out the spectacle of a finance minister storming away from his post in frustration at the fiscal path his government was taking.

In its reaction, the ANC took up the theme of continuity, emphasising that the reallocation of the handling of the

Energy Affairs and Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka was appointed Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry.

· With the appointment of more women to senior positions, "we have taken another step to address the national challenge of the emancipation and empowerment of women", Mr Mandela said.

The job changes for Posts and Telecommunications Minister Pallo Jordan and RDP Minister Jay Naidoo are likely to prompt speculation in political circles for weeks to come.

Although Dr Jordan has been criticised in the media for lacklustre handling of his portfolio, it is understood he is likely to be elevated to the Foreign Affairs Ministry in a further cabinet reshuffle, which is expected to take place before the parliamentary winter recess.

This will mean the departure of Alfred Nzo, who has been widely perceived as less than dynamic in his job.

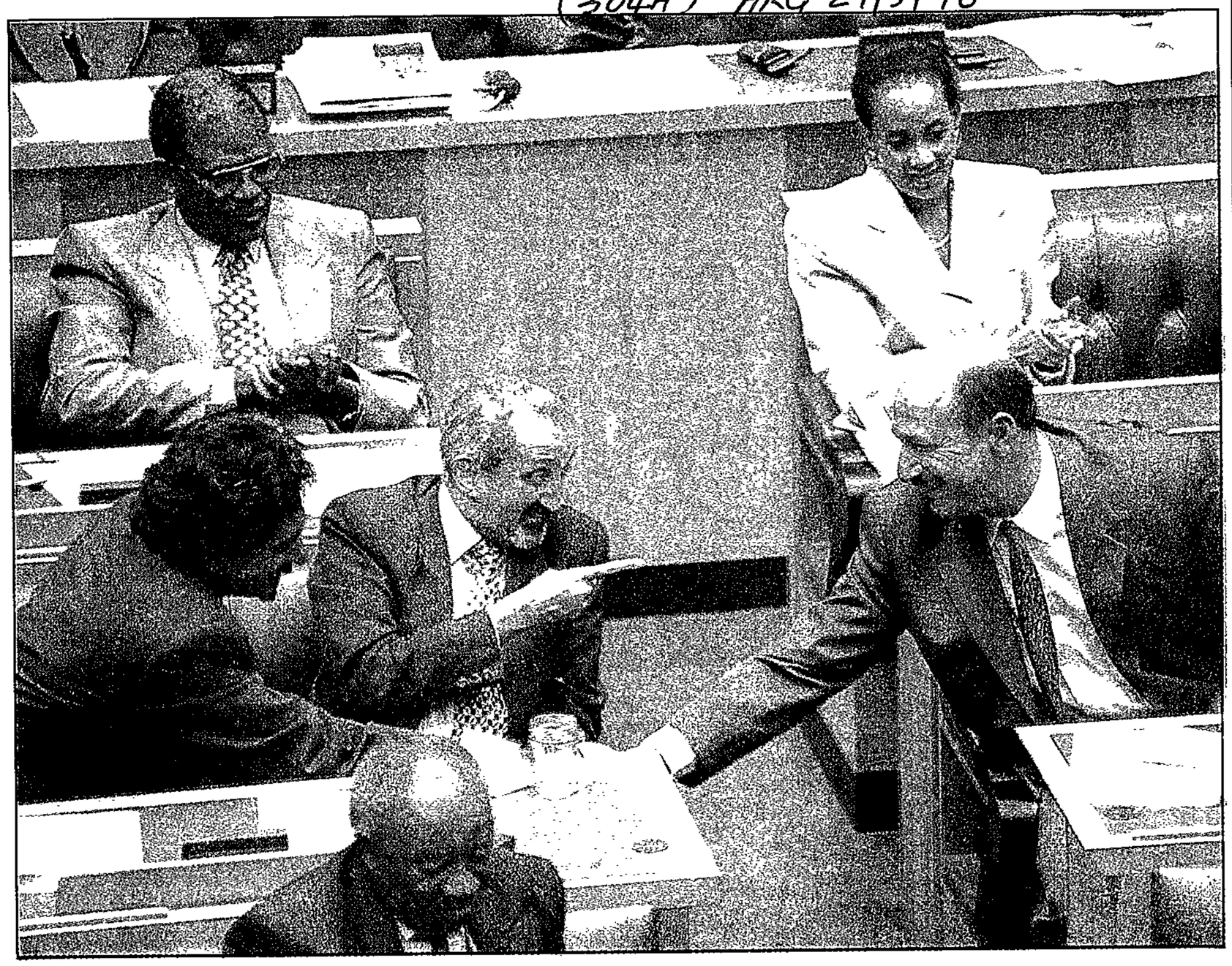
Mr Naidoo has also been criticised for his sometimes bafflingly technocratic approach to the RDP ministry and has been targeted for blame for the lack of visible delivery on the programme.

The reallocation of the RDP portfolio to a new sharing of duties between the Finance Ministry and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki could signal that Mr Mandela believes it will be handled with greater initiative by two of his lieutenants in whom he has great confidence.

It was Mr Mbeki who earlier this year was given the job of unveiling the government's growth and development strategy, the companion programme to the RDP.

At a Press conference yesterday after the announcement of the reshuffle, Mr Manuel said he and his deputy, Ms Marcus, would have to work hard to prove the sceptics wrong.

Efforts would continue to be made to



YOU'RE ON: Former RDP minister Jay Naidoo, left, and Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad congratulate their ANC colleague Trevor Manuel on his appointment as Minister of Finance.

threatened to leave the government of national unity.

So, too, conservative analysts might claim that an ANC hand on the tiller of the Finance Ministry heralds an era of loony left fiscal behaviour.

Any alarm at this week's cabinet reshuffle betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of the dynamics within the government and a failure to grasp that cabinet reshuffles are a perfectly ordinary aspect of a country whose politics are in the process of normalisation.

Mr Liebenberg, in his adieu to parliament, said he believed it was the right time for him to leave.

It was well known that he had no long-term commitment to the portfolio.

Emphasising his confidence in the government and its ability to see out the process it had begun, he said: "I did not

construction and development programme did not signal the jettisoning of the RDP.

The appointment of Trevor Manuel, until now minister of trade and industry, should strengthen investor confidence at home and abroad, the ANC said.

It was confident that under Mr Manuel the Finance Ministry would continue to pursue responsible economic policies responsive to the needs of the poor, encourage fiscal discipline and help reorientate state resources towards the objectives of the RDP.

Finance committee chairwoman Gill Marcus, who has gained wide respect for her handling of the committee, was appointed Deputy Finance Minister to succeed Alec Erwin, who is to take over Mr Manuel's trade and industry job.

Trade unionist Suzan Shabangu was named Deputy Minister of Mineral and

co-ordinate fiscal and

following the framework set out in this year's Budget, Mr Manuel said.

Whatever other consequences will flow from yesterday's reshuffle, an immediate result will be a new phase of politicisation of debate on the handling of the Finance Ministry.

While minority parties tended to hang back from personal criticism of Mr Liebenberg, Mr Manuel's party-political identification will open the way to more heated attacks.

Mr Leon may be correct in saying that financial markets determine interest and exchange rates, but all observers would do well to note that fiscal policy is set by a cabinet composed of three parties, a phenomenon which will remain unchanged when Mr Manuel walks into his new office on April 4.

On course for May 9 deadline but education a sticking point – Ramapahosa

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL assembly chairperson Cyril Ramaphosa remains confident that the May 9 deadline for a final draft of the new constitution will be met.

But he warned that a new issue, education, should be added to the list of those which could produce a deadlock.

Parties are to attend a bosberaad for three days next week to iron out differences on unresolved issues, including the right to life, whether there should be a property clause, whether employers should be given a constitutional right to lock out, and the limitations clause.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club yesterday, Mr Ramaphosa said all parties were approaching the outstanding issues in a spirit of compromise.

No party would get everything it wanted in the final constitution, not even the African National Congress.

Mr Ramaphosa said he was particularly pleased by the degree to which the views of ordinary people had influenced the shaping of the constitution.

"I believe we are taking into account the views of people who bothered to make submissions."

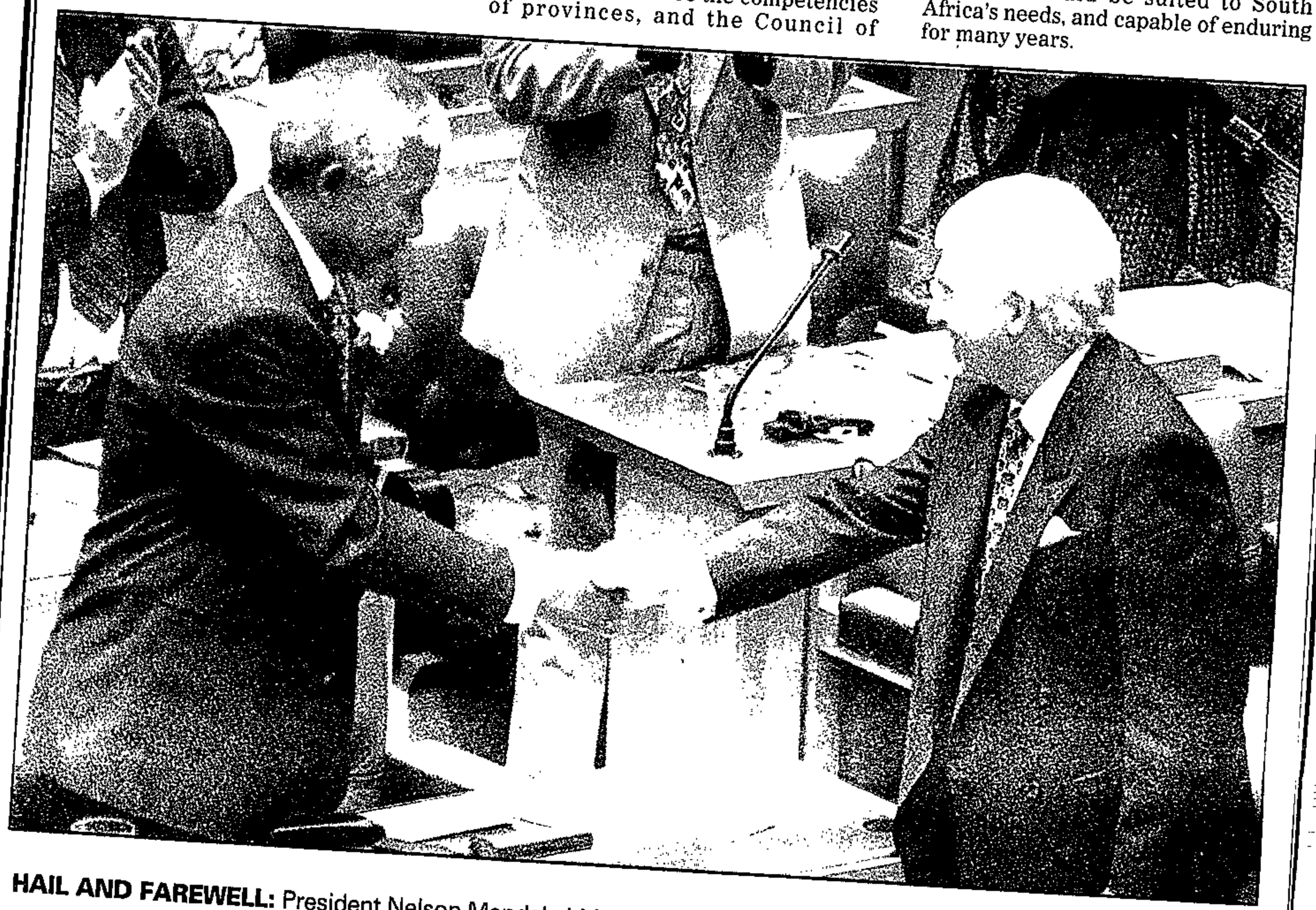
Some issues which had threatened to produce deadlocks had been resolved.

Among these were the competencies of provinces, and the Council of Provinces, the successor body to the senate.

Consensus had been reached on local government, with agreement that it should be recognised as a separate tier of government rather than a functional area of provincial government.

Bilaterals on self-determination were continuing between the ANC and the Freedom Front, and between the ANC and the National Party on NP proposals for cultural councils. Some progress had been made on these issues, Mr Ramaphosa said.

Mr Ramaphosa said he believed the constitution which would be produced by May 9 would be suited to South Africa's needs, and capable of enduring for many years.



HAIL AND FAREWELL: President Nelson Mandela bids good wishes to outgoing Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg, whose departure he announced in parliament.

Pictures: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

Key figures in Cabinet reshuffle

(304A) Star 29/3/96

Background information some of those given new responsibilities yesterday

Trevor Manuel

By Jovial Rantao
Political Reporter

Although there have been reservations on the appointment of a non-banker as the new Finance Minister, Trevor Manuel's success in the "difficult and technical" trade and industry portfolio will have gone a long way to change perceptions.

He will have to walk an extra mile to fit in the shoes of Chris Liebenberg, who has retired in a blaze of praise.

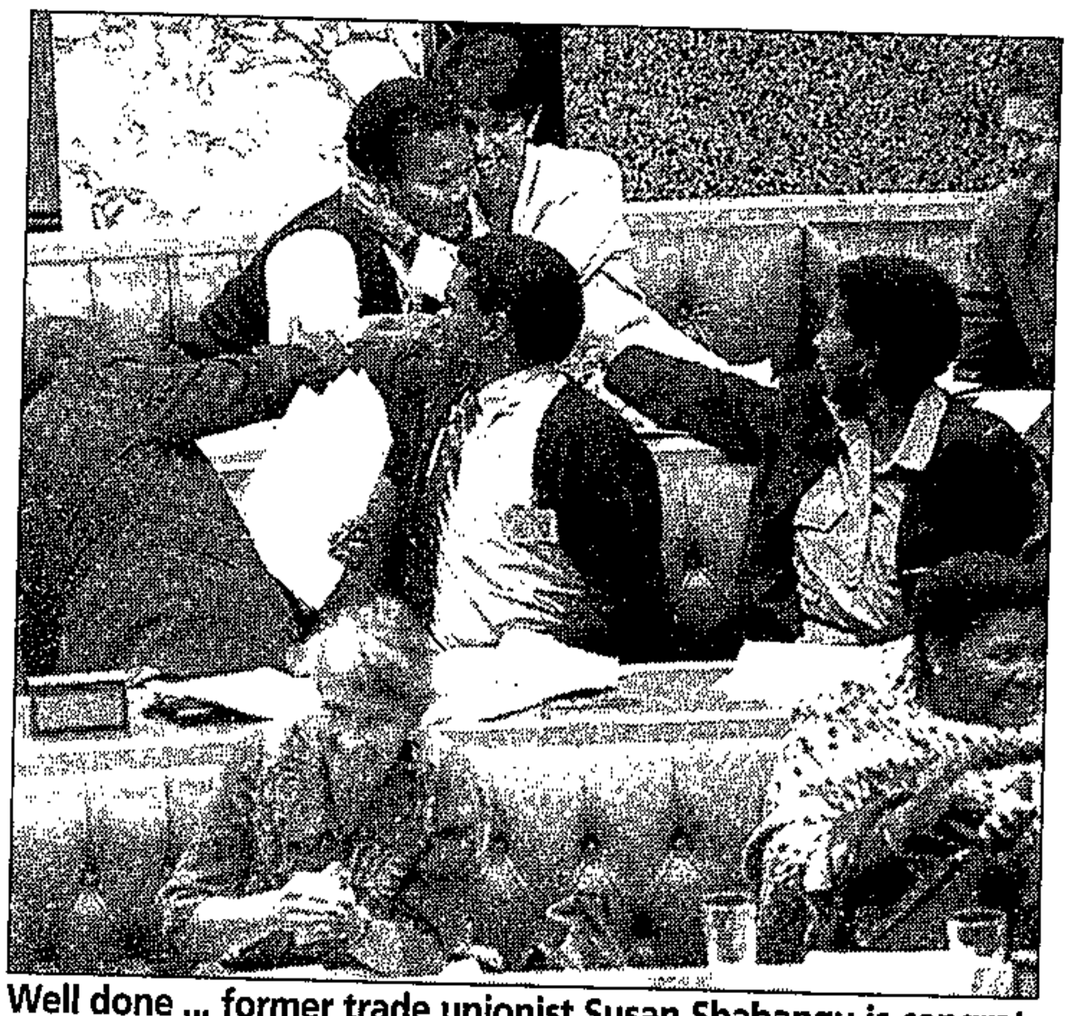
While he might not be able to wave his magic wand to stabilise the markets and increase the value of the rand, Manuel's ability and reputation as a tough negotiator are likely to earn him quick results and send a message of confidence to the stock markets.

Manuel has been praised for the way in which he has tackled the European Union negotiation for a free trade deal for South Africa. He was also on the verge of introducing a competition policy to promote economic growth.

He also earned respect with the way he dealt with business, labour and ordinary consumers as well as pressure from South Africa's trading partners, as tariffs are reduced in terms of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

During his two years as Trade and Industry Minister he showed the capacity to consult and to learn quickly that distinguished his tenure as head of the African National Congress's Department of Economic Policy.

Although the former Cape Town activist and founding member of the United Democratic Front has a political pedigree that includes several spells in jail in the 1980s, he is no ideologue and has earned the grudging respect of business.



Well done ... former trade unionist Susan Shabangu is congratulated by fellow MPs after she was announced as the new Deputy Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

Pallo Jordan

Former Posts, Telecommunication and Broadcasting Minister Pallo Jordan is expected to re-merge in a new portfolio well before 1999.

He was born in Kroonstad in 1942, schooled in Cape Town and went into exile in 1962.

Despite being at loggerheads with the SACP faction which effectively controlled the ANC, he rose through the ranks – mainly in the Department of Information and Publicity, and headed the ANC's Radio Freedom.

He was one of the key negotiators at the talks that led to the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA).

He has kept a low profile since his Cabinet appointment in 1994, popping up only when there were controversies around the SABC, the IBA and privatisation. – Political Reporter.

Alec Erwin

Newly-appointed Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin had a long history of involvement with labour before he became deputy Finance Minister in May 1994.

He was viewed as a "very good backup minister". However, he had not endeared himself to the trade union movement due to his perceived willingness to adopt mainstream macroeconomic policies. He had also not lived up to expectations to deliver on policies favourable to the trade unions.

He served as general secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions from 1979 to 1981.

Born in Cape Town on January 17 1948, Erwin matriculated at Durban High School in 1965. Between 1971 and 1978 he lectured economics at the University of Natal. He has been a member of the SACP since 1991. Erwin is married and lives in Durban. – Sapa.

Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka

Newly appointed Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka became a Member of Parliament in 1994.

Born in 1955, she graduated from the National University of Lesotho as a teacher.

Mlambo-Ngcuka was youth director for the World Young Women's Christian Association in Geneva from 1984-1987. For the next six years, she was active in various NGOs and development organisations.

She joined Phumelela Services in 1993 as a management consultant.

Mlambo-Ngcuka is chairwoman of the National Assembly's Portfolio Committee on Public Service and Administration. – Sapa.

Gill Marcus

Newly-appointed Deputy Finance Minister Gill Marcus has built a reputation of being dedicated, efficient and diligent as chairman of Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Finance.

Since taking up the post in 1994 she has earned the respect of the private sector, commerce and government officials in her handling of complex economic issues. Marcus has the ability to explain complicated financial and economic issues in a jargonless way to the man in the street.

Last year the JSCOF passed legislation which deregulated the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

She left the country with her parents in 1969 while studying for a BCom at Wits University. She joined the ANC in 1970 and returned to SA in 1991 to set up the organisation's information department. – Sapa.

The new Cabinet

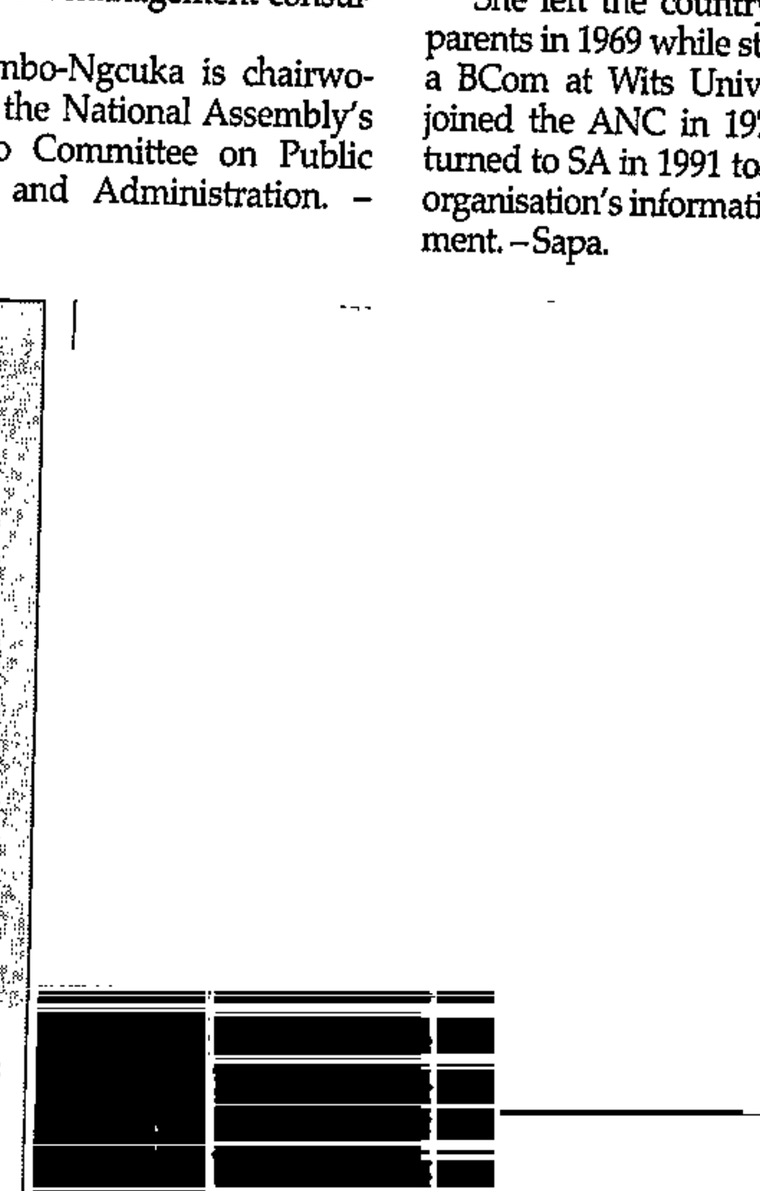
President: Nelson Mandela (ANC)
Executive Deputy President: Thabo Mbeki (ANC)
Executive Deputy President: Frederik de Klerk (NP)

MINISTERS

Defence: Joe Modise (ANC)
Education: Sibusiso Bengu (ANC)
Foreign Affairs: Alfred Nzo (ANC)
Health: Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma (ANC)
Housing: Sankie Nkondo (ANC)
Justice: Dullah Omar (ANC)
Labour: Tito Mboweni (ANC)
Land Affairs: Derek Hanekom (ANC)
Public Enterprises: Stella Sicgau (ANC)
Public Service and Administration: Zola Skweyiya (ANC)
Public Works: Jeff Radebe (ANC)
Post, Telecommunications and Broadcasting: Jay Naidoo (ANC)
Safety and Security: Sydney Mufamadi (ANC)
Sport and Recreation: Steve Tshwete (ANC)
Trade and Industry: Alec Erwin (ANC)
Transport: Mac Maharaj (ANC)
Water Affairs and Forestry: Kader Asmal (ANC)
Agriculture: Kraai van Niekerk (NP)
Environmental Affairs and Tourism: Dawie de Villiers (NP)
General Services: John Mavuso (NP)
Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development: Chris Fismer (NP)
Mineral and Energy Affairs: Pik Botha (NP)
Welfare and Population Development: Patrick McKenzie (NP)
Arts, Culture, Science and Technology: Ben Ngubane (IFP)
Correctional Services: Sipho Mzimela (IFP)
Home Affairs: Mangosuthu Buthelezi (IFP)
Finance: Trevor Manuel (ANC)

DEPUTY MINISTERS

Agriculture: Thoko Msane (ANC)
Arts, Culture, Science and Technology: Brigitte Mabandla (ANC)
Defence: Ronnie Kasrils (ANC)
Environment Affairs and Tourism: Bantu Holomisa (ANC)
Finance: Gill Marcus (ANC)
Foreign Affairs: Aziz Pahad (ANC)
Home Affairs: Penuel Maduna (ANC)
Intelligence Services: Joe Nhlanhla (ANC)
Mineral and Energy Affairs: Susan Shabangu (ANC)
Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development: Mohamed Valli Moosa (ANC)
Trade and Industry: Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (ANC)
Welfare: Geraldine Fraser-Moloketi (ANC)
Education: Renier Schoeman (NP)
Justice: Sheila Camerer (NP)
Land Affairs: Tobie Meyer (NP)
Public Works: Eileen Shandu (IFP)
Safety and Security: Joe Matthews (IFP)
– AFP.



Liebenberg's resignation sparks Cabinet reshuffle

Manuel takes up finance post



ERWIN

BD 29/3/96

304A

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg resigned yesterday, sparking the scrapping of the RDP department and a host of other changes which will consolidate the ANC's power in the government of national unity.

In the current government's biggest Cabinet reshuffle to date, Liebenberg will be replaced by Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel. Deputy Finance Minister Alec Erwin will take Manuel's place, while Posts and Telecommunications Minister Pallo Jordan will stand down in favour of RDP Minister Jay Naidoo.

President Nelson Mandela also appointed three women as deputy ministers, with parliamentary finance committee chairman Gill Marcus becoming deputy finance minister.

Two new deputy ministerial posts have been created for mineral and energy affairs and trade and industry, which will be filled by ANC MPs Susan Shabangu and Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, respectively. The changes take effect on April 4.

Speaking after Mandela's announcement, Liebenberg said he was "totally at ease" with government's fiscal and economic policies, denying that his resignation was based on any differences of opinion with his colleagues.

Leibenberg said that at the start of his roughly 18-month term, he had indicated he would not be taking on the position for long. His resignation ends an era of expert non-political and quasi-political Finance Ministers.

Liebenberg said: "I firmly believe that everything is in place for the strategy to go forward and that it really would have been superfluous for me as a non-politician to be around when you have the talent sitting on the sidelines that can do the job...."

He had given Mandela the undertaking that he would not seek another position in the private sector while in office. "So I am unemployed, although I'm too young to stay at home."

Mandela told Parliament the appointment of Manuel as finance minister created the problem that the ANC had one more minister than was allowed by the constitution.

"After much reflection", Mandela said he had decided to assign Jordan "other tasks outside Cabinet", although it is understood he is unlikely to remain outside the higher government ranks for long.

Mandela said that with the appointment of Naidoo to Jordan's post, the RDP office would be closed down, and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had been instructed to handle the relocation of projects and programmes which fell under the RDP office's supervision.

The RDP fund would be relocated within the finance ministry.

Opposition parties reacted to the changes with varing degrees of scepticism. The NP said that after former finance minister Derek Keys resigned, it had been accepted by the ANC that the finance minister should be an internationally respected expert who was political neutral.

The NP said it was worried about the signals this decision might send and called on government to renew its commitment to the continuation of the approach that had been followed thus far.

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said that in the absence of a full explanation, the indications were that Liebenberg was "fed up with having to make unsatisfactory budgetary compromises which he knows are harmful to SA's long-term social and economic interests."

Freedom Front finance spokesman Willie Botha said it was a pity that finance ministers who had good success records in the private sector did not offer their services to politics for longer periods. This unfortunately created the impression that something was wrong somewhere, he said.

Sacob president Rudi Heine said Liebenberg's resignation came "at an unfortunate time" in SA's history when the country "is still struggling to develop and build a record of fiscal discipline, financial stability and sound management of the economy".

"The fact that in its short history, the new SA has now had two finance ministers is almost certain to raise market concerns about the commitment of the government of national unity to fiscal discipline."

Heine said, however, that Sacob had enjoyed an "excellent working relationship" with both Manuel and Ervwin in the past, and he hoped this would continue.

See Pages 5 and 18



NEW MINISTER: Trevor Manuel emerges from Parliament yesterday evening shortly after he was appointed Minister of Finance. *PICTURE: CLIVE SMITH*

PALLO JORDAN AXED IN RESHUFFLE

Key cabinet post for Manuel

CT 29/03/96 (304A)

THE ANC has moved swiftly to calm financial markets after yesterday's cabinet reshuffle, while opposition parties have complained that the President did not use constitutional provisions for appointing a neutral Finance Minister. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

THE ANC went out of its way last night to reassure jittery financial markets in the wake of yesterday's cabinet reshuffle in which Mr Trevor Manuel was promoted to the key position of Finance Minister.

The RDP office was scrapped and the RDP fund was placed within Mr Manuel's Ministry of Finance.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was given the mandate to relocate RDP programmes.

THE RISE OF TREVOR MANUEL — Page 3

Dr Pallo Jordan was axed as Posts and Telecommunications minister.

Manuel, the Cape Town activist who achieved prominence in the United Democratic Front in the 1980s, said the financial foundations for his work had already been laid.

"We are going to work hard to prove the sceptics wrong," he said at a media briefing after President Nelson Mandela had announced that Manuel would be replacing Mr Chris Liebenberg.

Manuel emphasised that there would be no major departure from the government of national unity's policies of strict financial control and the promotion of economic growth.

Commentators said that Manuel's appointment and that of his replacement as Trade and Industry Minister, Alec Erwin, former Deputy Minister of Finance, as well as their new deputies, Ms Gill Marcus (Finance) and Ms Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (Trade and Industry), were intended as a clear signal from the ANC that it wanted to promote stability.

Manuel and Erwin have won across-the-board respect for their handling of their portfolios since their appointment in May 1994, while Marcus as chairperson of the Joint Committee on Finance and Mlambo-Ngcuka as chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on the Public Service and Administration have also earned considerable regard.

In effect, the ANC has taken control of the financial ministries and has appointed a young team which is likely to remain in place well after the President is due to retire in 1999.

Mandela said in Parliament last night that the transformation process had to be carried out within constraints inherited from the past.

"This does not mean that we have to adopt a timid approach ... but neither does it mean that we can afford to be reckless.

"To find the proper balance requires that we carry out our work in a sober-minded fashion and without allowing ourselves to become slaves to dogma."

If Mandela set the tone, Liebenberg reinforced it. "The government of national unity has been an outstanding economic success over the past two years. We cannot spend ourselves into prosperity," he said at the end of the first reading debate on the Budget.

Mandela said Liebenberg had been persuaded out of retirement to become Minister of Finance and a deal had been struck to use his "great capabilities" for only a defined period.

ANC sources said it had always been understood that Liebenberg's appointment was short-term and his retirement had been expected.

Liebenberg said it was the right time for his retirement because of the quality of expertise available to the government.

This view was not shared by the National Party and Democratic Party.

NP secretary-general Mr Roelf Meyer said the NP was concerned that constitutional provisions for the appointment of a neutral specialist had not been used.

MARKETS BATTERED AS MINISTER QUITS — Page 19

"The NP is worried about the signals that this decision might send to the national and international economic communities."

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said Liebenberg's resignation after only 18 months in office would contribute to nervousness about the economy and the government's willingness to maintain fiscal discipline.

"In the absence of a full explanation, the indications are that Minister Liebenberg is fed up with having to make unsatisfactory budgetary compromises which he knows are harmful to South Africa's long-term social and economic interests."

Liebenberg, however, denied that any policy differences contributed to his decision to quit.

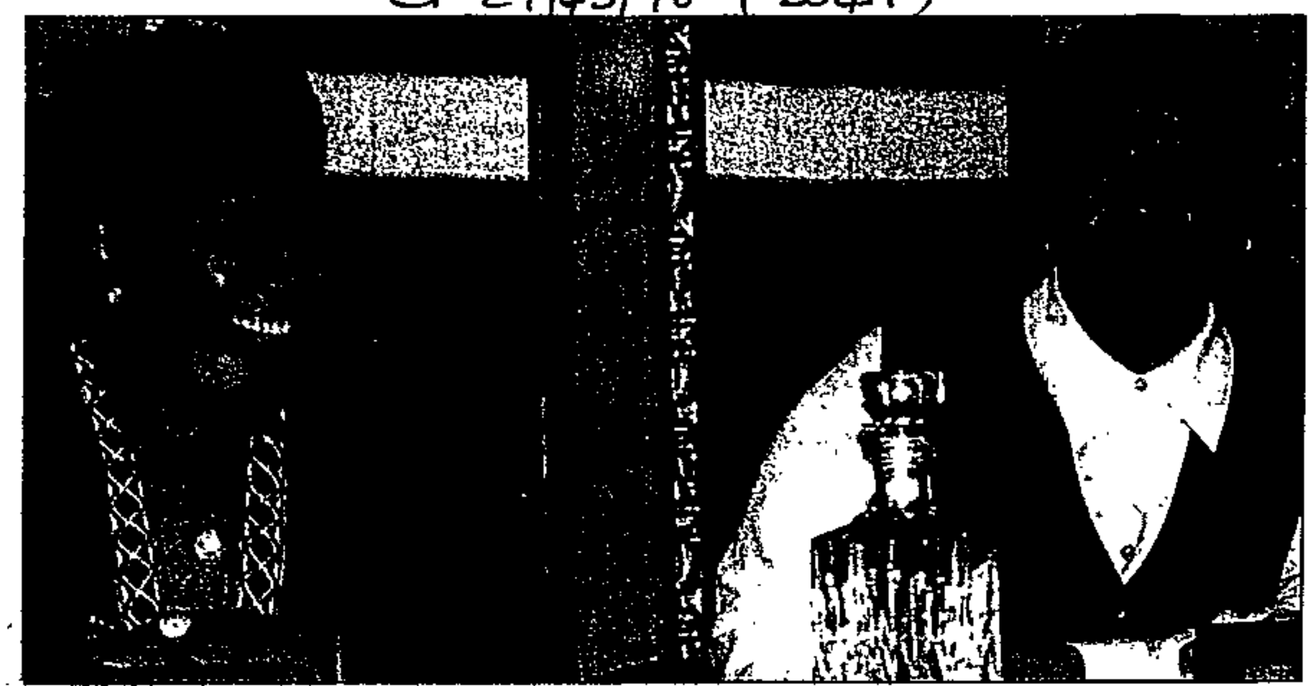
The biggest surprise in the reshuffle was the decision to drop Jordan from the cabinet as Minister for Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting and replace him with Jay Naidoo.

Mandela said the appointment of Manuel as Finance Minister had resulted in too many ANC ministers in terms of the constitution and had forced a difficult decision, but he had decided to assign Jordan to "other tasks outside of the cabinet".

ANC insiders said Jordan's demise was expected because his style had isolated him. Jordan himself would not comment on his future, saying, when asked about this: "Ah, come on."

The decision to abolish the RDP office, placing the RDP fund within the Ministry of Finance and giving Deputy President Thabo Mbeki the mandate to relocate RDP programmes, was not entirely unexpected. Manuel said the RDP was now no longer a R7,5 billion project but a R173 billion project, as it now involved every government structure.

Commentators said the reshuffle points to Mandela having increased his stamp over the executive, entrenching the ANC in key ministries and promoting women into responsible positions.



WOMEN POWER: Ms Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (left) and Ms Susan Shabangu. Yesterday they were appointed Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry and Deputy Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs respectively. *PICTURE: CLIVE SMITH*

MANUEL 'GLOBAL LEADER OF TOMORROW'

From activist to economist

CT 29/3/96 (304A)

FINANCE MINISTER Trevor Manuel has since his appointment in 1991 as the ANC's economic planning department chief had to balance competing demands from unions and business. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

A FOUNDER member of the United Democratic Front, new Finance Minister Trevor Manuel qualified as a civil engineering technician in a career dominated by local activist politics — and spent the past five "mainstream years" immersed in international finance.

At the centre of ANC economic policy formation since his surprise 1991 appointment as the party's economic planning department chief, he found himself at the cutting edge of competing demands from trade unions and the business community.

The party job saw him widely exposed to the local business community, international investors and institutions like the IMF, GATT and the World Bank — and he played a pivotal role in winning over local businesses and international investment.

Ironically, among his more vocal critics recently has been Cosatu which fears that his trade liberalisation policies could lead to job losses.

Selected last year as a "Global Leader for Tomorrow" by the World Economic Forum, Manuel, 39, also serves on the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Initiative for Trade Efficiency.

Manuel was born in Kensington in Cape Town and matriculated from Harold Cressy High in 1973.

He obtained his diploma at the Peninsula Technikon before taking a job with a construction company where he worked for nearly eight years.

He switched to voluntary community work as secretary of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac) in 1981, becoming a field worker for the Education Resources Information Centre (Eric), an agency supplying literature to community organisations, the following year.

His first formal political involvement came in 1969 when his father encouraged him to participate in the Labour Party — a short-lived exercise ended by the LP's participation in the Coloured Representative Council.

Close friendships with UWC students helped him form Black Consciousness views in the early '70s, while his construction job put him in touch with migrant workers from the Ciskei.

By 1975 Manuel was organising protests against bus fare increases and co-ordinating adult literacy schemes, bail applications and legal assistance for his rural comrades, working closely with other activists such as Johnny Issel and Peter Jones.

A key figure in the 1980 bus boycotts and rent increase protests, he moved into helping set up the UDF, becoming its Western Cape secretary and a national executive member in 1983.

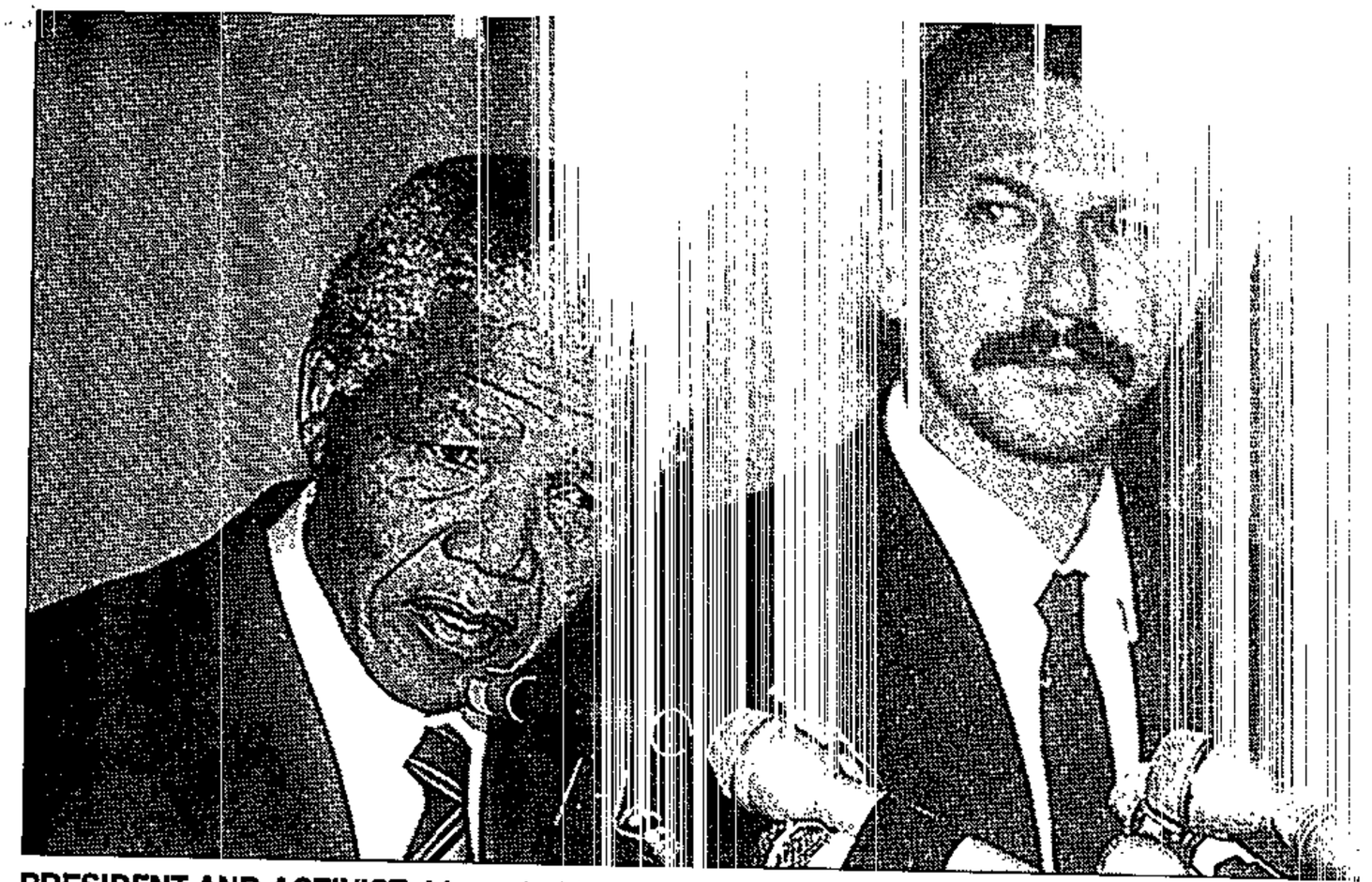
This led directly to repeated arrests, banning orders, detentions without trial, house arrests and a total of 35 months in prison.

One arrest involved him speaking in defiance of a restriction order in Athlone during the Mass Democratic Movement's local defiance campaign held to coincide with the 1989 general election.

He began a high-profile hunger strike in jail which saw him transferred to the prison backwaters of Grootvlei Prison, Bloemfontein.

Manuel is an admirer of the writings of Amilcar Cabral, leader of the Guinea-Bissau revolution and of the achievements of post-revolutionary Cuba.

A seasoned public speaker and charismatic figure, he is married to Lynne (Mathews) and lives in Cape Town. He has three children.



PRESIDENT AND ACTIVIST: Manuel with president Nelson Mandela at Mandela's first press conference shortly after his release from Victor Verster prison. *PICTURES: BENNY GOOL*



MAINSTREAM: Ms Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka.

Trade and Industry deputy 'excited, but confused'

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

MS Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, the new Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, cut her activist teeth in non-governmental organisations before being elected to Parliament in 1994.

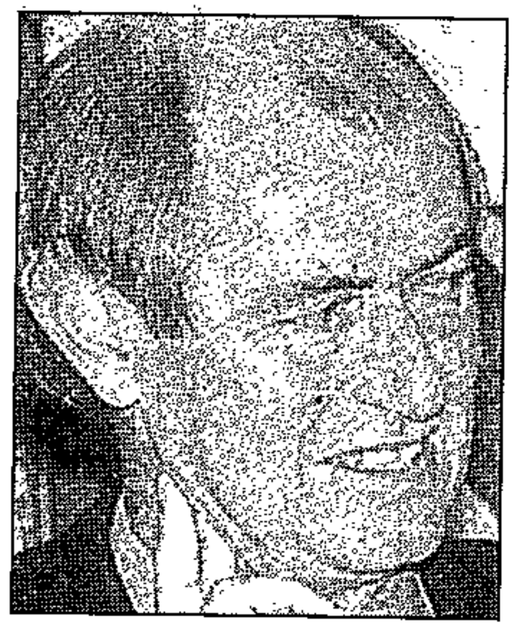
Mlambo-Ngcuka is currently chairperson of the National Assembly's Portfolio Committee on Public Service and Administration, and also chairperson of Guguletu's RDP Forum. She is also deputy leader of the Western Cape ANC.

She confessed last night that she was excited about her appointed, but "I am also totally confused at the moment". She recalled that a few days ago she said that she wanted to work in the mainstream and not in the sidelines. Now, in her new appointment, she will be in the mainstream of job creation and promoting economic development.

Born in 1955, she graduated from the National University of Lesotho as a teacher. She was youth director for the World Young Women's Christian Association in Geneva from 1984-1987. In 1990 she became the director of World University Service South Africa. She joined Phumelela Services in 1993 as a management consultant.

Mlambo-Ngcuka is married to the ANC's chief whip in the Senator, Bulelani Ngcuka.

Dedicated Erwin 'a good back-up minister'



HIGHLY REGARDED: Alec Erwin

NEWLY appointed Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin had a long involvement with labour before he became Deputy Finance Minister in May 1994.

Erwin was viewed as a "very good back-up minister" who was completely dedicated to his task, said Ms Jenny Cargill, director of Businessmap SA, a policy information service.

However, he had not endeared himself to the trade union movement because of his perceived willingness to adopt mainstream macro-economic policies, she said.

He had also not lived up to expectations to deliver on policies favourable to the trade unions, given his background in the labour movement.

Erwin served as general secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions from 1979 to 1981 and occupied senior positions in the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the National Union of Metalworkers of SA.

The SA Chamber of Business director of economic policy, Dr Ben van Rensburg, said Sacob had built up a good working relationship with Erwin and would be happy to work with him no matter what portfolio he occupied.

Erwin was born in Cape Town on January 17, 1948, and matriculated at Durban High School in 1965. Between 1971 and 1978 he lectured in economics at the University of Natal.

He became a member of the ANC's national executive committee in 1994 and has been a member of the SA Communist Party since 1991. He has served on Cosatu's national economic forum and as the Numsa representative on the Motor Industry Task Group.

Erwin is married and lives in Durban. — Sapa

Marcus has made her mark in Parliament



EFFICIENT: Deputy Finance Minister Gill Marcus

NEW Deputy Finance Minister Gill Marcus has a reputation for being dedicated, efficient and diligent as chairwoman of Parliament's joint standing committee on finance.

Since taking up the post in 1994 she has earned the respect of the private sector, commerce and government officials in her handling of complex economic issues.

Despite her lack of economic training, Marcus is able to explain complicated financial and economic issues in a jargon-free way.

Last year her committee succeeded in passing legislation to deregulate the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and summoned the auditor-general, governor of the Reserve Bank and the Finance Ministry to provide general information on fiscal and monetary policy and strategies.

The committee has five working groups — budget process, taxation, financial regulations, fiscal and financial commission and macro-economic policy.

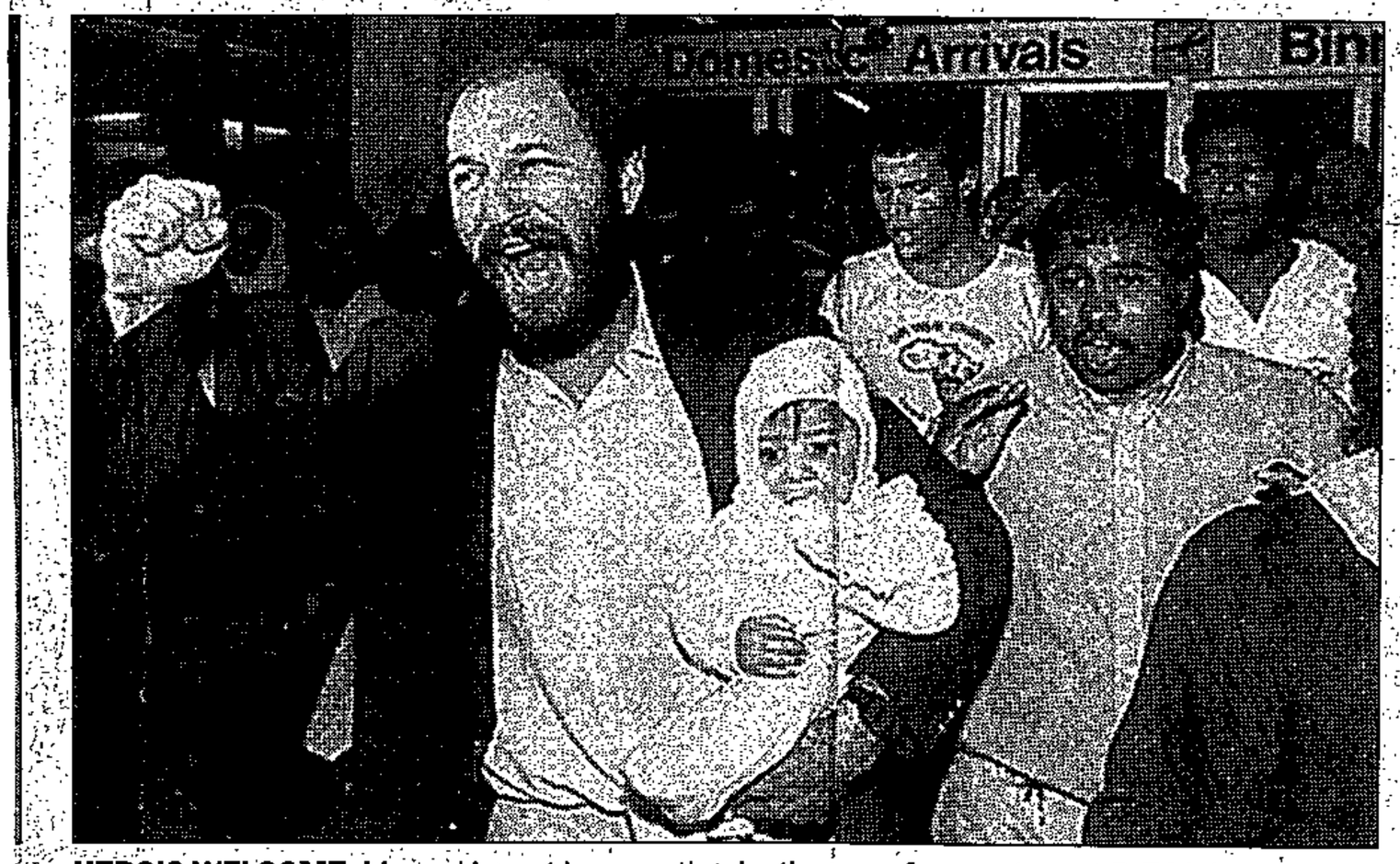
Marcus left the country with her parents in

ty of the Witwatersrand.

She switched courses to industrial psychology and finished her degree through Unisa in London.

She joined the ANC in 1970 and returned to South Africa in 1991 to set up the organisation's information department.

She served on the ANC's elections co-ordinating committee responsible for media strategy and on the ANC's national working committee until 1994 when she became a member of



HERO'S WELCOME: Manuel is met by an enthusiastic goup of supporters at D F Malan airport in the mid-'80s after his release from detention in Preton. It was the first time Manuel had seen his son Pallo.



LAST MARCH: Manuel, with current Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils and Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, leading a march on parliament before the historic 1994 election. The marchers demanded that Stal Plein be renamed Albert Luthuli Square.

FRIDAY
MARCH 29, 1996

The rise of Trevor Manuel



EARLY MORNING ARREST: Manuel is confronted by Warrant Officer Schalk van der Merwe of the now defunct security branch during an early morning raid in the '80s on his Hazendal home. He was arrested and taken into detention.

Manuel appointment is another step in growth of SA's confidence

ARG 30/3/96 (304A)

■ In the wake of this week's cabinet reshuffle, which saw the departure of Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg, early reaction from financial markets was to take the change in their stride. This is a good example for all, argues Political Correspondent **CLIVE SAWYER**.

UNFORTUNATELY for the new South Africa, prophets of doom have become a rapidly growing sector. On occasion, one might wonder whether jitters in the market are fuelled maliciously, as evidenced by earlier persistent speculation about President Mandela's health.

Not to mention the subsequent rumours that he would quit at the end of this year.

Whoever spreads these rumours does the country a disservice, and if the dissemination is done in innocence, betrays a profound failure to understand the dynamics of the government of national unity and its commitment to what Mr Liebenberg has called the mantra of fiscal discipline.

Swiftly following the announcement of Mr Liebenberg's return to private life were predictions that the rand would slide further and international bond investors would be cautious because of the rate at which South Africa had gone through finance ministers – two since the 1994 election.

Minority parties were also quick to express alarm at the appointment of a finance minister from African National Congress ranks, apparently unaware of the respect for Trevor Manuel for his handling of the Trade and Industry portfolio.

Negative reaction to Mr Manuel's appointment displays a wilful denial of the initiatives he has taken towards leading South Africa towards its rightful place in world trade, and the rapid learning curve which will be to his benefit in his new job.

In a sense, that Mr Manuel was not appointed Finance Minister immediately after the 1994 election was a surprise to some, because it had seemed that his role as head of ANC economic affairs meant that President Mandela was grooming him to take over the national budget.

Informed economists have welcomed Mr Manuel as "market-friendly" and as eager to abandon the country's remaining exchange controls.

It would be cause for worry if two years after the election, there was a continuing failure to understand the role of a finance minister in the context of the government of national unity.

This is not to paint the National Party, or even the Inkatha Freedom Party, as the voice of sanity in the GNU, as no doubt both of these minority parties like to be seen.

But it is worthwhile pointing out that the GNU's commitment to fiscal discipline and responsible economic policy is closely linked to a broad national consensus on the issue.

The ANC added to the debate with its statement that in other democracies the finance portfolio was under the direction of the majority party.

With supreme confidence, the ANC said Mr Manuel's appointment should strengthen investor confidence at home and abroad.

Most significantly, Mr Mandela's choice of Mr Manuel signals his confidence in him, particularly given how aware the president is of the nervous disposition of investors and markets.

Mr Mandela is unlikely, to say the least, to move in a way which would put the country's future growth at risk, given how urgently South Africa needs foreign investment, without which it can barely hope to create jobs.

Mr Manuel himself was at pains to assure markets that he stood for continuity, and acknowledged he and his new deputy, Gill Marcus, would have to work hard in the face of scepticism.

Also prone to misinterpretation was Mr Mandela's changes to the handling of the Reconstruction and Development Programme portfolio.

Jay Naidoo is to relinquish the RDP ministry to take over ousted Pallo Jordan's job as Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting.

Superficial analysis was to see this as a vote of no-confidence in Mr Naidoo, who has been subjected to a barrage of criticism for producing screeds of RDP-speak documents rather than houses, jobs and running water.

Partly, this misunderstanding is born of a failure to grasp the complexities of the RDP process and that this week's shift of duties to the Finance Ministry and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki signals a new phase towards implementation.

While the NP was quick to label the change as the abandonment of the RDP, the change is in line with the programme's developing linkage to all government functions.

It has been clear from the outset that Mr Naidoo's role was a short-term one, pending a more pervasive approach to reconstruction and development among all ministries.

There is further significance in the allocation of RDP programmes to Mr Mbeki, who earlier this year was given the job of unveiling the Growth and Development Strategy, the companion programme to the RDP.

For the rest, the other changes and appointments announced by Mr Mandela are a manifestation of the normalisation of politics.

Cabinet reshuffles are the norm in all countries, and Mr Liebenberg's departure gave Mr Mandela the opportunity to reward merit and potential, while furthering his government's commitment to a strong role for women in government.

Gill Marcus, the new Deputy Finance Minister, matches both criteria, having gained respect for her role as chairperson of the joint standing committee on finance.

Other appointments this week were unionist Suzan Shabangu as Deputy Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka as Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry.

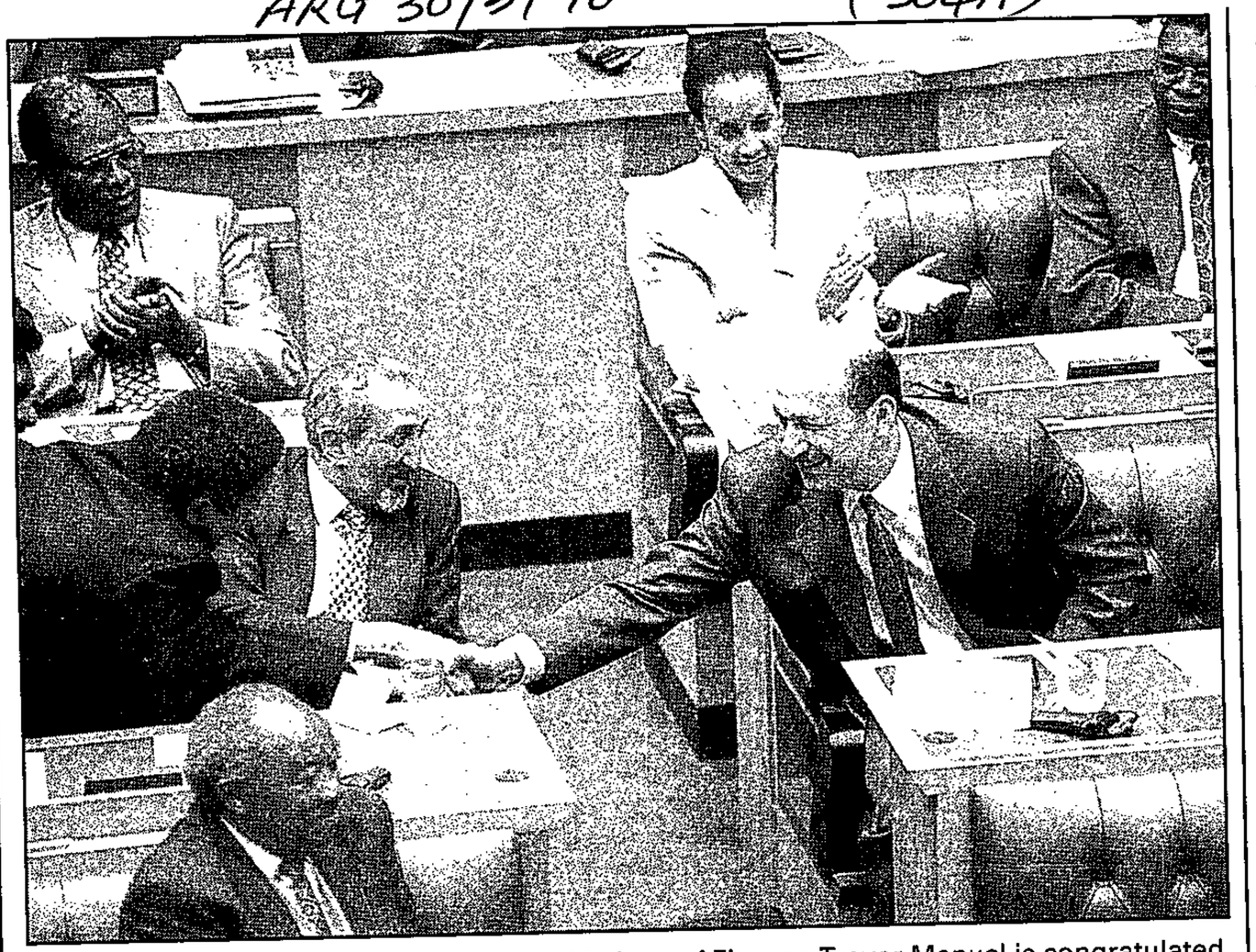
Ms Mlambo-Ngcuka's appointment clearly reflects the respect she gained in Mr Mandela's eyes for her role as chairperson of the national assembly committee on public service and administration.

However, this week's appointment are not without their perils.

The appointment of Mr Manuel will usher in a new phase of party politics attacks on the Finance Ministry, now that it is solely in African National Congress hands.

And academic Gavin Lewis of RDP Monitor said that in closing down the RDP ministry, the ANC would have to explain to provinces with RDP departments and to communities with RDP forums what the status of the programme was.

Whatever the long-term reaction among markets and ordinary citizens to this week's changes, they clearly signal Mr Mandela's commitment to furthering the authority of his party in the country, in line with urging by rank and file ANC members that the party strengthen its role in governance.



❒ **CONGRATULATIONS, SIR:** The new Minister of Finance Trevor Manuel is congratulated by Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad as other cabinet ministers applaud his appointment.

CHOOSING A CHINA

Should South Africa turn its back on Taiwan?

(304A) (CP) CP 31/3/96

IN A BLOW to the Republic of China on Taiwan that fell just days before its presidential elections, South Africa this week signalled its intent to open diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo made the announcement at the end of a 48-hour trip to Beijing – the first by a South African foreign minister.

THEMBA SONO, visiting professor at the University of the Witwatersrand and author of several studies on East Asia including a recent book on Taiwan-South Africa ties, writes on the question of the two Chinas and their relationship with Pretoria.

DURING JULY and August 1995 China conducted live missile tests some 120 km off the coast of Taiwan. The People's Liberation Army fired volleys of surface-to-surface anti-ship and ballistic missiles.

Why?

Because Beijing was miffed at the United States for having allowed Republic of China on Taiwan President Lee Tung-hui to pay a private visit to his alma mater!

Now China is engaged in more sabre-rattling military drills. Last week it began a massive show of military strength. These "exercises" were scheduled to run till the presidential elections in Taiwan came to an end yesterday.

Why?

The Beijing regime in its delusions seems to believe that Taiwan belongs to communist China. So, to demonstrate that point, this time around the missile tests were conducted much closer to Taiwan's schools, homes, factories and farms.

Those of us who had naively been arguing that because South Africa, having entered a new era of pacifist democratic relations in international affairs, would henceforth rule the roost, have just learnt a nasty lesson in world politics,

And maybe the SANDF should disabuse itself of any romantic notions of a massive scaledown in the acquisition of armaments. Diminishing South Africa's military capability would be premature at this stage. China's flexing of military muscle – not only in the Taiwan Straits but also in the South China Sea – is yet another rude reminder that our planet is still full of menacing rogues.

In the Florida Straits a capitalist giant, the United States, seeks to strangle a tiny communist island, Cuba, not only by diplomatic and economic isolation, but also by militay blockades.

In the Taiwan Straits a communist giant, China, seeks to strangle a tiny capitalist and democratic island, Taiwan, not only by diplomatic quarantine but also by military threats, all in the name of hegemony.

But the similarities end there – other than that both democratic America and non-democratic China are nuclear powers with veto capability at the UN.

There is a graver international threat in the Taiwan Straits than in the Florida Straits. The Chinese military exercises are not an isolated sign of China's dangerous militarism. In 1995 Beijing also intensified the projection of its military power in the South China Sea – reasserting claims to areas disputed by many South East Asian nations. Typically bullish, Beijing aggressively constructed a naval facility on the appropriately named Mischief Reef in the Spratley Islands, inside the Phillipines' 200 nautical mile exclusive economic zone.



DIPLOMATIC OVERTURES ... After breaking the ice with the first visit to Beijing by a South African foreign minister, Alfred Nzo (left) announced this week that South Africa intended establishing diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China. His statement came as tension between Red China and Taiwan reached a peak.

Given that the Beijing politburo is the only post-war regime in Asia to have militarily duelled no less than six times with her neighbours (South Korea, Taiwan, Taiwan, India, Soviet Union and Vietnam), current military provocations against Taiwan are clear signs of the expansionism of the communist mandarinate.

Firstly, China is now a nuclear power – and is suspected of being less than scrupulous in her nuclear dealings with some Asian and Middle East countries. For instance, India is not convinced that China's hand is not also stirring the nuclear stew that Pakistan is reportedly cooking. Secondly, military exercises may well have woken up South Korea and Japan from their pacifist slumber.

Could this make Japan, for one, rethink her immediate and long term defence requirements?

Would the militarists in Japan remain content with the military umbrella of the US while Beijing recklessly displays her military might and projects armed belligerence? Any student of Asian history knows the lessons Imperial Japan dished out to her neighbours, including China and Russia, between 1895 and 1945. Is Beijing not encouraging Japan to junk its pacifist stance and revert to her old militarist ways?

What about South Korea? The Korean peninsula at the moment teems with the might of American armed forces. South Korea might well encourage the American-Korean hawks to beef up the armed forces in the area – and so inflame that enigmatic regime in Pyongyang.

The Korean War in 1950 – in which the North Korean regime was joined by communist China – was a brutal reminder of the untenability and unpredictability of the East Asian theatre.

Currently, two formidable US naval battle groups are plying the waters near Taiwan. Both the USS Nimitz and USS Independence battle groups are near the tense zone. Could the 7th Fleet be far behind?

Still, East Asian countries are not convinced of continued and unshakeable protection by the United States. So they are beefing up their military budgets. The Mischief Reef incident has convinced them that even though the US-Phillippines defence treaties are still operational, they could not prevent the dictatorship of the Proletariat in Beijing from assaulting it – and that arming oneself is better than praying for good things to come.

Communist China's expansionism should be a timely reminder to those paladins of the "pacifism" and "reasonableness" of the dictators of Beijing that China is an international menace. But more importantly for South Africans, it is an appropriate reminder of President Mandela's wise diplomacy on the China question – keep diplomatic ties with Taiwan and seek to mollify China somehow.

☐ Seeing that South Africa is Taiwan's largest diplomatic partner, if South Africa were to cut its ties with Taiwan before the two Chinas have resolved their problem, Beijing would interpret South Africa's move as a signal that the Stalinists along the Yellow River could have Taiwan's democracy for dinner.

So, Madiba, do not become a partner in Beijing's warmongering hegemonism. Stay the course – it is just, right and noble.



WISE APPROACH ... President Nelson Mandela knows how to handle the China question.

The bok: final whistle or new maul?

(3049) Star 30/3/96



NSC president Mluleki George may be on a hiding to nothing today when he announces the decision to retain or discard South Africa's most controversial apartheid-linked emblem, the springbok. Sports editor **RODNEY HARTMAN** reports



TEAM MAN: The image that won many hearts – President Mandela in a Springbok jersey at the World Cup final. His support for the emblem heightens the NSC dilemma

Maybe the best thing one can say about the long-raging Springbok emblem debate is that, at about one o'clock this afternoon, it will be over. Or will it?

When the National Sports Council (NSC) delivers its long-awaited landmark judgment on the wretched antelope that caused all the trouble, it is likely to propel the issue on to a higher plane of invective. The emblem has emerged as the most controversial topic to beset sport in the 1990s and a decision to either retain or reject the springbok as rugby's rallying totem will undoubtedly be met with a fresh wave of vitriol.

The NSC has taken it upon itself to be the final arbiter on this acutely sensitive subject. As sport's sole umbrella body in the new democracy, it has followed the lead from the Government to rid public life of any structures or symbols that may be construed as representative of the apartheid years.

Central to this is the springbok emblem, historically the badge worn by all-white national teams and around which has developed more bitter argument, support and resentment than that displayed for any other symbol.

Neither the changing of the flag nor the national anthem provoked anything like the frenzied rancour that has grown around the springbok – the emblem that led to the birth of the beloved Amabokoboko during last year's Rugby World Cup triumph – and yet is still seen by many to be covertly symbolic of apartheid.

In the most difficult decision it is likely to make, the NSC must deliver its verdict after a council meeting at Vanderbijlpark this morning. The debate has been raging for two years and finality on the issue has been postponed several times amid proposals and counter-proposals from interested parties.

Short of hoping for some divine intervention to resolve the problem, the NSC must today demonstrate more than ever its powers of statesmanship in arriving at an equitable solution. That it is on the horns of a dilemma is beyond dispute. On the one hand, it has a NSC-appointed commission of inquiry unanimously recommending that the springbok be scrapped and, on the other, the support for its retention from President Mandela, Minister of Sport Steve Tshwete and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Furthermore, NSC president Mluleki George, is also senior vice-president of the SA Rugby Football Union (Sarfu), the ultimate guardian of the springbok emblem.

It may well be said that George will be on a hiding to nothing when he announces the NSC's decision at today's 1 pm conference.

There is, of course, the vain hope that the decision will be embraced by all constituencies; that the nation will accept the NSC's wisdom. This is a time surely when noises of triumph or antagonism must be stilled; sadly, one suspects, the decision will be accompanied by claims of a triumph on the one hand and of treachery on the other.

In examining a debate, the parameters of which have been stretched like the only piece of bubblegum at a 10-year-old's party, one finds too much blinkered bitterness to suggest that equanimity can be achieved.

In so many letters to so many editors, the nation has expressed its view with growing forcefulness and even greater disparity.

G Meyer of Roodepoort holds forth that "rugby men don't wear flowers" (a reference to the NSC's desire to have the king protea installed as sport's sole national emblem), while perhaps forgetting that the macho Northern Transvaal team wears the Barbeton daisy. In claiming further that the springbok is part of the "spiritual fibre" of South African rugby, G Meyer will clearly not be dissuaded in his/her standpoint.

Neither will Tshidi Molete of Diepkloof, who derides Mandela's support for the emblem as "the ultimate sellout by the ANC" and equates it with such demonstrations as Tokyo Sexwale shedding tears when a white person dies in a violent crime.

Chester Williams may have become a Springbok on merit, but he could well point out that fine players like Dougie Dyers and Green Vigo could not qualify for the Springboks because, like him, they were "coloureds". Instead, they were allowed to represent their country as members of the (coloured) SA Rugby Federation, which toured the UK and Holland in the 1970s and played against touring teams at home. Ironically, the badge they wore was the protea and they became known as the Proteas.

If one wished to stretch the debate even further, it could be claimed that the protea, too, is a symbol of apartheid sport. Dyers and Vigo could not play for the Springboks, neither could they play for the Leopards, the old team reserved exclusively for blacks. Thus, tugging the bubblegum an extra inch, the springbok, protea and leopard should have no further place in South African sport.

Why it has become such a burning issue is that rugby, which has enshrined the emblem, was always viewed as the national sport of white South Africa. Those who suffered under apartheid came to believe that a win for Springbok rugby was a triumph for apartheid.

Rightly or wrongly, there remains a strong view among the hitherto disadvantaged that South African rugby is set on retaining this emblem in order to cling to the past. This argument is apparently strengthened by the fact that other national team sports, and notably cricket, were prepared to shed the springbok emblem in their desire to join the democratic march.

Cricket's transition from the springbok to the protea two years ago was relatively untroubled because of the unanimity of its new ruling body. Rugby, on the other hand, clung on to the springbok because, with respect to Mluleki George, its old-style administration remained largely intact.

As an affiliate of the NSC, Sarfu was forewarned that the springbok emblem would ultimately have to go to conform with a universal desire to adopt the protea. Sarfu, however, won a stay of execution until after the 1995 Rugby World Cup because it convinced the NSC that marketing contracts around the springbok emblem could not be cancelled at short notice. At the same time, Sarfu produced a new badge of a leaping springbok over a wreath of proteas and renamed it the "unity emblem".

The problem, if there is one, came with South Africa's subsequent performances at the tournament. Under the rallying slogan "One team, one country", Francois Pienaar's Springboks won the hearts of the nation by winning rugby's grandest prize at their first attempt. What is more, the Amabokoboko embodied a new symbolism that clearly carried rugby into a new non-racial era.

As whites and blacks united under a common flag, rugby's ultimate sanitisation came when Mandela walked on to the Ellis Park field dressed in Springbok jersey and cap. This scenario now finds itself sharply at odds with the subsequent findings of a six-man NSC commission empowered to investigate national symbols. It concludes that "the evidence before the commission established conclusively that the springbok emblem was deeply offensive to many South Africans; that, if retained, it is divisive because of the offence it will cause to substantial numbers of people; and it was clear that the springbok does not embody shared values, does not represent shared ideals and aspirations, and is not unifying".

Within days of publication of this 31-page report earlier this month, Minister Tshwete suggested that the NSC commission had not been objective in its findings. The debate was reopened all over again, and it will rage on to its climax at Vanderbijlpark this afternoon.

the right to information

Where does one draw the line? And who decides?

■ Remembering his own experience, Cyril Ramaphosa knows only too well how important the right to information is. He talks about his view

ARG 30/3/96 (304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Staff Reporter

SOMEWHERE in the paper-logged labyrinth of government is a file that Cyril Ramaphosa would very much like to peruse.

He saw it once, but fleetingly – and all he knows is that it bears his name. What makes the file significant in the broader scheme is that it is precisely access to documents such as these – dossiers kept by the state on individuals in society – which the access-to-information lobby argues should be the subject of a right to information.

For all his intrigue in seeing that file, Cyril Ramaphosa, like most of his peers in the African National Congress, does not subscribe to the view that it is feasible to grant citizens a limitless right in the Bill of Rights to information held by the state.

He described at the Cape Town Press Club this week how, as the leader of the National Union of Mineworkers, he was in a meeting with then Minister of Police Adriaan Vlok when he spotted a file on the minister's desk bearing his name. "I was most interested in that file," he recalled. On a later, somewhat more convivial occasion, he had asked Mr Vlok what was in it, but the minister wouldn't say. Mr Ramaphosa confessed this week that he was "still intrigued" to know what the dossier contained ... but went on to reason why he remained opposed to anything like a absolute right to information held by the state. "The right should be such that it enables us to have access, but I believe that that access should be elaborated in a statute.

"Rights are not absolute, and if you accept that rights have limitations, then you must accept that they have to be further elaborated on and expanded on in other instruments, such as legislation. "The right of access to information held by the state is a right that cannot be unlimited, and cannot be a right that can be fully elaborated in a Bill of Rights. It must be regulated by legislation, which sets out the conditions under which it can be exercised.".



❐ **ON FILE:** Cyril Ramaphosa would love to see what the previous regime had on him.

He "looked forward" to full discussions with the media on this so that there could be "consensus" on the subject.

By way of illustration, he asked: "Should we say that everyone should have access to the intelligence reports that Nelson Mandela gets every day? This is not a situation where the state is violating people's rights."

A bullish Mr Ramaphosa confidently predicted that, contrary to some, the final constitution would be delivered on schedule, on May 8. He has a bet on this – two cases of good Cape wine – and appears determined to enhance his cellar. Fewer than 12 days in the next six weeks have been set aside for the final rounds of negotiations on outstanding matters.

"We have almost wrapped up the whole constitution, and there are just a few areas that remain to be negotiated. "All things considered, we have

Kriel learns not to speak too soon

(304A)

By CHIARA CARTER

CP 31/3/96

HERNUS KRIEL, Western Cape premier, lives in a glass house himself – that's why he could not afford to throw political stones at President Mandela and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela regarding their divorce.

The premier also realised he had blundered by making petty party politics of the President's wealth – and apologised to him this week for his personal remarks.

The ANC said he had told Mandela his reported remarks were not what he had intended to say at a National Party election meeting in Cape Town.

Die Burger reported Kriel had drawn a comparison between the shortage of funds for education and the extent of President Mandela's personal wealth as referred to by the media.

City Press first reported that Madikizela-Mandela wanted half of the President's estate – R20 million – as a settlement.

Kriel, a former minister of Law and Order, questioned the fact that Mandela's estate could be worth R40 million as he was imprisoned until 1990. He criticised Mandela for giving money and gifts, including a car, to his daughters and grandchildren.

The ANC said Kriel was running his election campaign from the "gutter" and Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal demanded that Kriel withdraw or apologise for his statements.

Mandela said he was profoundly disturbed by Kriel's attack and it was based on "untested speculation".

☐ Approached by City Press, Kriel declined to reveal details about his own divorce from Juliette Kriel in December 1993 after 27 years of marriage.

Papers before the court did not disclose Kriel's financial situation. (At the time a minister earned about R200 000 a year.)

In terms of the divorce, Kriel is believed to have set up a R100 000 trust fund for his son in addition to paying R600 a month for the boy's maintenance.

He is also believed to have given his ex-wife R20 000 and a 1992 Citi Golf and to have agreed to pay her at least R3 000 a month maintenance.

Their house in Newlands, Cape Town, worth at least R500 000, is believed now to be registered in her name.

☐ The President's lawyers this week described as "devoid of any truth" a report first carried by City Press (and later by other newspapers) that his ex-wife had physically attacked him before their separation in 1992.

The President's statement said he "regretted" the publication of the reports particularly at a time when his relationship with his former wife was under public scrutiny." The reports were published "without any reference to the President and no attempt was made to verify their accuracy with him or his office".

Why Pallo Jordan got the boot













MOMENT OF TRUTH . . . sidelined Minister Pallo Jordan (top centre) seems to be asking: "What hit me?" Meanwhile, his colleagues (clockwise from top right) Trevor Manuel, Jay Naidoo, Susan Shabangu, Alec Erwin and Gill Marcus rejoice at their promotions

Pictures: TERRY SHEAN

AFTER weeks of rumblings, the presidential volcano finally erupted on Thursday, throwing out jets of political lava and clouds of obscuring steam.

When the smoke and the panic it caused on the financial markets had subsided, South Africa had its first black Finance Minister, Trevor Manuel, and a new way of conducting its development financing.

The change was precipitated by the decision of the Minister of Finance, Chris Liebenberg, to leave government. Having fulfilled his obligation to keep the fiscal ship on course with his last Budget, Mr Liebenberg had discussed with Mr Mandela, for some weeks, the timing of his departure.

Thursday, the last day of two days of debate on his Budget in Parliament and a week shy of the Easter recess, was chosen.

Mr Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who is believed to have been closely consulted on the decisions, used the opportunity to reorganise the government's development financing.

The reconstruction and development programme ministry has been the place where development policy has been initiated, with the RDP fund supposed to act as an incentive to government departments to put themselves on a development footing.

But Mr Mbeki — and Mr Manuel for that matter — have long held that RDP Minister Jay Naidoo has been unable to use his portfolio effectively, leading to confusion over who should be driving macro-economic planning.

Although Mr Mbeki and Mr Naidoo appear to have found consensus on the government's focus on the development of infrastructure, Mr Naidoo's days as South Africa's "Mr Development" have been numbered for some time.

Early on Thursday he met Mr Mandela, emerging with the knowledge that his ministry was to be shut down and the RDP fund moved to the Finance Ministry.

He shared the secret of that afternoon's looming reshuffle with Mr Manuel and his deputy-to-be, Gill Marcus who had already

FROM THE GALLERY



By RAY HARTLEY



CYRIL MADLALA

Profiles the winners in this week's cabinet reshuffle

ALEC ERWIN

Alec Erwin, 48, is a member of the SA Communist Party who in the past managed to straddle the worlds of academe and trade unionism. When the new government came into power, he served as deputy finance minister to both Derek Keys and Chris Liebenberg, and his handling of the portfolio has demonstrated his commitment to economic transformation.

He holds a BEcon degree from the University of Natal and was a visiting lecturer at York University in the UK in 1974 and 1975.

He was instrumental in reviving the trade union movement in South Africa, especially in Natal where he was involved with Cosatu's forerunner, the Federation of South African Trade Unions.

He was involved in Peace Accord negotiations and in the initial discussions which led to the establishment of the National Economic Forum.

His appointment to take over from Trevor Manuel as the Minister of Trade and Industry has generally been met with approval.

He is married to Anne.

SUSAN SHABANGU

A SURPRISE appointment was that of former trade unionist Susan Shabangu as Deputy Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs. A member of the class of Soweto 1976, she has devoted most of her political life to fighting for the rights of women and workers. She was seconded to the ANC by Cosatu under the alliance's pre-election pact.

She has performed as an actress with the acclaimed John Ledwaba, and writes poetry.

She made her mark as an organiser for the Transport and General Workers' Union, especially in championing women's issues on the labour front. She also worked with the Federation of South African Women.

She is raising her three children as a single parent following the death of her husband five years ago.

The appointment came as a surprise to her and on Friday she was trying to put together a CV.

She admits she has some catching up to do in understanding the nitty-gritty of her portfolio. She did not serve on the parliamentary select committee on mineral and energy affairs, but she thinks she will enjoy working with Minister Pik Botha.

GILL MARCUS

As chairman of the joint standing committee on finance, Gill Marcus has earned a reputation as a no-nonsense woman. The way she has steered the committee in its role to keep a sharp eye on government spending has been applauded by friend and foe alike.

The new Deputy Minister of Finance perhaps acquired a brain for figures from her parents, Nathan and Molly, both chartered accountants. She completed her BComm degree in London where her family was based from 1969.

She joined the ANC in 1970 and worked in its information department in London. She became the organisation's spokesman when it was unbanned in South Africa and was elected to the national executive committee in 1991.

From propagating an international image of the ANC as a reasonable liberation movement, Ms Marcus has done much in Parliament to project the ANC as a government committed to fiscal discipline.

Many see her as destined for great things in government, and her appointment comes as no surprise. She also serves on the public accounts committee and is deputy chairman of the National Audit Commission.

PHUMZILE MLAMBO-NGC[illegible]

(304A)

not some of the other less-than-effective ministers, was chosen for axing.

It would have been logical for Mr Mandela to complete his financial reorganisation by shuffling the Minister of Public Enterprises, Stella Sigcau, while he was about it.

But he may have spared her the rod because of his determination to promote women in government. Among this week's appointments were Ms Marcus, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka as Deputy Trade and Industry Minister and Susan Shabangu as Deputy Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

Mr Mandela's womanpower strategy may also have led him to overlook Marcel Golding for the Mineral and Energy Affairs post.

Although he applauded Ms Shabangu's appointment warmly, Mr Golding may have grounds for feeling a little left out.

He has emerged as one of Parliament's finest committee chairmen, a former trade unionist who sends the National Union of Mineworkers a regular briefing on his committee's activities.

Mr Golding has spent two years building up a relationship with Minister Pik Botha and plays a key role in government's policy direction in the field.

On her appointment, Ms Shabangu said she had never met Mr Botha. "I hope he's a fine guy, I've read lots about him," she said.

Someone else who could have taken the reorganisation badly would be the Minister of Labour, Tito Mboweni, who was regarded as a potential finance minister before Thursday's seismic event.

But Mr Mboweni may have been seen as too close to labour. Business has criticised him for drafting laws that have made South Africa's labour market too inflexible.

Mr Mboweni further alienated business when he engaged in a public war with the SA Foundation over its Growth for All document, while Mr Manuel maintained a discreet silence.

For the moment, the volcano has fallen silent, but there are rumblings which suggest it could erupt afresh in the near future. Tardy ministers, beware.

The new Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry spent three years in Geneva as youth director for the Young Women's Christian Association. A graduate from the National University of Lesotho, Ms Mlambo-Ngcuka is a former teacher and has done extensive work with non-governmental organisations.

Before becoming an MP she directed Team, an organisation which promoted economic self-reliance among women in squatter areas and African churches. She was also the director of World University Service South Africa.

Ms Mlambo-Ngcuka is deputy chairman of the Western Cape ANC provincial executive committee and a board member of the Women's Development Foundation. Before her appointment she chaired the public service select committee in Parliament.

She is married to ANC Senator Bulelani Ngcuka.

● **Ray Hartley interviews Trevor Manuel**
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new posts.

Somehow, Mr Naidoo managed to keep a straight face at a press conference to launch the Infrastructure Investment Conference, which was delayed because of his meeting with Mr Mandela.

At one point in the press conference, business representative Errol Benvy referred to the investment conference as "the end of the beginning". Mr Naidoo seemed to smile to himself at this irony, but gave nothing away.

Later that morning, he addressed Parliament during the Budget debate. After his speech had been interrupted by rising banter in the benches, he allowed himself one brief release of pent-up frustration. "Perhaps if people listen to these figures there'll be less questioning," he shot at the restless MPs.

Having decided to close down the RDP office, Mr Mandela faced the dilemma of what to do with Mr Naidoo. To keep the party-political balance dictated by the interim constitution, he would have to dismiss Mr Naidoo or find another ANC minister who could be pushed out.

The option of removing Mr Naidoo altogether was ruled out, probably for two reasons. On the one hand, such an extreme move would be seen as a vote of no confidence in the RDP, something Mr Mandela is determined to avoid.

On the other, Mr Naidoo still enjoys considerable support from Cosatu, an organisation that has pushed itself to the centre of government economic policy this year.

Mr Naidoo was the top candidate on Cosatu's list of nominees to the ANC's parliamentary list.

In the event, Mr Mandela decided to ask the Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting, Pallo Jordan, to step down. An outspoken independent intellectual, who was arbitrarily detained by the ANC's security department during his years in exile, Mr Jordan had been struggling to get a grip on his portfolio.

The successes he had last year in overseeing the transformation of the SABC and the autonomy of the Independent Broadcasting Authority has wilted, with his departmental budget being turned down by the finance committee and scandals erupting over the broadcasting authority's undisciplined fiscal approach.

Coupled to this has been a series of scorching personal clashes within his ministry, with senior staffers falling out with each other — even taking personal feuds to court. The result has been the resignation of officials, including his spokesman, Muff Andersson.

So, Mr Jordan was given the chop. At around 11am on Thursday he was apparently offered the post of ambassador to Japan, about as far away from Tuynhuis as is geographically possible.

Mr Jordan was not pleased and he showed it, walking into Parliament halfway through Mr Mandela's reshuffle address on Thursday evening. By a remarkable coincidence, he entered the chamber just as Mr Mandela said: "I have decided to assign the honourable Pallo Jordan other tasks outside cabinet."

It must have been an intensely humiliating moment for Mr Jordan.

The appointment of Mr Naidoo to Mr Jordan's post puts a trade unionist at the head of the government's most advanced restructuring initiative, a signal that government wants to avoid a union showdown over privatisation.

The question that has to be asked of Mr Jordan's dismissal is why he, and