S.A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

1997

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Rainbow nation – dream or nightmare?

(304A) ARCT 1/2/97

Since the late 1980s, as the liberation struggle ended, a new form of conflict has emerged in South Africa, writes **Simon Bekker**. The overwhelming majority of participants and of victims in this conflict – ethnic rivalry – have been urban blacks.

Over the past eight years some 15 000 deaths resulting from ethnic conflict have been recorded in South Africa.

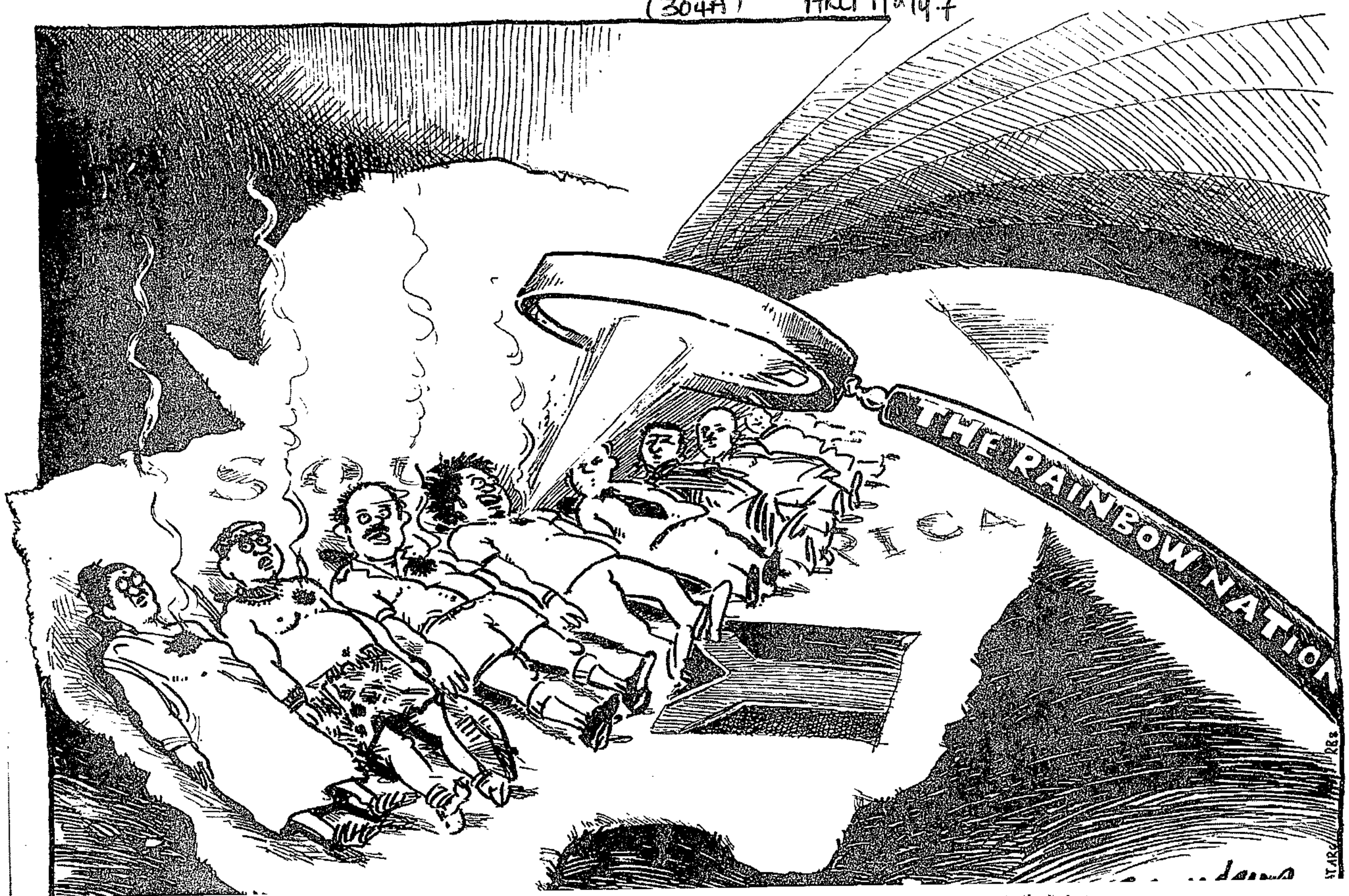
The objectives of the combatants appear to cover a bewildering range of local issues: struggles over land, access to local scarce resources, local community control, and allegiance to traditional or to modern leaders and institutions.

In KwaZulu Natal, where the conflict is mainly found, its cycle peaked during 1990, the year during which the political process of national negotiations was launched. It peaked again in early 1994 immediately before the general election and appeared to persist afterwards.

Moreover, from 1990 Zulu immigrant communities in Johannesburg and its environs have become involved in a series of related conflicts wherein confrontation has taken place along lines defined in explicit ethnic (Zulu/non-Zulu) terms.

One major interpretation of this conflict points to competition for grassroots Zulu support between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). This competitive dimension has developed an ideology and policy which amalgamates a liberation and ethnically explicit programme of action: democratic values are promoted within the context of respect for traditional Zulu leadership and values.

A number of scholars of Zulu history have pointed to the persistence of Zulu cultural symbols and identities which accompany the process of industrialisation and urbanisation. J Guy concluded that the the Zulu nationalist movement,



is "a force which will still affect the course of Southern African history".

This includes the emergence of a "brown" identity in the Western Cape.

The population of the new Western Cape is in excess of four million. Most members of this resident population speak Afrikaans as their home language. Most are brown South Africans and the overwhelming majority are urban residents.

The natural harbour and strategic historical position of this city have led to rapid urbanisation. It is both the economic hub and the centre of the province.

This unusual urban-rural provincial demography has arisen out of two sets of related factors. First, rural land remains held under individual (overwhelmingly white) tenure. There has never been a black homeland in the Western Cape, and government has not impeded urban-rural migration for brown and white South Africans throughout this century.

Secondly, migration of black South Africans, directed countrywide by influx control measures, was strictly regulated from the 1950s in the province by the Coloured Labour Preference policy, a policy designed by the erstwhile National Party (NP) government to maintain a rigid ceiling on the small proportion of black residents in the Western Cape.

This policy was scrapped in the mid-1980s. During the past decade, accordingly, as information regarding the Western Cape's good economic performance and levels of living became generally available, significant migration streams of Xhosa-speakers hailing from the Eastern Cape were directed toward the Western province. This large population shift appeared to have peaked in the early 1990s.

New Western Cape families – mainly poor households with a rural past – have settled primarily in the Cape Town metropolitan area where their numbers are approaching 750 000.

Accordingly, Cape Town's recent demographic growth reveals more rapid increases among its poorer, black and brown communities than among its better-off communities.

These demographic shifts identify a new cultural challenge for the province. There are more black than white Western Cape residents today. In meetings where most people present have become accustomed to an easy Afrikaans/English form of communication, the use of the Xhosa language is increasingly being requested since Cape Town and the Western Cape are considered by many Xhosa-speakers as part of their hinterland.

Most members of majoritarian brown communities voted in the April 1994 general election for the NP rather than for the ANC, and accordingly appear to be developing for themselves a narrower brown (albeit ambiguous) identity rather than a more comprehensive national one.

In these brown communities there are indications that anxiety and suspicion are growing regarding affirmative action strategies and urban residential developments addressing the needs of poor black communities.

There has been little contact over the years between brown and black communities, located as they were in separate group areas.

In black communities there are also indications that the consequences of Coloured Labour Preference remain squarely in residents' minds and that some form of redress is expected.

White Afrikaans residents, who have also had little contact with black South Africans, seem retiring and silent about this cultural challenge, unable to develop a new provincial vision or identity compatible with their Afrikaner culture.

In the 1994 election the new National Party succeeded in gaining majority control in the provincial government and

'White Afrikaans residents seem unable to develop a new provincial vision or identity'

appears today to be most receptive to its brown and white constituencies. Provincial ANC structures – in contrast to their national counterparts – seem to lack party political capacity and their provincial leaders have enjoyed neither a successful nor a particularly wholesome track record.

The question of a coloured identity is accordingly salient. Coloured cultural movements are being launched, conferences are being held and national and provincial politicians probably intend mobilising around the issue. This process adds a significant new factor to South Africa's nation-building project.

Without a democratic culture to direct and regulate it through institutional processes, macro-conflict in South Africa has tended to be violent. Today, this society's potential for violent conflict remains.

How is the Government of National Unity (GNU) addressing this challenge? Racism (and sexism) are constitutionally forbidden. Appointments to its national cabinet display a serious attempt at installing "rainbow" leadership. Affirmative action recruitment policies are operative in both the public and private sectors. The charisma and powerful symbolism of the president are consistently used to broadcast nonracial democratic values.

In relation to racist and Afrikaner nationalist cleavages, these techniques have succeeded in the short term. In relation to Zulu ethnic mobilisation, they have been singularly less successful.

Faced with a recalcitrant junior partner – the IFP – in the GNU, the ANC and the president have threatened military and state fiscal intervention in KwaZulu Natal to avert further violence. To them the ethnic challenge appears particularly perverse precisely because it emanates from an historically oppressed black constituency whose leadership has consistently articulated the values of democratic inclusion, albeit in Zulu cultural context.

The chief manner, however, in which the GNU is addressing the challenge of macro-conflict is by way of a nation-building project. Built around the scaffolding of the country's emergent constitutionalism – its Bill of Rights and constitutional court – this government-driven project encourages the rapid growth of a single South African identity and nation which would supplant, at least in the public domain, other identities and forms of incipient group solidarity.

Once established, this new national culture would become sovereign, and would justify concerted action against deviant sub-national ethno-political activities.

In such a form this project has little chance of success. The plural nature of South African society defies its viability, particularly under modern democratic conditions. The historical analysis offered here contests the peaceful emergence of a single national identity and culture. At best, emergent constitutionalism will mitigate the violent consequences of such tendencies. At worst, aggressive government-driven nation-building will exacerbate them.

Nation-building projects in post-independence Africa have bad track records. As Basil Davidson puts it: "The 50 or so (African) states of the colonial partition, each formed and governed as though their peoples possessed no history of their own, became 50 or so nation-states formed and governed on European models. Liberation thus produced its own denial. Liberation led to alienation."

After liberation, South Africa need not follow this path.

■ Simon Bekker is professor of sociology at the University of Stellenbosch. This article is an extract from a new book, *Racism: Xenophobia and Ethnic Conflict*, which he co-edited.

Tributes paid in Senate's final bow

End for 'rubber-stamp' house

ARG & 1/2/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Senate is dead. Long live the National Council of Provinces.

With those words, Errol Moorcroft, a Democratic Party senator for the Eastern Cape, joined colleagues in marking the end of an era and hailing a new dawn.

The Senate was the second in South Africa's history. The first – founded at union in 1910 and abandoned to make way for the tricameral debacle in 1982 – also sat in the same chamber of wood panelling and red leather.

The post-1994 Senate was the result of a Kempton Park compromise and was a diluted version of an original National Party demand for a house of review to keep the National Assembly in check.

Having been in many cases little more than a rubber-stamp of the other house – something which even most senators admit – it is to be abandoned in favour of a new National Council of Provinces (NCOP).

At the closing ceremony yesterday, President Mandela paid tribute to the Senate's achievements in going some way towards furthering the interests of the provinces it was meant to represent.

He praised the Senate's dignified style of conducting business, which had enhanced confidence in the young democracy.

Looking ahead to the NCOP, which will meet for the first time on Thursday for the election of office-bearers and swearing-in of members, Mr Mandela said the new body would have a major responsibility because of the enhanced collective role of provinces in the new constitution.

But nostalgia did not stand in the way of seeming consensus about the rosy future of the red chamber.

Inkatha Freedom Party senator Gabriel Bhengu, in the debate on Mr Mandela's speech, told the Senate that the NCOP would have stronger relations with the provinces but would have diminished power over important legislation.

"Its power will be far less than that which we exercise as senators."

In future, the route for approval of legislation will be determined in advance, according to which sections of the constitution it affects.

If it concerns purely national matters, like defence or foreign affairs, the NCOP will have no power to block it.

If it involves both national and provincial government, the provinces, through the NCOP, will have a say, but this may be overriden in the end by the National Assembly.

Aside from these matters, valedictories dominated yesterday's ceremony.

Senate President Kobie Coetsee bowed out of active politics, saying: "The Free State is waiting for me ... we have had good rains and I'm going to enjoy my freedom."

He paid warm tribute to Mr Mandela, who he visited in jail while Minister of Justice in the National Party government.

Mr Coetsee also thanked his party and said the two NP presidents under whom he had served, P W Botha and F W de Klerk, deserved to be allocated their proper place in history.

In turn, tributes were paid to Mr Coetsee. Mr Mandela said: "When the history of our transition comes to be written, the name of Kobie Coetsee will also be among those of our leading miracle-workers.

"From 1985 he quietly but tirelessly paved the way for the negotiations which delivered us from a conflict which could have devastated our divided nation."

ANC chief whip Bulelani Ngcuka said some of his party had been irked at first when instructed to vote for Mr Coetsee as Senate President as party of the government of national unity deal in 1994.

"We didn't trust him ... we were naturally suspicious. Everything he said was evaluated 100 times over."

But the ANC realised it would be wrong to elect someone to a position of power and then undermine him.

They had come to respect Mr Coetsee: "We shall miss your support, your guidance and experience".

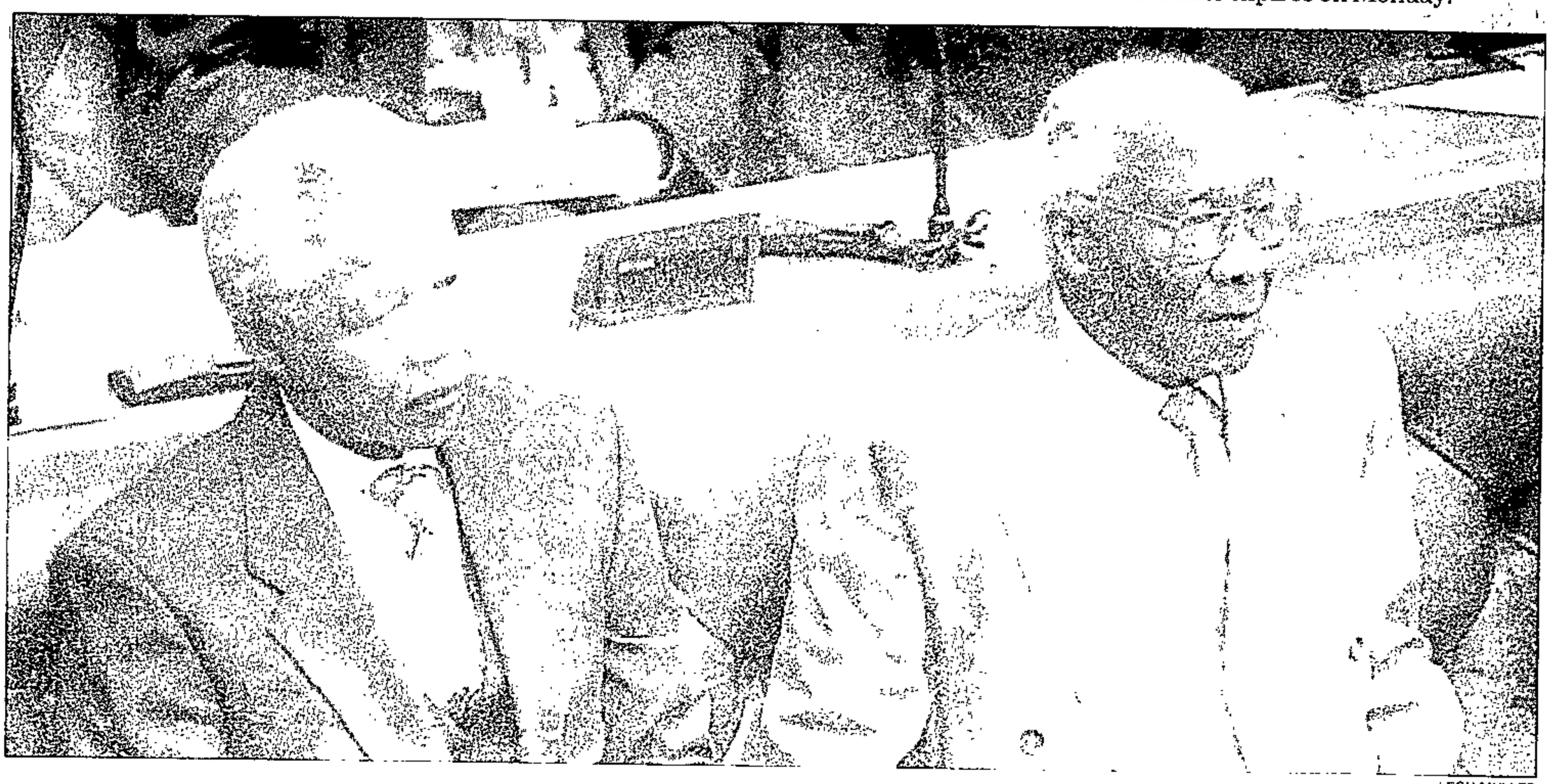
A question mark hung over the future of Mr Coetsee's deputy, Govan Mbeki, also the subject of enthusiastic tributes from Mr Mandela and others.

In his farewell to the Senate, Mr Mbeki gave no hint about his future, even though there had been speculation that he too would bow out following health problems.

Another pending departure is that of National Party chief whip Alex van Breda, who said he would leave some time after the inauguration of the NCOP.

At the closing ceremony, eyes were on former Free State Premier Patrick Lekota, who had a seat on government benches not far from the Senate President's chair. Mr Lekota, tipped to be the first NCOP chairman, seemed to be waiting in the wings.

Mr Coetsee ended proceedings by adjourning the Senate indefinitely, warning members that they could be summoned under special circumstances – unlikely given that the interim constitution under which it exists expires on Monday.



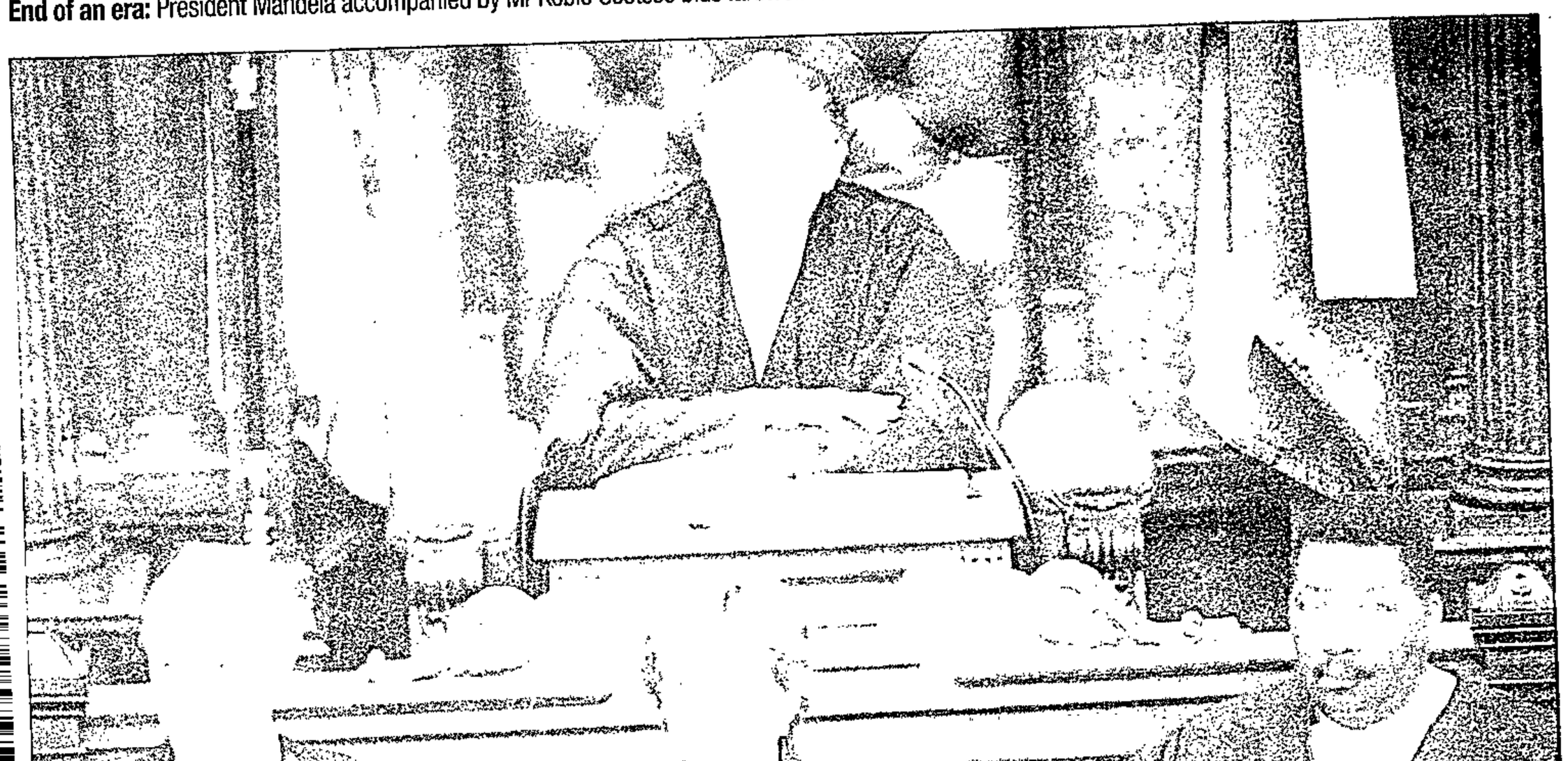
LEON MULLER

Fine example: President Mandela, seated here next to Mr Govan Mbeki, said the dignified style of the Senate had helped the cause of the new democracy



LEON MULLER

End of an era: President Mandela accompanied by Mr Kobie Coetsee bids farewell to senators after the final session of the house yesterday



LEON MULLER

Going out at the top: Senate President and former Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee received glowing tributes yesterday on his retirement from active politics

On Wednesday President Nelson Mandela stunned South Africa and the diplomatic world when he ditched Taiwan in favour of mainland China. RAY HARTLEY looks at the reasons for the government's sudden change of heart

Mandela chooses his China

304A

ST 1/12/96

ON Wednesday afternoon Taiwanese consul general Tai Feng stood in the back garden of his Houghton home, listening to the hubbub of voices in his neighbour's garden.

There, seated in an armchair on his front lawn, his neighbour, President Nelson Mandela, was briefing journalists on the most far reaching foreign policy move made by his new government — the decision to dump Taiwan in favour of China.

When Feng heard news of what the President had said shortly after the press conference, he was crestfallen.

Mandela had met Feng's boss, Taiwanese ambassador I-Cheng Loh, on Tuesday afternoon at the Union Buildings in Pretoria to discuss the status of the two countries' diplomatic ties.

But, as Loh was to say at a briefing later in the week, he had not been told that his country would be given 13 months to shut down its Pretoria embassy.

"The announcement was totally unexpected. When I met him on Tuesday I didn't know he was going to make such an announcement. I thought we had 13 months to talk to the government," a dazed looking Loh said.

Last year in June, Mandela had visited Feng at his house, a gesture of friendship which he had returned in August this year. "He told me that unless the government of China did something bad to South Africa, he would not consider cutting ties."

It was an assurance that Mandela had publicly made to visiting Taiwanese Vice-Premier Hsu Li-teh two months ago. Mandela went so far as to say that to cut ties would be "immoral".

This week, no one from the President's office was prepared to explain the apparent contradiction between that statement and this week's decision.

Nonetheless Mandela's statement underlined Loh's remarkable diplomatic achievement.

HAVING spearheaded Taiwan's relationship with the former NP government, when the two countries had shared pariah status in the international community, Loh was ready to pack his bags when the new ANC-led government of national unity took office.

Instead, he became a leading beneficiary of the two-and-a-half years it took the new government to make up its mind on foreign policy.

During that time, Loh oversaw one of the most ambitious programmes by a foreign government to win favour with the new order.

It became a standing in-house joke that dozens of ANC MPs had been given free trips to Taiwan, where they were fêted by the Taiwanese government.

Taiwan poured money into the ANC's coffers prior to the election and then followed this up with a sweeping post-election programme of aid to the new government.

Even more significantly, Taiwan encouraged its dollar-rich local business community to invest in South Africa.

Among the most significant deals of late has been a promised R13,8-billion investment in a petro-chemical project.

It must have seemed to Loh that South Africa was prepared to pursue a "two China's" policy — an effort to maintain relations with both countries, describing their differences as a matter for them to sort out among themselves.

But while this arrangement might have pleased Taiwan, it angered China, which made it clear that it would not establish formal ties with South Africa while it remained friendly with the island state.

One explanation for this week's decision has come from NP leader FW de Klerk, who asked: "Does this indicate further evidence of the influence the SACP has on the government policy?"

On Thursday Loh said he tended to agree with De Klerk, but did not elaborate.

The source of this theory could be the decision by President Mandela to send the SACP's Raymond Suttner — chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs committee — and the party's Blade Nzimande, among others, on fact-finding missions to both China and Taiwan.

But the influence of the two SACP figures may have been overestimated by De Klerk and exaggerated by Taiwan, which habitually suspects the hidden hand of communism behind every move to isolate it.

In fact, their visits to the two countries played much less of a role than subsequent trips to Beijing and Taipei by Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo. On his return, Nzo compiled a report to guide Mandela's decision.

The report, which has never been made public, is believed to have argued that there was no prospect whatsoever of South Africa establishing formal ties with China while it continued to embrace Taiwan.

IN short, it strongly recommended a switch in relations. Still Mandela, who was given the report some time ago, delayed his decision, giving the impression that a "two China's" policy could still win the day.

Finally, the moment came and he announced his decision to reporters in his garden. While the decision had an air of inevitability about it, the question on the lips of the diplomatic community was "why now?".

A clue to the reasoning behind Mandela's dumping of Taiwan emerged during his press briefing in Houghton. "The People's Republic of China has got the biggest population in the world, an economy with a growth rate of 12 percent and they are permanently represented on the UN Security Council," he said.

Statistics from the department of Trade and Industry show that between them, China and Hong Kong have superseded Taiwan in trade.

Since 1993, some R22,5-billion in trade has taken place between Hong Kong and China and South Africa, while trade with Taiwan has been worth some R20,1-billion.

More significantly, while the trade balance between South Africa, Hong Kong, China and Taiwan has not been in South Africa's favour, the balance has been more favourable with respect to China and Hong Kong.

In the first half of 1996 the trade balance favoured Taiwan by some R774-million, while it favoured China and Hong Kong by a more modest R492-million.

In pure economic terms the government has obviously seen a brighter future for rapidly expanding South African exports to the vast, untapped Chinese market than carrying on steady trade with Taiwan.

Along with the economic imperative came a strong diplomatic motive — South Africa's decision to emerge from its diplomatic shell and take a place at the main table in world affairs.

The president said as much when he announced his decision. South Africa had become an active participant in the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations and relations with Taiwan were "inconsistent" with this, he said.

Over the past two months, the presidency has signalled that it wishes to move away from the vague deference to Africa and South Africa's old struggle allies that has smudged foreign policy in



favour of a more forthright role in world affairs.

Mandela's growing impatience with the slow movement of African countries on the Rwanda refugee crisis has been but one illustration of this subtle shift.

The main prize that Mandela has been seeking has been a seat on a revamped UN Security Council, possibly as the representative for Africa.

To win such a place South Africa would have to secure the approval of China, which has veto powers as a permanent member of the council.

The Taiwan problem represents China's most emotionally charged foreign relations issue and South Africa's ongoing relations with the island state would probably have been enough for the Chinese representative on the council to press the veto button.

More immediately South Africa is poised to play a decisive role in the appointment of a new UN secretary general, who is expected to come from Africa.

Again, should China opt to use its veto — even to threaten such a move — South Africa's international status would be weakened.

But the single largest reason for the timing of the decision has probably been a domestic strategic consideration.

Mandela has given Taiwan 13 months to pay its bills and pack its diplomatic bags. That means that by December next year, should he go through with his promise to step down as president of the ANC, South Africa will have washed its hands of Taiwan.

By taking the pain now Mandela has freed his successor, in all likelihood Thabo Mbeki, from having to take the decision — and from a potentially damaging accusation early in his presidency that he had broken promises made by Mandela.

Although this goes some way to explain the timing, it raises new questions about the basis on which major government decisions are taken.

For the moment, Tai Feng, Mandela's neighbour, will slowly pack his bags and, in all likelihood, avoid taking a walk around the block to the house of the man who has cost him his job.

CAPE ARGUS, **MONDAY,** DECEMBER 2, 1996

Taiwan praises SA handling of breaking ties

Meeting with Nzo

ARG 2/11/96

(304A)

Taipei – Taiwan's Foreign Minister John Chang today praised South Africa for the the way in which it carried out its decision to break diplomatic ties.

Before leaving for emergency talks in South Africa, Mr Chang said: "After preliminary analysis, we believe President Mandela absolutely meant well."

He told the China Times: "There is no precedent about giving us one year of notice before severing ties."

He will go to Pretoria in an attempt to reduce the damage of South Africa's decision to recognise Beijing instead of Taipei as the legal government of all China from January 1, 1998.

He is expected to meet Mr Mandela, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and other high-ranking officials for negotiations on future bilateral links.

"Nothing is impossible in foreign relations," said Mr Chang, vowing he would continue to fight for the highest level of relations in the absence of diplomatic ties.

He said President Lee Teng-hui had not asked him to deliver any message to Mr Mandela, who made the announcement last Wednesday.

China has considered Taiwan a renegade province since driving nationalist forces to the island at the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949. It has successfully isolated Taiwan in the world community.

Taipei was ousted from the United Nations in 1971 and was replaced by Beijing. It was also forced out of other world bodies in recent years, and South Africa was the latest of many countries to switch recognition, despite Taiwan's economic power.

Taiwan's ambassador to South Africa, Loh I-cheng, has said future links would be based on a formula stronger than those governing relations with Japan or the United States.

Mr Loh also refuted reports that Taiwan had used "money diplomacy" with South Africa, saying the money spent on the country was "peanuts."

Mr Chang said last week that Taiwan would review co-operation programmes with South Africa.

Under threat is Mossgas, a R16-billion petrochemical complex project, which Taiwanese Vice Premier Hsu Li-teh had agreed to during a visit to South Africa in August.

"This nationalist island must expand its international space rather than waiting to die" under China's boycott, Mr Chang said today. Taiwan should spare no effort to win new diplomatic allies and strengthen and upgrade relations with the nations that did not recognise Taipei, he added.

"A truce in the diplomatic war (with China) is unlikely. I don't think our efforts boosting our international profile should be guided by cross-strait relations."

Mr Chang asked the public not to speculate on whether Taiwan's remaining 29 allies would follow South Africa's lead.

China has reportedly told countries that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan that they will have to close their consulates in Hong Kong after next year's return to Chinese rule.

Paraguay, Panama, Senegal, the Dominican Republic and South Africa have consulates in Hong Kong. – Sapa-AFP

Taiwan move opens doors with China — Manuel

(304A) CT 2/12/96

MELBOURNE: Finance Minister Mr Trevor Manuel said here yesterday that last week's decision to cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan had paved the way for Pretoria to achieve "most favoured nation" status in China.

"There have been initial discussions, as far as I am aware, and I would imagine this has been the final hurdle," Manuel said in an interview.

Most favoured nation status would hopefully open China's vast market to South African exporters, Manuel said.

"Part of the difficulties of the past (with China) were associated with the absence of the diplomatic recourse," said Manuel, who is in Melbourne for a trade conference. "If you don't have recourse to some treaty or protocol between your country and the PRC (Peoples Republic of China) you come up against... bureaucratic caprice."

Taiwan is South Africa's seventh-largest trading partner, with two way trade totalling R5,7 billion in 1995.

Trade with China and Hong Kong combined was R6,2bn last year, according to SA Foreign Trade Organisation figures.

Pretoria's decision to recognise Beijing and sever diplomatic relations with Taiwan came as a shock to the island nation, considered by China as a renegade province and not entitled to foreign ties.

"I think there was a certain inevitability about (the political switch)," Manuel said. "There were these relations struck at a time of isolation of South Africa, when the apartheid regime sought friendship with anybody who was available."



VAST MARKET: Finance Minister Mr Trevor Manuel

But he said the move was not expected to hobble trade with Taiwan.

"Taiwan is a country with a high level of savings and so a very important source for investment. That investment would flow, I think, determined by opportunity rather than by consequence of diplomatic ties," he said.

He said minerals and metals exports to Taiwan would continue unabated in the short term: "There would be certain kinds of product that the Taiwanese have been sourcing in South Africa for some period of time that they are more than likely to continue sourcing."

Taiwan said last Thursday it would continue buying coal and uranium from SA but its government would not encourage further investments.

One investment seen to be jeopardised by the diplomatic shift is a R16,1bn petrochemicals plant suggested by Taiwanese vice premier Mr Hsu Li-teh during an official visit to SA in August.

But Manuel said the project would stand or fall on its own economic merits: "It's incorrect to hold up a particular project as a carrot to secure something like diplomatic relations."

Analysts say the petrochemical plant plan is likely to dissolve after the diplomatic move, with Taiwan's Tuntex Distinct Corp, a 50% joint venture partner, already deciding to follow its government's line.

Manuel said SA's foreign affairs policies were under revision in order to step up ties with major trading partners.

"I've taken a somewhat cynical view of apartheid-formed relations. Anybody who was willing to accommodate apartheid then became a country with whom we established relations," he said. — Reuter

Let's keep our SA

Foreign Minister keen to retain

Alberton – Taiwanese Foreign Minister John Chang has said he will not urge his compatriots to withdraw investments from South Africa following its decision to cut diplomatic ties and recognise China.

"We have a very heavy investment in South Africa ... I will not encourage them to pull out. That is not my intention. I will ask them to stay here as long as possible. It's important, we want to have very strong ties in the future," he said.

Mr Chang's comments yesterday came a day after he announced that Taiwan would suspend aid projects as well as 36 bilateral treaties with South Africa over Pretoria's switch of diplomatic links.

Mr Chang attended a luncheon yesterday for about 500 Taiwanese business people with investments in South Africa at the Alberton Civic Centre, east of Johannesburg, addressing them in Chinese on the diplomatic split between Taipei and Pretoria.

He said he hoped the South African Government would give a strong sign of reassurance to Taiwanese business people in South Africa.

"They have to find ways to keep the confidence here," he said.

Nearly 300 Taiwan businesses have operations in South Africa with total investment topping $1,5-billion (R7-bn). At least 43 000 jobs are created through Taiwanese investment.

Asked if Taiwan's suspension of agreements and government aid was not a disproportionate response to President Mandela's announcement that South Africa would only have full diplomatic relations with Beijing from 1997, he replied: "I think that what we announced yesterday is very much appropriate.

"Now we hope that the future relationship can be arranged (in a way) which will be satisfactory to both sides."

He said that he hoped this would take place as soon as possible, adding: "We have a very strong will to maintain strong ties."

Referring to China, which regards Taiwan as a renegade province and has mounted a campaign to isolate Taiwan diplomatically, Mr Chang said: "I sincerely hope that South Africa – the country and the Government – will not allow itself to be twisted by the arms by mainland China any longer."

Meanwhile South African Airways, facing a suspension of its Taiwanese landing rights, said it would continue to fly to Taipei until official notice was issued by Taiwan.

Mr Chang had pointed to Taiwan's air services agreement with South Africa as "the first one which comes to mind on which we will take immediate action", adding that a date for the suspension would be decided after his return to Taipei today.

SAA spokesman Leon Els said: "We've had no official notification of any cancellation of our bilateral agreement and we will at this stage continue with our twice-weekly flights to Taipei."

Mr Els said SAA had "taken note of Mr Chang's comments" but added that under their bilateral agreement 12 months' notice was required for a suspension.

If Taiwan took immediate action SAA would try to honour its bookings by flying to Hong Kong and make other arrangements there, Mr Els said.

A report that Taipei had given SAA 15 days to terminate its flights could not be confirmed.

Taiwan's own China Airlines suspended its weekly service to Johannesburg in October.

The carrier denied it was a political decision, saying the service was financially untenable.

The airline had started flights to Johannesburg in 1991.

South Africa was Taiwan's biggest diplomatic ally, and its defection to Beijing – which refuses ties to any country that recognises Taiwan – now leaves Taipei with diplomatic relations with just 29 minor nations.

South Africa's relations with Taiwan date back to the apartheid era when both were diplomatic pariahs. – Reuter

'Investment from Taiwan has created at least 43 000 jobs in South Africa'

Investments – Taiwan stronger economic ties (South) Arg 2/12/96

Taiwan feels jilted

Sowetan 3/12/96 (304A)

Taiwan may be irritated by Pretoria's decision to establish diplomatic ties in 1997 with mainland China, but the decision was inevitable. China will become a huge market for SA , **Antoaneta Bezlova** explains...

BEIJING – As Taiwan fumed and threatened to withhold investment from South Africa for severing ties with it, China expressed quiet satisfaction over its latest diplomatic victory.

Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai said South Africa's decision to recognise China was a positive development.

"We have taken note of the relevant reports and welcome President (Nelson) Mandela's positive stance on the normalisation of relations between China and South Africa."

For Beijing, the switch by Pretoria is not only a diplomatic bonus, but a strategic success because South Africa has become an important economic and trade partner, analysts say.

Total trade between South Africa and China has soared in recent years, reaching R6 billion in 1995 from R56 million in 1991.

Pretoria's representative in Beijing, Mr Leslie Labuschagne, predicted that China-South African trade, already expected to grow by at least 15 percent this year, would expand further.

Chinese companies have increased their investment in South Africa, with 20 projects approved over the past 18 months, said Mr Labuschagne, director of the South African Centre in Beijing.

Mandela, who just a few months ago said it was "immoral" to abandon an old friend, announced last Wednesday that South Africa would cut ties with Taiwan from December 1997 and recognise China.

He said the switch was inevitable since Beijing refuses to accept foreign governments' "dual recognition" of both China and Taiwan.

China, the world's most populous country, which has a United Nations Security Council seat, is seen as an emerging economic power. Its takeover of Hong Kong next June will further boost its economic muscle.

Pretoria's announcement, however, outraged politicians on the other side of the Straits and sparked furious attacks against the mainland for "buying foreign ties".

Government spokesman Su Chi quoted Taiwan's premier Lien Chan as saying that "the origin of this issue is communist China".

"This shows communist China is intensifying its repression of us internationally. Its moves to buy foreign relations will not do any good to cross-strait relations or national reunification," Lien was reported to have said.

A strong diplomatic protest was lodged by Taiwan's ambassador with South Africa.

Mainland China and the island of Taiwan have been at odds ever since defeated Nationalist forces fled to Taiwan at the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949.

All attempts by Taipei to gain international recognition have been met by strong opposition from Beijing, which considers the island a renegade province.



President Nelson Mandela ... his announcement that South Africa will recognise China has angered Taiwan.



President Teng-hui Lee ... Some politicians in Taiwan have threatened to withhold investment from South Africa.

Pretoria's move away from Taipei will leave the island without its biggest diplomatic ally. The rest of the 29 states that recognise Taiwan are mostly small countries in Africa, which are likely to follow in Pretoria's footsteps, and Central America.

First casualty

Taiwan's foreign minister John Chang said on Friday that his country would re-examine its investments in South Africa, while a government spokesman vowed to "punish Pretoria".

Taiwan has investments worth about R6,9 billion in 230 companies in South Africa, which employ an estimated 45 000 people.

One of the first casualties of the Pretoria-Beijing handshake is likely to be a R12 billion petrochemical plant planned for South Africa by Taiwan's Tuntex Group.

Taiwan kept trade, investment and diplomatic relations with South Africa when much of the world disregarded it as a pariah state.

But China steadily courted Pretoria, dangling trade and investment, and the prospects of long-term economic benefits. It forged an alliance with South African mining conglomerate Iscor, which has been supplying China with iron ore to feed its mammoth steel industry.

Recently, Beijing decided to invest R280 million in a South African chromium mine.

While attending the UN Conference on Trade and Development in Johannesburg earlier this year, Chinese minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation Wu Yi held talks with President Mandela and his Trade and Industry Minister Mr Alec Erwin.

The two sides exchanged letters granting each other most favoured nation status in trade.

"In the long run, the Chinese mainland is really a bigger market for South Africa to develop trade and economic cooperation with," China's *Business Weekly* quoted a senior trade official as saying then.

"We believe as time goes by, the South African Government will get a clear understanding of the situation and improve political relations," he said.

Analysing the Pretoria-Beijing-Taipei triangle, Mr Greg Mills, director of the South African Institute of International Relations, once wrote: "The Chinese wait patiently, for they realise that South Africa will establish full relations. "It is just a question of when and with how much pain for Pretoria." – *Sapa-IPS.*



Taiwanese Foreign Minister John Chang, left, held discussions with his SA counterpart, Alfred Nzo, in Pretoria yesterday on SA's recent decision to shift diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to the People's Republic of China. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

Taiwan under fire over diplomatic mission to woo SA

(304A) BD 4/12/96

BEIJING — China reprimanded Taiwan yesterday for sending Foreign Minister John Chang to SA in a bid to persuade Pretoria to reverse its decision to switch recognition from Taipei to Beijing.

"The Taiwan authorities continue to search for double recognition of Beijing and Taipei at an international level," said Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai at a news conference yesterday.

"These attempts to split the fatherland are bound to fail," Cui said.

Chang arrived in SA yesterday hoping to persuade President Nelson Mandela to go back on the recent decision to recognise Beijing and break diplomatic ties between Pretoria and Taipei. The change is to take effect from December 1997.

SA is the largest of the 30 countries that currently recognise Taiwan. The nationalist island is considered by Beijing to be a rebel province.

"Most countries, as well as the UN, recognise the existence of one China, represented by the government in Beijing," Cui said.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said yesterday that Mandela would, however, reiterate the need for good relations with the Republic of China during his meeting with Chang at the Union Buildings in Pretoria today.

Mandela would not reopen discussions on SA's diplomatic ties with Taiwan, he said.

Mankahlana said the president would once again thank Chang for the constructive role Taiwan had played in SA's political transformation and in the country's economy. —Sapa-AFP.

Court certifies the Constitution

Sowetan 5/12/96 (304A)

Amended text conforms to principles of the 1993 interim Constitution

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

THE democratic Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is now final, certified and has been passed by the Constitutional Court which sat in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, yesterday.

And major political parties in Parliament, the African National Congress and the National Party, yesterday welcomed the decision by the president of the court, Justice Arthur Chaskalson, to pronounce the good news three months after the same court had rejected some of the constitutional provisions.

In less than two minutes, Chaskalson pronounced the unanimous judgment, saying the amended text of the Constitution complied with all the constitutional principles contained in the 1993 interim Constitution.

In September, the court sent back the Constitution for redrafting, claiming that part of it did no comply with the constitutional principles established during the World Trade Centre negotiations which gave rise to the interim constitution and the nonracial democratic elections of April 27 1994.

Among other improvements in the Constitution, the court established it now safeguarded the impartiality of the Public Protector and Auditor-General.

Also, the court was satisfied that the constitution adequately covered the the protection of traditional monarchy, "and the court rejected an objection that it failed to afford protection to provinces relating to the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch".

Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa said: "We are more than elated that the constitution has been certified. It represents one of the best constitutions in the world."

He said even though the IFP did not participate formally in the drawing up of the Constitution, it could be said that "the IFP has been part of this process".

"What is significant about the constitution is that it has been endorsed by more than 86 percent of the members of the Constitutional Assembly," he said.

The Azanian People's Organisation also welcomed the Constitution, saying apart from few faulty attributes, "it was not a bad constitution".



South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in conversation with Indian prime minister HD Deve Gowda before their official talks in New Delhi yesterday. Mbeki is on a four-day official visit to India to promote trade between the two countries.
PIC: AP

Parties put aside differences to support new constitution

Star 5/12/96 (304A)

Even IFP pledges to support the new supreme law.

By Patrick Bulger, Robert Brand and Xolisa Vapi

Political parties across the spectrum welcomed the certification of the new constitution yesterday – but most warned that a tough job lies ahead to make it work.

Even the Inkatha Freedom Party, which had not taken part in the work of the Constitutional Assembly, said it would abide by the new supreme law although it would pursue legal means to change aspects it disagreed with.

Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa said both the ANC and the Government were "elated" at the Constitutional Court's ruling, which set the stage for President Nelson Mandela to sign the constitution into law next week.

"It was a process of such intense debate and discourse, that by now we have a document which will serve as a beacon in constitutionalism not only here but internationally. We are elated – both the ANC and the Government – that we can now put this chapter of our history behind us," Moosa said.

He said the absence of the IFP from much of the formal constitution-making process would not detract from the legitimacy of the document.

The "rigorous" constitution-making process and the 86% vote in favour of the document in the CA, had ensured that "its legitimacy has been placed beyond question", Moosa said.

The National Party said the country could look back "with thanks and pride at the past six years of peaceful constitutional negotiations".



Tony Leon ... now up to everyone to make it work.



Valli Moosa ... elated over Constitutional Court ruling.



Dr Ziba Jiyane ... IFP will abide by the constitution.

NP secretary-general Roelf Meyer said it was important that the constitution be implemented as the highest law in the land which all South Africans – the authorities and the citizens – had to obey.

"This constitution is our constitution. It belongs to each one of us, the whole nation. It is a wonderful Christmas present to us all.

"May it become a steadfast beacon for South Africa in the years ahead," Meyer said.

Although the Democratic Party was disappointed that the court had not accepted its arguments against the final constitution, the party accepted the judgment, DP leader Tony Leon said.

The DP's role in helping to make the constitution comply better with the interim constitution's constitutional principles should be noted, he said.

It was now up to everyone to help make the constitution work, with the major responsibility resting on the Government.

IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane said his party would abide by the new constitution, although it would continue to use legal means to change aspects with which it did not agree. The party had gone on record as opposing the sections it did not like, such as those which reduced provincial powers.

"We are not a revolutionary party," Jiyane said. "We will live by the country's constitution, even as we seek all legal means to try to change aspects of it that we don't agree with."

He was unsure whether an IFP representative would attend Tuesday's ceremony in Sharpeville, when Mandela will sign the document into law.

Freedom Front spokesman Corné Mulder said the certification of the constitution was expected and had brought to an end this specific chapter of the constitution-writing.

However, Mulder said the constitution was only the framework, and the new constitutional dispensation would be in place once all necessary legislation had been passed.

Important among those were laws dealing with group rights and self-determination.

"As far as we are concerned, the Afrikaner question is still outstanding and will depend on the legislation that will flow from the constitution," Mulder said.

The African Christian Democratic Party, which voted against the constitution in the CA, has pledged its support.

"We accept it as it heralds a new era in the history of South Africa," ACDP deputy leader Louis Green said.

"We have problems with certain sections of the constitution but we generally agree that it's a change for the better."

Constitution signing to complete the circle

Star 5/12/96 (304A)

Ceremony at Sharpeville will symbolise transition from darkness to dawning for new South Africa



STATUTE OF LIBERTY

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

When the judges of the Constitutional Court (CC) delivered the final judgment on South Africa's highest statute yesterday, an important phase in the political life of Cyril Ramaphosa drew to a close.

But the man who made it all possible was not there to savour the moment. He was in Australia, tying up business deals. He said in a statement: "We have a constitution in place – now we have to make it work in the same spirit of mutual respect and co-operation that characterised the CA process."

Having completed the arduous negotiation part of the constitution-drawing process in May, Ramaphosa moved on to the business world where he sealed yet another deal which put billions of rands into black hands.

A fortnight ago, one of South Africa's most skilled politicians exchanged his office at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters for the one vacated by retired Johnnic chairman Pat Retief.

The constitution is just another milestone for Ramaphosa, outgoing secretary-general of the ANC and chairman of the Constitutional Assembly. Having forged the National Union of Mineworkers into one of the most powerful unions, he was instrumental in the formation of Cosatu, a body that contributed towards the demise of apartheid.

Skills honed in wage negotiations equipped him well to be the ANC's primary negotiator at the World Trade Centre talks, where the interim constitution, in terms of which the country is currently ruled, was adopted on his birthday, November 17, in 1993.

It was those talks, and the famed "special relationship" between himself and the National Party's Roelf Meyer over the six years which followed, that ensured South Africa would wake up this morning with its first-ever legitimate constitution.

It is a document Ramaphosa will be immensely proud of, judging by the speech he delivered when the initial draft, which was later rejected by the CC, was passed by the Constitutional Assembly in May. Ramaphosa told his fellow negotiators a few days later he would be quitting politics to join Dr Nthato Motlana's New Africa Investments Limited.

For now the unionist-turned constitutional negotiator-turned corporate captain is lost to politics, a victim of the hard world of political succession battles.

Many expect, however, that Cyril will use his stay in the corporate world to carve an image that will propel him back to the political centre stage.

By Patrick Bulger and Robert Brand

President Mandela is due to sign the revised and certified constitution on Tuesday at a ceremony in Sharpeville, the township where the police massacre of anti-pass law demonstrators in 1960 was swiftly followed by the banning of the ANC and other liberation movements.

The new constitution is set to come into force in February, before the start of the new parliamentary session, after the Constitutional Court, sitting in Johannesburg, unanimously certified the second draft – after rejecting the first earlier this year and sending it back to the Constitutional Assembly (CA) for changes.

President Mandela praised news of the certification, saying: "For me, personally, it brings the satisfaction of witnessing the irony of the stabilisation of a democratisation process which commenced under the most restrictive conditions."

The Vaal Triangle has been chosen because it was in Vereeniging that the defeated Boer forces signed the 1902 Treaty of Vereeniging which ended the war and permanently disenfranchised the African majority.

No black representatives were consulted and their rights as citizens were also ignored.

Mandela was joined by politicians across the board in welcoming the court's decision.

Mandela said: "These are the fruits of negotiation and a constitution-making process that was unique in the world. Not only is the process something which we can be proud of, we have a very advanced constitution guaranteeing democratic, accountable, open and fair governance.

"The constitution is a fitting tribute to the sons and daughters of our land, from all political parties, who contributed in making every South African a signatory to this magnificent piece of history."

The African National Congress, the National Party and the Democratic Party welcomed the court's decision with few reservations, while the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Freedom Front and the African Christian Democratic Party said they would accept the new constitution in spite of their objections.

NP secretary-general and the party's chief negotiator in the CA, Roelf Meyer, said: "This constitution is our constitution. It belongs to each one of us, the whole nation. It is a wonderful Christmas present to us all."



Roelf Meyer ... constitution "belongs to each one of us, the whole nation".



Mandela ... it guarantees "democratic, accountable, open and fair governance".

ANC Senate chief whip Bulelani Ngcuka told The Star that Parliament would meet under the new constitution when it reopens on February 7.

The Senate is due to meet for the last time on February 5, followed by the first meeting of the new National Council of Provinces which will replace the Senate and introduce the concept of "co-operative governance".

"The most favoured date for the implementation is February 6," Ngcuka said, adding that the date was subject to change.

The financial aspects of the constitution, which entail a new system of drawing up the Government's annual budget, will kick in in July.

The provisions of the interim constitution which provide for governments of national unity at national and provincial level will, however, remain intact until the next scheduled elections in 1999.

In their ruling yesterday, the CC judges, headed by CC president Judge Arthur Chaskalson, said the amendments made by the CA had rectified the eight areas to which the court had taken exception earlier this year. In doing so, Chaskalson rejected the further objections of the DP, the IFP and the KwaZulu Natal government.

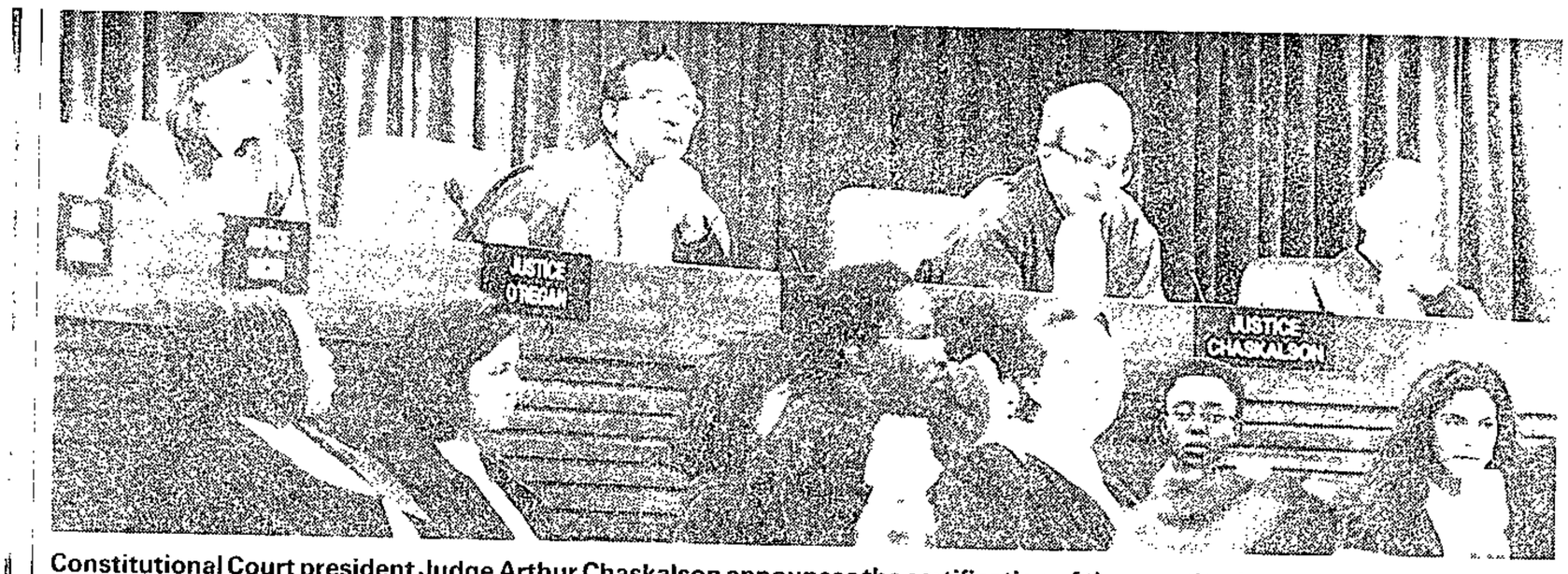
The ruling focused on the entrenchment of the Bill of Rights, the powers of the provinces, local government structures, the independence of the auditor-general and the public protector, and the status of traditional leaders including the Zulu monarch.

Significantly, the court found that the powers granted to provincial governments by the new constitution are, in fact, less than those granted by the interim constitution.

However, the diminution of provincial powers was not "substantial" and thus could not prevent certification.

In some instances, provincial powers had even been enhanced, especially in the area of policing, Judge Chaskalson said.

▷ Differences put aside
Page 5



Constitutional Court president Judge Arthur Chaskalson announces the certification of the constitution. Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Court certifies the new constitution

BD 5/12/96 (304A)

Deborah Fine and David Greybe

THE Constitutional Court yesterday unanimously approved the revised constitution, which will be signed by President Nelson Mandela in Sharpeville on Human Rights Day next week.

The court's ruling was welcomed by government and the African National Congress (ANC), with the latter saying that it formally marked the end of the apartheid era and ushered in the rule of law and constitutionality.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Democratic Party (DP) and National Party (NP), which led the political challenge to the certification of the constitution in favour of a more "federal" text, said they would respect the new constitution, even though they believed it was an "imperfect" document.

The court's 11 judges found that the Constitutional Assembly had "conscientiously" remedied the nine defective provisions singled out by the court when it initially rejected the constitutional text in September. The assembly then made 39 changes to the text to harmonise it with the constitutional principles in the interim constitution.

The court also dismissed 16 objections from the DP, the IFP and the KwaZulu-Natal province, as well as the complaints of 18 private individuals and interest groups. The objectors had asked the court to reject the revised text on the grounds that it still violated the principles.

Constitutional Court president Judge Arthur Chaskelson said the court was satisfied the 145-page text, with its 243 clauses and various schedules, complied with all the principles.

Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa said at a news conference that government and the ANC were "more than elated".

SA's final constitution would no doubt be welcomed by democrats worldwide and "serve as a beacon for constitutionalism" internationally.

He said government had "symbolically" chosen the George Thabe Stadium in Sharpeville as the venue for the signing ceremony because the 1960 Sharpeville massacre had marked a new era in the liberation struggle.

Moosa dismissed suggestions that the text lacked legitimacy because the IFP had boycotted the negotiations.

"The IFP did not participate in the formal proceedings but always participated in negotiations on the sidelines," he said. "The constitution has undergone a rigorous process of debate. More than 86% of the constitutional assembly voted in favour — few laws in the world enjoy this support."

Commenting on the areas which had fallen foul of constitutional scrutiny during the first round of certification proceedings in June, the court said in its 110-page judgment that "many of the original grounds for non-certification" had been "so clearly eliminated" by the reformulations "that no renewed objections could be raised".

These included the labour provisions, which had originally failed to recognise the right of individual employers to engage in collective bargain-

Continued on Page 2

Constitution

(304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 5/12/96

ing; clauses which had impermissibly shielded ordinary legislation from constitutional review; provisions which had failed to adequately protect the independence and impartiality of the public protector and auditor-general; and clauses which had not set out appropriate fiscal powers and legislative procedures for local government.

The DP and IFP, however, attacked other clauses modified by the assembly, arguing that they remained defective. The DP asserted that the bill of rights was still not firmly entrenched, the special procedures and majorities required to amend the constitution were not sufficiently special and the public service commission was not adequately protected.

The IFP and KwaZulu-Natal also complained that traditional monarchs were inadequately protected by the new text, which also failed to recognise collective rights of self-determination.

The DP and Inkatha argued that provincial powers were substantially inferior to the interim constitution.

However, the court found that all fundamental rights were adequately protected and entrenched, the procedures for amendments were stringent enough, traditional leaders were adequately recognised, and the independence of the public service commission was sufficiently safeguarded.

On the issue of the provinces, the court found that provincial powers remained inferior to those in the interim constitution. However, it ruled that the disparity was not substantial enough to refuse certification.

Comment: Page 13

M+G 6-12 / 2/96

Taiwan withdraws aid

(304A) (284)

Mail & Guardian Reporters

TAIWAN on Thursday hit back at South Africa's decision to cut diplomatic ties, announcing it would shelve most of its aid projects in South Africa and recall its ambassador.

Foreign Minister John Chang told a press conference in Pretoria that 85% to 90% of its aid projects would only be resumed once the two countries had worked out a formula for a new relationship.

The snub came a day after President Nelson Mandela said South Africa would maintain relations at the highest level short of diplomatic ties. Mandela said Taiwan was "a very close friend".

Chang made no mention of cutting trade or investment ties — trade between the two countries hit R5,7-billion last year and Taiwan is considering major investments, including a $3-billion petrochemical project.

It was reported Chang, who arrived in South Africa on Tuesday, addressed the press conference after meeting his counterpart, Alfred Nzo. But Nzo left the conference before Chang made his announcement.

MANDELA STANDS BY DECISION

Taiwan suspends all SA treaties, aid projects

CT 6/12/96

(304R)

JOHANNESBURG: President Nelson Mandela's statement yesterday that he stands by the decision to drop diplomatic relations with Taiwan in favour of China caused an angry reaction.

AN angry Taiwanese foreign minister said yesterday his country would recall its ambassador and immediately suspend all aid projects and treaties in protest at South Africa's breaking of diplomatic ties.

The minister, Mr John Chang, told a news conference the moves showed the island state's displeasure at Pretoria's decision to cancel diplomatic links with Taiwan from 1997 in favour of China.

Speaking after talks in Pretoria with South African Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo, an angry-looking Chang said Taiwan would suspend its aid programme in South Africa and most of 36 existing treaties and agreements between them.

He said the announcement caused him "great pain".

"We came to Pretoria with the sincere hope, and a bleeding heart, to try to find out whether or not we can save our diplomatic, at least to say formal, relationship," he said.

That hope was dashed in talks on Wednesday with President Nelson Mandela, who said he would stick by his "agonising" decision of the week before to end diplomatic ties with Taiwan.

"I felt and still feel very much disappointed as far as the result of these meetings is concerned, especially when I learnt with great despair ... that our current diplomatic relationship cannot be saved," Chang said.

Ties would be restructured once a new formula for relations between the two countries had been negotiated.

South Africa's foreign ministry said Taiwan's moves were regrettable. "The reaction will influence our sincere desire that the friendly relations that have been built up over the years should continue to (our) mutual benefit," a ministry statement said.

"We reiterate that we would like to conduct our relations after 1997 at the highest level, short of diplomatic relations."

Taiwan is South Africa's seventh-largest trading partner, with two-way trade totalling R5,7 billion in 1995. Up to 43 000 jobs could be at risk if Taiwan disinvests entirely from South Africa, though this is not seen as likely.

Mr Nico Czypionka, chief economist at Standard Bank, said Chang's announcement was not unexpected considering the rivalry between Taiwan and China.

"This was a face-saving reaction, totally logical and totally understandable," he said, adding that trade with Taiwan was likely to continue.

"If an investment is viable it will go ahead anyway on the basis of the economic imperative. If it does not make sense now, it probably never would have got off the ground," he said.

South Africa stood to gain far more from its relationship with China and Hong Kong than with Taiwan.

"This is not a boycott or sanctions situation," said Mr Ben van Rensburg, chief economist for the South African Chamber of Business, which groups together more than 40 000 businesses.

"Anything that makes sense economically will go ahead on that basis," he said. "This is a break of diplomatic and political relations, not of trade and economic relations."

Many industry analysts had been sceptical about a $3,5 billion (R16,1bn) petrochemical plant suggested by Taiwanese vice-premier Mr Hsu Li-teh during an official visit to South Africa in August.

The plan is almost certain to be jeopardised by the diplomatic shift.

South Africa was Taiwan's biggest diplomatic ally, and its defection to Beijing — which refuses ties to any country that recognises Taiwan — leaves Taipei with diplomatic relations with just 29 minor nations.

Its relations with Taiwan date back to the apartheid era. — Reuter

Taiwan cuts its air links with SA

ARG 6/12/96 (304A)

Taipei – Taiwan is to cut air links with South Africa in protest at its decision to switch diplomatic recognition to Beijing at the end of next year, state radio reports today.

Taipei has given South African Airways 15 days to prepare to terminate its twice-weekly flight from Johannesburg to Taipei, Broadcasting Corporation of China (BCC) said.

BCC quoted Transport Minister Tsao Chao-yang as saying: "We are giving them 15 days because some passengers have already booked flights."

But SAA spokeswoman Wendy Chen said the airline had not received formal notice from the Taiwan government.

The state-run Taiwan Power Co said today it would reconsider plans to sign a 10-year contract to buy 660 tons of South African uranium a year. – Sapa-DPA

Ambassador recalled, 36 bilateral agreements cancelled and, in addition, tough warning from mainland China

By Trove Lund and Sapa-AFP

Taiwan has retaliated over President Mandela's decision to cut diplomatic ties in favour of mainland China by cancelling 36 bilateral treaties. This could lead to a loss of more than 42 000 private-sector jobs in South Africa if the 620 investors from the island discontinue relations with a "hostile" country.

The Taiwanese Foreign Minister John Chang, announced the tough measures yesterday after talks in Pretoria with his counterpart Alfred Nzo, stressing they were prompted by his country's reactions, especially as President Mandela had told them only three months ago that SA would not break off diplomatic ties.

Meanwhile the now-favoured mainland Chinese government has warned South Africa not to overstep the mark in its bid to retain high-level and friendly ties with Taiwan.

> **Beijing's position is very clear ...**

"Our position on establishing diplomatic relations between China and South Africa is very clear," said foreign ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai yesterday in Beijing.

"South Africa must recognise that there is only one China and that Taiwan is part of China."

His government strictly prohibits any country with which it has diplomatic ties from any actions that may be seen as de facto recognition of the government in Taipei.

That policy was hammered home by Cui, who told foreign reporters: "South Africa must cut all so-called diplomatic ties with Taiwan. Our position will not change."

In Pretoria, Chang, the Taiwanese minister, said his government was suspending aid and co-operation programmes as well as treaties including SAA landing rights in Taipei. And it was recalling its ambassador indefinitely.

President Mandela has announced that diplomatic relations would continue until December 1997.

A list of Taiwanese government investment schemes to be suspended is being examined by SA's Department of Foreign Affairs and is expected to be made public today.

Chang said he would explain the new foreign policy situation to Taiwanese businessmen today, but would not encourage them to stay or leave. They had to make their own decisions, he said.

Private Taiwanese investment in SA adds up to about R6,45-billion, with an annual turnover of R8,54-billion. Taiwanese businessmen in SA import about R1 700-million and export about R680-million.

Definitely included in programmes to be suspended is the 1991 Air Services Agreement which grants SAA landing rights in Taipei. Two SAA flights land in Taipei each week.

A R200-million vocational training centre in Pretoria will also be closed and a petrochemical project, which was expected to create 80 000 jobs and earn SA about R16-million a year, will be suspended.

Taiwan will no longer buy its annual five million tons of coal from SA and recently increased steel exports from SA to Taiwan, valued at R112-million a year, will also stop, Chang said.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said Taiwan's move was regrettable and that it would influence the country's sincere desire to continue its friendly relations with Taiwan.

Mandela said Taiwan was an independent country and entitled to take any decision it perceived to be in its interest.

"The fact of the matter, however, is that since coming to office, the Government of South Africa would have maintained relations for a period of three-and-a-half years at full diplomatic level with the Republic of China by the end of 1997, and such a situation could not have been sustained," he said in a statement.

▶ See Business Report

Taiwan

Tariff: 47

000 SA

(South African) 8/Jan 6/1A/96

jobs

are at risk

No 'out of the frying pan' tale

(304A) CP 8/12/96

THE PRAGMATIC path the government chose on the "two Chinas" question was strategically wise, says **VERNON SEYMOUR**, lecturer at the Centre for African Studies at the University of the Western Cape – but new questions must surely arise.

THE China question was the most fraught issue in South Africa's post-apartheid international relations.

However, the decision of the South African government to formally recognise the People's Republic of China (PRC) makes strategic sense. As long as we were not recognising China, we were not relating to the major power in Asia. To have diplomatic relations with all the states other than China would be like having relations with the European Union and not Germany or Britain.

☐ Developing good relations with a fast-growing and increasingly powerful PRC has considerable benefits for this country. The "Two-China" policy was untenable under international law. It was therefore only a matter of time before South Africa had to adopt the position of the overwhelming majority of states in the United Nations – in line with international legal principles relating to territorial integrity and sovereignty.

There is only one China and the People's Republic of China is the sole government of China, including Taiwan. The Beijing government always considered Taiwan an errant province of its territory..

It was always clear, as foreign policy expert Peter Vale has previously pointed out, and as several South African delegations have discovered in their visits to Taiwan and Beijing, that the PRC would never accept dual recognition. South Africa had to make a choice. The economic statistics and the international political indicators pointed to only one conclusion: it was in South Africa's long-term interest to establish formal diplomatic relations with the PRC.

☐ China's emergence as a global power player could not be ignored and has forced the international community to engage with Beijing.

It is a major player in international and multilateral agencies such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) and the Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN).

In view of China's standing as a permanent member of the Security Council, it is conceivable that South Africa might directly or indirectly require its support at some stage, which will be easier if there is at least diplomatic recognition.

To secure a place as the Africa representative on the restructured Security Council, South Africa would have to secure the approval of China, which has veto powers as a permanent member of the Council.

Offending Beijing and having to face an alliance of countries around the Chinese on particular issues was not a happy prospect. More immediately, South Africa is poised to play a decisive role in the appointment of a new Secretary-General, who is expected to come from Africa. Should China opt to use its veto power, South Africa's international status could suffer.

☐ South Africa's growth and development strategy seeks to achieve a 6 percent growth rate by 1999, calling for improved foreign trade and investment performance. This implies greater engagement with Pacific Rim countries, which include the PRC. Lack of formal relations with the Beijing government, especially once Hong Kong is included, would certainly hamper opportunities.

Hong Kong trade would become trade with China. South African interests in Hong Kong do not appear to be protected by the basic law, as this seems to apply only to countries formally recognising China. Furthermore, SAA air-service agreements would have to be renegotiated with Beijing. The Chinese authorities were likely to close the South African Consulate if there were no diplomatic relations.

Mainland China has a population of two billion and is the third largest economy in the world. The Department of Trade and Industry's figures suggest that trade with Hong Kong and mainland China, taken together, already supersedes that with Taiwan.

☐ Now that the government has chosen the pragmatic path on the "two Chinas" question, new challenges arise. What should our policy towards the PRC entail? Some countries in the West have pursued a dual-track policy – engaging China economically but containing it strategically.

What should our goverment's response be to the problems of human rights, arms control and nuclear proliferation in China? Shoud we urge the parties towards early political negotiations, leading to reunification?

☐ The question of human rights has been raised as an obstacle to diplomatic relations with the PRC. There is no doubt that there have been cases of extreme human rights violations, as has been evident in the jailing of the pro-democracy activist Wei Jingsheng in December last year. There have been persistent reports by Amnesty International and others of forced abortions, forced sterilisation, forced prison labour, lack of procedural justice during criminal trials (especially for those charged with political offences), and arbitrary imposition of the death penalty.

No doubt any diplomatic relationship should not be interpreted as an approval of repression. South Africa will hopefully continue to advocate its human rights message, as a "cornerstone of its foreign policy".

The sentencing of Wei Jingsheng to 14 years imprisonment sent shock waves through Hong Kong, where increasing numbers of people distrust the intentions of Beijing after the 1997 takeover by China. Questions about the future of democracy in Hong Kong have been raised. It appears that Beijing will pursue a course of "one country, two systems". To have two different social, economic political and legal systems co-existing in one country is an entirely new concept. The question is: will it work?

☐ How should South African handle future relations with Taiwan? Taiwan is practising full democracy and respects human rights, and that alone must count for something. Some 620 companies from Taiwan have invested in this country. Many South Africans have received technical training in a variety of fields. We should continue to build on the strong commercial, cultural and technological relationship. We should continue to enter into agreements covering commercial and technological co-operation. The PRC has no objection to non-official relations of states or trade relations with Taiwan. Indeed, trade ties between the PRC and Taiwan are extensive, with Taiwan being the biggest investor in the PRC.

South Africa should now pursue a course that offers Taiwan the highest possible status – other than full diplomatic recognition – to maintain the benefits of association for both parties.

The transition should be properly managed with the maintenance of high-level visits and retention of all title to property and agreements.

U-turn on Taiwan surprised many

(304A Sowetan 9/12/96

Foreign Ministry rubberstamped decision made by Mandela

By Chris Landsberg

IT IS NOT ONLY the timing but the U-turn on the "Two Chinas dilemma" that took many by surprise. South Africa's decision to ditch Taiwan recently was prompted by a combination of factors.

Firstly, it coincided with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's visit to India. His visit also included a strategic session with all South Africa's heads of mission in Asia.

Secondly, many ambassadors – in Japan, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia tried to communicate to President Nelson Mandela over the last two years that recognising Taipei undermined their work in Asia.

Thirdly, the decision was prompted by the recently concluded summit of the Asia-Pacific countries in the Philippines. On the agenda was the reunification of Hong Kong with mainland China.

Fourthly, American president Bill Clinton's pronouncement that the strengthening of ties with Beijing would remain a top priority during his second term also sent a message to Pretoria.

Debate on the two Chinas

A fifth factor was the debate on the two Chinas issue in African National Congress ranks. Many individuals in caucuses and branches, as well as ANC Members of Parliament, tried to influence Mandela's position.

Lastly, the past few months were characterised by remarkably many visits by Chinese officials. It started dawning on Mandela that "foot-dragging" might not be a wise tactic after all.

South Africa had four distinct choices: establish ties with mainland China and downgrade relations with Taiwan; maintain the *status quo* by reinforcing relations with Taipei; push for dual recognition; or wait for the two Chinas to resolve their enmity.

But South Africa could not have dual recognition. Such a stance presupposed consent from both Chinas, and Beijing was not interested in entertaining the issue.

So why did the Government lead Taipei up the garden path for two and a half years? Why did it create expectations that it would stand by the ostracised island, come what may?

Billions of dollars

Because South Africa benefited massively from the pro-Taiwan *status quo* – in exchange for political recognition, Taiwan poured billions of dollars into South Africa.

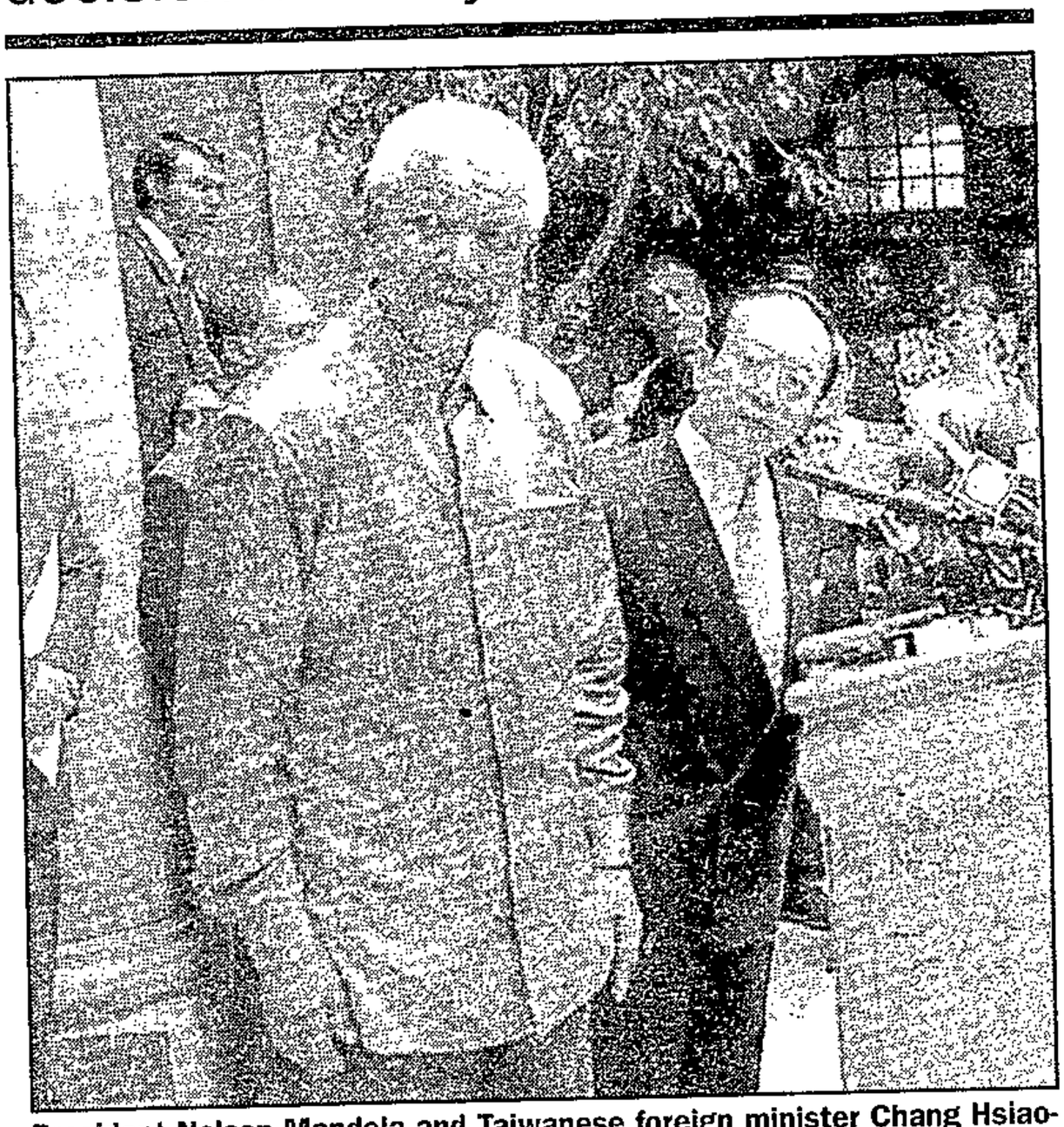
Was there an opportunity in the past to sever ties? South Africa had at least two windows of opportunity to reverse the *status quo*.

The first was in 1994 during the political transition from National Party to ANC rule. After all, the Taiwanese were ready to close shop and go home; they expected to be ditched by the ANC.

A second opportunity presented itself during the elections in Taiwan earlier this year. Yet, once again, short-term economic considerations and a "merchandise" foreign policy dictated otherwise.

The infant ANC-led Government never viewed the issue through long-term strategic prisms.

One of the reasons Taipei is very angry with the ANC is that it hoped to use its ties with South Africa, and its special relationship with Mandela, as a means of getting itself out of isolation.



President Nelson Mandela and Taiwanese foreign minister Chang Hsiao-Yen at a Press conference in Pretoria last week.

What does the handling of the Chinas debacle over the past two years tell us about the nature of our foreign policy? It suggests that Mandela makes policy.

He determines the outcome of policy processes; others – including the Minister of Foreign Affairs – merely rubber stamp it.

Whether Mandela is pro-Taiwan the one day, and pro-People's Republic of China the next, nobody dares to criticise that position. It would take very brave ministers to do so.

The ANC typically defended Mandela's pro-Taiwan posture. Today, the sharp U-turn is just as vigorously defended.

Pretoria's hitherto official position – that it can persuade Beijing to accept the "logic" of dual recognition of the two Chinas – proved unsustainable.

Mainland China regards Taiwan as a renegade province, not an independent state. Some time ago South African officials challenged that view; today they explicitly support it.

Taiwan tried to exploit the ANC's obsession with investment and "merchandise" statecraft. It pursued an aggressive "cheque book" diplomacy with Pretoria's full backing.

By the time of Mandela's U-turn, more than 620 Taiwanese companies had invested in South Africa. These capital inflows totalled more than R6 billion.

Taiwanese officials have now threatened to put on hold their strategy of "guided investment", and are likely to actively work against courting the South African market.

But Taiwanese captains of industry disagree with "closed cheque book diplomacy"; their interests are too great. Taiwanese companies jointly employ a workforce of 41 240 people.

There are 280 Taiwanese manufacturing companies in South Africa. Taken as a whole, these companies muster an annual turnover of around R9 billion.

In short, just as the objective of "open cheque book diplomacy" failed, so will a policy of "closed cheque book diplomacy".

Taiwan's attempts to try to reverse Pretoria's new posture is already falling on deaf ears. The recent visit by foreign minister Chang Hsiao-Yen saw robust protests to South Africa's abrupt diplomacy.

But the Taiwanese use of their support for the Reconstruction and Development Programme as the number one bargaining chip failed to make any inroads into Government thinking.

Not worth much

Mandela probably came to the conclusion that, in the overall scheme of things, that support is not worth much. So as much as Beijing's protests over the past two years fell on deaf ears, so now will Taiwan's.

Not even Taiwan's decision to recall its ambassador, I-cheng Loh, suspend all aid and cooperation projects, as well as suspending the bulk of 36 bilateral treaties, including landing rights, will change Mandela's mind.

From an economic point of view, mainland China's promises of massive capital inflows will, for the foreseeable future, remain just that – promises.

Yet China is too important to be ignored. On July 1 1997 Britain's 99-year lease of Hong Kong will end; this will give an unprecedented capital boost to the mainland.

China believes the impact of this transfer of power will have revolutionary ramifications. The economic injection to the mainland from Hong Kong will trigger superpower tendencies in Beijing.

Beijing is likely to resort to sabre-rattling manoeuvres and gun-boat diplomacy against Taipei.

But Mandela is correct when he reminds us that, over the past decade, China has averaged an annual growth rate of 10 percent. No other nation plays as influential a role in Asia as China.

The question is: what took the president so long to realise that?

(The writer is an international relations researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg.)

Taiwan decision to cost SA R20-b in aid

(304A)

Sowetan 9/2/96

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's decision to sever diplomatic ties with Taiwan has resulted in a loss of over R20 billion in donor aid to the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

After the visit to South Africa by Taiwanese foreign minister Mr John Chang last week to discuss Mandela's decision to cut diplomatic ties with his country in favour of mainland China, the Taiwanese business community, which initially stated they would not withdraw investment from the country, have reneged on their word.

They accused South Africans of being "hostile" towards the Republic of China and threatened to stop investment, which in 1995 was estimated at R1,6 billion.

Taiwanese government and business withdrawal may leave 42 000 South Africans unemployed.

Chang stated that Taiwan would temporarily suspend donor aid to some of the projects and programmes supported by his government in South Africa.

The embassy would publish a list of economic aid projects to be suspended. The 26 projects, ranging from loans given to parastatals, small and medium business to rural development projects, would be hit hard when the Taiwanese pull out R20,594 billion.

Multimillion rand projects to be suspended immediately include the R2,325 billion which was offered by the Bank of Taiwan and International Commercial Bank of China to South African Reserve Bank as balance of payment support.

The R186 million channelled by the Taiwanese for a vocational training centre would also be frozen and R139,5 million planned for rural telephones would also be suspended.

Also to be suspended immediately is the small farm loan of R71,991 million; steel export to Taiwan signed with MacSteel worth R93 million; a R46,5 million grant plus a concessionary loan of R139,5 million for the settlement projects for retired soldiers; and arms procurement valued at R697,5 million.

South African Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Marco Boni said the suspension of aid was "regrettable".

BEIJING GETS THE NOD

FM 6/12/96 (304A)

The timing of SA's decision to sever diplomatic ties with the Republic of China or Taiwan and establish them with the communist People's Republic of China is puzzling.

The switch should have been inevitable given China's size, power and uncompromising insistence that the condition of diplomatic ties with SA, no less than the rest of the world, is the severance of diplomatic links with Taiwan.

Apart from being a nuclear power and permanent member of the Security Council, China's status as the most populous nation, combined with the discipline and industry of its people, defines it as an economic giant of the future.

What is odd about SA's decision, announced last week by President Nelson Mandela, is that it came so soon after Mandela himself pledged that SA would not sacrifice its existing links with Taiwan. Mandela's pledge, made during the visit to SA of Taiwan Vice-Premier Hsu Li-Teh in late August, and his contradictory later statement cry out for explanation.

One minute Mandela insists that it would be immoral to severe ties with Taiwan because of its assistance to the ANC during the struggle against apartheid (in the run-up to the watershed 1994 election, to be precise, when Taiwan gave US$10m to the ANC, compared with $2m from China).

The next minute he announces that SA is going to do what he had categorically promised not to do.

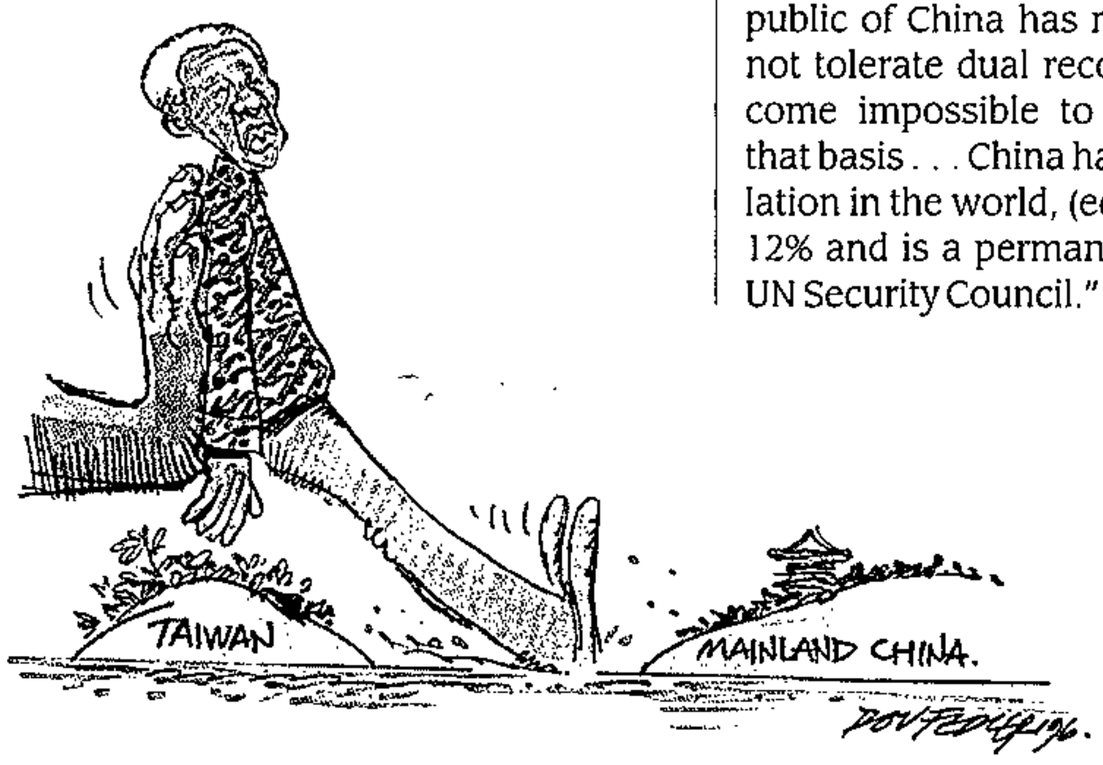
One explanation is that the announcement is related to the approaching handover of Hong Kong to China at midnight on June 30 next year. The rationale is that SA will need to negotiate with China to protect its rights in Hong Kong — a consulate and landing rights in the territory. Without formal recognition of China, negotiations could be problematic if not impossible.

China may have used its pending sovereignty over the British colony to extract a publicly acknowledged change in SA foreign policy.

Its political muscle may thus have proved stronger than Mandela's scruples about abandoning friends that have helped the ANC.

But the Hong Kong issue has been on the agenda ever since 1994. The implication is that Mandela's assurances to Taiwan were proffered either because he was not adequately briefed by the Department of Foreign Affairs or because he chose to ignore its counsel.

That aside, however, it is almost certain that the looming incorporation of



Hong Kong into China helped the pro-China lobby in the ANC, including the SACP, to press their case with greater urgency.

Raymond Suttner, the chairman of the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs and a member of the SACP's influential central committee, has argued that SA's preferred option — the "Two China policy," involving diplomatic ties with both states — is not feasible.

His reasoning is logically irresistible: if Beijing will not agree to diplomatic ties with SA unless Pretoria withdraws its diplomats from Taipei, the "Two China" policy amounts to exclusive recognition of Taiwan.

Until last week one argument held that Mandela should use his unique prestige to persuade China to agree to a policy of dual recognition by SA. But Mandela's moral authority has manifestly failed to breathe life into that idea, and may have been dented by his seemingly sudden backtracking.

SA's decision is largely a result of realpolitik and recognition that it is a small player on the world stage, unable to change the tide of international opinion since 1971, when the UN General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to admit China in place of Taiwan.

Mandela, acknowledging that SA's realignment of policy is prompted by national interest, states: "The People's Republic of China has made it clear it will not tolerate dual recognition. It had become impossible to move forward on that basis . . . China has the biggest population in the world, (economic) growth of 12% and is a permanent member of the UN Security Council."

There is conjecture that SA might have tried to extract a pledge of support from China for its ambition to acquire the African seat on the Security Council, should pressure to make the council more representative result in an expansion of the number of permanent representatives.

But, while bowing to political reality and abandoning the preferred two-track policy, Mandela has tried to soften the blow to Taiwan by giving it more than a year's notice of the change, and by stressing his wish for expanded economic and cultural ties with "the Republic of China on Taiwan." ◙

SA closes down two embassies

Sowetan 11/12/96 (304A)

Financial pressures force withdrawal from Mauritius and Paraguay

Sowetan Correspondent

SOUTH Africa has closed its embassy in Paraguay and its high commission office in Mauritius because of financial constraints.

This means that thousands of South African tourists to the idyllic Indian Ocean island paradise will no longer have recourse to consular officials based on the island.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Pieter Swanepoel said yesterday that the closures followed similar action taken earlier this year in respect of the embassy in Istanbul (Turkey) and the consulate in St Petersburg (Russia).

South Africa is formally represented in about 100 countries and has over the past 30 months been opening embassies and high commissions in many parts of the world. Some ambassadors and high commissioners have non-residential accreditation covering various countries. During the apartheid era, the country was restricted in the number of countries in which it could open missions.

"Difficult decisions had to be taken as part of a worldwide reassessment of our missions," Swanepoel said. "Financial considerations and the high cost of keeping an embassy or high commission operating, in the face of the falling value of the rand, has dictated our decision."

Sources said the decision to close the Port Louis mission is unlikely to make any significant difference to relations, as Mauritius is a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) which also includes South Africa. President Nelson Mandela is the current chairman of the SADC.

The closure of the Asuncion embassy in Paraguay is, however, seen by diplomats as being particularly painful because of the long association, stretching over 21 years, that South Africa has had with the landlocked South American country.

Pretoria has had embassies in countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Chile for many years, but has recently been re-assessing its representation.

Into the dustbin goes apartheid

Star 11/12/96 (SOWA)

Constitution signed into law by a dancing Madiba who exhorts SA to 'draw strength from the unity which we have forged'

By Patrick Bulger
Parliamentary Correspondent

President Mandela joyfully signed into law yesterday a document which introduced the first constitutional democracy in the land and finally consigned apartheid to the dustbin of history.

The ceremony was watched by 30 000 people, all as overjoyed as he was.

There was tight security at the event, held at the George Thabe Stadium in Sharpeville.

The signing was near the site of the 1960 massacre by police of 69 anti-apartheid demonstrators. The venue was also significant because of its proximity to Vereeniging, where the racially exclusive Union of South Africa was signed into law in 1910.

Before signing the historic document, the president did his very own Madiba Shuffle while the crowd danced and jigged to the music of Hugh Masekela.

The constitution entrenches a democratic order, a comprehensive Bill of Rights and safeguards against arbitrary State action. It succeeds the interim constitution negotiated at the World Trade Centre in 1993.

Mandela praised the work of the Constitutional Assembly which drafted the new text over a period that started in April 199[illegible]. He also congratulated the Constitutional Court judges, who earlier this year sent it back for [illegible] amendments before certifying it earlier this month.

"Let us now, drawing strength from the unity which we have forged, together grasp the opportunities and realise the vision enshrined in this constitution," Mandela told those gathered for the ceremony who included national political leaders, foreign dignitaries and the ordinary people of the Vaal Triangle.

Mandela's words were echoed by the former chairman of the now-defunct Constitutional Assembly, Cyril Ramaphosa, who said all "can take our rightful place free from tyranny of one group over another".

He added: "Here at Sharpeville, in Vereeniging, both powerful symbols of past relationships, we are making a break with the past, a break with betrayal. We are starting a new chapter."

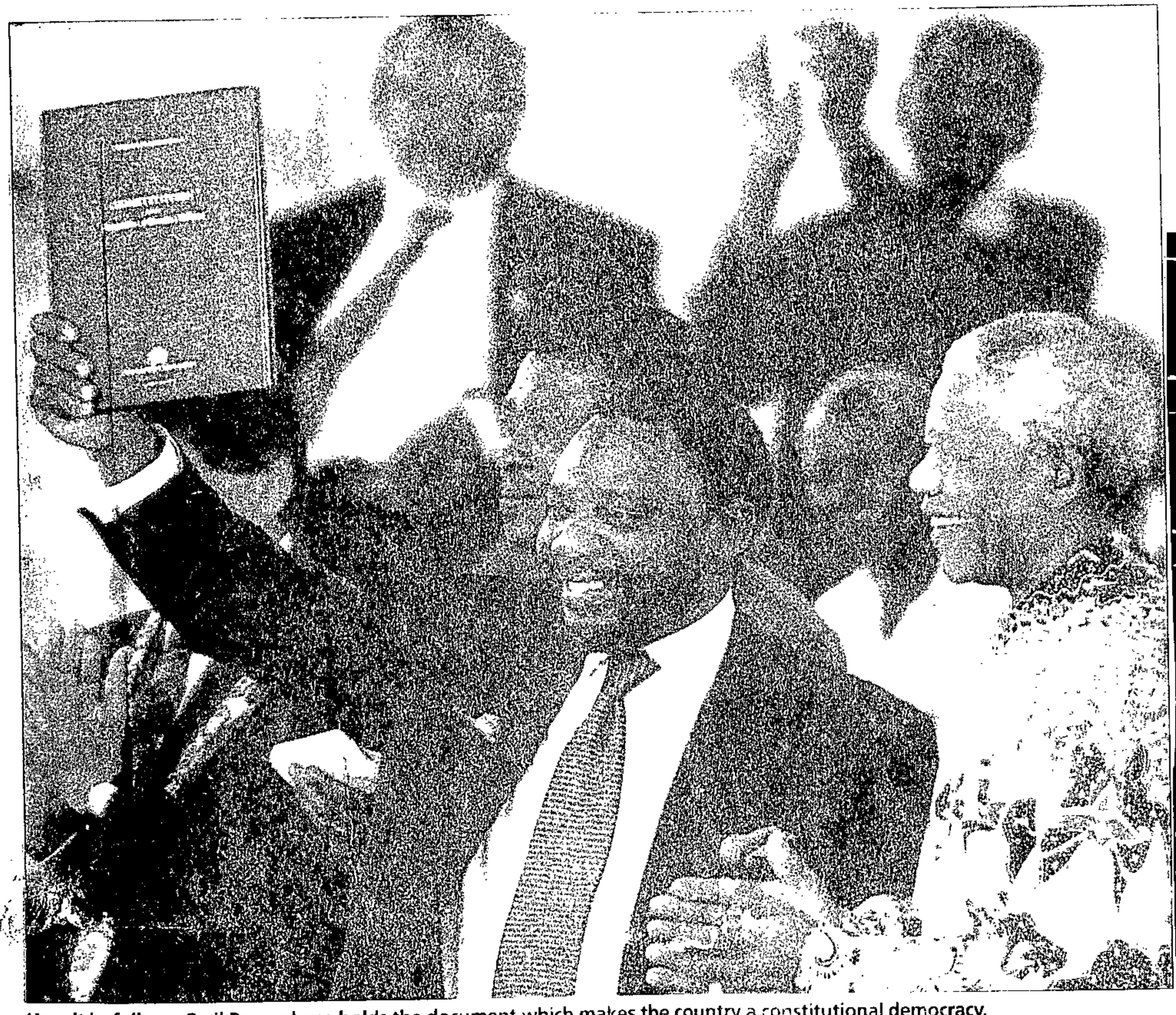
The constitution will be gazetted early in the new year and most of its provisions will be put into effect then. The provisions on local government, the government of national unity and the financial provisions will come into force later in the year.

▶ **Report and pictures** ... *Page 15*

Mandela and Ramaphosa were joined on the stage at the George Thabe Stadium by 22 survivors of the 1960 shootings outside a local police station.

Referring to the killings, the state president said: "Out of the [illegible] Sharpevilles which haunt [illegible] was born the unshakeable determination that respect for human life, liberty and well-being must be enshrined as rights beyond the power of any force to diminish."

GARY BERNARD



Here it is, folks ... Cyril Ramaphosa holds the document which makes the country a constitutional democracy.

WEDNESDAY
DECEMBER 11, 1996

30 000 AT HISTORIC CEREMONY

Mandela signs new Constitution into law

CT 11/12/96 (30 000)

VEREENIGING: Relatives and friends of the victims of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre were among those who witnessed the signing of the new Constitution yesterday.

AN elated President Nelson Mandela signed into law yesterday South Africa's new Constitution, ushering in a new period of constitutional democracy and finally consigning apartheid to the scrapheap.

The signing ceremony took place in front of about 30 000 people at the George Thabe Stadium at Sharpeville, Vereeniging, near the site of the 1960 massacre by police of 69 anti-apartheid demonstrators.

Mandela toyi-toyied with the crowd to music by Hugh Masekela before signing the document.

The new Constitution entrenches a democratic order, a comprehensive Bill of Rights and safeguards against arbitrary state action. It succeeds the interim constitution negotiated at the World Trade Centre in 1993.

Mandela hailed the work of the Constitutional Assembly (CA) which drafted the new text over two years, beginning in April 1994. He also congratulated the Constitutional Court judges who earlier this year sent the text back to the CA for correction before certifying it earlier this month.

"Let us now, drawing strength from the unity which we have forged, together grasp the opportunities and realise the vision enshrined in this Constitution," Mandela told the ceremony, which was attended by political leaders, foreign dignitaries and the people of Sharpeville and Vereeniging.

Mandela's words were echoed by the former chairman of the now-defunct Constitutional Assembly, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who said all South Africans "can take our rightful place in a South Africa free from tyranny of one group over another".

"Here at Sharpeville, in Vereeniging, both powerful symbols of past relationships between South Africans, we are making a break with the past, a break with the pain, a break with betrayal. We are starting a new chapter," he said.

The Constitution will be gazetted early next year and most of its provisions will come into effect then. The provisions on local government, the government of national unity and the financial provisions will come into force later next year.

Mandela and Ramaphosa shared the stage at the stadium with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, CA deputy chairman Mr Leon Wessels, National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala and Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Also on the stage were 22 survivors of the 1960 killings.

Referring to the killings, Mandela said: "Out of the many Sharpevilles which haunt our history was born the determination that respect for human life, liberty and well-being must be enshrined as rights beyond the power of any force to diminish."

Earlier, Mandela laid a wreath at a memorial to the Sharpeville victims at the scene of the shootings outside the police station.

After the signing ceremony, which featured a flypast by SANDF helicopters, Mandela unveiled a plaque at the Vereeniging civic centre, after which he renamed the square in front of the centre Constitution Square.

Members of the crowd recalled how 36 years ago they saw 69 of their relatives and friends being silenced with guns when they demanded their rights to freedom.

"The new Constitution means a lot to us," said 70-year-old Ms Gladys Ntuli. "We saw the blood of our relatives sink into soil and their bodies lose life. This day is for them; to restore the rights they fought for."

Mr Thomas Mautsoa, 74, said: "It is as if it happened yesterday. I can still see in my mind bodies lying on the ground, crying in anguish, covered in blood and bullets."

He said the signing of the Constitution marked the real beginning of democracy because it "touched on the rights of individuals, the community and the nation".

The World War II veteran said he had only known of unjust systems that robbed him of his rights.

"At first I lost my rights when we went to war to fight for our so-called king and country. When we came back in 1945, we were only given bicycles as a reward," he said.

Later, Mautsoa had to face the apartheid laws. — Own Correspondent

TAIWANESE PROTEST (30419)

A MATTER OF SAVING FACE

FM 13/12/96

There is a substantial element of face-saving in Taiwan's suspension of SA aid projects worth nearly R4bn, in protest against Pretoria's decision to establish diplomatic relations with Beijing instead of Taipei.

Taiwan's response, articulated by Taiwanese Foreign Minister John Chang after his failure to persuade President Nelson Mandela to change his mind last week, is qualified by an assurance: the suspension will be lifted if a formula for a new relationship can be negotiated.

Two key sentences in Chang's statement on this "very difficult moment in the development of our bilateral relationship" make that clear.

In the first, he accepts that diplomatic ties will be cut at the end of 1997, then adds: "It is important for both sides to work out the best possible arrangement for a future relationship, based on mutual trust, sincerity and far-sightedness."

In the second he says: "All suspensions . . . will be immediately restored as soon as a new formula is negotiated and agreed upon between our two governments to manage the future relationship in the interests of both sides."

These riders to Chang's statement announcing the suspension of "many" projects must be juxtaposed with the conciliatory response from the SA Department of Foreign Affairs: "We reiterate that we would like to conduct our relations after 1997 at the highest level, short of diplomatic relations."

The statement echoes an earlier one by Mandela giving Taiwan more than a year's notice of the change and expressing his personal gratitude to Taiwan for assisting SA's transition to democracy.

A later exposition by the Taiwanese Embassy makes it clear that the suspension is not as great as it seems.

The embassy distinguishes between three categories of "co-operative projects and programmes": those already operative, those under discussion, and those being implemented. The first two categories — which include the proposed US$3,5bn petrochemical joint venture — are excluded from Taiwan's list.

The largest of the listed projects is a proposal by two Taiwanese banks, the Bank of Taiwan and the International Commercial Bank of China, to deposit $500m with the SA Reserve Bank as "balance of payment support."

Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals, however, says the offer, made more than a year ago, was not taken up. "There was an offer made but we never accepted it," he says, as SA had sufficient facilities to cover its balance of payments needs.

Taiwan is not unused to dealing with the situation presented by Mandela's November 27 announcement that SA, confronted with an inescapable choice, had opted to recognise Beijing.

Ever since the 1971 UN decision to recognise China instead of Taiwan, Taipei has had to adjust to the seemingly ineluctable movement by major nations towards recognition of China. However hurt or angered by these decisions, Taiwan has generally sought to build relations at all levels below and beyond formal diplomatic ties, particularly — but not only — in the economic sphere. There seems little doubt that SA-Taiwan relations after 1997 will fit that pattern.

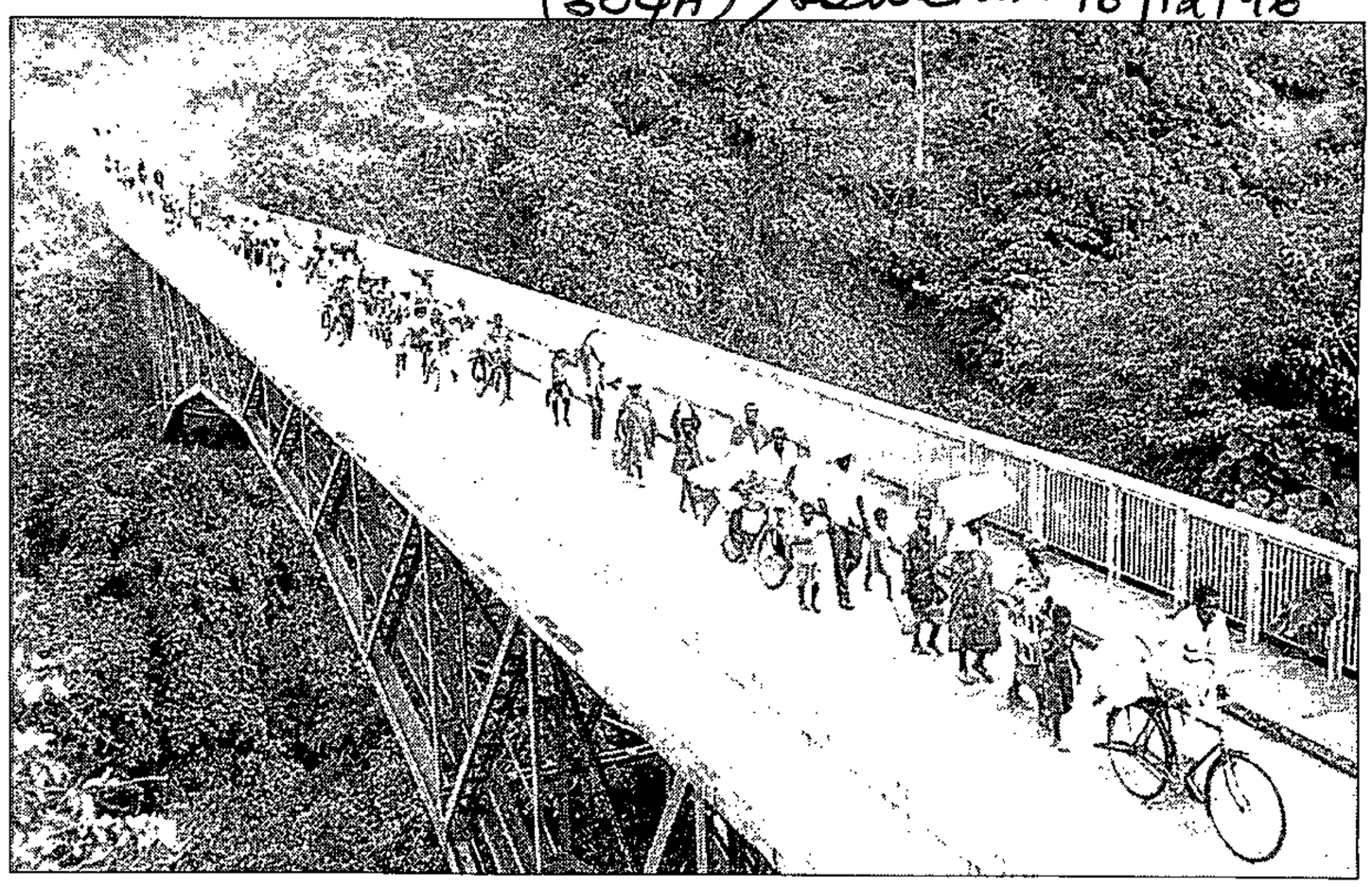
SA's preferred "Two China" policy has reached a cul-de-sac diplomatically. But it seems set to expand economically and culturally as these ties with Taiwan, and mainland China, grow in future.

The overall advantage for SA is that it will be in diplomat step with major nations, instead of limping along behind as the National Party government did. ■

SA made costly mistake

(304A) Sowetan 16/12/96

It is about time this country took action to redeem its tarnished image



Rwandan refugees cross the bridge of the Rumumo River, which is the border between Tanzania and Rwanda. Hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees who fled their country after the 1994 civil war started their way towards Rwanda last weekend. PIC AP

By John Seiler

SOME important lessons for South African policy towards the Great Lakes area and its broader international behaviour have emerged since the crisis first caught the attention of Western and African regimes.

First, it was wrong to sell arms to the present Rwandan government, even if the United Nations had given rhetorical support to doing so, because any tough-minded analyst would have suggested their use to support Tutsi and other guerrillas in Zaire and elsewhere in the region.

Second, however embarrassing to then United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher to be told bluntly in public that Washington's proposal for a South African leading role in an African peacekeeping force partly funded by the US was unacceptable.

Despite the various difficulties involved, it will remain constructive to avoid unilateral decisions and interventions, relying instead on the often-laborious consultative processes of the UN, Organisation of African Unity, Southern African Development Community and the ad hoc grouping of Great Lakes heads of government.

Counterproductive sale

That said, it does not require acquiescence to the preferences of these bodies, as the counterproductive sale of arms to Rwanda made clear.

Given the paucity of foreign policy interest groups in this country and the limited access to the foreign policy establishment of SA media commentators, it was especially useful for Department of Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans to discuss the policy choices and the problems inherent in these choices with the media.

Despite the apparent absence of formal mechanisms for government-wide national security policy planning and operational planning, ad hoc linkages among departments seemed to ...ell.

...ertheless, small, well-placed ...nal and policy planning offices should be established.

Operational coordination might best be placed in the Defence Ministry Secretariat; policy planning and coordination might best be in the Deputy President's office.

Future operational planning should rest on and benefit from the recent rounds of preliminary technical planning for the prospective peacekeeping involvement in eastern Zaire and the broader Great Lakes region.

Formal policy planning should not offset the clout of decisions made by political leadership, but it could enhance the quality of analysis made by the handful of senior ministers and officials who control national security decisions, and who apparently rely on informal networks of advisers.

Now, formal analyses of situations on the ground and of policy options come primarily from desk officers who rely on SA diplomatic missions for facts and interpretations.

However good their sources and own utilisation of source material may be, it is bound to be narrow and inclined towards political conventionality.

Looking back at the prolonged discussions in which the US, France and Canada played central roles, it is hard to ignore the element of political calculation involved.

Given the complexity of the situation, the delay turned out to be productive, but none of the principal actors in the negotiation deserve appreciation.

Indeed, if the Rwandan-supported guerrilla troops had moved less quickly to consolidate control of eastern Zaire, the pressure to appear supportive of humanitarian concerns and regional peace would have brought a "humanitarian" intervention which might have worsened the situation on the ground.

Fortunately, the evidence required to undergird intervention was difficult to come by. Counting numbers, whether of refugees or contending armed forces, whether from ground observation or aerial photography, or satellite photos, was difficult in itself.

Given the inconclusiveness of the data, the varying priorities and assumptions of the governments and international non-governmental organisations involved made agreement on action less likely.

This recognition of the limits of information should not be seen as an argument for non-action, but it is important to recognise that this proposed intervention was a political act.

It involved assumptions, more often implicit than spelled out, about the prospects for political stability and it favoured, again more tacitly, another individual and group over others.

Option for action

These differences were obscured by the deliberate force of discussions on immediate situations and narrow options for action.

Now we can see some longer-term possibilities more clearly. Most basically, the Shaba-led indigenous guerrilla forces have made it patently clear that Mobutu's rag-tag, demoralised and corrupt military cannot win back eastern Zaire, even with massive foreign military support.

The French still want to give that support, in return for strengthened control over Zaire's mineral production, but they are unlikely to do so in the face of growing opposition to Mobutu from the US and other governments.

While the prospects for Zairean domestic stability are small, the strengthening of regional *de facto* governments within that vast country need not pose a threat to broader regional stability and may provide the opportunity for relatively peaceful social and economic reconstruction in a territory which has not had effective governance or economic life for years.

The SA government could help redeem its tarnished image by supporting moves away from Mobutu's domination of Zaire. Now that the indigenous nature of the guerrilla movement is apparent, fears about a Rwandan take-over of some Zairean territory, a matter of profound concern to most established African regimes, seems much less important. Zaire, albeit a shell, would stay Zaire.

The long term festering mutual distrust between Tutsi and Hutu in both Rwanda and Burundi is another matter.

Rene Lemarchand, a long-time observer of those territories, concluded in a recent book about Burundi that the realities of mutual genocide and the ensuing myths based on mutual distrust and fear that have grown since the 1960s, provide absolutely no optimism that even a tentative short-term stability can be achieved between the groups in both countries.

If Lemarchard, one of the most insightful observers in this conflict, is so pessimistic, the South African Government must be very wary of any proposals for any intervention that suggests a quick, peaceful and inexpensive achievement of political stability.

Of course, Rwanda and Burundi must be confronted if there is to be any hope for an eventual reconciliation in one or both countries.

But, from the beginning, the South African Government and other responsible governments must acknowledge publicly the enormity of the problem.

(Dr Seiler's book Transforming Mangope's Bophuthatswana will be published soon).

China: Yet another foreign policy blunder

(304A)

CT 16/12/96

SOUTH AFRICA'S dumping of Taiwan in favour of China is further evidence that this country's incompetent Department of Foreign Affairs has succumbed to the mindless myth that might is right, argues **TERRY CRAWFORD-BROWNE.**

SOUTH AFRICA'S diplomatic capitulation to China is a sad repudiation of the hope that our country's foreign policy would be built upon the promotion of human rights.

Little wonder that President Mandela is privately embarrassed, having previously declared that it would be "immoral" to dump Taiwan.

Post-apartheid SA had a unique opportunity to influence world events and to play a role way beyond its economic weight. The fiasco over Nigeria's execution of Ken Sara-Wiwa and our silence about General Obasanjo's continuing imprisonment are now compounded. Have we already forgotten the crucial roles of some players in the international community in our own struggle for democracy?

Explanations that China would refuse to accept a two-China policy or that it is home to a potentially enormous 1,2-billion-people export market are tired and overworked. China has maintained a *de facto* embassy in Pretoria for many years in spite of SA's recognition of Taiwan. Nor is the argument valid that while Taiwan had supported the apartheid regime, China had supported the liberation struggle.

The Cameron Commission of Inquiry revealed that our previous government had imported AK-47s from China for redistribution to Renamo and Unita.

The Cameron Commission of Inquiry into Armscor revealed that our previous government had imported AK-47s from China for redistribution to Renamo in Mozambique and Unita in Angola. It was part of a deliberate destabilisation strategy to incite terror in Southern Africa, the consequences of which still haunt this country and our neighbours.

Armscor, it was learnt, had secretly maintained an office in Beijing for many years. It still does, but the corporation's executives refuse to reveal the extent and purpose of SA's continuing armaments trade with China.

The court case in Philadelphia against Armscor which caused unnecessary friction between SA and the US, includes an indictment concerning a R1,4-billion missile technology scam between Armscor and China North Industries Corporation (Norinco). This same company, which also produced those AK-47s, is now involved in manufacturing laser weapons to blind their victims.

There is evidence that the *Apollo Sea*, which sank off the Cape West Coast in June 1994, causing devastating ecological damage, was carrying 150 000 tons of iron ore as part of a transaction between Armscor and China. Just what armaments SA was then importing from China has still not been disclosed.

Earlier this year, Amnesty International met the chairperson of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC), to protest about the export of South African-made torture equipment to China. Minister Kader Asmal insisted that the only exports of armaments from SA to China since establishment of the NCACC had been radios and radio parts. When asked how exports of radios and radio parts could justify the expense of maintaining an Armscor office in Beijing, Asmal replied that was outside the jurisdiction of the NCACC.

Three days later Amnesty International clarified its stance by revealing that the exports of torture instruments had been routed via Britain. And a British newspaper claimed that similar supplies, described as agricultural equipment, were also being exported to Indonesia.

China is a menace, indeed an affront, to the international community. Supplies of nuclear technology to Pakistan threaten India. The proliferation of Chinese weapons inflames the world's trouble-spots. Earlier this year Chinese sabre-rattling threatened Taiwan. Mandela's fellow Nobel peace laureate, the Dalai Lama, visited SA only a few months ago to plead for support in Tibet's struggle against Chinese occupation.

SA's foreign policy — or lack thereof — has been lamented on many occasions.

The incompetent Department of Foreign Affairs has squandered the acclaim this country enjoyed following the transition from military dictatorship and world outcast to a democracy.

In October the Department argued that supplies of weapons to the current Rwandan government would help bring stability to the Great Lakes region. Intentionally or otherwise, it proved a signal to the Tutsi rebels in Zaire that they could serve as proxy for Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi to topple the dictatorial and corrupt Mobutu Sese Seko.

Three weeks later, with one million refugees fleeing the conflict, our government, in great embarrassment, announced that the R87-m arms shipment contract to Rwanda had been "suspended". The lesson from our own experience, that supplies of armaments do not contribute to resolution of conflicts, still has not been learnt by blundering bureaucrats.

We should be exporting mediation skills, not armaments.

SA had a unique prospect to serve as the international bridge between "first" and "third" worlds. We might have mediated in the conflicts between the US, Cuba, Libya or Iran. Or between Israel and the Palestinians. Or between China and Taiwan.

What have we gained by throwing away that opportunity? Instead, we are now just one more in a tally of 180 nations. Indeed, our international significance is illustrated by the fact that our economy is half the size of Belgium's.

A century ago Americans fantasised that exports of one hurricane lamp per person in China would create economic prosperity in the US. It was the beginning of the disastrous twists and turns which have characterised American foreign policy throughout the 20th century.

In contrast, Senator James William Fulbright lectured his students: *Don't waste you time worrying what is inside the inscrutable oriental mind. For all you know, it may be vacuous. It may be empty. Instead, just make damn sure that the inscrutable oriental knows precisely what is inside your mind.*

Sadly, South African diplomats have been mesmerised by the notion that one-fifth of the world's population lives in China. Recognition of a brutal regime, which still relies on slave and prison labour, is a contradiction of the struggle against apartheid — that people mattered before profits.

We have betrayed ourselves and people around the world still awaiting liberation. We have succumbed to the mindless myth that might is right.

❑ *Terry Crawford-Browne is a member of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction (Ecaar).*



THE DALAI LAMA: The Nobel peace laureate visited South Africa recently to plead for support in Tibet's struggle against China.

SA Airways' landing rights in Taiwan

suspended

BD 17/12/96 (304A)

Stephané Bothma

SA AIRWAYS' (SAA's) landing rights in Taiwan will be suspended on February 15 in retaliation for the SA government's decision to sever diplomatic ties with the country in favour of China.

The suspension could see the introduction by SAA of flights to Beijing next year, industry sources said.

Airline spokesman Janie van Vuuren yesterday said SAA had received official notification from Taiwan that February 15 would be the cut-off date for air services between the two countries.

"We are still in the process of studying the documentation to establish the full implication of the move," Van Vuuren said.

However, all SAA passengers affected by the suspension of air links would be rerouted via Bangkok or Hong Kong with the assistance of other international carriers, she said.

SAA currently operates a twice-weekly service to Taipei. It is the only carrier offering a direct service between SA and Taiwan. Taiwan-based China Airlines stopped its service between the two countries in October for financial reasons.

Taiwan's decision follows an announcement by President Nelson Mandela last month that SA would cut ties with Taipei at the end of next year and instead recognise Beijing as the legal government of all China.

Taiwan Foreign Minister John Chang said SAA had been given a two-month grace period to adjust to the new relations, Sapa-AFP reported yesterday.

The air link would be restored "when an agreement governing future ties is reached to our satisfaction," Chang said.

The two-month grace period was given by Taiwan despite the air services agreement between the countries which afforded either country a notice period of 12 months.

Chang was in SA two weeks ago in a fruitless effort to persuade Pretoria to maintain high-level ties.

The landing rights agreement pact is the first of the 36 government treaties Taiwan is suspending. Taiwan has recalled its ambassador from SA and has halted 17 co-operation projects worth US$4,4bn.

SA is the largest of the 30 countries which recognise Taiwan, seat of the Republic of China since 1949 after it was split from mainland China by civil war.

SA is keen to play a bigger role in the world and wants to sell its goods to China's market of 1,2-billion people.

SA's foreign-policy challenge

(30A) M+G 20-23/12/96

Anthoni van Nieuwkerk

IN 1996, South Africa's international relations went on a roller-coaster ride. The country's multi-lateral approach to global affairs produced a number of successes, the high point of which was probably in April, when South Africa hosted the ninth meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

Also significant is the progress in South Africa's nuclear diplomacy, and its presidency of the Southern African Development Community. Bilaterally, President Nelson Mandela went on triumphant visits to Britain, France and Germany.

A low point was the debacle around Nigeria, while the apparent non-performance of the United States-South Africa binational commission and the related wrangle around the Armscor case must rank a close second.

Some would argue that the government has opted for "delayed response" foreign policy-making and implementation.

This perception flows from observing the rather slow development of a mandate for the negotiations with the European Union; the contradictory development of South Africa's China policy; the unclear response to the crisis in the Great Lakes area; and the low-profile treatment of obvious human-rights violators (such as Indonesia and Morocco).

Factors behind these perceptions include primarily the persistent claim that South Africa is attempting to develop a foreign-policy orientation in a vacuum. This refers to the absence of vision and leadership; and a clearly defined national interest. The argument is that South Africa has not found its role in the world, and furthermore, that its leadership is either not competent (in the case of its foreign minister) or ill-informed and driven by an antiquated understanding of global affairs (in the case of its president).

The situation is compounded by the lack of consensus of what ought to underlie the country's "national interest" — including perhaps a judicious blend of trade interests and commercial values, and human rights and democratic values.

In the wake of South Africa's recent announcement of its new China policy, a huge cry went up from Parliament and civil-society interests: where was the consultation? Why wasn't the foreign ministry, or the Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs not properly informed beforehand (or not fully involved in the decision)? What this criticism and perceptions refer to is the lack of clear and consistent internal decision-making structures.

But critics do not always factor in the constraints policy-makers experience, the genuine efforts they make to speed up decisions and the attempts they make to facilitate the implementation of decisions.

Fortunately, and at least in my analysis, significant progress has been made by our foreign affairs policy-makers.

The Foreign Affairs Department's deputy director general for multi-lateral affairs, Abdul Minty, recently remarked that "While it is true that the Department of Foreign Affairs under the previous regime did operate in a secretive fashion, it is being transformed and there are real attempts to reach out to the media in particular." This is an encouraging statement, but more needs to be done to share information and solicit input from civil society. How?

Foreign Affairs' Director General Rusty Evans this month released a report on the outcome of a workshop (billed as "the first national consultative foreign-policy seminar") convened by his department in September.

In light of democratic South Africa's perceived strengths and weaknesses, the workshop identified challenges to its foreign policy, nine of which, in my view, can be seen as constituting the research agenda for South Africa's evolving foreign policy — probably for the duration of the present administration's mandate (until 1999). These are:

1. Formulating a foreign policy framework based on national consensus, partly through ongoing and wider consultation;
2. Developing consensus on what South Africa's national interest should be;
3. Reaching clarity on South Africa's stance on human rights;
4. Reconceptualising South Africa's leadership role in Southern Africa, including the role of non-governmental organisations;
5. Analysing the question of the unipolar world and the global economy, including the promotion of positive South-South relations;
6. Establishing a non-elitist advisory council which would allow regular consultation between civil society and government regarding contentious issues and other foreign policy matters; and
7. Improving governmental decision-making processes, including enhanced co-ordination with other government departments, and the addition of a policy planning unit within the foreign ministry.

Anthoni van Nieuwkerk is research director at the Foundation for Global Dialogue

ROC aid can be restored!

CP 22/12/96

(304A)

TAIWAN suspended billions of rands of investments in SA after it was announced that SA would be cutting diplomatic ties with its former benefactor. But a new diplomatic formula could bring the bucks back, reports DESMOND BLOW.

THE SUSPENSION by the Republic of China (ROC) of billions of rands of investment and aid to South Africa due to South Africa's sudden decision to withdraw its diplomatic recognition in favour of the People's Republic of China (PRC) can probably be reversed.

Taiwan will, however, demand some sort of de facto diplomatic status, City Press learned this week.

Taiwan's Foreign Minister John H Chang, who flew to South Africa recently to attempt to restore diplomatic ties, promised that all suspensions would be restored as soon as a new formula was agreed upon by the two governments.

ROC Ambassador I-Cheng Loh was this week recalled to Taipei, although he will still hold the position as Ambassador to South Africa until December next year.

And he has not ruled out the possibility of returning to South Africa "after a negotiated settlement is reached".

President Nelson Mandela has also said that, in view of the close relations South Africa and the ROC had in the past, a new formula should be worked out that "should warrant relations at the highest level other than diplomatic relations".

Political observers believe such an agreement will make the ROC's future relations with SA closer than that of any other country which has broken diplomatic ties with her, including the United States and Japan.

This could also set a precedent for other countries to follow.

It is also believed that by next December South Africa will be in a stronger position to withstand any further PRC demands.

South Africa made a big concession by switching diplomatic recognition to the PRC at the expense of the ROC, but by next December the reasons for Mandela's sudden about-face – after declaring as recently as August that South Africa would not turn away from Taiwan – are not likely to exist.

There has been much speculation for the sudden switch, but it is known that South Africa wishes to have a seat on the UN Security Council - and China is one of the five nations which has a veto in the United Nations, which, if used, could stop South African from obtaining a seat.

Another UN "problem" which may have contributed to the sudden switch was that African countries needed China's approval for the first black African to succeed Boutros Boutros-Ghali as secretary-general.

This problem was resolved this week with the tacit support of China. which could have vetoed the appointment of Kofi Annan of Ghana as Secretary- General.

Mandela's sudden switch in policy has, however, damaged his credibility in some circles, as the ROC has just completed its transition to democracy and the Beijing regime is still stamping on human rights.

The *Boston Globe*, one of America's leading newspapers, reacted with shock claiming, that South Africa had cast principle to the wind.

The newspaper compared South Africa's action unfavourably with that taken by the Walt Disney company – which put principle above profits by refusing to heed a warning by Beijing that if Disney released the film "Kundun"about the life of the Dalai Lama, Disney would be excluded from the PRC.

"Disney declared that if the five ageing dictators who rule one-fifth of the human race retaliated by excluding Disney from the vast Chinese market, that was hard lines," reported.

Mamasela shed light on some of apartheid's dark past and solved the mysteries of several crimes, including the famous Pebco 3 case.

☐ In a hijack hoax drama which gave a powerful blow to the rand, tourist company driver Peter Monyekane proved to the world how an ordinary bloke can affect the national econony. Manyekane lied to the police when he said his company bus had been hijacked with three British nationals near Alexandra – and the ailing rand's temperature dropped further. Apparently Manyekane was moonlighting with the bus when the hijacking occurred and he lied to try to save his job.

☐ Thousands of gullible investors lost their life savings in a Sun Multiserve get-rich-quick scam which was banned by the Reserve Bank for violating the Banks Act.

☐ The tug-of-war battle over ten-year-old Sifiso Mahlangu capti-

Africa from February 1, months before diplomatic ties are to be broken in December.

Another important suspension is that of interest-free subsidies paid by the ROC to Taiwanese investors in South Africa.

This will greatly affect future businesses being established in South Africa.

If the suspension is not lifted, many companies, either already established in South Africa or planned for the future, are likely to be switched to other countries.

African countries such as Botswana, Malawi and Namibia are already pressing for Taiwanese investment.

The ROC Embassy last week released a list of economic aid projects between the ROC and South Africa, some of which have already been implemented and others that will be affected by the suspension.

The suspensions total about four billion rand.

These include the suspension of:

☐ More than $500 million (about R2 350 million) the Bank of Taiwan and the International Commercial Bank of China was to advance to the SA Reserve Bank as balance of payment support.

☐ A contract to lend MacSteel nearly R100 million, which will severely hit South African steel exports.

☐ Nearly R200 million for the vocational training of ex-freedom fighters who wish to leave the new SANDF and seek employment in the commercial world.

The ROC Ambassador handed over machiney and equipment for some of the vocational categories only a fortnight ago.

☐ A loan of R150 million to Telkom for rural telephones.

☐ Millions of rands in loans at only 3 percent for the purchase of farm land for small farmers.

☐ A R50 million grant and loans for the resettlement of retired guerillas.

Others include millions of rands in loans and grants for trade and industry, social forestry, land reform assistance, women's development banking, an entreprenuerial internship project, bursary programmes, and technical training programmes.

Salary bill for SA's traditional leaders looks set to rocket

CT 24/12/96 (304A)

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

THE salary bill for South Africa's traditional leaders — currently R59,9 million a year — could rocket, if the Steyn Commission's proposals on their packages are adopted by the government.

The commission yesterday proposed that the estimated 800 traditional leaders be paid a total package of R6 000 a month or R72 000 a year — a total of R57,6m.

It also recommended that headmen be paid R13 000 a year, which based on current government estimates of 1 733 headmen, would cost an additional R22,5m a year — making a total of R80,1m a year.

But Professor Chris Tapscott, director of the school of government at the University of Western Cape, has estimated that the 800 traditional leaders in South Africa are supported by an additional 10 000 subordinate leaders, which, if they were all to be paid R13 000 a year, would cost R130m.

This would create a total bill of R187,6m.

The problem is that no one is quite sure how many traditional leaders, let alone headmen, there are.

The Steyn Commission did, however, recommend that the salaries paid to provincial councils of traditional leaders should be scrapped and be replaced by fixed allowances, ranging from R500 a day for chairpersons to R350 a day for ordinary members.

Members of these houses should be remunerated and reimbursed only when the houses were sitting.

In particular, the commission strongly criticised the Mpumulanga provincial government, for paying ordinary members of its house of traditional leaders an additional salary of R154 000 a year, and paying its chairperson a salary of R232 000.

It said this level of remuneration went "considerably beyond what can reasonably be regarded as fair reward for services rendered and duties performed".

It also said that although it did not seek legal advice, it was of the view that there were "prima facie indications" that these payments were not legal.

Its consultants said the house of traditional leaders met only eight times in 1995 and 1996, four sittings a year.

The commission's most significant recommendation in regard to the traditional leaders was to strongly urge the government to make up its mind about the position of these chiefs in the new South Africa.

"The generality of the terms in which the Constitution has recognised the position of traditional leaders, (and) the measure of equivocation which is evident from the various provisions that deal with this institution, have been seen as cautionary signals by this commission.

"It is for this reason in particular, that we have been disinclined to make recommendations that would cast these institutions in an immutable format.

"We would urge government to grasp the nettle — uncomfortable as this process may be.

"Fudging the issue as to how — if at all — these institutions are to be integrated into a democratic dispensation, would appear to us to be an unacceptable option," the commission said.

"Whether the principles that underpin the new South African democratic dispensation can be applied, in order to ensure that this institution also conforms with those values, and if so, how this can best be achieved, is a matter to which government has to apply its mind.

"The government must take the decision which it deems to be in the interests of South Africa," the commission said.

Chiefs must get higher pay — Steyn

BD 24/12/96

Tim Cohen and Samantha Sharpe

THE commission on remuneration of representatives has proposed a new formula for the payment of city councillors to restrict the number of local government representatives and has recommended a salary increase for senior traditional leaders.

Announcing the commission's findings on remuneration of local government officials and traditional leaders yesterday, commission chairman Jan Steyn said it was proposed that chiefs be paid R72 000 a year and headmen R13 000.

The commission's findings will mean that the total salary bill for SA's roughly 700 chiefs is likely to double to R50m, while the salary bill for SA's 2 000 headmen will remain roughly at its existing level of R27m.

However, the commission suggested that members of the provincial houses of traditional leaders — bodies established by the constitution to advise provincial legislatures on customary issues — should be paid only when the houses are sitting.

This would mean members of these houses would not be paid annual salaries, as was currently the case in Mpumalanga, for example, where they were paid R232 000 a year.

The commission recommended that ordinary members of these houses should be paid an allowance, including a subsistence allowance, of R650 a day, with travel allowances to be determined by the transport department. The houses have met only briefly during the past two years.

On local government representatives, the report recommended a model based on the number of inhabitants in each councillor's area of jurisdiction. Sapa reports that it also recommended payment be based on a three-tier hierarchy — mayors and executive committee chairmen in one tier, executive committee members and deputy mayors in another and ordinary councillors in the third.

The total pool of funds available for remuneration would be determined by multiplying the number of inhabitants by six.

The pool should then be distributed to each tier of local government in the ratio of 5:3:2 and divided by the number of councillors in each tier. The maximum remuneration in total package format could not be more than the equivalent of a member of provincial government and the minimum package should be R1 500 a month.

The model meant that the more councillors there were, the less each would be paid.

Funding for remuneration should be the responsibility of local government itself, although relief from central government should be made available where local governments were too small or without the necessary resources to self-fund. The commission also recommended that training and monitoring mechanisms be put in place to enhance the capacity of those elected at local government in a bid to serve their constituents.

According to the report, the determination of the remuneration of tra-

Continued on Page 2

Chiefs

BD 24/12/96

Continued from Page 1

ditional leaders had proved extremely difficult.

The effects of colonial designs, the grand design of "separate development" and present political requirements had left their mark on the legitimacy and credibility of traditional leadership structures.

These problems had been compounded by the absence of a clear policy from the present government.

But the recognition of the institution in the new constitution, albeit in very general terms, obliged the commission to determine appropriate remuneration.

In the existing system, the commission had encountered "a totally unacceptable situation — major disparities as a result of determinations already made at provincial level".

Chiefs in Mpumalanga were receiving R72 000 a year while others in former QwaQwa, for example, were receiving as little as R2 400.

The commission proposed that these discrepancies should be eliminated with a standard, national salary.

The commission had not been able to generate all the information required to make recommendations for remunerating kings and paramount chiefs and had reserved judgment on the issue. It would conduct further investigations and report not later than April 1997.

The commission proposed that pension and medical aid provision was inappropriate for traditional leaders.

Farouk Chothia reports from Durban that IFP KwaZulu-Natal MP Walter Felgate said the IFP welcomed the commission's recommendation on traditional leaders as a "step in the right direction", but said the provincial government and not central government should pay them.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the ANC was not particularly concerned about who would make the actual payments, but that central government should define "enforceable" tasks that chiefs throughout the country would be required to perform.

They could not be paid "so much for doing nothing" as this could lead to a revolt against them in their communities, he said.

Makhaye said a role for chiefs in bringing about development and peace in a non-partisan fashion should be identified.

He said the IFP, while claiming to be the champion of traditional structures, paid KwaZulu-Natal chiefs "peanuts" and treated them as "cannon fodder" with which to achieve party political objectives.

This had led to some chiefs falling into the trap of alcoholism, and central government was now determined to restore their dignity, Makhaye said.

SA ties with tomorrow's world leader vital

(304A) CT 3/1/97

SOUTH AFRICA needs to develop closer ties with China because that country is destined to become the world's economic powerhouse in the next century, argues **HOOSAIN KAGEE.**

THE debate over South Africa's decision to choose China before Taiwan needs to be put into perspective, as this "somersault" diplomacy has its roots in what is in the best interests of our country over a long period in time.

Many of the remarks in Terry Crawford-Browne's article "China: Yet another foreign policy blunder" (Cape Times, December 15) are misplaced. China offers great potential for the economic, political and developmental advances our country will make in the 21st century.

China has a population of 1,135-billion people or 20% of the world's population and if latest world demographic figures are correct then a growth to 1,5-billion people in 10 years is not impossible. If Crawford-Browne fails to see that these figures point to potential markets then surely we cannot be seeking the same thing for our nation's economy. China's sheer size will affect not only the Asian region but also the globe in terms of food supply, energy levels, the environment , and so on (China is already the world's fourth largest contributor to the annual increase in the greenhouse effect).

China is home to 20% of the world's population and has a growth rate of 8-10%. It is now the world's fourth largest trading nation. If its GDP reaches that of South Korea, it could become the world's biggest economic power.

China has been a big consumer and distributor in the world's armaments trade and this needs to stop. But it is foolhardy to believe that we can achieve a breakthrough in total disarmament outside the realms of Chinese politics. The reality is that any notion of nuclear non-proliferation treaties and global disarmament must include China and that's why we need to be there.

The economic potential that could come from formal ties with China is great. In 1987 its GDP was a mere $297 (R1 395) per capita. Ten years later this has increased to close to $500 (R2 350) and still climbing. The question that needs to be asked is: what if China reaches a per capita GDP on a par with South Korea's present levels of $5 000 (R23 500)? Which will then be the largest economic power in the world and what will be the effect of this on South Africa and the rest of our continent? Over the past decade China has shown a growth rate of 8-10%.

More importantly, we need to acknowledge that with an increase in per capita GDP comes an enormous increase in the standard of living, purchasing power and major investments.

By 1989 there were 225 000 private companies in just the busy coastal areas of China. In Guangdong province growth rates reached 12,5% in 1990, one of the highest in the world. The Chinese manufacturing base has increased at a tremendous pace: in 1980 it was $9-billion (R42,3-billion); by 1990 it was $37-billion (R172,8-billion). These are a few of the reasons why China is the world's fourth largest trading nation. If these levels of progress are maintained I believe openness and accountable government will soon follow.

To argue that China is all backward is not entirely true, since very few nations have achieved as much as China in the last 40 years. When China achieved its independence in 1948 life expectancy was 32,5 years. By 1980 this had climbed to 58 years and by 1990 life expectancy was 65 years and climbing. This progress can be attributed to health, diet, sanitation, an improved standard of living and other factors.

One of the biggest sectors in China is agriculture, involving more than 80% of the population. Even though this sector is very impoverished, recent changes in government policy have given it a great boost.

The Deng regime has given peasants incentives, such as allowing a certain percentage of their produce to be sold on the open market. This has given farmers the cash they need.

With this comes greater purchasing power for tens of millions of small farmers, which will provide a tremendous boost to China's local, regional and national economies.



PEOPLE POWER: Typical of the enthusiasm with which the Chinese reach for the future, these aviation students are making rapid strides in the technical training that is transforming the huge nation.

An area where South Africa is weak, but where China has tremendous expertise, is in research and development. China could never have become the world's third largest nuclear power without extensive research and development.

Finally, much of what Crawford-Browne wrote was in direct response to the lack of action on the part of South Africa's Ministry of Defence in relation to its military relationship with China, and in particular to the role of Armscor.

He is right when he argues that this should be the bedrock of our foreign policy. China has most certainly not been very sensitive to the needs of those calling for greater democracy in that country. But it is precisely for this reason that our diplomatic efforts with China must not fail.

We cannot just reject closer ties with China because of its opposition to the Dalai Lama and the naked aggression it has at times shown in Tibet. Then we might as well challenge our relationship with India in the light of events in Kashmir, or with Israel over its refusal to continue in the spirit of the Oslo agreement, or with Indonesia over its actions in East Timor. The list is endless.

But more importantly, I believe that our engagement with China from now on will bring that country in line with international practices of good governance and human rights.

What China needs to overcome is best summed up in the words of international studies scholar Paul Kennedy who said: "The struggle in China is waged between the conservatives and progressives — the former want to retain the status quo, the latter need to ensure not only economic liberalism, but political liberalism, too." And this, Crawford-Browne, is where we need to intervene.

❑ *Hoosain Kagee is a researcher with the National Street Law Offices.*

finance minister

(304A)

CT 3/11/94

MAJOR CABINET SHAKE-UP EXPECTED

Erwin tipped as new finance minister

DURBAN: The pending retirement of Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo and Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise will lead to a cabinet reshuffle with Trade and Industry Minister Mr Alec Erwin likely to become the new Finance Minister.

TRADE and Industry Minister Mr Alec Erwin is tipped to become South Africa's new Minister of Finance.

He will replace Mr Trevor Manuel, who is to be shifted to the Foreign Affairs Ministry, in a major shake-up of the cabinet to be announced at the opening of Parliament by President Nelson Mandela on February 7, top ANC sources said yesterday.

This will be one of at least four cabinet changes in the most significant reshuffle since the National Party left the Government of National Unity in June.

Mandela's spokesman, Mr Parks Mankahlana, declined to comment on any reshuffle, but several ANC sources said yesterday that changes could be expected in at least four ministries as a result of pending retirements.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo, viewed across party lines as a lacklustre diplomat, and Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise are both expected to retire for reasons of age and poor health. Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe is expected to replace Modise.

The other ministry involved is understood to be Trade and Industry, indicating that Erwin is likely to move to finance.

Manuel was the first black man to be appointed as Finance Minister after the non-partisan Mr Chris Liebenberg withdrew from government in April.

One ANC source said Manuel's international connections would be valuable in foreign affairs.



ASCENDING?: Trade and Industry Minister Mr Alec Erwin



CONNECTIONS: Finance Minister Mr Trevor Manuel

Radebe, who has regularly acted as defence minister, is apparently also being considered for Erwin's slot. Another possibility is that Ms Gill Marcus, who was appointed Deputy Finance Minister from July 1, would fill Erwin's shoes.

The ascendancy of Erwin, former organising secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions, to the finance portfolio will go a long way to restoring market confidence, which has dipped under Manuel, despite his (Erwin's) SACP connections.

Erwin is well-liked in business circles and is credited with steering government economic policies on a conservative course, favouring limited government spending, privatisation initiatives and a cut-back in public sector jobs.

Radebe is widely regarded as a quietly efficient minister.

The ANC caucus is to meet shortly after the opening of Parliament to elect a new chief whip to replace the Rev Arnold Stofile, who is to take over as premier of the Eastern Cape from the retiring Mr Raymond Mhlaba.

The contest for chief whip is expected to be between the chairman of the RDP committee of the National Assembly, Mr Max Sisulu, and one of the six other ANC whips, Ms Nadela Pandor.

Stofile, a veteran of the United Democratic Front, is to be nominated as premier at a special ANC conference towards the end of next month.

He has already been elected as ANC chairman in the province.

Sisulu is the son of former ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

Pandor is the daughter of Deputy Safety and Security Minister Mr Joe Mathews, who sits on the opposition benches as one of the Inkatha Freedom Party's two deputy ministers in the unity government.

● Former Free State Premier Mr Patrick Lekota is expected to be elected as chairman of the new Council of the Provinces which takes over from the Senate, which was dissolved in November. — Own Correspondent

SA pursuing new goals

Sunday Times 3/1/97 (304A)

South Africa started to assert itself in foreign affairs in 1996. Although the focus was on the country's role in Southern Africa, it has definitely become a significant player on the world stage as well...

DURING LAST YEAR, major changes in the Ministry and Department of Foreign Affairs' prioritisation of goals and activities took place. In terms of operational activities, the following should be highlighted.

Relations with Southern African states, especially the Southern African Development Community, constitute the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

South Africa's principal aim was to attain a more balanced regional development pattern. The challenge was to design and implement an effective regional growth and development strategy, based on equity and mutual benefits.

Active expansion of economic ties between Equatorial Africa, the non-SADC Indian Ocean Islands region and South Africa has been encouraged too.

South Africa has been participating substantially in international efforts to bring an end to internal conflicts in Africa, including Burundi and Rwanda.

A Special Representative was appointed for Burundi, and South Africa's official representation in the region was much expanded in order to deal with new demands and responsibilities.

Most effective platform

Bilateral commissions have proved to be a most effective platform from which relations with the Maghreb countries can be conducted.

Having included the establishment of such commissions in our objective portfolio, an agreement to this effect was concluded with Morocco.

Full-scale commission meetings were also held during the year with both Tunisia and Egypt.

Since joining the Organisation of African Unity, South Africa has endeavoured to participate as effectively as possible in a wide range of activities.

Some of our objectives in this regard included support for democratisation (for example, by providing election monitors), and support for conflict-prevention.

South Africa took its first tentative steps towards contributing materially to conflict-prevention and resolution with the appointment of a Special Envoy to Burundi.

In respect of the United Nations, South Africa was an active participant in 1996. We fully supported the reform of the UN in general and the restructuring and democratisation of the UN Security Council.

In the field of arms control and disarmament, South Africa's role was enhanced by its membership of the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament in June.

South Africa was actively engaged in the negotiations which led to the conclusion of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which was signed in September.



Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo ... there were major changes in his ministry's goals and activities last year.

South Africa negotiated its participation in the Biological Weapons Convention, Chemical Weapons Convention and the Missile Technology Control Regime.

With regard to the environment, marine affairs and the specialised bodies of the UN, we have played a valuable role in re-establishing relations in these fields.

In the area of human rights, South Africa ratified two UN conventions, one relating to Discrimination Against Women and the other dealing with the Rights of the Child.

South Africa has also acceded to the three UN-OAU treaties relating to refugees, as well as the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

In terms of South Africa's multilateral development and economic relations, the following achievements could be mentioned.

Five financing agreements from the 1995 European Programme for Reconstruction and Development budget, totalling about R300 million, were signed in May with the European Commission.

In terms of the South Africa-European Union negotiations, the South African position will soon be completed and approved by the Core Group of Ministers.

This will be followed by another round of negotiations during the first quarter of 1997.

South Africa has continued its participation in other regional economic organisations, with an emphasis on the south, such as the Zone for Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic, the South Centre and the Indian Rim Initiative.

As the host of the UN Council on Trade and Development, South Africa clearly indicated its fundamental support for the ongoing work of Unctad to assist developing countries to integrate into the world economy.

During 1996, South Africa's relations with Asia deepened considerably, with trade expected to exceed the record level of R42 billion reached during 1995.

This makes Asia South Africa's second largest trading bloc after the EU. Significant investments also flowed into South Africa, especially from Japan and Malaysia.

During the past year, South Africa normalised its relations with all the countries on the Arabian peninsula. Only Bahrain and Qatar are now not represented in South Africa.

Focus on trade

The focus of South Africa's relations with this region is on trade. Between 1994 and 1995 South Africa's exports to the region increased to R882 million, while imports, mostly consisting of oil, increased to R6,2 billion.

Existing relations with the Levant countries (Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Syria) were further consolidated in a variety of spheres in 1996.

Assistance projects in Palestine were arranged in conjunction with the Palestinian authorities.

The first meeting of the Joint Commission with Israel took place in Pretoria.

Several agreements were negotiated, the application of which will benefit South Africa in fields as diverse as technology, agriculture, science and environmental conservation.

(This is an extract from a report issued by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo.)

SA's struggle with foreign policy

(304A) Sowetan 7/1/97

Unpredictability seems to be one of the salient characteristics of SA policy

By Donald McNeil Jnr

AS SOUTH AFRICA STRUGGLES to develop a foreign policy in the post-apartheid era, it seems to be running its diplomacy on two separate tracks.

The first runs squarely through the Department of Foreign Affairs, where events are weighed in the cold light of history and African National Congress policy, experts are consulted and options are passed upward through Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The second track is whatever President Nelson Mandela decides to announce.

Most of the time the tracks are parallel. Mandela is scrupulous about adhering to the Government's goals, which he helps set.

But he sometimes pulls abrupt switches, as he did on November 27, when he announced that South Africa would drop diplomatic recognition of Taiwan in favour of China.

And last year, when he reversed months of quiet diplomacy and lashed out at Nigerian president Sani Abacha for executing nine environmental activists, calling for a boycott of Nigeria's oil and its expulsion from the Commonwealth.

"South Africa makes its 'frontline' neighbours nervous because it is so large and eager for investment"



Flashback ... President Nelson Mandela introduces Iranian president Ali Hashami Rafsanjani to deputy governor of the South African Reserve Bank Timothy Thahane at the Union Buildings in Pretoria last September.

Caught off guard

Asked if Mandela often caught him off guard like that, Rusty Evans, director general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, paused, then said carefully: "He's a major actor in foreign policy. I'm never surprised by anything Mr Mandela does."

Unpredictability is not the only salient characteristic of South African foreign policy, analysts say.

Even planned positions display the strains put on them: the advocacy of human rights versus the need for money from anywhere; the instinct to be a friend to all versus the knowledge that some nations hate each other; the desire to put Africa first versus the recognition that the developed world holds the power and many African nations are run by despots.

With an economy about the size of Belgium's and a location north of Antarctica, South Africa isn't really positioned to be a major-leaguer in international diplomacy.

But it has the most powerful army and economy on a troubled continent and a president respected around the world, so its opinions are solicited and it is developing lofty aspirations, like a seat on an expanded United Nations Security Council.

Powerful friends

The ANC is still disentangling alliances it formed during the anti-apartheid struggle.

White-ruled South Africa was a pariah, allied only with isolated nations like Israel and Taiwan, although it had powerful friends in the conservative wing of America's Reagan administration.

Black-ruled South Africa is back in the UN, the Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity.

Partly in response to critics who say it has no policy, the Department of Foreign Affairs recently issued a 33-page "discussion document" setting out high-minded goals.

They include insuring prosperity for the poor at home by seeking foreign investment; encouraging human rights and democracy in other countries; maintaining non-alignment with any bloc; focusing primarily on Africa, and Southern Africa in particular; and encouraging freer trade between developed nations and the Third World – with the caveat that completely unfettered trade hurts poor nations.

However, many independent analysts say South Africa's real foreign policy is really more pragmatic and more nostalgic.

The pragmatism shows in the hunger for investment. "Do you think this Government would push human rights in Indonesia if it turned out to be one of our major trading partners?" asked Chris Landsberg, a foreign affairs specialist at the Centre for Policy Studies, a research institute.

Joseph Diescho, a political scientist writing for the University of South Africa, is even harsher, saying: "Foreign policy is up for sale."

Genocidal butchery

The now-ended relationship with Taiwan is often cited as an example. The ANC was expected to drop those ties as soon as it came to power, but Landsberg said Taiwan donated about R50 million to the ANC before the country's first all-race elections in 1994, and until last month gave the country R400 million in aid.

The "nostalgia" criticism comes from experts like Dennis Venter, director of the Africa Institute in Pretoria, who say the ANC clings to countries that helped it during the anti-apartheid struggle, including Libya, Cuba, Iran and Iraq.

Meanwhile as it concentrates on Africa, it confronts human rights violations ranging from rigged elections, as in Zambia and Zimbabwe, to genocidal butchery, as in Rwanda and Burundi.

"You can't let yourself be bullied by the notion of African solidarity," said Venter.

Also, South Africa makes its "frontline" neighbours nervous because it is so large and eager for investment.

Last month, Mandela asked Zambian president Frederick Chiluba to postpone elections and let his only serious opponent, former president Kenneth Kaunda, back into the race. Chiluba politely ignored him. Mandela dropped the matter.

"I nearly said we don't want to be the US of Africa"

On Nigeria, South Africa took a very tough line, but only after an about-face. For months, it pursued quiet diplomacy, sending emissaries to plead for an end to repression.

Only when Abacha snubbed the world by executing the opposition figure Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others on the eve of a Commonwealth summit meeting did an enraged Mandela demand sanctions.

In a recent interview, Mandela noted that his moral authority has its limits. Also, he pointed out, Nigeria intimidates its West African neighbours, so effective boycotts can only be mounted by rich states like the United States.

"We're still finding our way in Africa," Evans said. "The danger we're trying to avoid is creating the perception that we want the deciding influence on continental affairs."

He stopped himself, then laughed. "I nearly said we don't want to be the US of Africa," he said.

Relations with the US are handled in much the way that line was delivered – warily, but with good humour.

Evans and US diplomats say the countries have never been closer. The US spends R3 000 million on aid projects here and holds the country up to the world as a model of a multi-racial democracy.

Personally, Mandela and Mbeki get along well with US president Bill Clinton and vice-president Al Gore. South Africa, however, is wary of America's embrace.

South Africa pointedly ignores Washington's displeasure that it has Cuban doctors working here, buys 65 percent of its oil from Iran, gives ANC sanction to events like International Solidarity Day for Palestine and remains on civil terms with Libya – which also gave the ANC a big donation.

A US diplomat shrugs that off. "We don't dictate foreign relations to other countries," he said. "We tell them we hope their views on human rights are transmitted."

Evans conceded that South Africa is "probably over-sensitive to any suggestion that we're reacting to US pressure". And then, saying in jest what many say seriously, he added: "Why should we dance to the tune of a superpower?"

On most issues, the two countries see eye to eye. But South Africa did sharply disagree with the US over Washington's veto of a second term for Boutros Boutros-Ghali as UN secretary-general, and Evans criticised the "non-negotiable" tone of US communiques, asking: "What gives them the right to talk like that?"

Even critics of South Africa's foreign policy express admiration for the way it has maintained its lofty goals. – *New York Times News Service.*

Parties shun FW's plan to fight ANC

(304A) ARG 18/1/97

'Move shows Nat disarray'

WILLIAM-MERVIN GUMEDE
POLITICAL STAFF

Most opposition parties have snubbed an offer from National Party leader F W de Klerk to join forces with the NP, dealing a body blow to his bid to launch a new political movement to counter the all-powerful African National Congress.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said the only positive element of Mr De Klerk's announcement was its tacit acknowledgement that the NP would not succeed by going it alone against the ANC.

Mr Leon said the NP appeared to be a party in disarray which was ready to close shop and disband.

He said the DP would never contemplate joining the NP in an alliance which had as its only objective opposing the ANC.

He said the DP was much closer ideologically to the Inkatha Freedom Party than to the NP.

Mr Leon said although there was some merit in forming a new political movement to break the hegemony of the ANC, the DP had more to gain from cooperating with the IFP than with the NP.

"The mass black base of the IFP is much more attractive than the NP, who are just like us struggling to attract black voters."

But the DP would jealously guard its independence, he said.The announcement by the NP indicated the fluidity of the current political climate, Mr Leon said.

The African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) said it would be suicidal to form an alliance with the NP because of its apartheid past. "It will be extremely unwise for the ACDP to join an alliance with a discredited party like the NP," said spokeswoman, Hilary Solomons.

She said the NP had also approached the ACDP last year to persuade the party to form an alliance. The ACDP had declined then and would do so again, she said.

Ms Solomons said the party would not align itself with any other political party but would seek common ground with other parties on issues of shared concern.

The Pan Africanist Congress also dismissed Mr De Klerk's offer of an anti-ANC alliance.

PAC general secretary Mike Muendane, said: "The PAC does not form alliances with just anybody or just for the sake of it."

Mr Muendane said any alliance would have to be based on the principles of Africanism. He said the NP was bound to fail to attract partners if it insisted on doing so on its own terms.

The IFP's Ed Tillett said a similar initiative had been floated by the NP a year ago, and had failed to get off the ground.

"The NP's failed attempts in the past to form a coalition with other parties does not leave one with much confidence that it will succeed this time around," said Mr Tillett.

But he said the IFP remained open-minded and would discuss "on merit" a formal proposal made to the IFP. Mr Tillett said the IFP had not yet been formally approached by the NP.

"If they do approach the IFP soon it could still be discussed at the IFP's National Council meeting on January 25," he said.

Mr De Klerk this week announced the NP was aiming at a political movement with other groups which could lead to a new party to counter the ANC.

A statement released by the NP executive after a three-day meeting said the party's chief target for 1997 was to take "specific steps aimed at establishing a new political movement that might develop into a new political party".

"It will be parties which basically are in favour of free enterprise. It will be parties which are anti-communist. Obviously springs to mind the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party," said Mr De Klerk.

He said the NP was launching the new negotiation strategy and action plan for political union, expected to be drawn up by February 10.

The ANC won just under two-thirds of the vote in the first democratic elections.

Taiwan warns of 'investment risks in SA' (304A) BD 20/1/97

TAIPEI — Taiwan warned its businessmen yesterday of potential investment risks in SA, the same day Foreign Minister John Chang said patience would be needed in shaping a new relationship with SA.

Cho Shih-chao, a deputy director of the economics ministry, told the state run Central News Agency that Taiwanese investors could face investment risks after SA severs ties in favour of China by the end of this year.

Taiwanese firms should "carefully evaluate" their investment projects in SA before Taipei and Pretoria signed an investment protection pact. The government would "adjust" its economic policies towards SA and activities originally aimed at cementing ties would be reconsidered.

Taiwan has suspended all aid projects and treaties in protest against SA's decision to break diplomatic ties.

Cho said that he would not be surprised to see many Taiwan-funded firms — especially money-losing textile companies — terminating their operations in SA soon.

Chang also hinted that Taiwanese investors in SA should look for alternatives. "SA has many problems of its own. We are still uncertain about whether its economic development and investment environment will improve or deteriorate in the future."

The factories, affiliated with the Association of Chinese Industrialists in Southern Africa, told a news programme they were uncertain about their future in South Africa and needed diplomatic offices to protect them.

Meanwhile, Chang told a news conference after talks with SA Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo in Pretoria: "We had a very good meeting. "These are the first negotiations on arrangements for our future relations."

Chang said he was optimistic that the two countries would find a solution which would satisfy Taiwanese business leaders, many of whom had invested heavily in SA.

He said the three hours of talks with Nzo were candid, frank, constructive

Continued on Page 2

Taiwan (304A) BD 20/1/97

Continued from Page 1

and useful, but added: "We did not reach any concrete conclusions or reasonable consensus on many issues."

Chang said he had proposed that future relations take into account, among other things, reality, continuity, morality and legality. "We stated that the present negotiations would be long and both sides had better be patient," he said.

Nzo declined to speak to reporters after the meeting, but Chang said he believed Nzo was pleased with progress made in the talks.

About 280 Taiwanese factories in SA employing at least 35 000 people have begun a series of one-day stoppages to protest at SA's decision to cut ties. — Reuter

Taiwan to withhold aid during SA negotiations

CT 21/1/97 (304A)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA: Taiwan will continue to withhold millions in aid as an ace up its sleeve during negotiations with South Africa on the future relationship between the two countries.

"Once an agreement has been reached on how to conduct our future relationship, all these suspensions will be removed immediately," Taiwan's Foreign Minister, Mr John Chang, told a press conference here yesterday.

Taiwan last year suspended 36 treaties and agreements and a number of aid projects into which it had already pumped millions of rands in protest against SA's announcement it was to sever ties with Taiwan in favour of mainland China.

Chang was speaking after a meeting with his SA counterpart, Mr Alfred Nzo, at which the agenda for the negotiations was set.

"The first negotiation on the future of our relationship was very candid, frank, very constructive and very useful ... Although we did not reach any concrete conclusion or any reasonable consensus on many issues, we have successfully laid down the foundation for future talks," Chang said.

Chang said no agenda or location had been set for future talks yet, but said these would be lengthy. He said talks might even take place during the year in Taipei.

Chang returns to Taiwan today, leaving the negotiations in the hands of Taiwan's ambassador to South Africa, Mr I-Cheng Loh, who is the longest-serving diplomat in Pretoria.

Move Parliament to Pretoria, urge diplomats

Star 22/1/97 (304A)

Most foreign diplomats in South Africa believed Parliament should be moved to Pretoria, Potchefstroom University political science lecturer Theo Venter said yesterday.

He told reporters in Pretoria that 68% of respondents to a recent survey said their tasks would be made easier if the country's executive and legislative functions were confined to one city.

"A further 28% indicated that to cut out travelling between Cape Town and Pretoria would contribute to more effective government, and only 5% favoured the status quo."

Venter said 5% of the 65 missions who responded maintained full representation in Cape Town and Pretoria. A total of 19% stayed in Cape Town while Parliament was in session and 74% sent diplomats to Parliament only for important meetings.

Some 3% said they could not afford to travel to Cape Town for parliamentary functions.

"It is clear the diplomatic corps would welcome the relocation of Parliament to Pretoria but they will never put pressure on the Government to do so, or publicly express this opinion," Venter said.

He conducted the survey for the Pretoria Capital Initiative, a body lobbying for the relocation of Parliament. The study was conducted among 103 diplomatic missions and 11 international organisations, of which 57% responded. – Sapa.

NEWS

New debate on moving Parliament 'dangerous'

ANC move slated by action group

(304A)

ARG 20/11/97

ASHLEY SMITH
STAFF REPORTER

Capetonians fighting to keep Parliament in the Mother City say the move to re-open the debate on moving it is publicly and politically dangerous.

National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala announced this week that a decision on the location of Parliament would be made at the end of the year. Dr Ginwala said the debate over the legislative capital had gone on long enough and the African National Congress wanted to stimulate a national debate on the matter before a decision was made.

The announcement came amid new agitation from Gauteng for Parliament to move to Pretoria.

Kevin Kevany, steering committee member of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament which opposes a move, said anybody making statements about "finalising" the location of Parliament had to realise this was publicly and politically dangerous.

It was almost laughable that a decision could be made about the future of Parliament around the same time the world would decide whether Cape Town would host the 2004 Olympics.

"The issue of Cape Town's position as the seat of Parliament has up to now been a non-party one, as all political parties in the Western Cape have been 100 percent behind the status quo," said Mr Kevany.

More than 700 000 people had signed a petition last year to keep Parliament in Cape Town, he said

Any decision to move Parliament would have to be taken by the majority of members of the national assembly, which was 211 votes, he said. "It will be a horrendous debate and blood and mud will be all over the wall, because of the sensitivity and emotiveness of the issue."

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC would conduct a study and release a discussion document on the matter in the next few months. This would form the basis of a decision by the ANC's national conference later this year.

MPs' financial interests open to public

BD 27/11/97 (304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — For a fee of R5, and a written undertaking not to use the information for commercial gain, the public will be able to gain access to the newly created public register of MPs' financial interests.

The parliamentary ethics committee, headed by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, had decided that access to the public part of the register would coincide with the opening of Parliament on February 7, the acting registrar of members' interests, parliamentary undersecretary Peter Lilienfeld, said last week.

He said the all-party committee had decided on the nominal fee of R5 plus a written request and undertaking for two principal reasons: to dissuade anyone from requesting information about an MP "out of curiosity", and to cover administration costs.

The ethics code is intended, in its own words, "to ensure that SA's elected leaders maintain the highest standards of propriety to ensure that their integrity and that of the political institutions in which they serve are beyond question". It was finalised late last year.

The request for an undertaking not to misuse information was based on the US experience where, Lilienfeld said, a credit card company had used information to advertise that 75% of congressmen used their card.

The code of conduct in regard to financial interests of MPs and senators is divided into public and confidential registers. Only Asmal's committee and the registrar will have access to the confidential register which, Lilienfeld said, would be kept in a sealed cabinet.

"Only a very few" MPs and senators had not yet provided information of their financial interests, mainly because they were ill or travelling abroad. He said MPs had until the end of the month to submit the information "or face disciplinary action".

The public register will include details of shares and "other financial interests". MPs must specify the number, nature, nominal value and company — private or public — in which shares are held.

It will list remuneration outside Parliament, directorships, partnerships, consultancies, sponsorships, gifts worth more than R350, material benefits, details of all travel abroad, land and property, and pensions.

Financial details of "immediate family", which applies to "any spouse, permanent companion or dependant child" of an MP, will be kept in the confidential part of the register, together with more detailed financial information than contained in the public register.

MPs have to update most of the information annually, but information on the receipt of gifts or hospitality must be updated every second month.

It is hoped the post of registrar will be filled by the end of the first quarter.

DP asks for talks on offer of role in government

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER ARG 30/1/97
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President Mandela's office has welcomed the positive, if qualified, response by the Democratic Party to the president's offer of a role in government.

The DP's federal executive wants urgent talks with Mr Mandela to discuss a way to take part in government without compromising the party's principles.

DP leader Tony Leon said: "We have no intention of submerging our identity as a political party in exchange for a job."

The DP will also continue discussions with other political parties on co-operation towards establishing liberal democratic alternatives for the country.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said Mr Mandela was sure to welcome the DP's response, but emphasised that any discussions about a possible role were at an extremely preliminary stage and it would be inappropriate to conduct them through the media.

A final decision on the DP's future will have to wait until its federal council meets on March 1 and 2.

Mr Leon said a government role for the DP need not necessarily mean a Cabinet post, and could involve involvement as advisers or on commissions.

Asked whether this was consistent with the party's long-standing criticism of the "gravy train", he said the DP had supported the establishment of commissions and other bodies supporting democracy, but had criticised excessive perks and pay.

He emphasised that participation would not be acceptable if it was in exchange for blanket approval of ANC government action.

"We are not easily co-opted," he said.

"If we do not feel we can safeguard our principles and our modus operandi we won't do it."

Mr Leon said participation by the DP would help break the racial mould of politics, because Pan Africanist Congress acceptance of a similar offer of a role in government would put three black-dominated parties in government and three parties consisting mainly of whites and coloureds in opposition.

City could lose Parliament through high cost of travel

(304-A)

CT 30/1/97

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

THE city's position as the seat of Parliament could be in new danger with the adoption of the new Constitution, which provides for extensive involvement of the provincial legislatures in the new Council of the Provinces.

The cost and inconvenience to members travelling from the northern provinces to Cape Town for meetings could count against the city.

The 10 representatives of each province — six permanent and four rotating — will have to obtain mandates regularly from provincial legislatures before they can exercise their province's vote in the council.

For representatives other than those from the Western Cape, this could mean extensive travelling by COP members between Parliament and the provinces.

A lawyer in the Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, Dr Petra Bouwer, told a media briefing yesterday that delegates from the North West and Northern Cape provinces to recent workshops on operating the new council had found the travelling particularly difficult.

"The people from the North West came out very strongly against Cape Town. They have to travel 500km to Johannesburg airport before they can catch a plane.

"To go to one meeting they have to be out of the office for four days," Bouwer said.

The Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Frene Ginwala, said the costs that would be incurred with COP would be substantial, particularly in providing computerised link-up between Parliament and the provinces, and travelling costs.

It is understood that the new computer, which could cost as much as R40 million, will provide direct communication between Parliament and the nine provincial legislatures.

DP agrees in principle to role in unity government

(304A)

Wyndham Hartley

BD 30/11/97

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party (DP) would accept a role in government in the interests of making a contribution to SA — provided its principles were not compromised, the party's federal executive decided yesterday.

DP leader Tony Leon said the executive had adopted a "positive approach to President Nelson Mandela's suggestion that the DP could play a part in the government of national unity". The party would discuss the terms with Mandela as soon as possible.

Under no circumstances would the party be "co-opted", Leon said.

The DP was convinced Mandela's approach was a generous and sincere appeal for all to put their shoulders to the wheel in the interests of the country and "it would be churlish to reject that without positive consideration".

Clearly DP senior officials have been canvassing supporters and have received a largely positive response.

Leon said there was anxiety and concern about the implications.

"Our new SA democracy faces many critical challenges. Foremost amongst these is ensuring that there is meaningful economic growth in our country, without which there will be escalating crime, continued joblessness and the danger of increasing racial polarisation. It is urgent that confidence be restored in SA." He said that if the DP had skills which could help in the national effort then it would be the right thing to do.

He knew nothing about the timing of the approach coinciding with National Party leader FW de Klerk's renewed call for opposition parties to unite against the ANC. Mandela had been talking for months about "good people" combining for the good of all.

Leon stressed that the DP was a party which practised politics of influence and it made sense "to maximise this influence". If the DP was interested only in numbers it would have gone out of business long ago. The DP would continue to interact with other parties.

The federal executive's decision is not final and will have to be ratified by the full federal council on March 1.

World's optimism level is down — and so is SA's

CT 31/1/97

(304A)

FOR the second year running, the general level of optimism around the world has dropped compared with previous levels — and South Africa has slipped from seventh to 13th place on the international optimum index.

These are among the findings of a Gallup International poll conducted in the last quarter of last year among more than 58 000 people in 49 countries.

The poll showed that for this year only 41% of the 49 countries polled recorded an increase in optimism for the year ahead.

"People think the world faces a more troubled year internationally, with fewer believing the world will become free of dispute, although the chances of a world war in the next 10 years are thankfully thought to be low in all countries," said Ms Mari Harris, alternate director at Markinor, the local Gallup affiliate.

People living in the Persian Gulf are the most optimistic in the world, with 155 points and top position on the optimism index. Although the Gulf moved up two places from third on the index last year, it has one point less than last year's 156.

South Africa, which occupied seventh position last year, has slipped six places to 13th position, and decreased 10 points in optimism to 131.

"The decrease in optimism in South Africa, while relatively small, can probably be attributed to our high crime rate, the weakening rand and the ever-increasing interest rate," says Harris. "If crime figures decrease, the rand stabilises and interest rates go down, we will probably see an increase in optimism by the end of 1997."

Optimism levels in Brazil, on the other hand, have increased 19 points in the past year to 152, raising the South American giant from 12th to second place.

The least optimistic country polled is Zimbabwe, at one position lower than last year's 48th place.

crossroads

DP's Tony Leon stands at the cabinet

(304A) BD 31/1/97

There are a few jobs the DP could do in government, says **Alan Fine**. But would it be wise to take the plunge?

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has cast the line, and the Democratic Party (DP) federal executive has taken the bait — provisionally at least. The proviso is an understanding between the African National Congress (ANC) and the DP that the DP will be able to continue its opposition role while serving in an ANC-dominated cabinet.

The two key questions are, first, is this at all feasible? Second, if it is, what posts are likely to be offered to the DP? Let us examine the second question first, if only because it lends itself to easier, if more speculative, answers.

For the ANC, bringing representatives of the DP and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) into the cabinet would be a more "positive" pretext for the broader cabinet reshuffle Mandela denies he has in mind.

In any reshuffle, the DP and PAC would be offered no more than a single cabinet post along, perhaps, with a deputy ministry. Where the DP is concerned, that would satisfy Mandela's desire for a symbolic demonstration of national unity with a mainly white but small party.

The main post would have to be a middle-ranking one. There is apparently a small school of thought in the DP that the party should go for a minor post so as to minimise whatever flak it might catch for unpopular decisions.

Most agree, though, that this would bring the worst of all worlds — little responsibility for important work but a full share of the blame where things go wrong. So minor posts are out. But so are the main strategic ministries. With the transformation of the state security sector still a major task for government, safety and security and defence would not be given to a non-ANC minister.

The ANC would insist on holding on to foreign affairs so as to be able to present a new SA perspective to the outside world. And giving the DP the impossible education portfolio would do neither the ANC nor the DP any good.

Finance may once have been a possibility, but having taken control of this central portfolio the ANC is unlikely to want to give it away again. Besides, it would cause ructions in DP ranks. The best candidate would be Ken Andrew, but it is unlikely DP leader Tony Leon would pass over a single cabinet post on offer.

Talk is that the most favoured posts would be either one of the main economic-related ones, or justice — though even there difficulties would exist.

The DP's research proposals on changes to the criminal justice system published last November had a significant and positive effect on the ANC. The party has always been strong on other issues related to the judicial system. The ANC could do a lot worse that offer the post to Leon.

Incumbent Dullah Omar has not had a happy time of it recently with his handling of bail issues, People Against Gangsterism and Drugs, and the unnecessary controversy over the appointment of the new chief justice. But he is a close associate of Mandela's and, if relieved of the position, would have to be given another top post.

In the economic sphere, one imagines the DP would look with particular hope at public enterprises, where it would pursue privatisation programmes with vigour. However, Leon has generally not demonstrated an ability to negotiate constructively with organised labour until now, and it would be a setback if the privatisation programme suffered new delays due to conflict between the unions and a new minister.

All this speculation does nothing to answer the question of whether acceptance of a cabinet post would mean the end of the DP as an opposition force.

A colleague of Mandela's suggests the offer to Leon indicates that the president does not, for the most sincere of reasons, see the DP as a "real" opposition — because of the many areas of policy agreement and its more constructive approach since last year. If this is so, perhaps a merger would be more appropriate.

There are a number of pluses for the DP in joining government. It would raise the party's profile and, possibly, enhance its electoral prospects — provided its cabinet representative is seen to have done a competent job and the party does not lose its will to oppose.

Another strong argument in favour of joining the government is the example of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), whose leader has clearly not been co-opted. But the IFP's agenda has been a narrow one until now, concerned only with provincial powers in its KwaZulu-Natal fiefdom.

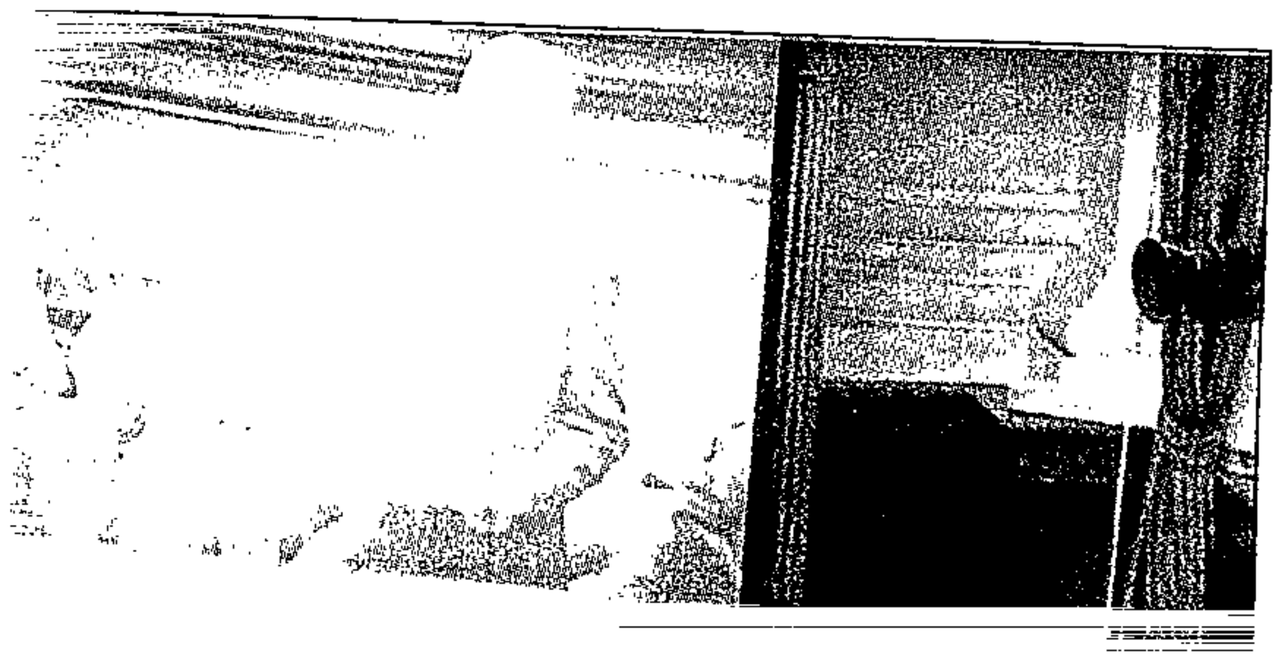
It serves in the cabinet by constitutional right and not, as would be the case with the DP, at the president's pleasure. Further, as the NP's experience showed, even serving by right is no guarantee that a party cannot lose its identity and its way.

The DP will seek assurances that it will be able to speak out on all issues, including all cabinet decisions with which it disagrees. It is unclear that this unorthodox assurance can be granted, and questions of confidentiality would be a further problem.

Even if the DP were given such a formal assurance, serving in government would dampen the vigour of opposition. Each instance would have to be measured against the potential damage to cabinet relationships.

What if, for example, the DP had been in government at the time of the Sarafina scandal? For Leon to have attacked Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma with the energy the situation demanded would have been untenable, as an ANC source agreed yesterday.

But, he said, "the effect of an arrangement (with the DP in government) may be to contain such disputes within the cabinet". Precisely.



Midnight hour brings on new Constitution

(304A) CT 3/2/97

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

SOUTH Africa's democratic constitution, the product of six years of negotiations between former political enemies, comes into effect at midnight tonight.

Since May 1994, South Africa has been governed by an interim constitution while 490 MPs and senators negotiated in the Constitutional Assembly over a draft constitution which had to be certified by the Constitutional Court as being valid according to the constitutional principles negotiated earlier in the Kempton Park talks.

The result? One of the most democratic and progressive constitutions in the world.

This is emphasised in the preamble which reads: "We, therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to:

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights.
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law.
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person.
- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations."

This is further emphasised in the first clause of the Constitution, which can only be amended by 75% of all national parliamentarians.

It reads: "The Republic of South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values:

- Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.
- Non-racialism and non-sexism.
- Supremacy of the constitution and the rule of law.
- Universal adult suffrage and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness."

The major difference between this Constitution and the interim constitution is that it establishes the National Council of Provinces, generally known in parliamentary circles as "Cop", in which the provincial legislatures are given a major role, particularly over legislation which could affect the provinces and their powers.

A key figure in Cop will almost certainly be former Free State Premier Mr Patrick Lekota, who is in line to become its first chairperson this week.

The negotiators also placed an obligation on the National Assembly to "facilitate public involvement in the legislative and other processes of the assembly and its committees" and "conduct its business in an open manner, and hold its sittings, and those of its committees, in public".

It will be significant to see how the National Assembly interprets this obligation to involve ordinary people in the legislative process.

A major marketing campaign of the Constitution is to be launched by the Constitutional Assembly in National Constitution Week from March 17 - 21, symbolically ending on Human Rights Day, the day on which the Sharpeville and Langa (Uitenhage) tragedies are commemorated.



.1: President Mandela addresses the last session of the Senate. PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

Democracy ... at last

Sowetan 4/2/97 (304A)

The South African Constitution, hailed the world over as one of the most liberal, comes into effect today. This marks the beginning of a new era for the country. **Trevor G Fowler** considers some of the changes...

WITH THE NEW CONSTITUTION coming into effect today, a new era has dawned for South Africa. This Constitution is the result of decades, if not centuries, of triumphant and heroic struggle against colonial domination and racial segregation.

It therefore represents the beginning of an historical development for a free, democratic and peaceful country that joins the community of nations as an equal.

Ours is indeed a greater equality because our Constitution is the most advanced in terms of the solid guarantees it provides for the protection of human rights and dignity.

This historical moment is one that has great significance for all our people, and no less for the Gauteng Legislature and the people it represents. For the first time in South Africa, provinces become part of the national legislative process.

Today the nine legislatures of South Africa meet in their respective provinces to elect 10 delegates each to the new National Council of Provinces (NCOP), to give them their mandate for the inaugural meeting on Thursday, when the chairman will be elected, and the provisional rules are expected to be adopted.

The NCOP is the second house of Parliament and replaces the senate as provided for in the old Interim Constitution.



Gauteng legislature speaker Trevor Fowler believes the National Council of Provinces will ensure truly representative, fair and democratic legislation at national level.

Court declaration

Writing about the senate in its judgment, the Constitutional Court declared that "as an institution it is more a house in which party political interests are represented than a house in which provincial interests are represented".

The NCOP will seek to distil provincial interests into the national legislative process, and also articulate a direct and common vision for the Executive and Legislature from each province.

Across the spectrum, distinct provincial dimensions exist alongside political party interests at national level, to the extent that parties have easily reached consensus on contentious issues on the basis of provincial interest.

The NCOP will deal with these inter-provincial dynamics, in order to ensure truly representative, fair and democratic legislation at national level.

It will comprise 10 delegates from each province, six of whom will be "permanent" and the other four "special delegates" will be sent on a rotational basis, depending on the policy issue under discussion at the time.

In the main, the provincial legislatures will now consider national legislation which falls into two categories.

One is legislation on national competencies, also known as Section 75 legislations, such as foreign affairs and defence, and the other concurrent competencies, generally referred to as Section 76 legislation, such as health, education, agriculture, housing and economic affairs.

The provincial legislatures will also participate in amendments to the Constitution (Section 74), namely the founding provisions, the Bill of Rights, and any provincial matter which affects the NCOP itself.

However, the key difference in these categories of legislation will be that Section 75 legislation is considered by political parties based on provincial interests, determined in the legislatures, while Section 76 legislation will be debated in the legislatures themselves, and the mandate be given to delegations in the NCPO.

All decisions in the NCOP will be taken on the basis of a single mandated vote by each province, except for Section 75 legislation, which will be taken on a party political basis by each delegate.

The delegation will be in proportion to the representation of parties in the legislatures. In the event of a difference between the NCOP and the National Assembly in general, the National Assembly may override Section 76 legislation by two-thirds, and Section 75 legislation by a simple majority.

It should be noted, however, that in keeping with the spirit of cooperative governance, a difference between the two houses is only declared after a mediation process.

The concept behind the introduction of the NCOP is fundamental to the Constitution, and it is called cooperative governance, which makes it obligatory between local, provincial and national governments to cooperate.

It also fulfils a mandate given to the Government in the 1994 national elections, namely to bring government closer to the people.

The provincial legislatures, whose members work daily in their respective provinces, will determine whether and which aspects of national legislation have a particular interest to the people of that province.

It will involve people at public hearings to determine how their concerns and aspirations will be incorporated into legislation, as is already a constitutional obligation.

Challenge to members

The challenge to each member of the provincial legislature, member of parliament and councillor is to utilise the fundamental principle of cooperative governance, and to ensure the participation of the poor and marginalised, whose sacrifices for freedom and democracy were indefatigable and epic.

Their aspirations and concerns are the priorities of every level of Government, such as that the inequities of apartheid are abolished, that there are jobs for the jobless, homes for the homeless and a proud future for our young people.

(The writer is the Speaker of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature.)

New constitution in effect today

ARG 4/2/97 (3049)

POLITICAL REPORTER

South Africa's new constitution comes into effect today and will be marked by simultaneous sittings of all nine provincial legislatures.

The constitution was signed into law by President Mandela on December 10 last year and will be implemented in stages until 1999.

It effectively replaces the interim constitution at midnight.

All members of provincial legislatures will take an oath of allegiance to the constitution and this will be followed by a similar procedure in the national Parliament later this week.

Mr Mandela will resume the presidency today on his return from a two-day visit to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

In his absence, Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki acted as president.

Secret group seeks power

(304A)

CHRIS STEYN
INVESTIGATIVE UNIT

CT 5/2/97

JOHANNESBURG: A SECRET destabilisation campaign is allegedly being waged by an elite group of 38 former and present political leaders, bankers, businessmen and prominent right-wingers to gain economic power and political control by the year 2004.

The campaign involves the use of syndicates smuggling drugs, guns, gold and diamonds and the movement of hundreds of millions of rands of apartheid slush funds out of the country.

Sources in the group have divulged that it is privately known as the Verligte Aksie Groep (VAG). Founded in the early 90s, it asked certain apartheid intelligence structures to develop and execute a suitable strategy to deal with the expected loss of the democratic election.

Although sources have named key figures in the group, they say their lives and considerable financial security would be in danger if they disclosed identities.

The sources make three extraordinary claims: crime syndicates are a big source of income to VAG members, the group is driven by a political agenda and it has built up a fortune offshore.

At least 250 files on operators who were involved in criminal operations — and in certain cases still are — are being kept in the offices of one of the group's estimated 27 local front companies. The name of the Pretoria-based company where the files are kept is known to the Investigative Unit. The unit also has lists of people who have been involved in the crime syndicates internationally in Britain, Switzerland, the US and Germany.

Those who see a political agenda behind the campaign say the VAG wants to take power in 2004, wants a return to a white government, and wants economic control.

Investigations into the group are continuing and questions about it are expected when Parliament opens on Friday.

Ominous paralysis of foreign policy

(304A) MTG 31/1-6/2/97

Peter Vale

IT was never possible that South Africa's foreign policy would be a glorious success; that we would ride into the setting sun of the 20th Century — national dreams fulfilled, collective destiny guaranteed, all insecurities stilled.

But we had a right to expect that the discussion on South Africa's place in the world might become more nuanced, more negotiable. Because this has not happened, the paralysis in the country's foreign policy-making looks ominous.

It is worth recalling that the country's foreign policy has always been pitted in simplistic power-plays. The "system's" opponents called for a total isolation of the South African state; in response, the minority government conjured up a total onslaught which aimed to defend its interests against a prying world.

Given these positions, there was no opportunity to ask searching questions. To do so courted the wrath either of the state, or a liberation movement which brooked little internal dissent. For all their differences, however, the two sides approached international relations with the same one-dimensional logic.

This background has produced a near-national consensus that success or failure in international relations is only determined in terms of might. Given this, it is really not surprisingly that the debate on South Africa's foreign policy was,and is,very narrow.

Not to put too fine an analytical point on it: the way in which we discuss international relations in the new South Africa — sounds exactly like the old. There are more players and isolation has ended, but the rules of the game are portrayed as fixed and unchanging. It is also true that within the policy process democratic markers, like the tier-structure of arms sales, have been set. But because we are constantly told that power and national interest drive foreign policy — instruments like these are seen as scant or a wish-list to appease the faint-hearted.

This perspective accounts for why our foreign policy challenges are always pitted in simple either/or terms and it suggests why the range of options is always stark — the US will cut its aid to South Africa if the Syrian arms deal goes ahead, or the country will lose $3-billion in foreign exchange if it does not. And it explains why we are encouraged to believe that all decisions must rest on crude asymmetries of power — the US is the remaining superpower; South Africa must bend to Washington's will!

Can this perspective change? Yes, but to succeed it will require both levels of international understanding and analytical critique which the country has yet to produce. And here the focus must shift from the world of policy-making to the world of commentary.

Most authorities who are called upon to comment on foreign policy turn to the same power rituals of international relations as those used by politicians.

This is why the policy process has been so poorly analysed, and why any academic advice appears one-dimensional and wholly inadequate for a country, like South Africa, in search of an open discussion which might produce creative outcomes.

South Africa's international relations are like those of most states at the edge of the millennium — trying to make sense of a world in constant flux. The only difference is that critical capacity seems more developed elsewhere.

What is at stake is more than a simple academic difference. How South Africa comes to understand the world is central to how it will exercise its options.

Peter Vale is professor of Southern African studies, University of the Western Cape

Majority must rule …



President Nelson Mandela

My party's for Cape …



Roelf Meyer, National Party

I'm strictly neutral …



Thabo Mbeki, Deputy President

Keep it in the city …



Tony Leon, DP leader

It belongs here …



Dullah Omar, minister

Get your hands off …



Hernus Kriel, premier

We won't be moved …



Kader Asmal, minister

Cape Town for



Pallo Jordan, minister

I'm for Cape Town …



Trevor Manuel, minister

No move for me …



Steve Tshwete, minister

I'm not so sure …



Frank Chikane, adviser

Don't ask me yet …



Mac Maharaj, minister

I'm for Pretoria …



Peter Mokaba, deputy minister

Cape's the place …



Cheryl Carolus, ANC

I'm not saying …



Itumeleng Mosala, Azapo

Cape Town it is



Stella Sigcau, minister

CAN WE KEEP PARLIAMENT

New hopes on exchange controls

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President Nelson Mandela is expected to make a statement in his opening speech to Parliament tomorrow about the Government's intentions on lifting exchange controls.

Markets are eagerly awaiting his address, which will take place against a background of a rally by the rand this week to its strongest position in four months.

Mr Mandela is also expected to give concrete details of how the Government plans to implement its macro-economic framework, unveiled last year.

This will include a timetable for the restructuring of state assets in terms of blueprint worked out at the recent African National Congress policy conference.

But this timetable is expected to be influenced by a continuing consultation with labour unions, driven particularly by the ANC's efforts not to strain its tripartite alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

Should it stay, should it go ... case for and against

ARG

From page 1

move it could not be made by any organisation or political party, as Parliament belonged to all the people of the country.

"There are processes in motion to determine the final seat of Parliament and it is now up to the people of South Africa to decide," said Mr Omar.

He added that he would be happy if Cape Town remained the seat of Parliament.

Hernus Kriel, Western Cape Premier, said all the parties in the province's legislature had united against moving Parliament from Cape Town.

James Ngculu, general-secretary of the Western Cape ANC, said the party in the province would do anything to ensure Parliament stayed in Cape Town.

Tony Leon, leader of the Democratic Party, said Cape Town should remain the legislative and Pretoria the administrative capital of South Africa. This was the best way to decentralise authority.

Mac Maharaj, Minister of Transport, who in the past has argued enthusiastically for Parliament to be moved to Pretoria, said he would refrain from expressing his preference ahead of the ANC's national conference later this year.

Ricky Naidoo, spokesman for Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki, said Mr Mbeki had taken a neutral stance on the issue.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said President Mandela would support the majority decision and had no particular view on the issue.

Peter Mokaba, Deputy-Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, favoured Pretoria.

"As a symbol of the triumph of democracy over apartheid, the unity of the legislative and executive in one capital – Pretoria is important," said Mr Mokaba.

Roelf Meyer, general-secretary of the National Party, once vociferously opposed to having Cape Town as the seat of Parliament, aligned himself with the NP position to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

Cape Town metropolitan mayor William Bantom said any initiative to move Parliament would be opposed by the people of the Western Cape.

Mr Bantom is co-ordinating a multi-party initiative among Cape metropolitan mayors to fight the Pretoria/Midrand bids to move Parliament from Cape Town.

"We stopped Pretoria before and we will defeat any other attack on our city, our people's jobs and the status of Parliament."

He predicted a damaging public battle at a time when South Africa and Cape Town, bidding for the Olympic Games, could not afford to be tearing themselves apart.

Frank Chikane, adviser to Mr Mbeki, and Itumeleng Mosala, former Azanian People's Organisation leader, refrained from making their choices public.

But Cheryl Carolus, ANC acting general secretary, put her weight firmly behind Cape Town for Parliament.

Parliament in Cape Town (South) 6/2/97

Madiba outlines his recipe for prosperity

ARG 7/2/99 (3049)

From page 1

controls. Shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange continued yesterday's strong upward trend.

Mr Mandela told Parliament that its major restructuring epitomised the maturing of its democracy.

The economy had turned the corner towards expansion.

But there were shortcomings to be acknowledged:

■ Lack of capacity to carry out projects: "It does not make much sense to our people for us to decry the debt burden and lack of resources while we are unable to utilise even what we have."

■ Continuing corruption.

■ Failure to achieve economic growth to cut unemployment.

■ Crime, hampered by people escaping justice because of a "fragmented and ridiculously backward database".

"What may seem simple and straightforward are precisely the things that require thorough attention ... without this the danger is we shall not be able to meet the challenges of transforming society," he said.

Mr Mandela, in outlining steps to improve the criminal justice system, also called for a new value system.

"By buying stolen goods, conniving with unscrupulous business persons to evade tax, allowing criminals to lord it over communities, we become our own worst enemies.

"We also become our own worst enemies by co-operating with forces which commit crimes such as murder and destruction of property, in the name of campaigning against gangs and drugs," he said, in an apparent reference to the pressure group People Against Gangsterism and Drugs.

He commended the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for its work, using his speech to formally ask Parliament to approve the change of the cut-off date for amnesty to May 10, 1994.

State in hunt for missing billions

(304A)

Sowetan 11/2/94

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

DETAILS of the past government's mismanagement of state assets and overspending involving billions of rands of wasted taxpayers' money are only now coming to light.

Minister of Public Works Mr Jeff Radebe is currently engaged in a far-reaching mopping-up exercise to reclaim the missing billions mostly secured in fixed property locally and abroad.

Those guilty of enriching themselves will not be let off lightly, nor will they be allowed to escape the full wrath of the law, he promised.

One of the chief culprits of this unbridled spending was the former bantustan of Bophuthatswana, which had acquired properties in exotic locations such as Paris, Rome, London and even Lithuania. These properties are being marketed.

Apartheid intelligence services also acquired local and overseas properties for their questionable activities.

Yesterday in Parliament Radebe said that a register of state properties of all of the taxpayers' fixed property assets was being compiled.

To date, both locally and internationally, about 130 000 state-owned properties – such as farms, vacant land, houses, offices, military bases, schools and other facilities – have been identified, he said.

Radebe said that he could not even make an estimate of the value of these properties "but they run into billions of rands".

"We have determined that immediate and drastic action is necessary to ensure that the state's valuable property portfolio, which includes some of the finest buildings of their kind in the world, does not fall into an irreparable state of decay," Radebe said.

Taxpayer faces R9-billion bill for shoring up government buildings

Star 11/2/97 (304A)

By Mondli Makhanya
Cape Town

The taxpayer faces a backlog of nearly R9-billion for the maintenance of state properties, Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

Speaking at a press briefing in Parliament, Radebe said the taxpayer would have to fork out R8,8-billion to stem the deterioration of government-owned buildings. He said his department was working on budgetary proposals to this end.

He said the Department of Public Works' compilation of a hitherto non-existent Register of State Properties was well advanced and would be completed by mid-1998. The process had so far identified 130 000 state properties including farms, vacant plots, military bases, schools, hospitals and offices.

The department would investigate properties bought clandestinely by the former government's intelligence services.

The department was also drawing up a register of foreign properties owned by the Government, including those owned by the former TBVC states. Two London properties which were owned by the former Bophuthatswana homeland government had already been sold for R19,1-million.

Radebe said the Government was also in the process of disposing of properties in New York, Paraguay and St Petersburg.

A Bophuthatswana-government owned property in Lithuania had also been found and would soon be sold.

Also to be disposed of were "redundant" government-owned properties inside the country.

Radebe said his department would, within the next two months, approach the Cabinet for permission to do this.

The minister revealed that about 1 100 properties had been identified as redundant in the Eastern Cape, while the North West had identified 2 000 and Northern Cape 442. Other provinces would provide their information by the end of this month. All the superfluous properties would be sold at going market rates.

He added that the department was also implementing a programme to help previously marginalised firms and individuals to win government contracts.

Radebe said his department would chop its workforce from 8 000 to 200 over the next five years in terms of rationalisation plans.

People who were laid off would be encouraged to form "work units" and move into the private sector from where they could outsource their services.



SA's foreign-policy conundrum

Star 13/2/97 (304A)

The ANC government must define its relationship with the West, writes Moeletsi Mbeki

The recent spat between the South African Government and the United States over the planned sale of tank firing systems to Syria has brought into sharp relief an issue that the ANC has long avoided: how to define its relations with the West.

It has become conventional wisdom for foreign policy commentators to berate the ANC government for lacking foreign policy. Cartoonists have taken to portraying Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo as fast asleep when all else is on fire.

While this may be mildly humorous, it is far from reflecting what is really happening in South Africa's relations with the outside world since April 1994. The Government is active in the international scene. In the past two-and-a-half years, it has dispatched scores of new diplomats to all four corners of the globe. It has been involved in all kinds of international events, from dispensing tinned pilchards in tomato sauce to starving Hutu refugees in Zaire, to helping craft the Non-Proliferation Treaty designed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Nearer home, the Government has made the choice which all of its neighbours besides Botswana have failed to make during the past 15 years: it has decided to join the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and not the larger Community of Eastern and Southern African States (Comesa).

When media analysts accuse the Government of not having a foreign policy, most of them in reality want the ANC to take a more pro-West stance.

But they prefer to cloak their position in terms that they think will be acceptable to the majority of South Africans, who have an open mind about what relations their country should have with the West.

But the ANC government, to its detriment, continues to avoid addressing one of the key foreign policy issues of the day: what is to be the substance of its relations with the West?

Does the ANC see South Africa as part of the West? Does it see South Africa as a partner of the West, albeit a junior partner, and what does it mean to be such a partner? Was the ANC's close association with the former Soviet Union and its allies an expression of anti-West sentiment, or was it purely an opportunistic relationship intended to take advantage of the Cold War to advance the liberation struggle at home? Is the ANC's continued alliance with the SA Communist Party another opportunistic move or has it actually imbibed the anti-capitalist and therefore anti-West teachings of comrades Karl Marx, Vladimir Illyich Lenin and Joseph Stalin?

To compel the ANC to answer these questions, Western governments switched their financial aid from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to the new government immediately after the April 1994 elections. The ANC approved of this change, and NGOs which had benefited for several years from Western funding have found themselves struggling. Was the ANC aware that this aid came with strings attached, more politely known as conditionalities?

If the ANC has yet to define its relations with the West, the West, on the other hand, is very clear about what it wants from its relationship with South Africa.

- Western governments want to see a democratic South Africa with a functioning capitalist economy that is open to Western products and provides the West with what it wants from South Africa, at ruling world prices.
- They want an environment in South Africa that is safe, friendly and predictable to Western investors and tourists.
- In regions of international conflict and competition, the West wants South Africa to support it against its enemies, note for example the US government's swift response to the proposed sale of arms to Syria.

The West is, however, willing to live with South African neutrality if Pretoria's conscience will not let it get involved; Sweden and Switzerland have been neutral for decades without incurring the Western powers' displeasure or being seen as anti-West.

At a time when intensified struggle at home focused world attention on the ANC's cause, the movement had a golden opportunity in the 1980s to more clearly define its relations with the West. But it let that opportunity slip by.

Now the issues are becoming more complex, the stakes higher, and South Africa's leverage weaker.

As a liberation movement, the ANC ironically was in a stronger position to negotiate a more favourable relationship with the West than it is today.

The West, especially the United States, was keen to see the end of apartheid, which it came to see as destabilising Western interests in Southern Africa and thus creating opportunities for the Soviet Union and Cuba to play a role in an area that the West saw as its sphere of influence.

The Cold War order has now faded, and Western power increasingly is bearing down on a new South African government that has yet to clearly decide how it can or how it should play the new power game.

The article that follows tomorrow will illustrate this point.

Moeletsi Mbeki worked as a journalist in the UK and Zimbabwe, was head of communications at Cosatu, and is currently a director of a black-owned property development company.

PEACEKEEPING IN AFRICA

Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad says SA is prepared, after initial reluctance, to play a more forceful role in peacekeeping in Africa. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently become involved in talks and mediation in several conflicts.

In a policy summary released to the media this week, the department says "because of our past experience and fear of being accused of maintaining a big brother syndrome, we did not see ourselves as playing a leading role in the region." Now, "we have come to recognise there is an expectation from Africa and the rest of the world that we have a role to play." Pahad makes it plain that any intervention by way of the deployment of peacekeeping troops would occur only by mandate of the UN.

However, the military is readying itself for such a call.

Pahad speaks of current involvement in the problems of Swaziland, Lesotho, and Angola — where the proposed establishment of a unity government with Unita participation is not running according to schedule. Looming larger, is the potential escalation of conflict in Zaire and the Great Lakes region.

The abortive proposal last year that SA participate in a Canadian-led humanitarian effort to safeguard the return of refugees to Rwanda can, in retrospect, be seen as a turning-point in a foreign policy marked by apparent inconsistencies and the hand of a weak minister, Alfred Nzo. Soon, a US proposal for the establishment of an African Crisis Response Force — in which SA would play a leading role — is certain to be further investigated once US Vice-President Al Gore arrives to strengthen the bonds of the US-SA Binational Commission.

Similar commissions are envisaged with major Western states like Germany and France. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki is scheduled to visit those countries in mid-year.

Meanwhile, the central African situation is deteriorating. There have been massacres in Burundi, and a disturbing arms build-up in Zaire — where, Pahad says, the presence of 300 foreign mercenaries is adding to tensions. Echoing John Vorster, Pahad says a wider war in Zaire is "too ghastly to contemplate."



Aziz Pahad

The establishment of peace in Angola and the Great Lakes region is a "priority objective," according to Pahad.

This indicates 1997 will be the year in which SA's reformulated foreign policy objectives will be put to the practical test. The fact that SA troops have never moved beyond the borders with peaceful intent is one reason for the diffidence over intervention described in the policy summary. Nonetheless, Nzo, Pahad and affected officials in other ministries — such as the cash-strapped Defence — seem to have accepted that sanctioned intervention for specific political or humanitarian purposes will in future form the main underpinning of Africa policy.

A looming difficulty must be the disparate demands of the African and Western states — hence the cautiousness over intervention. There must also arise the question of who will pay for any force of which SA will form a part. Western funding will significantly prejudice such an entity in the eyes of a number of African nations that have not adapted to the end of the Cold War, during which proxy forces were seen as serving Western, or, more pejoratively, neo-colonial interests.

❑ Pahad was made uncomfortable by questions relating to the diplomatic switch to mainland China from Taiwan. An additional problem created by the decision is that Hong Kong will revert to the mainland in June, before SA has established formal relations with Beijing. Discussions are under way to formalise "special concessions" for SA in the territory after the reversion. These must include landing rights. *Peter Wilhelm*

Open season for political defections

ALTHOUGH THE ANC has previously opposed the abolishing of the Constitution's anti-defection clause, there are clear indications that it would be the main beneficiary of such a move. Political Writer **BARRY STREEK** reports.



THE first step towards abolishing the controversial anti-defection clause in South Africa's new Constitution was taken yesterday when the National Assembly approved a Democratic Party motion to appoint a committee of inquiry into it.

The move for an inquiry into the clause, Section 23A (3) of Schedule 6 of the Constitution, was initiated by veteran DP constitutional expert Mr Colin Eglin.

If approved, it could herald an era of political bloodletting and could influence the balance of power in at least three provinces — the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Cape.

At present parliamentarians cannot resign from their parties, nor can they be expelled from them, without losing their parliamentary seats and salaries.

This provision has been slammed as anti-democratic and criticised for promoting the power and control of party bosses over their public representatives.

One National Party MP has said the provision made him feel like "a whore" because he was not free to vote according to his conscience.

Despite reports of divisions in most political parties, the anti-defection clause has effectively prevented any major defections.



'SCRAP IT': Mr Colin Eglin

Eglin's motion, framed under the provisions of the Constitution, which provides for its scrapping by an act of Parliament within "a reasonable period" after the adoption of the Constitution, calls for a committee to investigate the provision and report back to Parliament on the legislation.

Although the ANC resisted its scrapping during the Constitutional Assembly negotiations, there are clear indications that it will be the major beneficiary of such a move.

The Inkatha Freedom Party could lose control of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature if any of its MPs defected, and the ANC's control of the Northern Cape, with one vote, could be affected.

But the traditional democratic right to "cross the floor" or the freedom to resign from a party has been denied by the current provisions of the Constitution.

Eglin said his motion was designed to get rid of "the rigid control which the hierarchy of political parties have over the elected public representatives, for example the removal of Mr Patrick Lekota as the premier of the Free State and his replacement by Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri without reference to the wishes of the voters of the Free State".

He said: "The evolutionary developments that are taking place in South African politics demand that the iron grip that the party hierarchies have over their members be released, allowing public representatives to vote according to their conscience and permitting the re-grouping in South African politics to take place in a natural way, without constitutional constraints and penalties."

The groundswell in favour of scrapping the anti-defection clause was underlined this week by NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, who said the time had arrived for South Africa to stop being trapped in the past.

"Apartheid was the cement and cohesion within the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance. But now apartheid is dead and it must be replaced by a new vision."

De Klerk said that instead of focusing on the country's apartheid past, South Africans should be debating the country's economic priorities and the deepening of multi-party democracy.

The NP leader said his party wanted to generate a debate about forming a broad political movement that would be able to stand up to the ANC. To this end it was talking to academics, media people, political parties and business organisations.

"It is time moderate forces in South Africa start finding ways of rising above their prejudices, and take each other's hands," said De Klerk.

Govt policies get thumbs down in survey

BD 14/2/97 (304A)

Kevin O'Grady

GOVERNMENT's policies on affirmative action, the privatisation of state assets and its recently passed legislation providing for abortion on demand have found little favour with the electorate, according to the results of a national opinion survey released by the Helen Suzman Foundation yesterday.

The survey was conducted among a national random stratified sample of 2 239 respondents in October last year.

Response to a question on who they would like to succeed Nelson Mandela as president shows that former ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has tremendous support (17%), second only to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki (25%). National Party leader FW de Klerk is third with 14%, with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi next (8%).

While SA's capital has yet to be chosen formally, respondents indicated they would like the status quo to prevail, but if there was only one capital for it to be Pretoria.

There was also overwhelming support (50,9%) for local police forces to fight rising crime, rather than a centralised national police service (36,7%).

Of the survey's black respondents, 53,2% believed either that there should be no affirmative action or that it should apply only in situations where equally qualified people of different races were applying for the same position. Among whites, 88,2% agreed compared to 58,9% of coloureds and 66,9% of Asians. Foundation director Bill Johnson said that overall, 54% of respondents were opposed to affirmative action, or 76% if the belief that the best qualified should be employed was taken into account.

On privatisation, 46% were opposed, 36% in favour and 19% did not know. Among blue collar workers, 42% backed privatisation compared to 39% against and 19% who did not know.

Johnson said there was a "deafening majority" against abortion, with blacks at 76,7%, whites 69,8%, coloureds 79,9%, and Asians 71%.

See Page 8

'Symbolic satisfaction' with SA life high

(304A) BD 14/2/97

Kevin O'Grady

MOST South Africans — still buoyed by post 1994-election euphoria — continue to show high levels of "symbolic satisfaction" with life in SA, independently of whether they are actually satisfied with government's performance or levels of delivery.

This, says Helen Suzman Foundation director Bill Johnson, is one of the most striking findings of a national opinion survey conducted late last year, the results of which were released yesterday.

Using a national random stratified sample of 2 239 respondents, the survey found that both as a result of the post-election "honeymoon period" and President Nelson Mandela's personality satisfaction with him and his cabinet was high. But the same was not true of people's feelings towards the lower levels of government.

Johnson said the survey showed that "for the first time in history", every racial community in SA was satisfied with the country's president. Of the respondents, 70% of blacks were satisfied with Mandela, 61% of whites, 65% of coloureds and 62% of Asians.

"Any other president with these figures halfway through his term would be doing extraordinarily well."

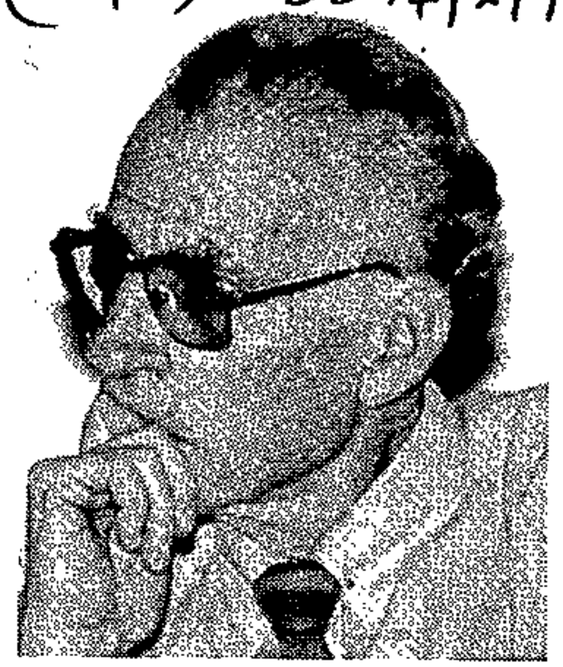
Broken down into categories of black respondents, the survey showed a "deviant" result in the Eastern Cape, Mandela's home province, where just 49% were satisfied compared to 47% in KwaZulu-Natal where higher dissatisfaction was expected.

Asked if they were satisfied with the cabinet, 42% of people responded positively while 48% said they were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. In the different racial groups, 50% of black respondents were satisfied with cabinet's performance, compared to 15% of whites, 37% of coloureds and 40% of Asians.

When it came to provincial governments, satisfaction dropped sharply to 36% of respondents compared with 53% who expressed dissatisfaction. About 38% of all nonwhite respondents were satisfied whereas just 21% of whites were satisfied with their provincial government's performance.

Questions on black respondents' dissatisfaction with certain issues brought a surprising response. Health, education and water provision, fields in which most changes had taken place, dissatisfied between 51% and 54% of respondents.

The same respondents showed dissatisfaction on most issues, with 76% dissatisfied with government's record of cutting unemployment, 71% with housing, 67% with economic management, and 63% with the reconstruction and development programme.



SCHLEMMER

The results also drew a correlation between the high levels of satisfaction expressed and fear of criticising government. In North West, where 75% of respondents were satisfied with their provincial government's performance, 61% said they had to be careful of criticising government for fear of persecution.

Apart from the very high levels of caution in North West, where respondents might have been influenced by the recent probe of former Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, SA had "a very fearful electorate". Overall, 48% were afraid to criticise government while 49% said they were free to criticise.

Asked if life had improved since 1994, 29% of black respondents said it had, 25% said it was worse and 44% said it was the same. Of the whites, 12% said life was better, 51% said it was worse and 34% said it was the same.

ARG 15/2/97 (304A)

ANC rejects Steyn Commission recommendation to tax MP perks

WILLIAM-MERVIN GUMEDE
POLITICAL STAFF

African National Congress MPs have rejected the proposals of the Steyn Commission for their salaries to be increased by 15 percent and their perks taxed. They want experienced MPs to be paid more than junior colleagues.

The party recommended that consultants be appointed to reconcile the parliamentarians' differences with the commission's proposals.

The commission has suggested that MPs' perks, which include free air travel, housing and car allowances, should become liable for tax as a package.

ANC caucus chairman Thabang Makwetla said that MPs felt the grading system suggested by the Steyn Commission ignored the experience and duties of MPs.

"Members felt that the report did not take into consideration the differences between more experienced and new MPs when it comes to remuneration," Mr Makwetla said.

MPs would seek the advice of tax experts to investigate alternatives to the tax structure suggested in the report. ANC deputy chief whip Naledi Pandor said: "Members should be able to make use of various tax benefits as long as it is not aggressive tax evasion."

The ANC caucus felt recommendations on penalties for non-attendance did not fall within the mandate of the commission. Neither was there any acknowledgement from the commission that deputy ministers were expected to work in Pretoria and Cape Town.

The deputy chief whip said: "MPs also wanted clarity on what was defined as pensionable in an MP's salary. On the whole it was decided that we must seek to narrow the wage gap between the highest and the lowest paid in South Africa and Parliament should set an example."

Ms Pandor said MPs felt that the R3 000 allocated to parliamentarians for constituency work was inadequate. "Should we continue with the allowances, MPs won't be able to pay those who work in their constituency offices a living wage," she said.

Meanwhile new ANC chief whip Max Sisulu said transformation of Parliament and more effective communication were his priorities for the year.

Mr Sisulu said his predecessor, Arnold Stofile, had encouraged active co-operation between political parties and ensured that the ANC deliver the Government's legislative priorities without abusing its strength.

SA's biggest white elephant sale

ST 16/2/97 (304A)

By CYRIL MADLALA
Parliamentary Correspondent

BILLIONS of rands are set to flow into government coffers following the discovery of thousands of redundant state properties in South Africa and abroad that were never officially recorded.

Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe said this week that getting rid of them would be the biggest property sale in South African history.

The sales have already started, with the Treasury being boosted by millions of rands from the sale of luxury houses previously owned by the former Bophuthatswana homeland in far-flung corners of the world such as France, Italy, the UK, the US, Russia and Paraguay.

In addition, Radebe said, his department was investigating properties acquired clandestinely by the former South African government, and those, in countries such as Lithuania and Switzerland, that were not registered as state property. He said that the intelligence services were assisting in the investigations.

Redundant assets include:

- More than 3 500 housing units in three provinces;
- Some of the 1 000 properties whose usefulness the army is investigating as part of a massive rationalisation programme;
- Shares in a hotel in Rome;
- Huge clusters of flats, offices, and houses in posh suburbs such as Umhlanga Rocks near Durban, Constantia in Cape Town and Waterkloof Heights in Pretoria.

Radebe said the compilation of a register of state properties had identified 130 000 properties such as farms, vacant land, houses, offices, military bases, schools and hospitals and expert estate agents had been hired to dispose of the redundant ones.

"The way in which this will be done will be determined largely by local market conditions, but it is our declared policy to dispose of assets at market value," he said.

The deputy director general responsible for property management in the Department of Public Works, Nazeem Martin, said it was difficult at this stage to determine how much money would be generated from the sale of all the redundant properties, but it would amount to billions of rands.

"From what we have disposed of already, we have raised millions, so we expect to make billions by the time we complete the process," he said.

Among the properties that have already been sold are those that belonged to the former Bophuthatswana government. They include:

- A former chancery at 326 East 48th Street in New York, which was sold to the Algerian government for $3,25-million (about R14,3-million);
- Another chancery at 11 Moika Embankment in St Petersburg, Russia, which was sold to the Dutch government for $2,8-million (R12,3-million);
- A property at Holland Park, in London, sold to the Ukraine government for £2,4-million (R16,8-million) and another in Amersham, London, which was sold for £205 000 (R1,4-million);
- A former chancery in Asuncion, Paraguay, which was sold to a bank for $430 000 (R1,9-million); and
- An official residence at 960 Park Avenue, New York, sold for $1,4-million (R6,1-million).

Properties in Montevideo (Uruguay), Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo (Brazil), and Funchal in Madeira are being considered for disposal.

The Department of Finance is trying to dispose of shares bought in a company called Unico Investments Corporation in Rome. Investigations by the Department of Public Works show that shares worth $2,5-million (R11-million) were bought into this company although its total share capital was only $500 000. Circumstances surrounding the company's investment in a hotel in Rome are being probed.

The sale of property is to be followed by the launch in April of a plan to involve the private sector in joint ventures with the state in the provision of assets and infrastructure.

"The aim is to make sure that the private and public sectors co-operate in a manner which will ensure reduced costs to the state and, where necessary, even encourage the private and public sectors to compete with each other for state tenders," Radebe said.

The projects include the provision of facilities for correctional services, secure care centres for the Department of Welfare, specialised office accommodation, catering and cleaning.

The first step was taken this week when tenders went out for gardening at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Confirming the adoption of this approach by the government, Correctional Services Minister Dr Sipo Mzimela said the ultimate aim was that in prisons, the state should be responsible only for the security.

The sale of prisons on prime land was also being considered, Mzimela said.

However, Radebe and Mzimela are on a collision course with trade unions which are unhappy with the government's process of transformation.

Only this week, the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union, which organises staff in Parliament, accused the Speaker, Frene Ginwala, of discriminating against Africans in the transformation of the institution.

ST(CM) 16/2/97

Your MP's finances are still TOP SECRET

(304A)

By KEN VERNON

LONG-SERVING Democratic Party member Colin Eglin has shares worth almost R1,3-million on the stock exchange, more than any other parliamentarian.

This is according to information released for the first time on the financial interests of members of parliament.

But which politician is the richest, how much he or she is worth and where the money is salted away, is what the public will not find in the Register of Financial Interests of MPs.

The register was created as part of the country's first parliamentary code of ethics, and the opening of the register coincided with last Friday's opening of Parliament.

Members of the public can examine the contents of the "public" section of the register at a cost of R5 per MP — but the contents of a second, secret section is not open.

Whether many of the MPs took the register seriously is debatable when the full list of entries is examined: more than 50 MPs said they owned no property and received no money other than their parliamentary salary — including Winnie Mandela.

"There are serious problems with the process at the moment," agreed Richard Calland, head of Idasa's Parliamentary Information Monitoring Service, "that is why the opening of the register was delayed for more than two months.

"I am told by my sources there are far fewer disclosures than expected, but the aim of the register is not to catch MPs out — it's the beginning of a process and it will enable the press to start digging deeper.

"My biggest problem is that anyone trying to get information about what affects them has to pay more than R2 000 for the full list of MPs, and even then it is only available in Cape Town. That defeats the object of transparency."

Myths of parliamentary wealth have, however, been dispelled by the mandatory disclosures. All shares and financial interests, remuneration outside parliament, directorships, properties and other income were required to be disclosed in the public section of the register. However, their actual value could be kept confidential in the secret second section. Most MPs did this.

President Nelson Mandela said he owned no shares but was a beneficiary of the NRM Trust which held two properties, one in Houghton and one in Qunu, Eastern Cape.

He also declared a large number of gifts, ranging from a painting entitled *Transcendentalism Ultimately Means Non-Conforming*, to an honorary doctorate from Bristol University and a silver spade from the Queen.

Winnie Mandela said she owned no property, had no shares and had "nothing to declare".

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki also said he had no financial interests outside Parliament, other than a Johannesburg flat.

National Party leader F W de Klerk said he did not have a permanent home, apart from a holiday house in Hermanus, but revealed he is the beneficiary of the Mardek Trust — of which he and his wife are the sole trustees — that provides residential accommodation to the couple in Cape Town and Pretoria.

He disclosed that his share portfolio comprised just six R1 shares, while Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he owned two plots at Kwasishwile, but no residential dwelling. But he does own 125 shares in M I B Aidec (pty) Ltd.

DP leader Tony Leon revealed he was a partner in a gold mine and held 55 units in Guardbank Unit Trust worth a total of R8 000. He also owned a house in Johannesburg worth R300 000.

The register reveals that most MPs own little more than their homes, according to the information disclosed, though some MPs — such as NP MP Sheila Camerer — declined to disclose their property holdings. Fifty-five MPs said they owned no property at all while a handful of MPs, such as Sam de Beer, admitted owning up to four houses.

The Turok family of MPs came out near the top of the money list. While Ben Turok said he had no shares, no remuneration outside of his parliamentary salary and no property, his MP wife Mary disclosed she owned Eskom bonds to the value of R798 200 and unit trusts to the value of R16 000, but no property.

Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau said she was self-employed in "modest farming".

In the register, Adelaide Tambo, widow of ANC leader Oliver Tambo, revealed she may be the richest housekeeper in the country as her son pays her R20 000 a month as an allowance for "upkeep of the family house". The widow, who pays R250 a month into a Sanlam share scheme, also owns a R2-million house in London and receives almost R4 000 a month in two British pensions.

Other unusual revelations were that SACP MP Brian Bunting received two pensions — one from Britain and one from Russia.

Finance Minister Trevor Manuel revealed that he owned 10 000 shares in Norwich Holdings and Old Mutual Unit Trusts to the value of R5 000, but Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin said he had no share portfolio. Neither had any fixed property.

US-SA patch up quarrel

It was all smiles and good cheer as the US-SA Binational Commission wrapped up its third meeting this week. **Peter Fabricius** explains why...

Sowetan 19/2/97 (304A)

UNITED States vice president Al Gore and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki have patched up differences in the relationship between the US and South Africa caused by disagreements over South Africa supplying arms to Syria.

They have also expanded the range of trade and aid cooperation between the two countries during the high-level US-SA Binational Commission (BNC) which met under their joint chairmanship in Cape Town on Monday.

The two deputy leaders, flanked by a phalanx of US officials and South African Cabinet Ministers, signed a tax treaty to reduce double taxation of companies doing business in both countries and an agreement to establish an autonomous binational Fulbright Commission to expand educational exchanges.

These were among a host of other "nuts and bolts" cooperation and development aid projects in the fields of science and technology, health, education, housing, crime prevention and energy access agreed to in the commission.

Gore went out of his way to play down the contentious issue of South Africa's proposed sale of tank-firing weaponry to Syria, which earlier provoked a warning by the Clinton administration that it might cut off aid to South Africa (and hence unavoidably close down the BNC) since it regards Syria as a country that sponsors international terrorism.

Gore would not say whether the issue had been discussed – although it almost certainly was – and had earlier declined to say whether he thought the deal would be scrapped as a result of these discussions.

He said the South African Cabinet would have to make the decision in private and went out of his way to praise South Africa's establishment of arms control measures, which he said were "state of the art".

He also said that the US and South Africa were in "broad agreement" on arms control.

Mbeki said that no decision had been made as he was still consulting on the Syrian sale and, among other things, had to consult the Zionist Federation, a Jewish organisation that opposes the deal.

Mbeki said the BNC was making a significant contribution to South Africa and was allowing the country to draw on US experience and expertise in forming policy and in capacity-building or training in many areas.

He said the BNC had had a very successful meeting and that many initiatives would flow from it, including joint work on housing and on the creation of an educational committee to foster partnerships between US and local universities to improve black South Africans' access to higher education.

Gore said what the BNC had been doing was designed to uplift the lives of people in both countries and strengthen the bonds between them.



US vice president Al Gore and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki patched up differences in the relations between the US and South Africa. PIC: AP

Of the many agreements which had been reached, he singled out increased cooperation in addressing South Africa's crime problem, its unemployment crisis, various health problems and improving access to housing and energy by South Africa's disadvantaged population.

On crime Gore said that offices of the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and drug authorities had been opened, and that "state of the art" emergency response centres were to be established in South Africa with US expertise.

To help combat unemployment, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between South African Labour Minister Tito Mboweni and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) administrator Brian Atwood for a bilateral exchange of officials and experts to improve technical training in the South African Labour Ministry in studying unemployment.

In the health field, agreement had been reached on increased collaboration in fighting South Africa's problem diseases such as Aids, tuberculosis and cancer through a new health sub-committee or working group created under the chairmanship of US health secretary Donna Shalala and South African Health Minister Nkosozana Zuma.

Gore also noted that in the Cape Town Crossroads squatter camp, he had welcomed to South Africa the first batch of US Peace Corps volunteers to the country, who would train South African mathematics and science teachers to help South Africa cope with future demands in technology.

"Taken together these constitute a real achievement at the nuts and bolts level; each one is a part of a broader and more powerful pattern of cooperation and partnership and mutual learning that is helping to shape our common future," Gore said.

He said that he and Mbeki had "broadened and deepened our one-on-one dialogue at the request of our two presidents to handle an ever-growing series of so-called off-line issues that affect the full range of the relationship between South Africa and the US".

In response to a question about why the US was using the BNC to lever open South African markets when it was supposed to be helping South Africa, Agriculture Minister Derek Hanekom said that the BNC was not really a one-sided institution.

It was helping to remove impediments to trade in agricultural products in both countries

Asked whether he and Gore had discussed US concerns about South Africa's control of chemical and biological weaponry, Mbeki said that South Africa and the US had discussed these in the past.

And since South Africa was now a signatory to international agreements for controlling both kinds of weapons, the BNC saw no need to reopen that discussion.

Mbeki said the next meeting of the BNC would be in Washington in July. – *Independent Foreign Service*.

City asked to help bid to keep Parliament

Mayors to meet today

(304A)

ARG 19/2/97

ANDREA WEISS
METRO CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town's campaign to keep parliament is in a financial crisis.

An emergency meeting of mayors is to take place today to bolster the campaign as the city gears up for a major battle to retain its position as legislative capital.

The Citizens Alliance for Parliament has applied to the Cape Metropolitan Council for funding to keep its campaign alive. But there are concerns the council may not have the finances to support the campaign.

Its executive committee has called for a further financial report to see if it can find the funds.

The draft budget for the alliance is R670 000 which includes R95 000 for special projects, among them liaison with Rio de Janeiro which is reported to have gone into decline when a new capital was built at Brasilia. Other special projects would be to lobby ANC members at congresses and Parliament. In a letter to the council, the alliance said it had succeeded "against all odds" in getting Cape Town entrenched as the seat of parliament in the new constitution.

Although this did not have the protection of requiring a two thirds majority vote (only a vote of 50 percent plus one is needed), the process to move Parliament would be lengthy, needing agreement in the new Council of Provinces, a series of public hearings and new legislation.

The alliance decided in September to keep its office open but subsequently the office was closed and a small operation maintained by executive director Kallie Hanekom with the support of public relations company Corporate Image. They have not been paid since November.

Alliance chairman Gerald Morkel said the council had been asked in November to make a small amount of money available to keep the campaign going but they had been "overtaken" by events when the ANC announced it would make a decision on Parliament at its conference in November.

"The Citizens' Alliance for Parliament, with the backing of all political parties in the Western Cape, has decided to resume our battle ... to resist this amendment to our constitution. To do this we obviously need urgent funding and have included a budget which we hope you will consider favourably and with urgency," he said.

Mr Hanekom said he was not sure if ANC members knew what lengths they would have to go to to move Parliament.

At a weekend meeting the Western Cape executive committee of the ANC reaffirmed its position that Parliament should remain in Cape Town, saying it would do "everything within its capabilities to influence this position at a national level and within other ANC structures".

'Democratic govt does not please all the people'

Business Day Reporter

DEMOCRACY in SA is not as popular as politicians would like to think, and just more than 25% of the urban population is in favour of a one-party state.

This is shown in a survey conducted in October by Market Research Africa (MRA) for Business Day.

Overall, 37% of respondents favoured a government of national unity, 34% preferred a parliamentary democracy with opposition parties, and 27% said they would prefer one party in power, with no opposition parties in Parliament.

The survey also indicated a majority view that the National Party's (NP) influence had declined since it left the government of national unity.

An area-stratified, probability sample of 2 501 people took part, representing 13,7-million people — about 92% of the urban adult population.

All interviews took place in the respondents' homes and in their own language, with each respondent selecting his or her personal preference from three given methods of government. These were:

□ Political parties sharing power, so that government decisions are based on general agreement between parties;

□ One party in power, with no opposition parties in Parliament, so that the government can do what it thinks best for the country; and

□ One party in power, but with opposition parties in Parliament to argue and change or influence government decisions.

Generally, affluent South Africans wanted a government which could be challenged by other political parties. People in middle- to low-income brackets mostly supported power sharing — that is, a government of national unity. Those on the breadline tended to opt for a one-party government not subject to scrutiny by opposition parties.

MRA MD Hanna Fourie said the preference by low-income respondents for one-party government seemed in accord with traditional patriarchal cultures. "Nearly four in 10 blacks across the income spectrum want a government which can do as it pleases. Having a tradition of respecting leaders and elders, they might expect benevolent leadership, and not dictatorship.

"Alternatively, perhaps a government challenged by its opposition could be regarded as undesirable for the simple reason that wrangling over decisions can, and often does, result in months of delay with no guarantee of eventual action."

Although 37% of blacks preferred a Parliament containing no rival parties, 35% believed in a government of national unity structure, providing for the sharing of political power.

The survey showed Indian communities favoured a government of national unity to a much stronger extent: nearly six in 10 preferred this.

Half the white respondents elected to support the traditional Westminster style of government — one party in power challenged by an opposition. This was also preferred by 44% of coloureds.

More than half (52%) of respondents in KwaZulu-Natal favoured a power-sharing government. "This could reflect perceived Zulu opinion that, being a major grouping, they deserve a say in government," said Fourie. Least favoured in this region was the Westminster method, favoured by only two in 10 respondents.

In Gauteng, respondents were almost equally divided between the three stated methods of rule: power sharing was preferred by 34%, a one-party government with no opposition interference by 33% and a Parliament with a ruling party and opposition parties by 31%.

The majority of people in the Western Cape (44%) wanted a government with opposition in Parliament. Power sharing was the next favoured option.

The Eastern Cape firmly backs the view that government must be answerable to other parties: 54% chose this option. Only 18% were happy to let a single party have unfettered control.

"Whatever kind of influence there might be, people don't have much faith that it will come from the NP," said Fourie.

"Asked to rate the NP's chances of influencing government now that the party has left the government of national unity, nearly half (47%) said the NP would have less influence. Only 23% believed it now wielded more influence than before the split."

The NP has strong Indian support: 51% expected the party to have more influence on government. However, this view was strongly counterbalanced by other communities in KwaZulu-Natal and there was also a rather high "don't know" contingent of 12%. In the province as a whole only 24% thought the NP more influential, far more (41%) thought its influence had diminished. This opinion held across the country, especially in the Free State, where 64% thought it a less effective opponent, and in Gauteng (53%).

Conflicts of opinion between cultural and economic groups indicated that no method of government found common favour.

"Possibly a fourth alternative is necessary — maybe even one compromising democracy," Fourie said. "This survey clearly indicates that government 'by the people, for the people' won't please all the people."

How SA should be governed

Preference	Total	% by race				% by income			
		Black	Coloured	Indian	White	R6000+	R2000-R5999	R500-R1999	R1-R499
Parties sharing power	37	35	37	59	38	38	39	36	36
One party in power with no opposition parties	27	37	18	17	7	7	23	34	37
One party in power with other opposition parties in parliament	34	26	44	21	50	53	35	28	25
Don't know	3	2	2	2	5	1	4	3	2

Graphic: KAREN MOOLMAN Source: MARKET RESEARCH AFRICA

BD 19/2/97 (504A)

Mayors back drive to keep Parliament in city

ARG 20/2/97 (304A)

ANDREA WEISS
METRO CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town will lose out on "political" tourists such as United States Vice-President Al Gore and the Swedish royal couple if Parliament is moved to Midrand, Bloemfontein or Pretoria.

This was the view of mayors who pledged support yesterday for Cape Town's campaign to keep Parliament.

The mayors and deputy-mayors of the six municipalities and the Cape Metropolitan Council were called together by metropolitan mayor William Bantom. The only one missing was Tygerberg mayor Lukas Olivier, who was meeting King Gustaf of Sweden.

Mr Bantom said the issue of Parliament remaining in Cape Town went far beyond the more than 10 000 jobs and thousands of millions of rands it would cost the Western Cape if it were moved.

"We would become just another provincial capital, only in our case we would be nearly 1 500 km of Karoo and Free State from Gauteng and feel completely remote and cut off from the rest of the country. This clearly could have dangerously divisive political consequences for the nation."

Kallie Hanekom, executive-director of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament, said moving Parliament would end "political tourism" which had led to hundreds of thousands of rands being spent in the local economy during the recent visits of the Swedish royal couple and Mr Gore.

'Let Parliament stay'

(3049) CT 20/2/97

MAYORS and their deputies from all over the metropole emerged from a meeting yesterday determined to urge their councils to pour new money into the campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

Mr Gerald Morkel, chairman of the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament, started the present initiative after reports that the ANC will decide at its conference in November "to finally put the debate between the cities to rest".

Metropolitan Mayor the Rev William Bantom then convened a meeting of all the mayors yesterday to gain their support for the renewed campaign.

The Constitution would have to be amended to allow Parliament to move.

There would have to be an act of Parliament, with full public participation, which could take three years. The bill for such an act would have to get 201 votes in the National Assembly. The abortion vote, by comparison, got through with 209 votes after "a lot of whipping" by party bosses.

After that, the matter would go to the new Council of Provinces, where Cape Town's rival city, Pretoria, would need majority support from the nine provinces.

Should that not happen, the proposed bill would have to be referred back to Parliament, where it would need a two-thirds majority. — Staff Writer

'HEAD ON THE BLOCK'

Roelf loses job in NP 'gamble'

(304A) CT 20/2/97

THE TOP MANAGEMENT of the NP was restructured yesterday in a bid to create an alliance to challenge the ANC in the next election. Political Writer **BARRY STREEK** reports.

THE National Party's secretary-general, Mr Roelf Meyer, lost his position yesterday in a desperate, high-risk move by its leadership to spearhead a new political movement capable of challenging the ANC in 1999.

"I have put my political head on the block," said Meyer, until yesterday effectively second in the party's hierarchy.

NP leader Mr F W de Klerk said Meyer, who less than a year ago resigned as a cabinet minister to become the party's full-time secretary-general, would now head a special task team that would concentrate on promoting the NP's vision and mission.

At a news conference yesterday, De Klerk said: "Anybody reading into this a demotion of any nature would be making a serious mistake."

As secretary-general, Meyer had significant responsibilities and duties in the party. In future he will be concentrating solely on repositioning the party.

Meyer said yesterday that political realignment had to take place before the end of this year so that a new group could emerge to challenge the ANC in the 1999 elections.

He also referred to a statement he made in September 1989 which said that unless negotiations were seriously under way within two years, he would resign, and said the situation was similar now.

Meyer said yesterday his new position would free him from his daily duties and enable him to concentrate on building a new moderate political grouping.

Party loyalists, including people who strongly support De Klerk, said yesterday's surprise move was a last-ditch gamble by the party leadership to promote its bid to lead a political realignment of "moderate" groups in opposition to the ANC.

One of the problems is that this has been its political agenda for more than a year without any visible signs of progress — and the almost daily evidence of its mismanagement of government, particularly in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, are very damaging politically.

Moreover, the recent criticism of De Klerk's role in the previously pro-NP media reflect increasing frustration within the party, and reinforce perceptions that there is a bid to oust him as its leader.

De Klerk, and until yesterday Meyer, control the party's considerable resources, but unless they can deliver on realignment, they are in serious political trouble.

The NP leader, who said the time was "right" for realignment, also denied that he had considered retirement, saying he had never considered his future without making plans.

But the fact of the matter is that he and Meyer have taken a political gamble that through the NP, they can create a moderate alliance which can present a formidable challenge to the ANC in 1999.

If they fail, their already shaky political careers are over and the NP could turn into a Bavarian-style regional party, with the Western Cape as its base and Premier Mr Hernus Kriel as the party boss.

Yesterday, De Klerk said a second NP team, headed by MP Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, whose post as deputy secretary-general is also being scrapped, would concentrate on the growth of the NP and ways to make it more effective.

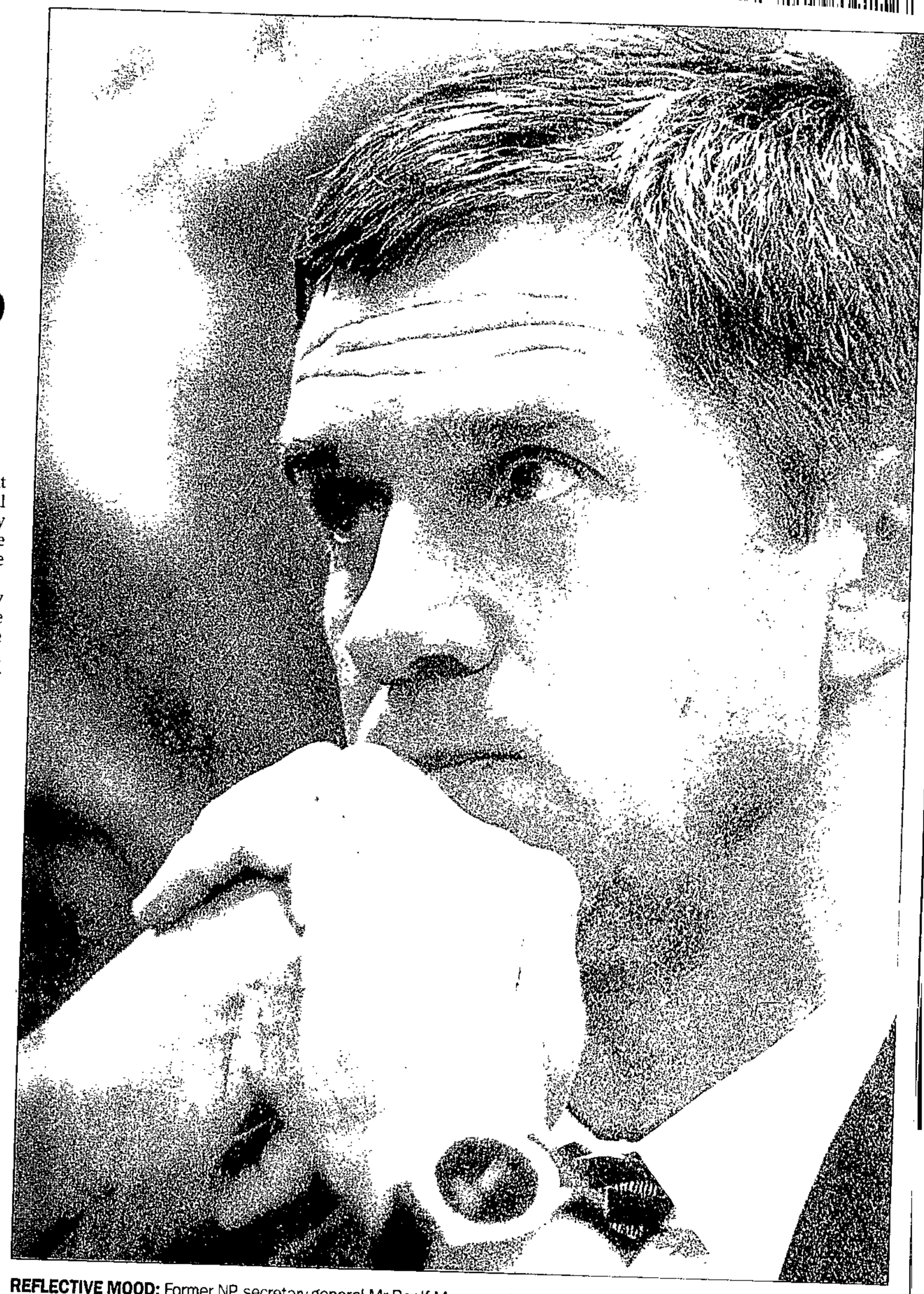
He said that following the party's federal executive meeting in Cape Town yesterday, its structure from the post of secretary-general down, would be scrapped.

Meyer's new task team would be "highly movable. They will work hard all the time".

Mr David Malatsi has been appointed the deputy leader of the task team, and other members were Mr John Mavuso, Western Cape MPL Mr Henry Cupido, Mr Nic Koornhof and Mrs Sheila Camerer.

De Klerk said Mr Fanus Schoeman would be the political head of his office.

A multilingual media committee would also be appointed to overcome the problem of effective communication with all sectors of the community. Names of committee members were withheld until the NP's caucus today.



REFLECTIVE MOOD: Former NP secretary-general Mr Roelf Meyer contemplates his future after the announcement of the new party structure yesterday.

PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

Volkstaat Council chairman paid over R21 000 a month

The chairman of the 18-member Volkstaat Council, J de Klerk, earns more than R21 000 a month and receives a R500 transport allowance and a R2 672 monthly pension, Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa has revealed.

In a written reply to a question from DP MP Colin Eglin, Moosa also revealed that De Klerk's deputy, General E Pienaar, earns almost R18 000 a month. The four members on a full-time basis are paid R15 000 a month. The other 12 are part-time members who are paid per session.

The council, set up to investigate the feasibility of Afrikaner self-determination, has published six reports and made 24 submissions to the Constitutional Assembly. – Political Correspondent.

(304A) Star 27/2/97

R56-m fines settle SA arms row with US

Five-year wrangle over

ARG 28/2/97 (304A)

Philadephia – Three South African companies have been fined a total of $12,5-million (R56-million) after being convicted here of weapons smuggling in the 1970s and 1980s in violation of international law.

The companies – Kentron, Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armscor) and Fuchs Electronics – also agreed to co-operate in an investigation of American involvement in the operation.

The convictions and fines imposed in a United States federal court ended more than five years of legal and political wrangling over the sanctions-busting operation, which has bedevilled relations between Washington and Pretoria.

According to the original indictment, brought by a federal grand jury on October 30, 1991, some of the material smuggled by the three companies into South Africa from the US was sold to third countries.

Among them, according to the indictment, was Iraq, which subsequently used the weapons against American and other coalition forces during the 1991 Gulf war.

The three companies had violated US law and an apartheid-era United Nations embargo on arms trading with South Africa by importing weapons technologies and components from the US, the indictment said.

According to court documents, the South African companies worked with Pennsylvania-based International Signal and Control (ISC) in procuring parts and know-how for use in making various weapons between 1978 and 1989.

So far seven US nationals have also pleaded guilty to charges in the indictment. They include James Guerin, ISC's chief executive officer, who is serving a 15-year prison term for his conviction.

Yesterday state-owned Armscor pleaded no contest on one count and was ordered to pay $1-million (nearly R4,5-million). Kentron, a subsidiary of Armscor, also pleaded no contest and was fined $500 000.

Fuchs, a private company, pleaded guilty on 11 counts. The company was fined $11-million and also agreed to fund a $5,5-million arms-trading "compliance programme" to help police South African arms sales.

Arms dealers in both the US and South Africa have been anxious to resume two-way trade and a resolution of the smuggling case was regarded as a necessary step towards that goal.

More recently, however, other problems have cropped up, notably worries in the US over South Africa's interest in selling missile systems for battle tanks to Syria – listed as promoting state terrorism by the US – and other weapons to China.

Washington's public assertion that a sale to Syria would be a "bad idea" drew a sharp response from President Mandela and other top officials, who bristled at being lectured by the US.

Mr Mandela was quoted on February 5 as saying the proposed Syrian deal would go ahead regardless of opposition.

After talks in Cape Town earlier this month with US Vice-President Al Gore, Mr Mandela said the Syria arms issue was not discussed. – Sapa-AFP

Arms wrangle with US ends as fines are paid

(304A)

Brighter days for industry?

ARLT 1/3/97

MARCO GRANELLI
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Pretoria – South Africa's armaments industry is gearing up for a brighter future following the resolution of a five-year legal and political wrangle with the United States.

The battle, which began in 1991 when a federal grand jury indicted Armscor, Kentron and Fuchs for violating the arms embargo, finally ended on Thursday when no-contest pleas were entered on behalf of Armscor and Kentron and a guilty plea on behalf of Fuchs.

Under the settlement agreement, thrashed out in July last year between Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and US Vice-President Al Gore, Kentron must pay $11-million (R49m), Armscor $1-million (R4,46m) and Fuchs $500 000 (R2,23-m) in criminal fines.

In another breakthrough, the accompanying civil fine of $6,25-million (R28m) was suspended on condition the three SA firms contribute the money to the South African government to help establish an effective arms control programme.

The government yesterday welcomed the settlement and said it heralded a new era for the defence industry.

"We are very happy that we have finally put this case to rest," Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad said.

"We believe the decision taken is an acknowledgement of very important political changes in South Africa."

'There is unlikely to be any immediate direct trade in military hardware'

He said the fact that Armscor and Kentron had not been forced to enter guilty pleas was recognition that the present government could not be held responsible for violations by the apartheid government.

South Africa's legal advisor on the matter, Mojanku Gumbi, said the fines were reasonable: "We started with the figure of $80-million. So to bring it down to $12,5-million for all the charges is quite commendable".

The settlement will lift a five-year ban on military trade or co-operation between the two countries, which has cost the local armaments industry dearly. In 1995 South Africa lost a tender to sell 90 Rooivalk attack helicopters to Britain, partly because the US would not provide its impressive Hellfire missile system for use on the Rooivalk.

While the banning order would still take some time to dismantle, according to a US spokesman, arms industry experts were thrilled at the news.

"It can only enhance the standing of the SA defence industry internationally," Armscor communication general manager Abba Omar said.

Defence consultant Helmut Heitman said the settlement would have long-term benefits for the local industry.

"There is unlikely to be any immediate direct trade in military hardware, but it does open the way for co-operation."

"This has huge potential for joint ventures. We have some good ideas, but lack the research and development muscle to bring them to fruition. Now we can co-operate on projects using our ideas and know-how and American money."

It is believed the United States is interested in acquiring Armscor's mobile landmine detection and clearance system, which is already in use in a number of countries.

[redacted]

MONDAY
★ MARCH 3, 1997

DP rejects Mandela's govt offer

(304A)
CT 3/3/97

POLITICAL STAFF

DURBAN: The DP has decided not to take part in the Government of National Unity, party leader Mr Tony Leon said here yesterday.

He said that, in President Nelson Mandela's proposal, debate and discussion on key policy issues would have had to take place in the cabinet behind closed doors and away from public scrutiny.

The DP, therefore, would have been bound by cabinet decisions and collective cabinet responsibility and so been unable to play the part of a vigorous, probing and critical opposition.

Leon said the party appreciated Mandela's "generosity of spirit, his bold and imaginative leadership and the nation-building efforts of which this move was evidence".

However, the conditions proposed by Mandela for the DP's participation in the cabinet would have made it impossible for the party to play the strategic role that was so important for South Africa at this time of her history.

The DP leader said the party had doubled its support base between 1994 and 1996. It expected further and dramatic growth, especially in the light of the "attrition" that was visible in NP ranks.

The federal council had endorsed a programme of action to put the party on an election footing, he said.

Leon said there was a very strong feeling that the NP had served its historical purpose.

Nothing would serve South African politics better than the disappearance of the NP in its present form, he said.

The DP leader said he had held preliminary discussions with NP leaders on future directions in politics.

He did not know if the NP intended to re-engineer the party or to start a national debate about new political directions.

If their object was the latter, then the DP would be willing to engage in discussions with them.

The NP said yesterday the DP declined Mandela's offer to join the government for the same reasons the NP withdrew from it last year.

NP spokesman Mr Jan Bosman said the ANC did not regard multiparty government as a way of establishing co-operation between parties to the benefit of all South Africans, "but as a method of silencing the voices of opposition parties".

The NP welcomed the DP's stand that it could not participate in the government under the terms set by the ANC government.

Bosman said the ANC was determined to continue its dominance for as long as possible "and under the most favourable circumstances as possible".

[redacted]

DP turns down Mandela's offer of role in Government

(304A) ARG 3/3/97

POLITICAL STAFF

The Democratic Party has decided not to take part in the Government of National Unity, DP leader Tony Leon has announced at a Press conference in Durban.

Mr Leon said yesterday that, in terms of President Mandela's proposal, debate on key policy issues would have had to take place in the Cabinet away from public scrutiny.

The DP would, therefore, have been bound by Cabinet decisions and collective Cabinet responsibility and unable to play the part of a vigorous, probing and critical opposition.

Mr Leon said the party appreciated Mr Mandela's "generosity of spirit, his bold and imaginative leadership and the the nation-building efforts of which this move was evidence". However, the conditions proposed by the president for the DP's participation in the Cabinet would have made it impossible for the party to play the strategic role that was so important for South Africa at this time in her history.

The party had doubled its support base between 1994 and 1996. It expected further dramatic growth, especially in the light of the "attrition" in the ranks of the National Party.

Nothing would serve South African politics better than the disappearance of the NP in its present form.

He had held preliminary discussions with the NP leadership on future directions in politics. He did not know if the NP intended to re-engineer the party or begin a national debate about new political directions.

Unity govt would muzzle DP — Leon

BD 313/97 (304A)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The Democratic Party (DP) would not participate in the government of national unity because it would lead to a "muzzling" of the party's role as a vigorous opposition, DP leader Tony Leon said yesterday.

Speaking after the DP's federal council meeting in Durban, Leon said the main stumbling block to the DP's participation was a precondition by President Nelson Mandela that debate and discussion on key policy issues take place in the cabinet and "away from public scrutiny".

"The DP would have been bound by cabinet decisions and cabinet collective responsibility. It would have thus been unable to play the role of a vigorous, probing and critical opposition."

Leon and Mandela met last week, where the pendulum apparently swung against the DP's participation.

Leon said he informed Mandela that it was "unlikely" that the DP council would agree to the party joining the cabinet because of the conditions Mandela had laid down.

A DP source confirmed weekend newspaper reports that Mandela's preference for a government similar to Zimbabwe's, which saw opposition leader Joshua Nkomo co-opted into Robert Mugabe's government, influenced the DP's decision.

Leon said the reports were a "distortion" of his discussions with Mandela. However, Mandela held a "very specific view" on how national unity could be achieved, and wanted parties to present a "united face" to the world.

Presidential spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said that he expected Mandela to respect the DP's decision. Mandela would await official communication from Leon, before referring the matter to the African National Congress for discussion.

Leon said that the DP would continue seeking new and direct avenues to interact with the government. DP members were "desperately anxious" to contribute towards the fight against crime, and to engage government with regard to the public service.

Leon said that DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew would unveil an "alternative budget" later this week, as part of the process of constructively engaging with government.

Leon said the DP was going on an election footing and its "dramatic" growth was expected to continue because of the "attrition that is visible in the ranks of the National Party"

Makwetu sacked as MP

(304A)

CP 9/3/97

By WALLY MBHELE

FORMER Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu suffered yet another severe blow yesterday when his organisation stripped him of his parliamentary seat.

This latest setback for Makwetu comes shortly after he was forcefully ousted as PAC president during the organisation's congress last December and replaced by respected former Methodist cleric, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

☐ News of Makwetu's sacking from parliament reached City Press yesterday after an extraordinary meeting of the PAC National Working Committee (NWC) was held in Johannesburg on Friday night.

The move could deepen divisions within the PAC as pro-Makwetu supporters are expected to rally behind him if he "defies the NWC".

☐ City Press understands that Makwetu still faces charges of "misconduct, insubordination and bringing the organisation into disrepute".

Among a series of allegations against Makwetu, it is claimed that he organised a rally in memory of Robert Sobukwe in Graaff-Reinet to counter the rally addressed by Mogoba in East London.

At the Graaff-Reinet service, Makwetu was referred to as the PAC "president" – and it is alleged he addressed the rally in that capacity and refused to distance himself from those who called him "president".

☐ Makwetu is also alleged to have organised the anti-Mogoba demonstrations at the Cape Town International Airport earlier this year when Mogoba was about to meet him.

It is understood that Makwetu later ended a meeting with Mogoba by walking out of the office while they were still talking.



KICKED OUT . . . The PAC leadership has stripped Clarence Makwetu of his parliamentary seat – but he remains national chairman until a hearing.

taken on Friday night.

However, City Press was told that he had been sent an urgent fax – via the South African embassy in Kenya – "to come back urgently" to attend the meeting where his fate was going to be decided.

Makwetu had earlier been ordered not to go to Kenya as an urgent NWC meeting was to be held – but he allegedly defied the PAC and left with the government delegation.

It is understood he did not acknowledge receipt of the letter faxed to him in Kenya. PAC officials insist that he did receive the summons.

PAC general secretary Michael Muendane yesterday confirmed to City Press that Makwetu had been ordered to attend the meeting.

"Makwetu will be asked to appear before the PAC's disciplinary committee," said Muendane.

"The NWC decided to formulate charges against comrade Makwetu concerning his alleged utterances at the Sobukwe Day rally in Graaff-Reinet last week.

"We have also decided to convene an urgent meeting of the National Executive Council on Saturday, March 16, to discuss the conduct of comrade Makwetu."

Muendane told City Press that, in addition, the PAC "is withdrawing Mr Makwetu from parliament with immediate effect. This is being communicated to him".

☐ A source who attended Friday's meeting said: "Everybody was completely disgusted by his behaviour after all we had done for him."

This, according to sources, refers

Sobukwe rally was 'last straw' for PAC

This, according to sources, resulted in a series of meetings where Makwetu was asked to refrain from such actions.

☐ PAC insiders yesterday said Makwetu would certainly not take the decision to sack him as MP lying down. "It's going to infuriate him . . . and he is sure to defy the NWC's decision," said a source.

☐ Makwetu was reportedly visiting Kenya as part of a government delegation (of the Standing Committee on Land Affairs) when the decision to sack him from parliament – which could spell the end of his political career – was

☐ TO PAGE 2

FEW MILLIONAIRES ON PAPER

MPs' register lists rich and poor

CT 18/3/97 (B04A)

THE REGISTER of Members' Interests is a record of haves and have-nots in Parliament. SA Communist Party deputy leader Dr Blade Nzimande lists no assets beyond gifts received on a trip to Taiwan.

A COMPREHENSIVE list of interests of members of Parliament indicates that most do not have large personal financial holdings and precious few have been snatched up by business for high-paying jobs since being elected in 1994.

This was disclosed at the weekend in Parliamentary Whip, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative's publication, which paid the required R2 000 to see the Register of Members' Interests.

It showed that 83 of the 490 MPs and senators (now delegates to the National Council of Provinces) elected in April 1994 are no longer in Parliament.

Of the 83, six died, 13 have been appointed to head diplomatic missions and 12 have been offered better jobs in the private sector. The remainder have moved to parliamentary or government jobs at central or provincial level.

Most MPs, who earn about R200 000 a year before tax, appear not to have amassed large fortunes before or since being elected — although former tricameral MPs who made it into the new non-racial parliament have done better.

One of the most successful is former National Party and now Inkatha MP Mr Hennie Bekker, whose total share and loan value amounts to R900 000. His 50% share in a holiday home at Glenmore is estimated to be worth R150 000.

He also acknowledges a property consultancy fee of R2 700 a month, lists a plot at Plettenberg Bay valued at R600 000, a flat in Mouille Point and an interest in a property in Krugersdorp.

A small number of Inkatha MPs, including IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have small interests in Khulani Holdings, which is headed by former KwaZulu-Natal finance minister Mr Johnny Mhlungu.

The IFP leader also says he receives an undisclosed pension for serving as KwaZulu chief minister from 1970 to April 1994. He has two plots worth a shade over R30 000 in KwaSishwile.

The former leader of the opposition, Democratic Party MP Mr Colin Eglin, and former deputy justice minister Mrs Sheila Camerer have investment portfolios estimated to be worth R1 million.

Although private residential property is not required to be listed in the public register — but must be in a private register subject only to probing by a parliamentary ethics committee — former president Mr F W de Klerk lists a holiday home at Hermanus and timeshares in Sabie River Bungalows and Umhlanga Rocks.

ANC Women's League president Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela lists no assets, although she has a house in Orlando, Soweto.

President Nelson Mandela is a beneficiary of the NRM family trust which has two properties, one in Houghton and the other in Qunu. He says a large number of gifts are received for the presidency, but that he keeps few.

Democratic Party MP and health spokesman Mr Mike Ellis declares that he is a director of Cester Trading (Pty) Ltd which manufactures wood products, "especially coffins". He has a property in Kloof and another in Durban.

Housing Minister Ms Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele appears to have no assets and does not list a private residence. ANC Women's League president Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela lists no assets, although she has a house in Orlando, Soweto.

ANC MP and SA Communist Party member Mr Brian Bunting records a pension from the Russian news agency, Tass, "a standard" British old-age pension and 500 shares in Allied Lyons Domercq.

SACP deputy leader Dr Blade Nzimande lists no assets other than gifts, including a camera, a CD system and a suit, received during a trip to Taiwan in May 1996.

DP leader Mr Tony Leon has a nominal list of shares — 500 in Joel gold mine and 500 units in Guardbank unit trusts. He has a residential property in Orange Grove, Johannesburg, worth R300 000. He also has the use of a rugby box at Newlands provided by Abbey Holdings, a satellite dish, and a Nu-Metro VIP theatre card.

Transport Minister Mr Mac Maharaj lists a family residence in Hyde Park, Johannesburg, held in a family trust. Finance Minister Mr Trevor Manuel has shares in Norwich Holdings, which he says were worth R79 000 in October, and R5 000 worth of Old Mutual unit trusts.

Deputy Environment and Tourism Minister Mr Peter Mokaba is a director of Headlines Hair Salon in which he has an undisclosed number of shares. He also has a house and land.

The NP's Gauteng leader, Mr Roelf Meyer, has scores of quoted shares, but does not disclose how many, in Buffelsfontein Gold Mines, City Lodge Hotels, Coronation Holdings and others.

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils has properties in Johannesburg and Cape Town worth about R800 000. He notes he is considering renting his Cape home "to help" pay its bond.

IFP MP Ms Suzanne Vos lists properties worth a total of R590 000 in Sandton and Cape Town, and Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma lists a flat in Durban and a cellular telephone received from Paul Ekon.

Parliamentary Whip says the register and Code of Conduct for public office-bearers are "giant steps" towards government accountability. — Political Staff

Mandela sets up units to halt graft

Sowetan 14/3/97

(304A)

Willem Heath to lead investigation unit while retired judge DPC Kotze will head tribunal

By Joshua Raboroko and *Sapa*

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has abolished the Health Commission and appointed special investigation and tribunal units to root out corruption and graft in Government departments countrywide.

This is in line with the Special Investigating Units and Special Tribunals Act which was gazetted in November last year.

The proclamation was signed by Mandela on Wednesday and was to have been published in the *Government Gazette* today, Government officials said yesterday.

Mr Justice Willem Heath will head the special investigation unit while retired appeal court judge Mr Justice DPC Kotze will head the special tribunal.

This follows on the Heath Commission appointed by former Eastern Cape premier Raymond Mhlaba last year to investigate maladministration and malpractice in the province, including in the former Ciskei and Transkei.

Judge Heath said in January the investigations to date had saved the taxpayer R10 billion after malpractices were uncovered and stopped.

The Cabinet decided last year to extend the probe countrywide.

Meanwhile a senior official of Gauteng housing and land affairs has been suspended after allegations of fraud involving more than R2 million earmarked for the provincial low-cost housing programme.

MEC for housing and land affairs Mr Dan Mofokeng announced yesterday that he had suspended a senior official from duty after the discovery of suspicious financial transactions in a number of banking accounts amounting to more than R2 million.

The housing department received information that large amounts of money were being moved around a number of banking accounts of a particular and well-known official, whom *Sowetan* has been asked not to identify.

The suspension follows several reports that the cash-strapped provincial government had been subjected to a R20 million low-cost housing scam in the past months.

Mofokeng said the official was suspended after protracted investigations which culminated in the department seeking an urgent Johannesburg High Court order to freeze the official's banking accounts.

A charge has been laid with the John Vorster police in Johannesburg for the alleged fraudulent activities.

Afrikaner body 'must be formed'

(304A)

PRETORIA — A state-sponsored Afrikaner council should be set up to replace the Volkstaat Council if and when it dissolved, council member Prof Pikkie Robbertze said yesterday. BD 20/3/97

It appeared the Volkstaat Council might soon be disbanded as a statutory commission for the development and protection of the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities was being set up.

"The interim Afrikaner council should already be in place by that time," Robbertze said.

The council should consist of 25 members, of which seven should be nominated members of the Volkstaat Council.

The council should study all legislation and its possible effect on self-determination, and liaise with the Pan SA Language Board on discrimination against Afrikaans, he said. — Sapa.

Cabinet to follow code of conduct of MPs

David Greybe (304A)

BD 20/3/97

CAPE TOWN — Cabinet ministers are to be subject to the same code of conduct as ordinary MPs, instead of having their own rule of conduct as originally intended, President Nelson Mandela's office said yesterday.

However, it is understood that the director-general in the president's office, Jakes Gerwel, will soon look into whether the MPs' code is appropriate for ministers, who arguably need tougher rules because they carry more political and financial responsibility than individual MPs.

Until recently, ministers had their own code of conduct which was drawn up by Gerwel but never published. It was dropped when Parliament adopted a code for MPs in August last year.

Meanwhile, the acting registrar in the office of members' interests, parliamentary undersecretary Peter Lilienfeld, said it had been decided that the R5 charge for access to the public register of an MP's financial interests would be reduced to R1.

"There were a lot of complaints about the R5 fee," Lilienfeld said. One complainant was the Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa), which paid R2 000 to gain access to the registers of all 400 members of the National Assembly.

Lilienfeld said the original reason for the R5 fee was to discourage people from abusing access to the registers and to cover administration costs. To date he had received approximately 15 inquiries, mainly from the media, for access to the register.

The committee of members' interests had also decided to change the stipulation that every MP had to update the "gifts and hospitality" part of their register every two months as it was "simply impractical". Proposals to extend the period to once every six months would be presented to both houses for discussion and adoption.

'GIVE BACK OUR DEAD'

Khoi clans rally to secure return of 'Hottentot Venus'

CT 24/3/97 (304A)

THE DESCENDANTS of South Africa's Khoi feel they are a forgotten people and have called on the government for recognition. Staff Writer **MELANIE GOSLING** reports.

THE campaign to bring back the remains, from a French museum, of the "Hottentot Venus" Saartjie Baartman, has intensified and become a rallying point for Khoi descendants wanting to be recognised as South Africa's "First Nation".

In the same way that descendants of indigenous people in other parts of the world fought for First Nation status after being broken by colonialism and then marginalised by modern governments, so too are the descendants of the Khoi fighting for recognition in South Africa.

But while indigenous peoples like the American Indians, the Australian Aborigines and the Maoris of New Zealand have won First Nation recognition, the descendants of South Africa's Khoi feel they are a forgotten people.

Saartjie Baartman has become a symbol in their struggle for recognition.

On Human Rights Day on Friday, about 600 Khoi descendants gathered at the SA National Gallery to attend the forum, entitled "Free Saartjie Baartman! Give Back our Dead!".

"All the clans are here," remarked one delegate. There were Griquas, Namas and Rehoboth Basters. They came from Kokstad, Kimberley, Plettenberg Bay, Vredendal, the Richtersveld and even Namibia.

There were speeches, prayers, choirs. The theme from the speakers, and from the floor, was the same: return Saartjie Baartman to her descendants for burial, and recognise the Khoisan as the country's First Nation.

Paramount chief of the Griqua National Conference of SA, Mr Andrew Abraham Stockenström le Fleur II, told the packed hall: "We've been trampled to the bottom of South Africa. But now the downtrodden reed is rising up. If the dead bones of Saartjie Baartman can do this, how much more can we, the living, do?

"People speak of the white man, the black man and the coloured, but never of the Khoisan. We want to tell Mandela — we are here, and we always were here. We want recognition in this country."

Spokesman for the Rehoboth Basters, Mr D J "Oom Jap" Isaaks, told the meeting: "We don't want to negotiate getting her back any more. We've done with talking. Saartjie is our family and they must give her back so we can bury her properly.

Mr Simon Fredericks, chairman of the Nama Council in the Richtersveld, speaking in Nama through a translator, said: "Our ancestors were strandlopers who walked barefoot here in the Cape. We were chased away to the Orange River by the white man. Then the white government made us coloureds, like an illegitimate child.

"Saartjie Baartman was taken overseas so she could be exhibited, and died there in shame.

"We must fight to get her back. I ask the South African government and the French government that they hear our people. We want to be recognised as Namas. We want to tell Mandela: if we don't have our identity restored, how can we reclaim our land?"

Saartjie's poignant story has become well-known. After being persuaded in 1810 by a ship's surgeon, Alexander Dunlop, to accompany him to England — where, she was told, she could make a fortune by exhibiting herself — she was put on public display in London and Paris. She died in Paris in 1815 of an "inflammatory and eruptive sickness", having been abandoned to a "showman of wild animals".

Her skeleton, brain and genitals were exhibited in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris until recently.

The forum were unanimous that Saartjie should be buried "somewhere in Cape Town", where all her descendants could visit her grave. They signed a petition calling for her return, but rejected the idea of burying her on Robben Island.

The Bring Saartjie Baartman Back campaign has been running for over two years, but calls from the Khoi descendants to the South African and the French government to return her remains, seem to have fallen on deaf ears.

Mr Elmo Abrahams, who spoke for the Griqua Youth, said: "We are the last vestige of the Khoisan. We are still awaiting a response from President Mandela and his government to our memorandum, which was handed to him in December 1995. Does the government not share and respect our attempts to bring back our Khoisan dead?"



FIRST NATION: Over 600 Khoi descendants gathered in Cape Town on Human Rights Day to call for the return of the remains of the "Hottentot Venus", Saartjie Baartman, and for recognition by the government as being the First Nation. *PICTURE: MELANIE GOSLING*

South Africans' outlook on life slips to gloomy 13th on global list

By Melanie-Ann Feris

South Africans are losing hope – about everything – if a recent Gallup poll is anything to go by.

A survey among 3 500 people indicates that only 52% of our population feels that 1997 will be a better year. At the beginning of last year, however, 6% more people thought 1996 would be better than 1995.

But South Africans, it seems, are not the only gloomy bunch on the planet – even if our position on the global optimism charts slipped from 7th last year to 13th this year.

About 41% of 49 other countries where similar polls were conducted show an increase in optimism for the year ahead – a drop in the general optimism levels for the second year running.

Mari Harris, director of the Markinor research group which conducted the poll in November last year, said black South Africans were considerably more optimistic about 1997 than whites.

Harris said the decrease in optimism in South Africa, although relatively small, could probably be attributed to the high crime rate, the weakening rand and the increasing interest rate.

"If crime figures decrease, the rand stabilises and interest rates go down, we will probably see an increase in optimism by the end of 1997," Harris predicts.

Only 52% of population feels 1997 will be good

Poll results show that people in the Northern Province seem to be more optimistic about their future than any other province. They are followed by residents in Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal.

"The reason for the Western Cape's decline can probably be attributed to the province's different political outlook from the rest of the country – demonstrated in the local election in May, Pagad's emergence on the scene and the retrenching of teachers, which is most widespread in the Western Cape," said Harris.

Half of the black respondents believe the year ahead will be peaceful and more or less free of international disputes, while almost half of the white respondents believe that 1997 will be a troubled year with much international discord.

The poll shows that coloureds and Indians fall between the two, with coloureds significantly more optimistic than Indians.

Just over half of all females are certain of a peaceful year, while less than half of all males agree, says the poll.

"Yet again confidence has taken a dip from the previous year. This shows a marked decline in optimism from the time of the elections in 1994 and indicates that South Africans, especially whites, are questioning the general direction the country is taking regarding the crime rate, violence and strike action," Harris said.

On the downward trend in global optimism, Harris said: "People think the world faces a more troubled year internationally, although the chances of a world war in the next 10 years are thankfully thought to be low in all countries."

People in the Persian Gulf are the most optimistic in the world, and the least optimistic of all are Zimbabweans.

Star 26/3/97

(304A)

MINISTER'S BLUNDERS SUSPICIOUS — DP

Zuma tops list of unhealthy spenders

ET 27/3/97 (304A)

PARTIES called for state bookkeeping to be improved as excessive unauthorised expenditure was revealed by the Auditor-General.

THE health department is guilty of notching up over a third of the R151 million unauthorised expenditure by the state detailed in the Auditor-General's report on the 1995/6 financial year.

Expenditure of R58,098m "incurred during various financial years" is listed as unauthorised spending by the department, according to Mr Henri Kluever who presented his report to the National Assembly public accounts committee yesterday.

This included R30,13m for consultants paid to "fast-track" the department's clinic building programme without complying with state tender board directives.

Democratic Party health spokesman Mr Mike Ellis said the failure to comply with tender board directives was something "which has clearly become a regular habit". He referred to the failure to do so in the case of Sarafina 2.

"This report shows the result of rushing in with grand ideas but not planning and completely disregarding proper procedure."

He said it was also "of extreme concern" that the department failed to provide full and final information which "smacks conspiciously of a cover-up". To make one error was regrettable, to make two was worrying, "but this minister's litany of blunders begins to look extremely suspicious".

Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma's spokesman Mr Vincent Hlongwane said his ministry would not respond "at all" to the report.

Ellis said Kluever had mentioned that the clinics were "sometimes not accessible to the community" because there were no procedures for prioritising community needs and he questioned the performance of the consultants.

Other unauthorised expenditure on health department projects was R2,3m to the CSIR and R13,2m to 1 779 consultants to audit health facilities funded from RDP money; R345 908 to a firm to arrange a special Aids day; R1,1m to an organisation for marketing primary health care; R129 485 to a university in the 1993/4 financial year to establish a management information system and R361 892 to unofficial members who served on 13 different reconstruction committees since August 1994.

Kluever confirmed that R10,5m had been unauthorised expenditure on Sarafina 2. An audit of this project would be completed sometime this year.

He also noted that the unauthorised expenditure "may possibly be much higher" than the amount mentioned, as the "final reply had not yet been received".

Meanwhile parliamentary parties have called for immediate action to improve the government's financial management following a warning from Kluever of a deterioration in state bookkeeping.

DP spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said the Auditor-General's report was an indictment of the government's so-called right-sizing of the public service.

African National Congress spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said his organisation had noted the Auditor-General's report and would comment after it had studied it. — Own Correspondent

Shortcomings found in Parliament's finances

POLITICAL STAFF

THE office of the auditor-general says it has discovered shortcomings in the way Parliament manages its finances.

In his report, attorney-general Mr Henri Kluever said deficiencies in the internal checking and control measures were brought to the attention of the acting secretary to Parliament, Mr Chris Lucas.

Kluever said when his office conducted the 1995/6 audit, it discovered several mistakes and omissions on the appropriation account and supporting statements, resulting in them being sent back for adjustment.

The audit revealed a double payment of R253 323 for advertising costs.

An audit test of payments to members of technical committees indicated that several overpayments were made.

Nine cases of theft totalling R96 973, including the theft of a TV camera worth R77 000, were reported during the period under review.

He said the stock-taking of works of art and valuable items has once again not been carried out, stock-taking cards were not updated, and tenders and quotations were not obtained in all cases to buy equipment.

Equipment worth about R935 390 was bought, mainly from one supplier.

Altogether R104 567 was used to buy equipment without inviting quotations.

Kluever said R795 762 in motor vehicle loans, payable in July 1994, was still outstanding.

1 1997

SA-China relations 'will safeguard Hong Kong ties'

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — One of the reasons for establishing diplomatic relations with China and cutting ties with Taiwan was to protect SA's interests in Hong Kong, according to Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo.

Nzo, replying to a question from African National Congress MP Titus Mafolo in Parliament last week, said Hong Kong's return to China on July 1 meant official relations with China would put SA's continued presence in Hong Kong on a less vulnerable footing.

While SA was committed to preserving "lucrative" economic relations with Taiwan, economic relations with China and Hong Kong could not be ignored.

He said trade with China and Hong Kong had increased substantially in 1995/96.

The enormous potential for growth in China could not be ignored, Nzo said.

Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin said in reply to a separate question from Mafolo that imports from China and Hong Kong combined in 1996 totalled R5bn.

The value of exports to those countries totalled R3,5bn.

BD 1/4/97 (304A)

There was a negative trade balance of R1,5bn, Erwin said.

During the same period, imports from Taiwan added up to R4,1bn and exports totalled R3,2bn, leaving a negative trade balance of R933m.

"China's population of 1,2-billion is already indicative of the huge consumer market potential it has, and this is something we need to take advantage of.

"It is noted that once the Chinese buy a brand name product and if satisfied with product service and quality, they will continue to buy this product," Erwin said.

The type of foreign direct investment found in China was "sorely needed" in SA because it created jobs in areas where unemployment was rife.

China Iron & Steel Corporation's investment of $50m and $70m was a good example.

However, Erwin warned that the sheer size of the market in China meant it was not a market for small investors or traders, suggesting "that we have to become a competitive nation".

He said the absence of diplomatic relations between China and SA had adversely affected SA businesses operating in China.

SA Breweries, Sasol, Sappi, Denel, Iscor, Tongaat-Hulett, Grinaker, Landpak, Impro-Technologies, Nedbank and Absa were among the leading SA companies currently trading or investing in China.

"It is clear that there is not much to lose but a great potential to gain.

"It is in SA's long-term economic and political interests to strengthen relations with China," Erwin said.

China (BOLIA) logical choice – Nzo

Sowetan 1/4/97

Trade relations between South Africa and China hotting up after furore

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

AS THE FURORE AROUND South Africa's decision to choose the People's Republic of China (PRC) over Taiwan dies down, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo said it was only logical for the country to choose a country that has the third-largest economy in the world.

Already trade relations between the PRC and South Africa have begun in earnest.

During 1996 imports between South Africa and the PRC amounted to R5 billion. Exports between the two countries were worth R3,5 billion.

Trading figures with Taiwan were R4,1 billion imports and R3,2 billion exports.

Nzo said South Africa was one of the few countries that did not recognise the People's Republic of China diplomatically.

But he explained: "Through South Africa's political recognition of the PRC from 1998, South Africa could more effectively engage the PRC in dialogue to promote the interests of South Africans and the people of Southern Africa on the bilateral and multilateral stage.

"This would not only include free and open trade and investment, but also the maintenance of the international political order."

South Africa currently has an interim arrangement for diplomatic relations until the beginning of 1998.

International role

What could not be ignored in the choice over Taiwan, Nzo told Parliament last week, was that the PRC played an important role in international politics.

"In terms of future cooperation and the ability of organisations and groupings such as Unctad and the G77 to successfully meet the challenges of the globalisation of [illegible] and to achieve sustainable economic growth, the role of the PRC is [illegible]," Nzo said.

Trade and Industry Minister Mr Alec Erwin said the PRC is [illegible] opportunities in South Africa [illegible].

[illegible] investment [illegible] Investment Holdings Group [illegible] projects [illegible] the country. [illegible] projects are in the [illegible] province. [illegible] company, the China Iron and Steel Corporation will invest up to R450 million in Northern Province.

Commenting on PRC companies coming in to South Africa, Erwin said: "Not only does it create jobs in unemployed areas, but [illegible] contributes to building on the government's GEAR programme."

R5-m stolen from Govt

KZN transport department worst hit with R2,9-m missing

Sowetan 3/4/97 (30 A)

By Sipho Khumalo

MORE than R5 million was stolen from the KwaZulu-Natal administration last year alone, with the transport department being the main scene of corruption and theft.

Frauds swindled R2,9 million from this department.

This emerged from departmental reports submitted to chairman of the provincial portfolio committee on public accounts Mr Tino Volker.

The reports, which were submitted by the provincial director-general, Professor Otty Nxumalo, exclude those from the safety and security and health departments.

However, local government and housing lost R1,7 million, finance R872 000 and public works R55 769.

Fortunately the local government and housing department was able to stop the payment of R852 000 which had been stolen from it.

A report from the finance department, where R872 000 was stolen, says the person involved has been suspended.

However, the culprit, whose name has been withheld, has been suspended with full pay for 12 months now.

The report says the culprit's salary cannot be stopped until he is found guilty in a court of law.

All in all the reports paint a gloomy picture of general misconduct, sexual misconduct, misuse of state vehicles, insubordination, absconding and working under the influence of alcohol.

Outstanding cases

There are at least 367 outstanding disciplinary cases in all departments that submitted reports.

Local government and housing has the highest number with 118 cases. Transport has 99, education 82 and agriculture 17.

There are 67 outstanding fraud cases and 33 theft cases.

In its report, the education department says it has established a "senior committee" to monitor misconduct.

This committee will decide on policy and monitor cases in areas requiring attention.

"The department (education) has made submissions to the director-general, seeking his authority to utilise the services of retired magistrates and legal officers to speedily complete the outstanding case load," the education report says.

The reports were asked for by the public accounts committee in order to find ways of stamping out corruption, which is rife in the administration.

The reports are still to be studied by the committee, which is also expected to make recommendations to these departments.

Volker told *Sowetan* yesterday that the reports appeared to him to be incomplete.

"The first thing I'll do will be to refer the reports back to the director-general. I want him to indicate whether they represent complete information or not," he said.

Volker added that there was still an outstanding report on the staff audit which had been asked for by the committee from the administration.

SA elected to chair Non-Aligned Movement

Star 9/4/97

New Delhi – South Africa was yesterday elected chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement for next year, a spokesman said.

South Africa will take over the movement's leadership from Colombia and will host the next NAM summit, he said.

Immediately after the announcement, South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo told an NAM conference of 74 foreign ministers that his country was committed to nuclear disarmament.

"South Africa will see that the decisions taken by this organisation are implemented," Nzo said.

Nzo, invited to attend the 12th ministerial conference as a special guest, said South Africa would also support the NAM's campaign against conventional weapons, which "are the cause of most of the deaths and sufferings".

"It is our responsibility to rid our people of this menace," he said. – AFP.

3049

Police diary sealed ANC man's fate

(3049) ST 13/4/97

CYRIL MADLALA
Parliamentary Correspondent

SIFISO NKABINDE, the ANC deputy secretary in Kwazulu Natal expelled from the party this week for spying, was found out because of the investigation diary kept by his police handler, documents in the possession of the Sunday Times reveal.

The ANC has not yet released the vital documents that formed the basis of its action against Nkabinde — more than two years after it first became suspicious that he was a spy.

The diary shows that, months after the first democratic election in April 1994, the former security branch, renamed the crime intelligence service in the wake of former State President F W de Klerk's reforms, continued to monitor the former liberation organisations.

And, according to the diary, their source, SR 4 252 — who, the ANC says, is Nkabinde — provided political intelligence and information on criminal activities.

The handler's diary was found sealed under a folder marked "Uiters Geheim — Top Secret" at the service's Maritzburg offices.

On June 2 1994, he wrote: "Source SR 4 252 reports that the ANC headquarters JHBurg are very worried about Harry Gwala. The reason for this is that Harry Gwala does not except (sic) that the IFP have won in Natal. This could cause a split within the ANC in Natal. Harry Gwala believes that Cyril Ramaphosa had secret meetings with Chief Buthelezi so that Natal could belong to the king and the IFP."

At the time of the report relations within the ANC were strained over the 1994 election results. Elements in the provincial leadership wanted to challenge them in court and Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary general at the time, and the national executive intervened to halt the action.

The ANC says Nkabinde had seven handlers, with Inspector Shain Morris being the main one. This week Morris would not confirm or deny that SR 4 252 was in fact Nkabinde. Confronted with a copy of a handwritten affidavit, in which he described his informer as holding "a very sensitive and high-profile position", Morris refused to provide a specimen of his handwriting.

In the documents, Morris wrote that his informer had chosen to use the name Derrick Nene: "A statement under oath will be submitted to confirm that he is identical to Bhekumuzi Gabriel Nkabinde." These are Nkabinde's official names, as recorded in documents.

Captain Jerry Brookes, Morris's commander, also named as one of Nkabinde's handlers, would not confirm or deny the claims against the ANC leader.

"But is it a crime to have sources? Police cannot operate without sources . . . We were definitely not a third force . . . I am not a killer . . ." he said.

Nkabinde has dismissed the allegations as "laughable".

Support for expelled 'spy'

CYRIL MADLALA and CRAIG DOONAN

SIFISO NKABINDE drew about 5 000 supporters to a rally in Maritzburg yesterday.

And the chairmen of 13 ANC branches from the greater Maritzburg and East Griqualand regions warned that they would consider joining another party or forming their own if Nkabinde was not reinstated by May 30.

The apparent support for Nkabinde, leader of the ANC in Kwazulu Natal's Midlands region, could prove to be a thorn in the side of the ANC as its supporters there have been among its staunchest.

But provincial ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the party was not particularly worried about the number of supporters at the rally and claimed that many of them were IFP supporters, brought in to swell the crowd.

"We believe those who are genuine members of the ANC among those 13 chairmen will realise they have been unconsciously working for the enemy," Makhaye said.

The ANC is holding a series of meetings to brief its members on Nkabinde's expulsion in an apparent effort at damage control.

Nkabinde has repeatedly denied the claims that he was a spy, and dismissed the allegations as "laughable".

But on Saturday, Mac Maharaj, the Minister of Transport, said Nkabinde was trying to "rubbish" evidence against him which was contained in his security branch file.

"He knows he's not telling the truth," said Maharaj.

He said the decision to expel Nkabinde from the ANC was not based on a single document, but on a file which comprised reports Nkabinde had provided as an informer for the security branch.

Crisis developing over 1999 poll, Kriegler warns

BD 15/4/97 (304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Given the magnitude of the task of managing the 1999 elections, it was not alarmist to describe the delay in appointing an electoral commission as a "developing crisis", the electoral steering committee told Parliament yesterday.

July was the earliest likely date for appointing the electoral commission, and the commission was therefore unlikely to be fully functional before year-end, the electoral steering committee told the home affairs committee.

Electoral committee member and Constitutional Court judge Johann Kriegler warned that "time is running out rapidly" if SA wanted successful elections in 1999. "The price and the risk are rising day by day," he said. Kriegler was the chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) which managed the 1994 poll.

Parliament would have to pass a new electoral act and adopt other legislation before elections could be held.

The electoral steering committee was set up when it became obvious that the delay in establishing the electoral commission would negatively affect the administration of the 1999 poll.

The committee must oversee all electoral activities until the appointment of the commission, and do the groundwork for its establishment.

Kriegler said the IEC had called in October 1994 for the immediate establishment of an electoral commission to organise the 1999 poll, based on UN opinion that three years was necessary to organise an election. He believed the job could still be done, albeit "with a Heath Robinson lick and a prom[illegible]".

Fellow committee member Van Zyl Slabbert said: "At the risk of sounding alarmist, we have extremely little time to achieve what we have to, to have effective elections in 1999."

The steering committee estimated the cost of the elections over a five-year period at about R2,5bn, "composed primarily of the costs of compiling and maintaining a voters' roll system". The 1994 poll cost about R900m and the more recent local poll about R600m.

The report stated: "The estimated budget of R286m in a nonelection year is a realistic, if not conservative, estimate, and this amount will need to increase in the build-up to an election."

It had therefore submitted its estimated budget of R286 846 849 for 1997/98 to the state expenditure department. This included just under R30m for personnel expenditure, R32m for capital expenditure and R6m for contingencies remaining from the IEC and the Local Government Elections Task Group. The largest item — R125m — was earmarked for funding electoral activities at municipal level, "it being envisaged that this subsidy will fund the establishment of an elections office in each municipality, the registration of voters, the conducting of

Continued on Page 2

Poll

(304A) BD 15/4/97

Continued from Page 1

by-elections, the updating and maintenance of the voters' roll".

The steering committee said the funding of municipal electoral activities would need urgent attention once the electoral commission was set up. A decision on simultaneous national, provincial and local polls for 1999 "is still required. Although it may be possible to hold all these elections simultaneously in 1999, the differing lifespans of municipal and other legislatures will make this impossible thereafter." Steering committee member and IEC executive director Norman du Plessis estimated it could cost an extra R500m-R600m if elections were held on different days.

The steering committee envisaged that the delimitation of the wards could be completed by June next year, and that the registration of voters could take place between July next year and February 1999, in time for the elections in May, June or July 1999.

SA fighting to fund missions

BD 16/4/97 (304A)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Cabinet sliced R130m off an original request for capital projects for improvements to SA's foreign missions costed at R152m, foreign affairs director-general Rusty Evans said yesterday.

Addressing the parliamentary foreign affairs committee, Evans said he was drawing the committee's attention to the proposed projects because of the critical need for the buildings.

The most important projects included an official residence and chancery office in Berlin. This was needed as a result of the German government's decision to shift the country's capital from Bonn.

The German government required SA to move its embassy, which would cost about R95m, but SA had not set aside money for the move.

There was a critical problem in Harare, where the visa office was required to issue thousands of visas every day.

The office was required to move after complaints about congestion from other tenants in the building. A sum of R10m was needed for new offices.

Other capital projects put on hold were the construction of diplomatic buildings in New Delhi, Riyadh and Gaborone, while structural upgrading work was needed in Ottawa, Washington and Paris.

Evans presented detailed documentation on the budget of the foreign affairs department which showed that of the department's R1bn foreign relations budget, by far the largest part was spent on missions in Europe and the Americas.

In total, 54% of the budget was spent on these areas. Evans said the breakdown did not indicate SA priorities, but showed how expensive it was to maintain missions in Europe and the Americas.

Foreign Affairs reaffirms Taiwan ties

ART 16/4/97 (304A)

WILLIAM-MERVIN GUMEDE
POLITICAL STAFF

The Foreign Affairs Department has no intention of scaling down or closing its diplomatic mission in Taipei when South Africa switches ties from Taiwan to mainland China.

Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans said at a briefing of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday – ahead of the department's budget vote in Parliament next week – that South Africa would continue to have interaction at economic and trade level with Taiwan.

The decision to switch diplomatic recognition had not yet been put into effect. He said Foreign Affairs estimated it would spend R1,5-million on its mission in Beijing and R11,4-million on its Taipei mission.

South Africa had held talks with China over the future of its Hong Kong consulate and planned to open a Beijing embassy next year.

The aim was to allow the consulate to remain open in Hong Kong after the handover to China on July 1.

China regards Taiwan as a renegade province and has insisted that all foreign missions of countries that do not recognise Beijing as the government of all China, including Taiwan, should become non-governmental after July 1 when Britain ends its 150 years of Hong Kong rule.

Mr Evans predicted that South Africa's diplomatic mission in China would in the future be the country's biggest mission abroad.

Commenting on the overall budget of the department, he said this year's budget showed a 12 percent nominal increase, which translated into a four percent decrease in real terms if the rate of foreign exchange was taken into account.

He said the department had set aside about R5-million for employees who wanted to take severance packages.

The department had abolished 148 posts so far in its rationalisation and "downsizing" effort and planned to cut another 93.

He said the department had experienced severe problems incorporating the missions of the former TBVC states and the international affairs arms of the liberation movements.

South Africa's foreign affairs policy towards Asia and the Far East would have to be given a new priority to get in step with the jump in trade and economic relations with these parts of the world.

Chiefs finally to come in from the political cold

(304A)

CT 17/4/97

POLITICAL STAFF

A new era dawns tomorrow with the inauguration in Parliament of the House of Traditional Leaders

President Nelson Mandela, Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki, provincial premiers, with other key politicians and traditional leaders from the nine provinces, are expected to be clad in their traditional regalia to witness the historic moment, presided over by National Council of Provinces chairman Mr Patrick Lekota.

Chairman of Parliament's committee on traditional affairs Chief Pathekile Holomisa, included in the Eastern Cape delegation, is expected to be elected to head the House, requiring him to resign as an ANC MP.

Swazi King Mswati III, Lesotho's King Letsie and the chairperson of the house of chiefs in Botswana, along with diplomats, have been invited as special guests.

The inauguration of the House of Traditional leaders follows Parliament's approval of the Council of Traditional Leaders Bill. Its objective is to promote the role of traditional leaders in the democratic dispensation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party voted against the bill, citing problems with certain provisions. The IFP was opposed to the provision in the Bill through which MPs, MPLs, Cabinet Ministers and other elected people would be disqualified from being appointed to the council.

The party believed that the provisions were a ploy by the ANC to prevent the KwaZulu-Natal Council of Traditional Leaders from nominating its chairman, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to the national body.

The IFP also felt that insufficient consultation preceded the drafting of the bill. The allegations were rejected by Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa.



Chief for a Day: Patrick Lekota, in Sotho traditional garb, with members of the Council of Traditional Leaders outside Parliament

ROY WIGLEY

Landmark talks for traditional leaders

ARG 17/4/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Parliament's Old Assembly Chamber, once the inner sanctum of white privilege, tomorrow hosts the first meeting of the Council of Traditional Leaders.

The ceremony will be be attended either by President Mandela or his deputy Thabo Mbeki, the kings of Lesotho and Swaziland, as well as cabinet ministers, political leaders and ambassadors. Patrick Lekota, chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, will be in the chair to preside over the election of the council's chairperson.

The role of the Council of Traditional Leaders has been watered down since it was first envisaged in the interim constitution. It will no longer have the right to have all legislation referred to it.

However, the council will advise the Government on the role of traditional leaders and on customary law; may conduct its own investigations; advise the President at his request; and report to Parliament annually.

The council's lifespan will be five years from tomorrow. Each of the six provincial houses of traditional leaders nominate three members – who may not be members of Parliament or a provincial legislature – to serve on the council.

1990 Michael Milken Enterprises

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...day.

CHAKIS

Inquiry told of irregularities in Mpumalanga and that she did not qualify for a test there because she lives in Cape Town

Star 24/4/97

(304A)

SAPA
Nelspruit

The driver's licence issued to the parliamentary deputy speaker was invalid because Baleka Kgositsile did not live in Mpumalanga where she took the test.

The Moldenhauer Commission of Inquiry was told this yesterday, the first day of its investigation of the controversy about the licence she received last year.

Tobias Coetzee, the testing ground chief at Kabokweni in Mpumalanga, was giving evidence to the commission at the Nelspruit Magistrate's Court. He testified that a person residing in one part of the country could not obtain a driver's licence elsewhere.

Kgositsile took her driving test at Kabokweni, in Mpumalanga, while she had given her permanent address as Cape Town.

The commission, chaired by Heinrich Moldenhauer, was appointed to investigate licence malpractices in the province following media reports of a scam.

The Sunday Times reported that Kgositsile got her licence by irregular means but she denied the allegations and said she would welcome an inquiry.

The inquiry was told yesterday by Coetzee that Kgositsile's file did not have a copy of her driving or learner's test, but did contain a copy of her learner's licence, with a permanent address in Cape Town.

A week after the media reports, the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria had received the necessary documentation to process her licence – six months after the licence was approved in Delmas.



Controversy ... the Deputy Speaker, Baleka Kgositsile.

Coetzee testified that last October the head of licence issuing in Kabokweni, a Mr Bezuidenhout, told him that he had given the licensing stamp to his brother-in-law, the provincial traffic chief Henry Brazer.

Bezuidenhout also told Coetzee that Brazer and safety and security MEC Steve Mabona had ordered him to collect the papers necessary to issue a licence the previous evening.

"The following day he told me the stamp was back and he found a file which had documents saying that a licence had been issued to one Baleka Kgositsile," Coetzee testified yesterday.

He made copies which he took to the previous traffic chief for Nelspruit, a Mr van der Schyff, who recommended he take the matter up with a Mr Labuschagne.

"He (Labuschagne) visited my office and made photocopies of the document and said he would take the matter up with Mr Brazer."

Coetzee said a Mr Eybers then asked for the file for an investigation, saying Brazer and Mabona knew about the issuing and had told him the case was closed.

Coetzee – a traffic official for 22 years – said his own investigations into the fraudulent issuing of licences revealed that many of the licensees did not even know where Kabokweni was.

"One person said it was in Johannesburg while another said it was in the Northern Province."

He said a man named Jerry from Natal offered him money to approve six licences. "The man said he was a friend of Mr Brazer, who in turn confirmed that Jerry was reliable and said I should approve the licences.

"After further investigation I decided I couldn't process something I had not seen."

Coetzee said several books holding roadworthy certificates and blank licences had disappeared from Kabokweni testing centre.

After he took over in April last year the number of K52 driver's licences issued per month decreased dramatically.

Coetzee said in the past there was normally a 100% pass rate for those who wrote the driver's tests. Now it was only 15%.

Coetzee had heard that driving schools that previously abused the Kabokweni grounds to obtain licences were going to Bushbuckridge, now regarded as the "mecca" for obtaining illegal or fraudulent licences for a price.

State properties worth R1-bn come to light

Star 24/4/97 304A

By Jovial Rantao
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – The exercise to compile a register of fixed state assets has unearthed 12 000 government-owned properties – valued at close to a billion rands – which were not known, Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe announced in Parliament yesterday.

Opening a debate on his budget vote, Radebe said the discovery was made in the past six weeks.

He also revealed that the Government would spend R13-million to upgrade public buildings around the country to allow disabled people easier access. His department was also considering legislation "to ensure that the industry, in particular architects, makes provision in its plans and buildings for people with disabilities."

Radebe said community-based public-works programme projects, funded at a cost of R250-million, had created employment for about 148 000 people, and provided access roads, dams, community halls, creches, schools, clinics, irrigation works and gardens in rural communities. Continued government interest in and commitment to rural areas had to remain a priority because these areas were being neglected by the private sector, he added.

Radebe disclosed that an annual expenditure of between R275-million and R300-million for repairs and renovations would be required over a 10-year period in order to eliminate the maintenance backlog, estimated at R8,8-billion. His department had identified poor management and inflexible procedures as major contributors to the backlog.

The department had launched an affirmative procurement policy (APP) through which previously disadvantaged small, micro- and medium-size enterprises had been awarded state contracts, the minister said.

"Before we implemented APP, only some 15% of the department's work was given to previously disadvantaged contractors. To date, over the last six months, with the implementation of the new programme, some 38% of work contracted out by the department has gone to these contractors."

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■ An arrival hamper in each unit will include basics such as salads,

■ Mum and but

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■ Sixte Saturda

Deta tomorr week.

CHRIS ADLAM



Symbol of the old order ... the statue of the father of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, is removed from H F Verwoerd Hospital.

Cheers and jeers as bust of Verwoerd removed at hospital

Star 24/4/97 (30419)

Workers and patients toyi-toyi while rightwingers vow that they 'will rise again'

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

A large bust of assassinated prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd was hauled off its plinth at Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital yesterday and consigned to a government storeroom.

But about 50 rightwingers, who protested outside the hospital as the bust was taken away, vowed it would be replaced "one day when we are taken out of slavery".

The statue was removed because the hospital is to be officially renamed Pretoria Academic Hospital tomorrow, its third name in 70 years.

Originally known as the Pretoria General Hospital, it became H F Verwoerd Hospital in 1966 after Verwoerd was assassinated in Parliament the same year.

Flags of the old Transvaal, Orange Free State and Goshen (Vryburg) Boer republics, as well as the previous national flag, were waved by supporters of the Verwoerd Vryheidsoffensief (Verwoerd Freedom Offensive).

> **"Mandela is putting SA on a rubbish dump"**

At the same time, dozens of toyi-toying hospital workers and patients in dressing gowns – some wheeling portable intravenous drips – reviled Verwoerd's name as eight workmen – five white and three black – spent more than 90 minutes trying to remove the bust from its plinth.

When it was eventually hauled into the air at 1.33pm, the crowd went wild with excitement.

Former MP Daan van der Merwe told the crowd that taking down statues would not erase the memories of Verwoerd and said the ANC/SA Communist Party were making a mistake if they thought that would be the case.

"The Afrikaner will rise again in this land.

"The Afrikaner is a slave in his own land and is being plundered and robbed," said Van der Merwe, who was a contemporary of Verwoerd.

He added that Verwoerd had led the country into "a golden era" but that President Nelson Mandela was putting South Africa on a "rubbish dump".

He also attacked the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld as being anti-Afrikaner and anti-Verwoerd, and claimed it was being run by people he described as Afrikaner liberals.

The bust is the second Verwoerd memorial to be removed from a public area since the Government of National Unity took office in 1994. Last year a statue was taken down outside a provincial building in Bloemfontein.

Order given to stop probe into MP's licence

Star 25/4/97 (304A)

Driving test official says he received two death threats on the telephone after giving damaging evidence to inquiry

SAPA
Nelspruit

Senior government officials in Mpumalanga quashed an internal investigation into the suspected irregular issuing of a learner's and driver's licence to parliamentary Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, the Moldenhauer inquiry heard in Nelspruit yesterday.

And a key witness who testified before the commission on Wednesday reported that he received two death threats on the telephone yesterday. Principal traffic inspector Tobie Coetzee said two men had phoned him at home and warned him he had only three days left to live.

Evidence before the inquiry is that the learner's and driver's licences were issued to her on the same day last October by Mpumalanga's traffic director, Henry Brazer.

She was reported to have been tested for both in Delmas, but documents indicate the licences were issued 350km away in Kabokweni, once the homeland capital of KaNgwane.

The provincial safety and security MEC Steve Mabona and department head Stanley Soko have denied there was any internal investigation into allegations that the Mbete-Kgositsile licence was fake. They accused the media of "malicious distortion" in revealing the allegations.

The Kabokweni chief licensing inspector Frederick Bezuidenhout told the inquiry on Wednesday that Brazer, who was his brother-in-law, had borrowed the area stamp for licences on September 31 and returned it the next day.

And yesterday traffic inspector Roelf Smith testified that he had received complaints from a junior staff member about the irregular issuing of Mbete-Kgositsile's licence.

He had then launched an investigation and raided the Kabokweni test centre where he seized the master licence books. Three days after the raid, he was summoned to Soko's office and ordered to stop his investigation immediately and return the books because MEC Mabona had "personally ordered the issue of the licence" to the Deputy Speaker.

Smith added: "Brazer was also in Soko's office at the time and together they ordered me to stop my investigation. They gave me a letter saying the same.

"The statements saying there was no internal investigation are therefore incorrect."

Smith said he was aware of licences being sold illegally to the public through driving schools in the Mpumalanga towns of Carolina, Secunda and Belfast.

■ On Wednesday principal traffic inspector Tobie Coetzee had told the commission there were no official records for a learner's and driver's licence issued to Mbete-Kgositsile in October. Neither licence test had been conducted at the Kabokweni test centre as reflected on the licences.

"But these death threats ... centred on a misquote in two newspapers. They said I testified that licence fraud syndicates had moved away from Kabokweni to the Bushbuckridge area in Lebowa," added Coetzee.

Coetzee suspects that the men who phoned him were either traffic officials in Bushbuckridge or from driving schools in the area.

Licence cover-up

Sowetan 25/4/97 (304A)

SENIOR Mpumalanga government officials quashed an internal investigation into allegations that the issuing of a learner's and driver's licence to Parliament's Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile was irregular, the Moldenhauer inquiry was told yesterday.

Mpumalanga MEC for safety and security Mr Steve Mabona and department head Mr Stanley Soko have denied there was an internal investigation into allegations that Mbete-Kgositsile's licence was fake, accusing the media of "malicious distortion" in reporting otherwise.

The Moldenhauer Commission was appointed by Mpumalanga premier Mr Mathews Phosa last Friday after media revelations that there were no official records of Mbete-Kgositsile's learner's or driver's tests, or of the issuing of her driver's licence.

The learner's and driver's licences were issued to Mbete-Kgositsile in Mpumalanga on the same day in October last year.

They were issued by provincial traffic director Mr Henry Brazer after Mabona allegedly sent his official vehicle and bodyguards to collect Mbete-Kgositsile from Johannesburg.

Mbete-Kgositsile says she travelled to Delmas for her driver's test to "save time and not stand in queues".

Although she was reportedly tested for both licences on the same day in Delmas, all documentation for the licences indicate they were issued in Kabokweni, 350km away in the former homeland of KaNgwane.

Borrowed stamp

Kabokweni chief licensing inspector Mr Frederick Bezuidenhout on Wednesday told the commission that Brazer borrowed the official Kabokweni stamp on September 31 last year and returned it the next day.

Yesterday, Mpumalanga traffic inspector Mr Roelf Smith testified he had received complaints from a junior staff member, Mr John Muller, about the alleged irregular issuing of Mbete-Kgositsile's licence and had launched an investigation.

Smith said he raided the Kabokweni test centre and seized its master licence books as evidence. Three days after the raid he was summoned to Soko's office and told to immediately halt his investigation and return the books as "the MEC personally ordered the issue of the licence and therefore knows about this matter".

Smith added: "Brazer was in Soko's office at the time and together they ordered me to stop my investigation and to tell Muller to complain to them in future and not to anyone else."

One of the key witnesses in the commission said he had received two death threats by telephone yesterday afternoon.

Principal traffic inspector Mr Tobie Coetzee said two unidentified men phoned him and told him he had only three days left to live.

"They asked why I had testified that there were irregularities at licence test centres and told me that I would die by AK-47. They told me that my life was over," he said. – *Sapa.*

Sanco crippled by debt

M+G 25/4-1/5/97 (B04A)

Sanco is struggling to survive amid tensions between its socialist stalwarts and newborn capitalists, reports Mungo Soggot

ONE of the bulwarks of the anti-apartheid struggle, the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco), has virtually ground to a halt, crippled by debts of R1,5-million.

A report read by former Sanco secretary general Penrose Ntlonti at the organisation's conference earlier this month reveals Sanco's national office in Johannesburg is on the brink of collapse. Sanco insiders say the situation in many of its provincial offices is even worse.

"The national office is frequently visited by the sheriff of the court to attach property for debts, not honoured by some provinces and regions ..." the report says.

Despite the chaos at head office, many of the thousands of civic organisations across the country continue to function — but have barely any contact with the central organisation.

Sanco's problems follow the organisation's decision to abandon its socialist roots and venture into business. Two years ago Sanco, which spearheaded the opposition to the National Party's puppet local governments, set up an investment arm, Sanco Investment Holdings (SIH).

Headed by former Sanco president Moses Mayekiso, SIH embarked on a number of long-term investments which have yet to bear fruit.

The relationship between the two has become blurred, partly because SIH has taken over Sanco's membership drive. Sanco's business arm teamed up with a United States insurance company, American International Group (AIG), to charge members a R30-a-year fee in exchange for insurance, funeral benefits and discounts at various retailers.

The scheme, which has been hit by fraud and mismanagement, was masterminded by Michael Levinsohn, formerly a director at Venter Trailers, who left SIH under a cloud late last year.



Moses Mayekiso: Debt 'not that much'

PHOTOGRAPH: RUTH MOTAU

The membership drive was supposed to finance Sanco, which was so confident of its success that it stopped seeking donor funding. Its donations and grants dropped to R394 000 in the year to March 1997 from R1,6-million the previous financial year.

The secretary's report reveals that so far the membership drive has failed. "The membership drive was initiated as far back as January 1995. However, due to the unscrupulousness of the person entrusted with the membership drive, the person's services were terminated ... Since December 1996, we are pleased to announce that we have paid-up membership of approximately 5 000 members.

"The secretariat must report that AIG was on the verge of pulling out because of the slow membership drive, and because we failed to honour our promise of two million members ... However, we were able to convince them to continue their partnership, and they, therefore, continue to sponsor this conference."

The report says AIG was put off by a range of problems, including "dishonest agents" and "missing cash".

The report warns that "if the membership programme is based at AIG, then Sanco does not own its own membership drive".

Mayekiso insists that the membership drive will work and will rescue Sanco. He says SIH has never given cash to Sanco, but has lent it money, which appears to have kept the head office from collapsing. He says the R1,5-million debt was "not that much", considering how much money could be raised from its 1,2-million members.

Sanco president Mlungisi Hlongwane was unavailable for comment.

The report is frank about the problematic relationship between Sanco and its business arm: "There has been some tension between the national office and SIH, since the national office runs consistently on the brink of bankruptcy, whereas SIH is somewhat financially secure to ensure that it can afford the day-to-day running of its office. A mechanism must be sought to ensure that when the profits of SIH can be accessed, Sanco as we know it now, as a national organisation, still exists."

The tension between Sanco and SIH has led to rifts between several Sanco stalwarts. Mzwanele Mayekiso, Moses's brother, has been openly critical of the organisation's "opportunistic" commercialisation. The report slates him for "furthering his own interests" while setting up a research and development institute.

Apart from its financial troubles, the report admits Sanco is suffering from a "lack of focus". A survey of its departments is peppered with criticism. Its education department is described as having "never been functional, nor properly co-ordinated". It says its health department "has not been able to make the necessary inroads ..."

'I can't remember the details of driving test'

By Helen Grange

Nelspruit – National Assembly Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile said yesterday she could not remember doing basic driving exercises like a three-point turn and a handbrake stop during her disputed driver's licence test in October.

She was testifying at the Moldenhauer Commission of Inquiry into licensing irregularities in Mpumalanga which is sitting in Nelspruit.

The commission was appointed by Mpumalanga premier Mathews Phosa after media reports alleging there were no official records of Mbete-Kgositsile's learner's or driver's tests, or of the issuing of her driver's licence.

Mbete-Kgositsile was hazy on the test, saying she could not remember the details.



Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile.

"It was basically just driving around town, stopping at robots and moving through busy traffic to see if I could control the vehicle," she said.

"Did you do an emergency brake stop?" asked chairman Heinrich Moldenhauer. "I don't remember."

"And did you do a U-turn?" "I don't remember," she replied.

Neither could she could remember whether the testing official, provincial traffic director Henry Brazer, had been dressed in uniform or not.

Mbete-Kgositsile said she had been tested in a Volkswagen Jetta VR6 belonging to Safety and Security MEC Steve Mabona's bodyguards.

She denied earlier testimony by Delmas test centre officials who claimed she arrived in a white Mercedes-Benz.

Despite being booked off work after suffering a minor heart attack, Brazer reportedly drove almost 320km from Nelspruit to test Mbete-Kgositsile, after she was driven from Johannesburg to Delmas in Mabona's state vehicle by his bodyguards.

Last week, the commission heard that one week after the media reports alleging the licence was fraudulent, the Department of Home Affairs received the necessary documentation to process her licence - six months after she allegedly took the tests.

Mbete-Kgositsile claims she was tested in Delmas, but all the documentation indicates the licences were issued 350km away in Kabokweni in the former KaNgwane homeland.

She confirmed she had heard reports that three other MPs had been offered help to obtain licences in Mpumalanga.

The commission also heard yesterday from Kabokweni chief licensing inspector Frederik Bezuidenhout that he processed driver's licences for three of his relatives, despite the fact none of them lived in KaNgwane.

Star 1/5/97 (304A)

MP can't recall licence details

Beeld 1/6/97 (3049)

DEPUTY Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile told the Moldenhauer inquiry yesterday that she did not remember the details surrounding the issuing of a learner's and driver's licences last year.

She was issued with the licences after being tested by Mpumalanga traffic director Mr Henry Brazer in Delmas on October 1.

Despite being booked off work after suffering a minor heart attack, Brazer reportedly drove almost 320 kilometres from Nelspruit to test Kgositsile. She had been driven from Johannesburg to Delmas by safety and security MEC Steve Mabona's bodyguards as a "sign of respect".

Although she was apparently tested in Delmas, the temporary licence in her ID and other supporting documents are all on KaNgwane letterheads and stamped Kabokweni Test Centre.

Kabokweni is 350 kilometres from Delmas and still governed by the old KaNgwane Road Traffic Act, which prohibits people not resident there from being tested there.

Official documents, which should have been sent to the Ministry of Home Affairs in Pretoria two days after the licences were issued, were sent only seven months later, after Press reports.

Testifying before chief magistrate Mr Heinrich Moldenhauer in the Nelspruit Magistrate's Court, Kgositsile said the tests took about two hours. She could not remember whether Brazer was in uniform or not, whether she was required to perform an emergency stop or a U-turn or where exactly the practical driving test was done.

"I don't remember all the details but it was basically just driving around town, stopping at robots and moving through busy traffic to see if I could control the vehicle."

She said she had been tested orally for her learner's licence and Brazer filled in her answers.

Kgositsile said she had been tested in Mabona's bodyguard's Volkswagen Jetta VR6. She denied the testimony of Delmas test centre officials who said she arrived in a white Mercedes-Benz.

She also contested the statement of a Kabokweni test centre official that both the learner's and driver's licence issue books had been at his test centre and not in Delmas. "I signed the licence and that signature in the books you have is mine."

Dismissing the KaNgwane traffic legislation which stipulates that only residents may qualify for licences there, Kgositsile said the Constitution allowed citizens to be tested anywhere in the country.

She confirmed she had heard reports that three other parliamentarians had obtained licences in Mpumalanga, but told the inquiry she did not know who they were.

She said Brazer had appeared "very healthy" when he tested her and did not look like a man who recently suffered a heart attack. – *Sapa.*

MP can't recall licence details

Sowetan 1/5/97 (504A)

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In addition to 'delivering', government needs to make people actually feel that their lot is improving, writes **Steven Friedman**

BD 5/5/97

(304A)

A GOVERNMENT which is keen to show it can "deliver" could create, and run into, as many problems as one which sits on its hands.

Government's mid-term performance review published last week confirms what has been clear for some time: that it is determined to show that this will be a year of "delivery".

To show it is in earnest, it trots out a long list of figures — of houses to be subsidised, pupils to be fed, clinics to be built and money to be spent on fighting crime.

How can this possibly create a problem? Surely determination to deliver is a mark of a government which takes its electorate seriously — particularly if it is prepared to put numbers on its intentions, allowing us to measure whether it keeps its promises? Yes and no.

A government willing to set concrete delivery targets is a great deal better than one which seeks to drown public discontent in populist rhetoric (and Africa has not been short of the second type). Promising to build clinics and pay crime fighters is a distinct improvement on vague promises to "build the nation".

But there is also a danger that, in its concern to show us it is delivering quantity, the government may have forgotten, crucially, about quality. If the year ends with all the numerical targets met and citizens no happier with the quality of their lives, we will be little better off than we are now.

Two examples illustrate this in different ways:

□ The first is housing. Government claims of increased delivery are more than hot air — the number of dwellings produced by the housing subsidy scheme is increasing dramatically.

But there is also strong research evidence that people are usually less than thrilled with the dwellings they receive — and not because they are not fancy enough. Rather, there are complaints about poor quality (of brick and mortar houses), or of a failure to offer people homes which will improve the quality of their lives: some recipients say they felt more comfortable with their shacks.

The research also suggests that people are unhappy because of the emphasis on quick delivery, not despite it — in the haste to get the numbers up, shoddy products are being delivered and people are not being consulted about what they want within the limits of what can be afforded.

To be fair to the housing ministry, it is well aware of the problem, and says it is determined to do something about it: Housing Minister Sankie Mahanyele has urged a greater stress on quality and on encouraging "people's housing" in which people take responsibility for using the subsidy to meet their own housing needs.

But the example does show that a concern for improving the numbers — what researcher Mary Tomlinson calls "bean counting" — can produce big numbers, but dissatisfied citizens.

And the recent history of development in many parts of the world is littered with examples of ambitious programmes in which buildings or facilities were dumped on people who did not really want them and so did not bother to maintain them.

□ The second is crime. The safety and security ministry and the police are determined to convince us that crime is decreasing and last year produced a set of quarterly figures which claim to show this.

But many of the citizens at which this is aimed do not seem to be listening: the statistics have not allayed strong public perceptions that crime is getting worse. The perceptions may be right, since a drop in crime statistics does not necessarily mean that crime is decreasing.

Crime statistics only tell us how many crimes were reported — not how many were committed.

Specialists point out that, if the police become more efficient, the figures may rise since they will be informed of more crimes.

Police determination to show they are "delivering" can be misleading in any other way since it is producing an enthusiasm for impressive arrest figures.

What may really be happening, however, is that, in its eagerness to boost the figures, the force may, for example, be picking up scores of illegal immigrants (just as they once picked up pass offenders). Whatever your view of immigrants, arresting Mozambican vegetable hawkers does nothing to reduce crime.

The common thread in the examples is that determination to boost delivery figures can create only an illusion of progress.

It is easy to understand why this is happening. Government feels pressure, particularly with 1999 approaching, to show it is improving citizens' lives. The easiest way to do this is to concentrate on the numbers: they are a great deal easier to measure and report than whether people feel better.

But government's problem is that survey evidence suggests that it is precisely people's feelings about government — the quality — which is the cause of disenchantment.

On housing, people seem happier with choosing the way they want to spend their subsidy than with being a delivery statistic.

On crime, people seem happier with visible evidence that the police and government are trying than with figures. Many township dwellers do say they feel safer than before, but this has little to do with the figures and a great deal to do with the fact that they had no policing before 1994 and now have a little. It is not the numbers which impress them, but the sign that government is taking an interest in their problem.

More importantly, at least two surveys conducted by Idasa since 1994 suggest that lack of "delivery" is not the main reason for discontent. One survey found that voters — black and white — feel that this government is no less corrupt than the last one.

As this column has pointed out before, this does not necessarily mean it is more corrupt. But the fact that people feel it is — the quality again — is vital.

Government can tackle this not by increasing delivery figures but by seeking to regain people's trust — showing that it is acting against corruption not only in its strict sense (people fiddling the books), but in its wider one (politicians or regulatory bodies such as the Independent Broadcasting Authority voting themselves large perks, even if this is done in a perfectly legal way).

Another survey suggested that many people feel remote from government and Parliament: they feel MPs do not keep contact with them and listen to them. Again, this cannot be sorted out by delivery, but (as the president pointed out early this year) by MPs and officials taking voters seriously.

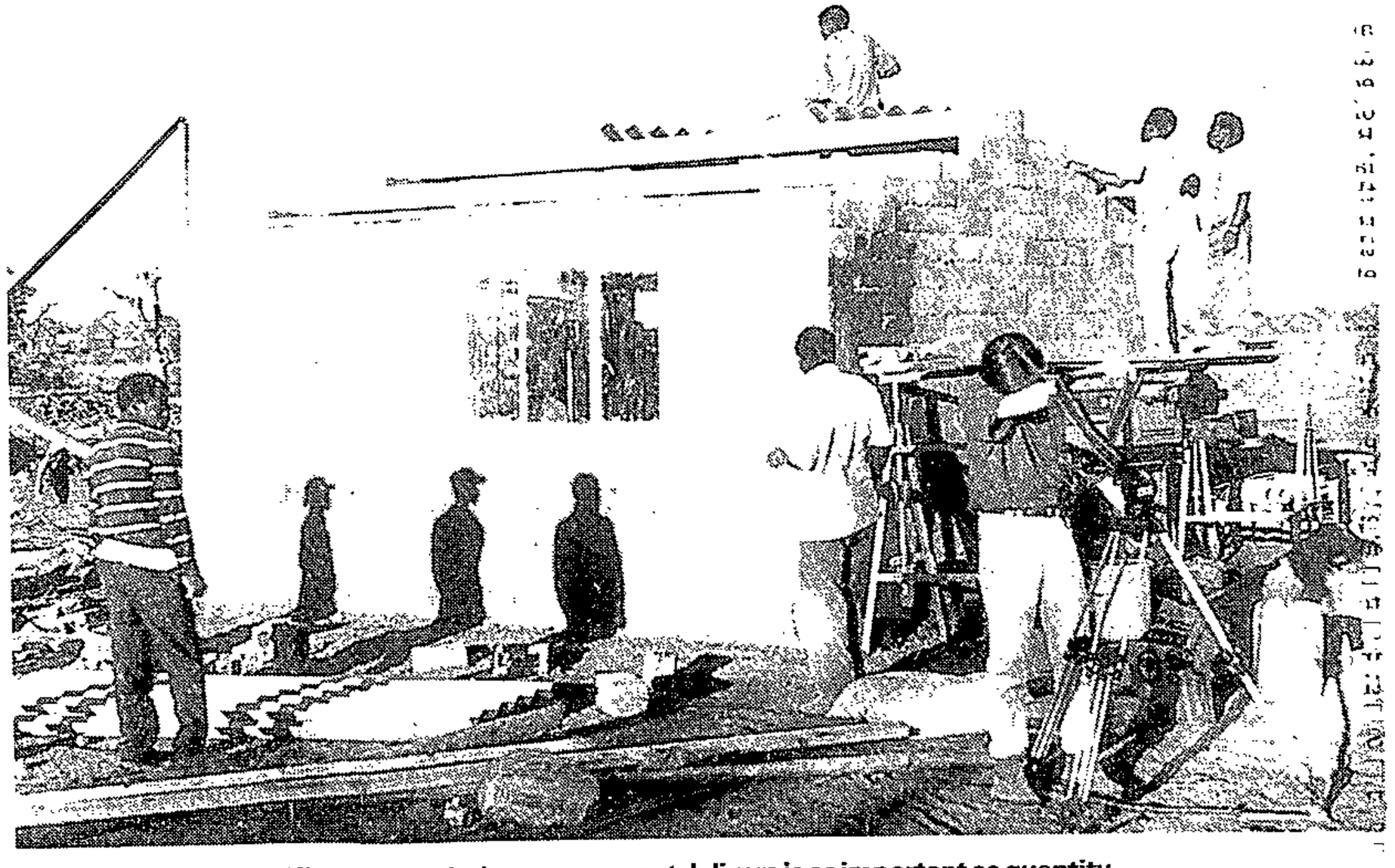
Indeed, cynics might argue that "delivery" is a handy substitute for listening: it is easier for politicians to make sure that buildings are built and subsidies handed out than to dirty their hands by mingling with the grass roots. Not only does a sole concern with delivery fail to address these worries — it may make it more likely that they are ignored. Winning public trust and listening to voters does not translate well into statistics. It also takes up time which could be spent delivering.

None of this means that government should give up on building clinics, subsidising housing and measuring crime.

But it does mean that these are a means, not an end. The prime goal of democratic government is to ensure that people feel more comfortable about their society — and that the quality of their lives, rather than the quantity of goods delivered, improves.

This needs an approach which is interested in more than merely getting the numbers up.

□ *Friedman is director of the Centre for Policy Studies.*



The quality of what government delivers is as important as quantity.

Midrand stakes claim as site of Parliament

(304A)

Lukanyo Mnyanda

BD 6/5/97

THE relocation of Parliament to Midrand would be a major catalyst to development in the area and was likely to see a doubling in property values while saving the state an estimated R200m it spent transporting MPs last year.

Midrand parliamentary bid chairman Jenny Lehr said yesterday that Midrand was likely to absorb most of the 20-million people expected to be resident in Gauteng within the next 15 years. It was already the third fastest growing city in the world and the relocation of Parliament would enable it to raise the finance needed to upgrade its infrastructure for future needs.

Lehr said Midrand was "way ahead" of other cities and approached development plans to meet the needs of an integrated postapartheid city. The upliftment of disadvantaged areas had seen it achieve the highest success rate in the Masakhane campaign. Ivory Park had bridged the 50% payment rate in April; the target had been May.

More than 76% of SA's population — including 370 MPs — lived within a 600km radius of Midrand, compared to just 15% for Cape Town. Government was estimated to have spent about R200m in parliamentarians' transport and living expenses last year — a sum to be saved by moving to Midrand. Pretoria — the other city in the running — was already saturated, she said.

Lehr said construction of new parliamentary buildings could cost up to R800m. The Danish government had already committed itself to funding the city's transit infrastructure needs should Midrand's bid succeed.

mping the queue

CT 6/5/97
(304-A)

Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile regrets

MPs SHOULD SET AN EXAMPLE — DEPUTY SPEAKER

SHE WOULD ABIDE by the finding of a commission of inquiry into the issuing of fraudulent drivers' licences, ANC MP Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile said yesterday.

DEPUTY Speaker Ms Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile has expressed her regret over "jumping the queue" to gain a driver's licence and having used her official position to do so. Mbete-Kgositsile ended two weeks of controversy when she acknowledged that she had obtained a licence by "fast-tracking" the procedures and said she accepted that MPs should "set an example".

She had acknowledged two weeks ago that "because of heavy work pressures" she had speeded up the process of getting a licence with the help of Mpumalanga Safety and Security MEC Mr Steve Mabona.

Yesterday she said that she would abide by the findings of the commission of inquiry set up by the Mpumalanga government into the alleged granting of fraudulent licences in the province. Allegedly 44 licences were issued illegally by the provincial traffic authorities.

Mbete-Kgositsile said she had applied for a licence through the Mpumalanga government "in good faith". "I completed all the normal tests, paid the fees and had my licence issued by the most senor official in the province's traffic department."

She insisted yesterday that as a "lay-person", she had complied "with everything required of me".

"The commission investigating the matter will establish whether there were any irregularities."

Mbete-Kgositsile appeared before the Moldenhauer Commission of Inquiry last week.

A source close to her said last night that while she was in Mpumalanga to attend "various functions" she had mentioned to Mabona her frustration at not having the time to take her test and he had offered to "organise it".

Her guards were also concerned that she should not be tested for her licence in a congested public place.

Sapa reports that traffic officials accused of issuing up to 300 fraudulent drivers' licences a day in the former homeland of KwaNdebele allegedly burnt down their R1,2-million test centre in 1995 to destroy evidence.

Four officials suspected of running the fake licence syndicate and of arson were suspended, but were later reinstated and promoted without disciplinary action being taken against them, the Moldenhauer commission was told in Nelspruit yesterday.

Mpumalanga chief traffic inspector Mr Francois Coombs, who headed an internal probe into the alleged syndicate, said he had interviewed the four officials on a Friday and was told he could get certain documents from the test centre's safe only on the Monday.

The test centre was burnt down over the weekend. All that was reported missing from the fireproof safe was a briefcase containing money and licence books.

Although he had handed over video recordings and "iron-clad" evidence about corruption by the four officials to provincial traffic director Mr Henry Brazer, one of the four was made an assistant director, Coombs said.

All four — two traffic officers and two administrative officials — had refused to return the money they allegedly had accepted as bribes.

Officials at a driving school, who were allegedly in cahoots with the officials and who were paid R700 by undercover investigators, threatened to "cause trouble" for investigators with Mabona. Both Brazer and Mabona featured prominently in testimony before the commission last week in Mbete-Kgositsile's case.

Although she had no personal or constituency links with Mpumalanga, she had received both licences on the same day, on October 1 last year, after Mabona sent his own car and bodyguards to fetch her from Johannesburg.

Brazer, who was booked off work at the time after a minor heart attack, drove 350km from Nelspruit to Delmas to test her — although he was not registered as a certified testing officer.

No records were kept of the test or the licences. The documentation produced later to prove that there had not been any irregularities contained numerous errors or procedural irregularities, Coombs said.

He told the commission yesterday he had been asked to investigate corruption charges against Brazer after allegations had been made that Brazer had bought a boat and diving equipment for personal use with departmental money.

Before starting his inquiry, Coombs was told it had been taken over by senior traffic inspector Mr Roelf Smith.

"I was then asked to investigate the issuing of up to 300 licences a day in Kabokweni, but Brazer first forced us to tell him the names of our undercover officers and decoys," said Coombs.

"We staked the place out for two days and then sent our decoys in. The moment they asked for licences and showed their ID books, the officers chased them away, saying they had been warned we were SA Police Services."

Coombs added that when he complained about the handling of the Kabokweni case, he was threatened with disciplinary action and being transferred away from his home in Middelburg.

He was also suspended without explanation in April 1996 from all investigative duties and intimidated by senior departmental officials.

Brazer is expected to testify tomorrow. — Political Staff



WILL COMPLY: Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile

SA foreign policy not clear

sowetan 2/5/97 (304A)

South African economic policy, like its foreign policy, lacks vision

By Bennie Bunsee

THE CRISIS IN ZAIRE shows the dilemmas of the Government's foreign policies. The truth is that we should be cheering Laurent Kabila and his army of rebel troops all the way to Kinshasa.

Mobutu Sese Seko is not only one of the vilest dictators that the African continent has produced, but also a traitor to all that the Zairean anti-colonial struggle against Belgian stood for.

He is also a traitor to the ideals of Patrice Lumumba, one of the great African revolutionaries of the 20th century.

It was Lumumba's total denunciation of Belgian colonialism on the eve of the independence of the then Congo, that led to the crude and heavy machinations of Belgian colonialists against the fledgling democratic anti-colonial state.

Failing to undermine Lumumba, they tried to secede the mineral-rich, Katanga region from the rest of the country under Moise Tshombe. This name today is synonymous with treachery in African political language.

The imperialists would not let Zaire go. As in Vietnam where the Americans stepped into the shoes of the French colonialists, the United States picked up the imperialist banner from the Belgians, and ultimately installed their henchman, Mobutu.

They supported him all the way as he installed his brutal dictatorship, and have kept him in power ever since.

Firepower

They made sure the guerrilla armies of Anton Gizenga and others would not succeed against him and supplied him with firepower.

The last thing our Government should be engaged in is to negotiate a peace deal in Zaire, although this seems unlikely as Kabila's army slowly captures the entire country with popular support.

While South Africa is undoubtedly the most powerful country on the African continent, set to dominate the Southern African Development Community, its foreign policies, as indicated by its role in Zaire, is in shambles.

As with its economic policies at home (virtually abandoning the Reconstruction and Development Programme and embracing the Growth, Employment and Redistribution programme), its foreign policy lacks vision or sense of direction.

In practical terms, the nearest it came to a sense of a more positive direction was its commitment to the Non-Aligned Movement, and its talk of South-South cooperation when President Nelson Mandela went to India.

South Africa is now due to host the next Non-Aligned Conference. This will bring the heads of most Third World states here, and will be a unique opportunity to both give ourselves and the rest of the Third World a sense of stable direction, based on Mandela's immense prestige abroad.

There is really nothing new to say. But it will be a case of pouring old wines into new bottles, of reinvigorating what has been said umpteen times in the great struggle of the Third World, to free itself from the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism, these days euphemistically referred to as "globalisation", and of putting an end to the historical socio-economic disparity between the rich North and the poor South.

International relations have three aspects: the relationship between government and government, state and state, and people and people. Each of these have their different dimensions.

It was Lenin who coined the phrase of peaceful co-existence during the days of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West to describe these relationships.

He felt that in the titanic struggle between communism and imperialism, the different aspects of foreign relations should continue with their own dimensions.

Diplomatic and state relations should continue, while on a governmental basis they could discuss their problems while allowing exchanges between the people of different sides to go on.

Our Government needs to be more principled about its foreign relations and pursue a similar course.

Instead it has chosen to be pragmatic, and very often unprincipled.

In the case of Taiwan it could not make up its mind, because the Taiwanese had supported it financially.

But it soon became apparent that this course would have been foolhardy and Mandela quickly ate his words. China is too much of a giant to ignore.

Quietly die away

We dithered over the Ken Saro-Wiwa events in Nigeria, and now it has been allowed to quietly die away.

We were not sure whether we should send troops to Rwanda.

We acted tough against puny Lesotho, wisely, although we are hesitant about anti-democratic measures in Swaziland.

In Angola at least we are trying to play a useful role.

The ANC has not allowed itself to be mesmerised by its former closeness to the MPLA.

But we capitulated on the Syrian arms deal, while Mandela was shouting very loudly that he would never allow any country to dictate to us.

We also paved the way for a way out for the Americans in last year's nuclear negotiations.

Now we appear to be responding to a call from the Americans to set up a peace-keeping force for Africa.

What is worrying here is not only the sheer, and often contradictory, pragmatism of our foreign policy, but also that we appear to be succumbing to the US.

The Americans would like a peace-keeping force, given the futility of its intervention in Somalia.

There is no threat to its global interests, while the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation quietly absorbs the former East European countries into its net.

We are so hungry for foreign investments that we will do anything to appease the Americans.

We need to have a more dynamic foreign policy that must not only consolidate our national sovereignty but also be in tune with the struggle of the rich against the poor.

This struggle still remains, and is the principle configuration of our world.

We should not allow talk about globalisation, privatisation and human rights to bamboozle us about that.

We can take a leaf from the courage of Cuba in standing up to the might of the US. In essence we should base ourselves on a kind of Leninist peaceful co-existence.

We can have bilateral relations with any country in terms of promoting our trade interests.

But we also need to be more principled and uphold the creation of a world based on social justice, democracy, peace and socially inspired policies in all fields of human endeavour.

While our line of march must initially begin with the consolidation of our national sovereignty, it should follow on to build and construct the political and economic unity of SADC in a world moving towards a regional trade bloc and pan-African unity.

Instead of allowing our country to be used as an investment platform for the rest of Africa, as Bill Gates has indicated, let us build our country to be an integral part of African political and economic strength.

We are irresistibly being called to relate to other African countries.

This is only natural, but we need to do so from an African perspective of the total liberation and unity of Africa.

Similarly in the great divide between the North and South, we must stand squarely with the former while not for a moment relenting against the dictators of the South, as in the case of the atrocities in East Timor.

Our starting point if we are to play any powerful international role is to build a powerful economy in our own country. And we certainly should not save dictators like Mobutu.

(The writer is a parliamentary adviser to the Pan Africanist Congress.)



Flashback ... Alexandre Tshibangu, a member of Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko's party, sings the national anthem at a rally in Kinshasa in support of Mobutu. PIC: AFP

Time to fight corruption – Mandela

(304A)

Sowetan 2/5/97

President urges South Africans to fight corruption within the Government

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday urged South Africans to fight corruption within the Government and public service.

Addressing an enthusiastic 20 000-strong May Day crowd at the Independence Stadium in Umtata, Mandela said the Eastern Cape was among the provinces being crippled by corruption.

"We have to help each other in fighting this disease which is threatening our country's economy. I don't care even if it is a premier, any corrupt government official must be arrested."

He commended the police for exposing and arresting officials who abused government resources and funds. "There are patriotic men and women in the police force. Good police officials who are dedicated to their job must be openly praised to encourage them. Not all police are corrupt," Mandela said.

Referring to the Labour Relations Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill, Mandela said the new laws and policies were helping to restore the dignity of workers.

"Many of you, we know, are unhappy with aspects of the Bill, but we are sure that there is consensus in the whole of the (tripartite) alliance that the major aspects of the Bill advance the interests of workers, especially the least organised and most vulnerable sectors of the workforce," he told the crowd.

In Johannesburg, Labour Minister Tito Mboweni told a Workers' Day rally that the Government would introduce legislation to get rid of apartheid in the workplace before the end of the year.

"We are going into major legislation on skills development to train workers to be effective at work," he said.

The Government planned to introduce a one to 1,5 percent levy on employers for training purposes. This would be collected nationally and put back into the various labour sectors. "If a sector does not train, they will be taxed. Those employers who do not want to train their workers must nevertheless pay."

Mboweni said older workers would remember the days when skin colour was a white person's qualification for the job.

"The results of these policies are still with us today. There is still a lot of racism at the workplace where inequality is maintained. It is not enough to get rid of apartheid in politics. We must get rid of apartheid at work," he said. – *Sapa*



IN THE HOT SEAT: Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, who has defended the special concessions made to her Picture: TERRY SHEAN

MP defends special treatment

(3044)

ST 4/5/97

JUSTIN ARENSTEIN

PARLIAMENTARY deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile this week defended the special treatment given to her by Mpumalanga's traffic authorities, saying it was sometimes in the common interest to make concessions to politicians so that "we can do the work we were elected to do".

She also insisted that her learner's and driver's licences, which were issued within hours of each other by the provincial traffic director Henry Brazer on October 1 last year, were legal.

The Moldenhauer commission of inquiry is investigating the licences after the Sunday Times revealed that there were no official records for the licence tests or the licences themselves and that both licences were issued contrary to the relevant traffic legislation.

Media reports also revealed that Brazer is not a registered or certified licence testing official.

In addition, he was on sick leave when he had driven 350km from Nelspruit to Delmas to personally test Mbete-Kgositsile as a "sign of respect".

Mbete-Kgositsile, who has no personal or constituency links to Mpumalanga, said at the time that she had tested for her licences in Delmas to save time as she was "a very busy person".

On Friday morning, she added that "the truth of the matter" was that politicians led abnormal lives and had to be given special assistance to make it easier for them to do their work.

Insisting that politicians were still normal human beings and that she was not abusing her position as a national leader, Mbete-Kgositsile said that she regularly queued to get service, "like normal people".

"I queue at the ATM, at the supermarket and at the doctor. I have even queued at the bank — it's very rare but I have done it.

"What I am illustrating is that there are situations where you must realise that there comes someone who does not have the time and that it is, in fact, in the common interest that we should make things easier for this person so they do not waste time they do not have," she said.

During testimony before the Moldenhauer commission earlier this week, Mbete-Kgositsile said she had not been "on duty" when the licence was issued.

She had been in Gauteng in October to visit her children while Parliament was in recess.

The commission will begin hearing additional testimony from senior traffic department officials tomorrow.

Traffic centre torched

(304A) (~~252~~)

Inquiry into MP's driving licence hears that 300 fake documents issued daily

Star 6/6/97

SAPA

Nuit

An inquiry into how a senior Member of Parliament passed a driving test in Mpumalanga has been told that up to 300 fraudulent licences were being issued each day in that part of the province when it was still the KwaNdebele homeland – and a test centre worth R1,2-million was burnt down in ... o destroy all evidence of the ...eory.

...uty Speaker Baleka ...gositsile insisted at the ... in Nelspruit last week th... licence was issued legally; bu... yesterday she apologised in Cap... wn for using her position to ju... queue.

M...malanga chief traffic inspect... Francois Coombs told the Moldenhauer Commission of Inquiry yesterday that he had personally led an internal investigation into the fraudulent syndicate and four officials suspected of running the scam were temporarily suspended.

But they were later reinstated and promoted without any disciplinary action taken. When he had interviewed the four on a Friday about the fraud, he was told he could only get a number of "master" licence books from the test centre safe on the next Monday.

However, when he returned on the Monday to collect the books, he found the centre had been burnt down over the weekend.

All that was reported missing from the centre's fire-proof safe was a briefcase containing money and the relevant books.

Police confirmed that the centre was destroyed in an act of arson.

Coombs said he passed "iron clad" evidence of fraud, including video recordings by the four officials, to the provincial traffic director, Henry Brazer.

Nevertheless one of the officials was made an assistant director shortly afterwards.

The unnamed official was at the time still suspended and under investigation.

All four officials – two traffic officers and two administrative officials – are also alleged to have refused to return the money which they had accepted as bribes.

Other corrupt officials who were paid R700 by Coombs' undercover investigators threatened to "cause trouble" for his team with provincial safety and security MEC Steve Mabona.

Brazer and Mabona featured prominently in testimony last week, when a number of traffic officials accused them of organising and issuing both a learner's and driver's licence irregularly to Mbete-Kgositsile.

She has no personal or constituency links to Mpumalanga, but she received both licences on the same day, last October 1.

Mabona had sent his official car and bodyguards to fetch her from Johannesburg to Delmas for the test.

It was testified that while Brazer was on sick leave at the time, he still the drove 350km from Nelspruit to Delmas to personally test Mbete-Kgositsile.

However, he was not registered as a certified testing officer.

10

destroy

evidence

Time to deliver to SA

(304A)

Now that the Labour Party rules Britain, it is time to see if relations with SA improve, or will it be vain promises? **Vernon Seymour** looks at the situation ...

Sowetan 7/5/97

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS are usually fine pieces of political theatre, with stirring lines, dramatic entrances and exits, and plenty of well-choreographed sword-play.

Apart from the European Union issues, there was little else in the British election campaign for foreign policy analysts to chew. It is therefore difficult to predict possible policy outcomes for South Africa.

However, although foreign affairs played a small role in the campaign leading up to last week's election, it is generally expected that with the victory of Tony Blair's Labour Party, diplomatic relations between South Africa and Britain will become more "user friendly".

The Labour Party has traditionally had closer ties with the African National Congress than the Conservative Party.

The experts predict that there will be no significant changes in Anglo-South Africa policy, but there are indications of some potential for directional changes given the new leadership that will be driving foreign policy at Westminster.

As the ANC did in 1994, the Labour Party's leadership campaigned on issues like extending opportunity, social justice and worker rights, and has promised to sign Europe's Social Chapter.

One may expect that even though they may be constrained by domestic concerns, the new Labour government may very well forge a closer working relationship with South Africa on international issues like international trade, the restructuring of the United Nations Security Council and even the question of human rights.

That Anglo-South African relations will be more than simply pomp is evident by the "Britain means business week" held in Cape Town recently. On its domestic front, there has been an increase of South African products in British supermarkets too.

Thus the advancement of commercial ties is likely to be strengthened.

Over the past two years, partnership deals between British and South African firms have increased dramatically.

South African exports to Britain have steadily increased since 1994. These developments are likely to accelerate under the new Labour government.

The appointment of Robin Cook as foreign secretary suggests that the new government is likely to drive a foreign policy resting more strongly on questions of human rights than the emphasis given to it by the Conservatives.

The number and significance of infringements of civil liberties have steadily increased under the Conservative government. The European Court of Human Rights has ruled against Britain 43 times since 1979 and 12 times in the past two years alone – the worst record of any country that has signed the European Convention on Human Rights.



Tony Blair ... relations between South Africa and Britain are expected to be more friendly after his party's election victory. PIC: AP

Promoting human rights

Successive Conservative governments have refused to incorporate the convention into domestic law. The Labour Party has always been more supportive in promoting human rights and democracy than the Conservatives.

Labour's manifesto promised to incorporate the European Convention into British law. Cook is already on record that the new government will call for tougher action against Nigeria, which was suspended from the Commonwealth two years ago.

He has indicated that he will push for oil sanctions in support of others, like South Africa, who are advocating stronger action against the intransigent military government of Nigeria.

The person in charge of the overseas development portfolio will also now be a member of the cabinet, which is a new development created by the Labour government.

Labour has pledged to increase the R14 billion allocated for development aid to 0,7 percent of their Gross Domestic Product as recommended by the United Nations.

Under the Conservative government, the budget slipped to 0,29 percent of the country's GDP.

Britain has already pledged R70 million in development aid to South Africa for this year, but that figure could increase under Labour.

The cabinet appointee to this portfolio, Claire Short, is a controversial and outspoken politician who brings a strong moral flavour to her post.

The most tangible benefit for South Africa could emerge from Labour's policies towards the European Union.

It is widely predicted that Britain's foreign policy is likely to focus primarily on its relations with the European Union.

This means that Britain will become more integrated with the rest of Europe.

The new government could become very helpful in easing the way for South Africa to penetrate European markets for its products.

Countries like France have been extremely protective in their approach to the proposed Trade and Development Agreement between the European Union and South Africa.

The European trade authorities have not been prepared to see a country like South Africa, that is rather more developed than the underdeveloped members of the Lomé Convention, gain duty-free access to the European market, where its products might conceivably compete with those of local products.

When Tony Blair visited this country recently, he pledged that he would become the "champion of South Africa" at the European Union.

Now will be a good time to deliver on that pledge.

(The writer is a senior researcher in international relations at the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, Cape Town.)

Nats pull back from

Axing Meyer's task force seen as 'signing party's

HUGH ROBERTON
POLITICAL EDITOR

The National Party has backed away from its biggest challenge since giving up power by disbanding the task force it set up to encourage a new political alignment – a decision described today as the party's "second Rubicon".

The announcement by party leader F W de Klerk, after crisis talks among provincial leaders yesterday, has brought the NP to the brink of disintegration and exposed deep rifts between reformists and a so-called "old guard".

The task force's consultant, Harald Pakendorf, warned today that the NP had signed its own death warrant as a national force.

"I don't think political parties disappear overnight, but I think this is the end of the effective National Party as of today," he told Sapa.

Mr Pakendorf said the move was a "kick in the teeth" for the party's leading reformist and Gauteng leader, Roelf Meyer, who headed the task force.

A clearly unhappy Mr Meyer said last night that he would "reconsider" his options, and the party's Gauteng Youth leader, Paulo Andrade, said he would review his position in the party.

Both have urged the NP to consider the option of disbanding as a prelude to the emergence of a new political movement – an option rejected this week by the party's federal executive after angry exchanges.

Last night Western Cape NP leader Hernus Kriel, one of Mr Meyer's strongest critics, welcomed Mr De Klerk's announcement.

RUBICON 2

Divided Nats pull back from Rubicon 2

ARG 8/5/97 (304A)

From page 1

can have little hope of further growth and virtually no hope of ever becoming a serious rival to the ANC-led alliance.

The latter course would leave the NP in the Western Cape as the only viable provincial division of the party, and there has been strong speculation – conceded by Mr Meyer and others in the party – that it could break away if the rest of the NP decided to disband.

One of the most important groupings Mr Meyer has held discussions with on a new alignment, the Democratic Party, spelled out the NP dilemma today.

DP leader Tony Leon said Mr De Klerk had delivered "a silver bullet to the heart of the NP" and added: "Before others can make common cause with enlightened democratic members of that party, the NP must disband."

Mr Leon said only the anti-defection clause in the new constitution preserved the NP's unity and it was certain the NP would disappear in its present form.

Another group Mr Meyer has negotiated with, the National Consultative Forum headed by former Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa, has also urged the NP to disband.

'death warrant'

ARG 8/5/97 (304A)

But there was seething discontent in NP ranks in Gauteng, where a meeting of the party's provincial head committee has been set for Saturday.

The NP now faces two no-win options.

It can continue as it has been since its loss of power to the African National Congress, or it can continue to seek a new political alignment.

If it pursues the new alignment option it will quickly face a hard and unchangeable fact which Mr Meyer and his supporters have encountered in their months of consultations – other political groups of consequence have insisted that the NP would have to disband before any new movement could emerge.

If it goes for the stay-as-we-are option, it

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De Klerk's about-face condemned by parties

Star 8/5/97 (3044)

By Ramotena Mabote, Jovial Rantao, Anso Thom and Hopewell Radebe

The ANC, the PAC and Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum (NCF) have all described the dissolution of Roelf Meyer's team by FW de Klerk as a sign of how the National Party is still trapped in the past.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said: "The NP remains a relic of the past. It represents that which is old, decaying and dying. Unless it breaks out of its old apartheid mould, it will disappear from the political face of South Africa. The most unfortunate thing seems to be that the more enlightened and progressive elements within the party are being sidelined by the conservative elements."

Calling De Klerk a dictator, PAC secretary-general Ngila Muendane said the NP was an autocratic organisation and that there did not seem to be any democracy within the party.

Holomisa said the decision was proof that De Klerk was not serious about forming a new party. Meyer should take a cue from his constituency and continue without De Klerk.

"Roelf Meyer would be welcome to join forces with the NCF as an individual, as opposed to talking about realignment. He must continue outside the NP ranks to join forces with those who are looking at a new political movement," Holomisa said.

Gauteng NP Youth leader Paulo Andrade, who has been linked to Meyer's movement and has recently himself called for the disbanding of the NP, said he would have to review his position, but would make a decision after meeting Meyer in Gauteng.

He added that he was surprised at De Klerk's decision, adding that the work of the task team was critical. Andrade said he was still fully committed to the new political movement breaking away from the racial divides of the current party political system.

Annelize van Wyk, leader of Meyer's task team in Gauteng and member of the provincial legislature, was reluctant to comment before meeting Meyer.

She said at first glance the decision was a pity and she still supported Meyer and his vision. "I will state it as such at a head council meeting," she said.

Professor Itumeleng Mosala, former Azanian People's Organisation president, said the NP would continue to go through a crisis if it continued as the (old) NP.

"The first step would be to dissolve the NP and consider the possibility of forming a new party on the basis of new thoughts," said Mosala.

NP Randburg councillor Kevin de Villiers said "Gauteng people" were very disappointed. "We support the Roelf Meyer initiatives very strongly, but I am convinced the new movement is going to happen anyway," he said.

Roelf Meyer told 'apologise or quit' by FW

Star 8/5/97 (BOLA)

Surprise dissolution of task force amounts to stunning victory for members who want NP to remain an 'Afrikaner-coloured' entity instead of becoming a multiracial movement

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Editor

Before yesterday's surprise dissolution of Roelf Meyer's task team to investigate the possibility of the formation of a new political movement, Meyer was given an ultimatum to apologise for his statements on the future of the party or resign, according to reliable sources.

Sources told The Star this morning that National Party leader F W de Klerk's shock decision to dissolve the task team he set up at the beginning of the year was aimed primarily at Meyer, whom he felt had been too controversial.

The sources said De Klerk had given Meyer an ultimatum to apologise or resign for saying early this week that the NP would have to disband to give way to a new political movement and that the party in the Western Cape might go it alone.

Members of Meyer's task team – which includes the NP Mpumalanga leader and National Council of Provinces member David Malatsi and former deputy justice minister Sheila Camerer – then argued that instead of Meyer being victimised alone, "the whole task team should be disbanded".

The Gauteng NP leader and former NP secretary-general last night said he will now reconsider his position and consult his supporters in Gauteng where he serves "in an elected capacity". The Gauteng leadership of the party was this morning scheduled to hold an emergency meeting to discuss the matter, but is understood to be solidly behind Meyer.

The move, which follows months of tensions within the NP over the direction and future of the party, amounts to a stunning victory by the Western Cape region which wants the NP to remain an Afrikaner-coloured majority party.

An ecstatic Western Cape NP leader and Premier Hernus Kriel last night said he backed De Klerk's decision. "It's a wise decision ... it's the way to go," he said.

Meyer has been on record in the past as calling for the disbanding of the NP and its replacement by a broader, more representative party which would have a better chance of taking on the dominant ANC in future elections.

This view has also recently been expressed by Gauteng NP Youth leader Paulo Andrade, who has been sharply rebuked by other NP Youth provincial leaders, with the tacit support of De Klerk and Kriel.

It is understood that Meyer's reported statement this week that the Western Cape could go it alone was the last stroke which forced De Klerk, whom sources last night said had fallen out with Meyer and lost confidence in him, to act. Meyer denied having made that statement, saying he had been misquoted.

De Klerk said he wanted to emphasise that his decision should not be interpreted to mean the NP was "retreating or deviating from its policy regarding the necessity of a new movement".

Political reaction was swift this morning, with most people contacted saying De Klerk was so compromised he would be ill-suited for the role Meyer played.

The dissolution of the task team now means that the NP will find it much more difficult to attract the black majority in a significant manner, and could shortly lead to a walkout from the party by Meyer's supporters.

▶ Parties condemn FW
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Shock as NP disbands task team

(304A)

Sowetan 8/5/97

ANC suspects that the conservative element in party is still in existence

IN A SHOCK MOVE, National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk announced last night that the NP task team headed by Mr Roelf Meyer to plan strategies for an opposition realignment had been disbanded with immediate effect.

He himself would accept direct responsibility for the continuation of the party's efforts to urgently promote its objective of a new movement on a new basis, he said.

De Klerk said the task team had been played off against the party, particularly from outside the NP, and had consequently become so controversial that tensions developed within the party.

"All of this led to increasing confusion among National Party supporters and is becoming a threat to that which we want to achieve in the best interests of our supporters and of a stronger multi-party democracy."

"My decision is motivated by the perception (of) the task team as a mechanism that stands outside the party."

He had the greatest appreciation for the preparatory work done by the team and the energy with which it tackled its task. He would also like to emphasise that this decision should not be interpreted as if the NP were retreating or deviating from its policy on the necessity for a new movement.

Until appointed to head the task team earlier this year, Meyer was NP secretary-general.

No new party

De Klerk announced no new party position for him last night and he will thus now be an ordinary MP.

Reacting to the announcement, African National Congress spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said it would be unfortunate if the perception were to develop that the verkrampte and conservative element in the NP was gaining momentum over the enlightened and progressive element.

"The NP is a relic of the past," he said. "It represents that which is old, decaying and dying. Unless it breaks out of the old apartheid mould, it will disappear from the political face of South Africa," Mamoepa said. – *Sapa.*

SA now major diplomatic power

(304A) ET 8/5/97

WHETHER or not the fragile ceasefire agreement in Zaire holds, South Africa's role in brokering it is the most important thing this country has done in the field of foreign relations since the ANC government came to power.

Stopping a rampant rebel army at the very gates of victory has always seemed a dubious proposition. Added to which is the questionable degree of control rebel leader Laurent Kabila has over that army.

It is, in any event, not his own army but a mishmash alliance of several ethnic militias opposed to Mobutu Sese Seko, together with Tutsi elements from the armies of Rwanda and Burundi and some MPLA men from Angola, where Mobutu is roundly hated for the help he has given Jonas Savimbi over the years.

But whatever the outcome, the negotiating effort has been thoroughly worthwhile from South Africa's point of view. It has achieved several important things.

Firstly, it has established South Africa in the eyes of the world as the major diplomatic power in sub-Saharan Africa.

That gives thrust to a foreign policy that has seemed nebulous until now and will pay dividends in terms of international diplomacy — even enhancing our chances of becoming a permanent member of the Security Council in a restructured United Nations.

Secondly, the initiative has snapped South Africa out of its long isolationism and awakened us — and especially our media — to the fact that we are, indeed, part of Africa and that Africa is vitally important to us. As Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has put it, we



cannot achieve success in South Africa if there is failure all around us.

No country can survive as an island of affluence in a sea of poverty and instability. The desperate multitudes will flock to the perceived land of hope, overwhelming its resources and stirring up social conflicts.

We have to become more involved with Africa, and developing a better understanding of its complexities is the starting point.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the diplomatic initiative has established lines of contact with critical players in a drama that is beginning to play itself out in Central Africa.

It is a drama that involves not only Zaire itself, a vast country the size of Western Europe, but all its neighbours, from Angola in the south-west to Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania in the east and the Sudan in the north. The whole of middle Africa, in fact.

A successful stabilisation of Zaire, setting it on the road to realising the enormous economic potential that caused Belgium's King Leopold II to salivate 112 years ago, could rejuvenate this central core of our continent.

Together with the revival taking place in Southern Africa, where the Zambian stock exchange has emerged as one of the world's premier emerging markets, this could give substance to Mbeki's prediction of an African economic renaissance.

Failure, on the other hand, could lead to Somali-type chaos across the whole of middle Africa, unleashing refugee flows the likes of which even this misery-racked continent has never seen before.

The line between success and failure is going to be finely drawn.

Kabila's military achievement in sweeping across 1 700km of tropical countryside with no transport vehicles in less than six months has been spectacular. But it has given a false impression of his political capabilities.

The fact is that ousting the universally loathed Mobutu is one thing; building a new Zaire is quite another. Simply to hold the country together and prevent two rival and undisciplined armies from running amok is going to be a herculean task. After which the problems of how to establish some degree of political cohesion, how to cleanse the country of its pervasive corruption after 32 years of Mobutu's kleptocratic rule, and how to build an efficient administrative structure from scratch, are even more daunting.

One thing is clear: Kabila can't do this alone. He may be the hero of the moment,



AIRPORT PATROL: Zairian soldiers on patrol at the airport while waiting for Mobutu Sese Seko to arrive from negotiations with Laurent Kabila in Pointe Noire, Congo. *PICTURE: AP*

but he does not have the political capacity to handle the reconstruction. His own political power base in eastern Zaire is small. There are other national figures, such as the long-time anti-Mobutu campaigner Etienne Tshisekedi, with larger constituencies. And there are 11 provincial leaders whose territories have become virtually autonomous — some have even established their own currencies — as the authority of the central government has eroded.

It is obvious, therefore, that Kabila will need to establish a government of national unity if Zaire is not to collapse into a new civil war of competing rivalries. This will not be an easy thing for a triumphant revolutionary leader to contemplate.

Here is where South Africa must use its newly established influence. Organising a round of ceasefire talks is one thing; helping with a difficult transition and the reconstruction of a shattered country is quite another. But that is what we must do.

To our great credit we have involved ourselves in this important issue. Now we must stay the course.

Boost for Pretoria's Parliament bid

ARG 9/5/97 (304A)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Pretoria – The Pretoria Capital Initiative (PCI) is to receive about R250 000 from the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council for its campaign to take Parliament from Cape Town.

The R244 750 grant was approved yesterday at the metro council's monthly meeting, which was told the PCI needed additional funds for actions planned in the current financial year.

The council was told in a report by its marketing and tourism directorate that according to indications from the Government, a decision on the seat of Parliament would be taken before the end of this year.

The report said it was vital that the campaign to relocate Parliament continued until a decision was made.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
May 9 to 15 1997

How Roelf broke the rules

MtG 9-15/5/97

(304A)

The dream of founding a new National Party is over for Roelf Meyer, courtesy of the NP's elite, reports **Marion Edmunds**

FALLEN National Party hero, Roelf Meyer, has been outmanoeuvred by his opponents. His more conservative colleagues, led by executive director Marthinus van Schalkwyk and Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel, pressured leader FW de Klerk to take sides against Meyer for the first time this week, to crush his attempts to build the foundations of a new party.

De Klerk moved swiftly to close down Meyer's show on Wednesday, disbanding his task team and taking over its mission for himself. This leaves Kriel, Van Schalkwyk and, to a lesser extent, KwaZulu-Natal's Danie Schutte the party's chief strategic players. Meyer stands, humiliated, on the brink of resigning.

Van Schalkwyk wants the party to be a "centre-right" party, which will attract alliance partners in the run-up to the coming elections by virtue of providing an alternative to the African National Congress. Kriel wants to perpetuate power in the Western Cape by attracting Afrikaans-speaking coloured and white voters.

Loose talk from Meyer's camp of "disbanding" the party and rash task-team discussions with ANC dissidents, threatened the future of the NP elite who believed Meyer's moves and stance were premature.

'Roelf moves around, he has a real vibe'

The elite's patience with Meyer snapped when the issue of disbanding emerged earlier this week.

"If we had all stuck to the rules it should not have happened," Kriel said. "The disbandment of the party was never an option. The task team was a procedural thing. It was meant to work with parties in Parliament; look forward towards an election alliance in 1999, like the sort in which the ANC participates; and from there to have established something new like a party."

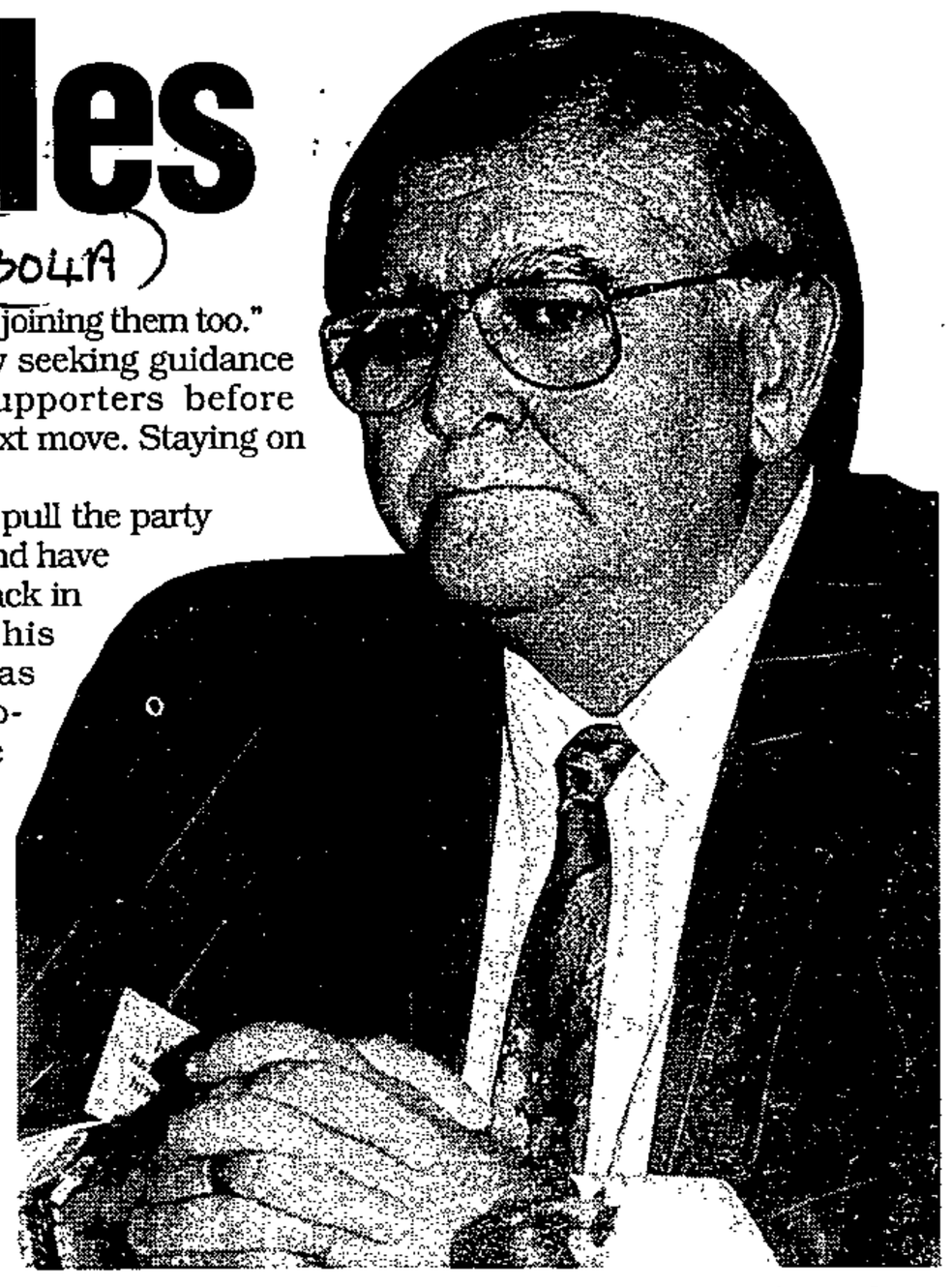
Such a party would only have been formed in the next century, but the elections would have played an important unifying role among alliance parties. Kriel also indicated that he was not happy with the calibre of people Meyer had approached.

Meyer's Gauteng support base was counting the cost of their hero's demise this week. "I do not think that De Klerk is the right person to form a new movement," said a Gauteng party stalwart. "He is so tainted by the truth commission and we know that black people do not like him, like they like Roelf.

"Roelf moves around, he has a real vibe with black people ... and now the whole idea of a new movement will be hijacked by the Democratic Party and I will probably be joining them too."

Meyer is now seeking guidance from such supporters before deciding his next move. Staying on looks unlikely.

His efforts to pull the party on to new ground have been thrown back in his face and his leadership has been compromised — since 1994 he has slid from star negotiator, to Cabinet minister, to secretary general, to task-team convenor and now to plain MP. Other members of the task team are likely to follow him out of the door.



Hernus Kriel: Put pressure on FW de Klerk to take action against Roelf Meyer

Sanco fights the post-liberation blues

Civic body fends off sheriff over debts, seeks news members

ALG 10/5/97 (304A) (292)

WILLIAM-MERVIN GUMEDE
POLITICAL STAFF

The South African National Civic Organisation – that great campaigner against apartheid – is battling to come to grips with post-liberation politics, while at the same time fending off the sheriff of the court over debts.

At its national conference two weeks ago, its newly-elected leadership stunned everybody, even its own rank-and-file members, when it publicly backed Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, declaring its "unashamed support" of him for the presidency of South Africa, when President Mandela steps down.

In an even bigger surprise, the civic body risked its autonomy by throwing its weight behind the African National Congress in the 1999 elections, forgetting how its support of the party in the local government elections two years ago almost split it down the middle.

Sandi Mgidlana, an influential member of Sanco's top brass, admitted that it would be difficult "to sell" the leadership's support of the ANC to individual branches.

Mr Mgidlana said, though, that the call to back the ANC did not give the party a blank cheque to do what it wanted without consulting Sanco.

"Though we gave our support to the ANC, we want the party to recognise our independence, and that we represent the community. Sanco still reserves the right to form strategic alliances with other organisations when we see fit," he said.

He said the civic body supported Mr Mbeki because it wanted to send a message to foreign investors and the international community that there would be stability after Mr Mandela stepped down.

While it has a large number of affiliates Sanco has lately not been clear about either the basis of the mandates it claims to receive, or who pay the bills.

Apart from its political woes, Sanco is also near bankruptcy. A report drawn up by Sanco's former general secretary, Penrose Ntlonti, and presented at the conference, said the organisation is crippled by debt and faces collapse. It owes more than R1,5-million.

Last year the civic body went commercial and traded-in its socialist vision for a free market one, causing a fierce internal struggle between its socialist stalwarts and newborn capitalists.

It set up an investment arm – Sanco Investment Holdings – and recalled its former president, Moses Mayekiso, from parliament to head it and generally bolster the organisation.

At the same time the civic launched an ambitious scheme to increase its membership from about 800 000 to two million within a year. The larger membership was supposed to fill the civic's financial coffers.

However, Mr Ntlonti's report revealed that the membership drive had so far failed miserably, and only 5 000 members since December 1996 had paid membership fees.

The failed membership drive caused Sanco to part ways with Michael Levinsohn, its former financial kingpin and chief of its business arm. Mr Levinsohn, formerly of Venter Trailers-fame, resigned soon after he was instrumental in Sanco signing a deal to form a joint venture with New York-based American International AIG to sell consumer insurance products to Sanco members.

Mr Ntlonti's report revealed that AIG almost pulled out of the deal because of the slow membership drive, and because "we failed to honour our promise of two million members".

Last year, Sanco scored a famous, but once-off victory, when its joint campaign with the Congress of South African Trade Unions forced commercial banks to reverse their decision to increase interest rates by one percent.

Sanco has its roots in the radical civics formed as part of the township resistance movement of the 1980s. These civics organised themselves around bread-and-butter issues such as rent and township services.

However, the democratic government has assumed many of the roles that used to be performed by civics.

Mzwanele Mayekiso, head of Sanco's newly-established think tank, the Development Research Institute, says Sanco has been pushed increasingly from the political centre-stage to the margins, both by its own doings and by political developments in the country.

The organisation is supposed to be one of the alliance partners of the ANC, but has rarely been mentioned with the same authority as the other alliance members, such as Cosatu and the South African Communist Party.

Not surprisingly, Sanco has been moaning that it is the step-child in the alliance.

Cheryl Carolus, acting general secretary of the ANC, said in a report on the party after three years in government that being in government had placed new strains on relations between the ANC, Cosatu, SACP and especially Sanco.

Only weeks after the ANC surged to power on the wave of civic, trade union and communist support, it had its first fallout with Sanco, when the organisation was excluded from the low-cost housing agreement, dubbed the "record of understanding", forged between the government and the major banks.

Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele this week apologised that Sanco's omission from the 1994 record of understanding had been an "political oversight" on the part of her predecessor, Joe Slovo.

Equally Sanco was ignored when the government launched the Masakhane campaign to encourage residents to pay for municipal services.

In spite of this lack of consultation with the civic, the ANC still urged civics to play a role in persuading residents to pay up.

The civic had initially opposed the Masakhane campaign, suggesting that the government improve its delivery of basic services before it could expect Sanco supporters to pay. Sanco has since, as part of its new image, changed its stance.

Although the feeling in Sanco was that it should have received more in return for throwing its weight behind the ANC in the 1994 elections, the organisation again chose to back the ANC in the local government elections.

Many members opposed this, arguing the Sanco should put forward its own candidates instead.

In the event, some Sanco affiliated civics rejected the official Sanco line and in the run-up to the election fielded their own candidates in direct opposition to the ANC.

When the government drew up its new economic policy, the Growth Redistribution and Employment Strategy (Gear), last year and declared it non-negotiable, Sanco was again spurned.

Mzwanele Mayekiso said Sanco backed the ANC in 1994 because the party promised to implement the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Now that the RDP is shelved for Gear, Sanco should be more forceful in reminding the government of its mandate.

Sipho Maseko, a political scientist at the University of the Western Cape, believes that Sanco should become independent rather than continue to function as an appendage of a political party.

"Sanco has been brought into the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance through the back door because of its own low profile after the unbanning of the liberation movements," Mr Maseko says.

He believes the civic movement has gained nothing by sending its members to parliament or being co-opted into government.

Instead it is in danger of losing its important role as watchdog of its members (constituency's) interest.

The NP and the Man in the Middle

Meyer put down, but now what?

By CHIARA CARTER

ROELF MEYER'S dramatic fall from grace in the National Party spells the kiss of death for NP hopes of renewal but, ironically, might pave the way for the much talked about realignment of opposition groups.

Meyer, with former Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa, was the face of the country's negotiated settlement and consequently one of the few NP leaders with credibility among black voters.

But this week, for the second time, Meyer was axed from a high-profile position in the NP after conflict over which route to follow to reach a new political alignment.

Meyer was removed from the position of secretary-general and sent off to spearhead a task team exploring options for a new political movement.

Now the task team is dead – killed by rising tension in the party over Meyer's proposal that the NP disband by year's end.

Meyer's quest for black votes soon stumbled, brought short by the NP's "polecat" status among black voters.

Bluntly, the NP as a party cannot overcome a credibility gap which impedes the reformulation of opposition groups into a broad-based centrist grouping.

But Meyer moved too far and too fast for his NP leaders.

His suggestion that the party disband by the year's end failed to win support from provincial leaders during a stormy federal council meeting earlier this week.

The tension increased after Meyer suggested in an interview with a daily newspaper that Western Cape premier Hernus Kriel "might leave" the NP.

Meanwhile, in the Eastern Cape, Meyer's ally, Manie Schoeman, clashed with "hardliner" Tertius De Klerk had to seize control to save the party from spliting.

De Klerk's bombshell announcement emphasised that the NP had not dumped the notion of a new political movement but was intent on maintaining its own identity.

He said the NP wanted to keep its identity as a party; which might decide to form electoral pacts with other groups or even join a yet to be formed umbrella organisation.

A centrist UDF, so to speak!

In a fine turn of phrase, DP leader Tony Leon said the announcement was "a silver bullet" fired at the heart of the NP.

"In one move he has destroyed the NP's only game plan to help create a new political movement in South Africa," Leon said.

Although Meyer said he had to consult with colleagues in Gauteng before making an announcement about his future, there is little doubt that he will quit.

He apparently intends approaching the ANC about the anti-defection clause which prevents MPs crossing the floor.

Whether Meyer, who is leader of the NP in Gauteng, will take the Gauteng region with him remains to be seen but at the very least he will have the support of youth members and a few senior reformists.

Where he will go remains open to question, but the wooing has begun, with Bantu Holomisa beckoning and the DP extending its arms.

Even if the party survives the present crisis, it faces the prospect of a steady decline, without black support.

Even Kriel in the NP stronghold of the Western Cape knows that while in the short term the NP will maintain its support among whites and coloureds, the long term options are stark.

With Meyer gone, it is hard to see how the drive for a new political movement will succeed.

☐ Meanwhile, damaging TRC revelations, together with the NP's ongoing inability to live up to its declared aim of being an "opposition



SO WHERE TO? . . . Roelf Meyer's vision of dismantling the NP to form a new broad-based political movement

Meyer's vision is just to hard to swallow...

(304A) CP 11/5/97

IT'S THANKS to black people that the NP is falling apart, says PEET KRUGER, political correspondent of *Beeld*.

BLACK South Africans can take the blame – or the credit – for plunging the National Party into its biggest crisis this week since it split with the Andries Treurnicht Conservatives in 1981.

"Oh no, whitey, don't blame us!" you may well say.

But it's true. Ka Nnete. Ruri.

The threatening split in the NP is due to one factor only: how the Nats should – or should not, according to some of them – come to terms with their black neighbours.

The NP has been divided on this ever since reality forced it to free Nelson Mandela and engage the ANC and other parties in negotiations in 1990.

The fault lines in the party have shifted over time according to the issues of the moment, but the underlying tensions have been the same.

It runs through everything the Nats have done in the last seven years. But it goes back even further.

Up to 1990 white South Africans were divided on whether to give blacks their rightful place in the country.

In 1990 the Nat government realised it could not sustain the apartheid illusion any longer. For a short two years it believed it could dictate the pace of the changes in society and politics.

The Nats hoped it would be possible to outsmart the ANC at the negotiations and still end up with the trump cards.

Roelf Meyer, whose demotion from chairman of the NP's task team for a new movement sparked this week's crisis, was the man who realised in 1992 that the Nats had no option but to settle for full democracy without any white veto or revolving presidency.

Meyer (and De Klerk who bought his argument at the time) are still blamed by many for this "surrender".

The same internal fight was replayed like an old video during the negotiations for the final Constitution.

That was the last time Meyer won the fight in the NP by the skin of his teeth.

The very day on which the Nats grudgingly agreed to the new Constitution, Meyer lost for the first time when the Nats decided to leave the Government of National Unity.

That was the signal that the tide in the NP had turned – and Meyer has lost all the important internal battles since then.

De Klerk had obviously tired of leaning on his left leg . . .

When De Klerk opted out of the GNU, he and his middle group in the NP switched sides. Since supporting Meyer at the time of the negotiations, De Klerk had obviously tired of leaning on his left leg.

He shifted his weight to the right.

When they were finally out of power, the Nats realised that they would have to do something to attract meaningful support from black South Africans if they were not to be relegated to permanent opposition status.

As the only Nat politician who is thought to have a semblance of credibility among black voters, Meyer was dispatched to fly out of the Nat ark to see if he could return with a promising leaf from Soweto.

He returned from his countless meetings in shebeens and black boardrooms with the realisation that with its racist image, the NP had no chance of attracting support from blacks, even

though he found some discontent wi
the ANC.

Many of the people he spoke to to
him that they would either prefer
further their cause in the ANC or
it alone, but they could hardly be se
to be getting in bed with the NP.

Meyer tried to convince the NP th
they should at least recognise this
publicly stating their resolve to disba
the party if they received meaning
support from various black groups li
that of Bantu Holomisa.

In Meyer's reasoning, this was esse
tial to establish credibility for a rou
of talks with black groups.

That proved too much for the Na
to swallow. They feared losing the
white support base without picking
the hoped-for black support.

After all, who dares to predict th
black voters will trust Meyer and t
Nats – even if they are to adopt a n
guise – sufficiently to switch their al
giance from the ANC?

When Meyer persisted, De Kle
fired him and his task group – killi
off all hope they still had of changi
their image.

The reigning view in the NP now
that they should try to establish cord
relations between themselves and t
Inkatha Freedom Party in an effort
overcome the white–black political
vide.

This could take the form of an el
toral alliance – if Inkatha agrees.

Some Nats see this as the basis
an ethnic alliance of whites, coloure
Indians and traditionalist Zulus agai
the ANC.

Rather than having to fight colo
blind issues to the perceived detrime
of its white supporters in order to
tract black voters in a new moveme
they hope that such an ethnic allia
would allow them to still fight issu
on Afrikaans and white schools a
consolidate their power base among
nority groups.

The truth is, even though they set
to "break the racial mould of politic
they now believe this is not possi
without resorting to ethnicity and
nority rights as the building blocks.

ROELF MEYER is standing in the way of the formation of a new opposition

Meyer says Hernus Kriel is standing in the way of a new opposition

RAY HARTLEY and
CAROL PATON

THE National Party's Roelf Meyer has defiantly told F W de Klerk he will press ahead with plans to form a new opposition movement, despite the NP leader's decision to shut down his transformation team.

This week De Klerk backed the party's Western Cape conservatives, whose leader, Hernus Kriel, said Meyer had acted outside his mandate by suggesting the NP should dissolve to shake up opposition politics.

But in an interview with the Sunday Times, Meyer hit back, saying the NP was standing in the way of a new opposition movement.

"The time has come to make a move and restructure this thing to come out with a non-racial party. A start has to be made at this point and I remain committed to that.

"There are huge opportunities and one should be led by them and not be led by fear," he said.

De Klerk won the backing of eight provincial leaders for his move to close down Meyer's unit. However, Meyer still has the backing of the Gauteng region, of which he is chairman.

A titanic behind-the-scenes battle is under way between the two leaders to win support for their respective positions ahead of a meeting of the party's Gauteng head council and provincial caucus on Saturday.

Meyer's backers include heavyweights Sheila Camerer, Sam de Beer and John Mavuso.

De Klerk already has the support of the Johannesburg North chairman, Martinus van Schalkwyk, and of Pretoria chairman Fanus Schoeman, and is to try to win the backing of the NP's leader in the Gauteng legislature, Olaus van Zyl, at a meeting today.

Meyer said he would announce his plans for his political future at Saturday's meeting, but, after a week in which he and De Klerk damaged their relationship beyond repair, his only option appears to be to leave the party.

This weekend Meyer said he would find it difficult to continue in the NP. "Although I have a clear sense in my mind, I need to further consult about that," he said.

Addressing the NP's North West congress in Rustenburg yesterday, De Klerk called on Meyer not to quit, saying they agreed on the need for a new opposition movement. "He is a talented man. Should he choose a way of furthering the aims which the NP stands for outside the party then my door will always be open."

Meyer said De Klerk had chosen "the safer option, in his view" of keeping the NP alive in its present form while searching for the new movement.

He said this was a mistake. "We have come to the conclusion that the NP can't in its current format grow in the townships. We were basically killed for that message."

He has meanwhile requested a meeting with Democratic Party leader Tony Leon , who said at the party's Gauteng provincial congress: "Roelf Meyer found out that nobody was prepared to do business with the NP but the message he delivered was so unpalatable, they shot the messenger."

● See Page 4

The cop who stopped the rot

Officer's dedication provides evidence for commission probing licence scam

ST 11/5/97 (304A)

JUSTIN ARENSTEIN

WHAT started as a small favour to make life a little easier for an important friend has exposed widespread corruption, intimidation and victimisation in Mpumalanga's law enforcement agencies.

The Moldenhauer Commission, established three weeks ago, has heard that special licences for friends, family and paying clients is a multimillion-rand business in the province.

The commission was set up following a Sunday Times report about alleged irregularities in two licences issued to Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, the deputy Speaker of Parliament.

The scam was so prevalent, the commission heard, that officers who feared the extent of their activities would be discovered by investigators had torched their R1,2-million test centre in Kwamhlanga two years ago to destroy licence records.

The ploy threw almost everyone off their track except a tenacious junior officer, John Muller, whose personal probe, often on his own time, forms the basis of the commission.

Muller found out that a licence had been secretly issued to one Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile of Cape Town, and that the matter was considered so confidential that there were no official records.

He told the commission this week: "I had no idea who this person was until, one day, while I was sitting in my car listening to the radio, I heard her name.

"I knew that the information had been covered up once, so I immediately went to the press."

Safety and security MEC Steve Mabona suspended Muller, accusing him of being a racist counter-revolutionary who could not accept that black women had the right to drive.

Muller's stubbornness has cost him his state-issue car, his salary and possibly his house, after his superiors stopped his housing subsidy.

Mabona, a former Kwandebele minister, remains adamant that there was nothing special or irregular about the arrangements he made for Mbete-Kgositsile.

According to testimony and documentary proof before the commission, Mabona ordered his traffic chief, Henry Brazer, to arrange for Mbete-Kgositsile to be tested for both her learner's and driver's licences "with all the necessary respect".



MORAL PATROL: John Muller, who found that a licence had been secretly issued to a top MP Picture: SHARON HAMMOND

personal bodyguards to fetch her from Johannesburg and escort her to Delmas for the test.

Brazer apparently held Mbete-Kgositsile in such high esteem that he had got out of his sick bed after a minor heart attack, phoned his brother-in-law, chief traffic inspector Frederick Bezuidenhout, and ordered him to fetch all the necessary forms [illegible]tamps from the Kabokweni out informing the manager.

Then, on October 1, he had driven almost 350km from Nelspruit to Delmas and personally tested her for the licences.

Brazer had decided to give her an oral learner's licence test, usually reserved for illiterate or similarly impaired applicants.

After she had done "extremely well" in it, he had taken her out into Delmas in a state-issue Jetta



DRIVING MISS BALEKA: Mbete-Kgositsile, the deputy Speaker of Parliament who is at the centre of a row over the driver's licence she was issued last year, with her bodyguard and driver, Sergeant Elroy Oostendorp, in Cape Town this week

He had omitted to inform her than he was not registered as a certified testing officer, and that she was not legally entitled to be issued a driver's licence on Kabokweni licence certificates if she did not live in the region.

Mbete-Kgositsile, in turn, could not recall vital parts of the practical test she allegedly took. She insisted before the commission that she had not been required to execute a three-point turn or an emergency handbrake stop. Transport department officials say her driver's licence test was therefore incomplete.

Mbete-Kgositsile also could not remember how she had got from Cape Town to Johannesburg just before the test.

But she insisted she had done nothing wrong and had followed all the procedures that "a normal applicant would".

However, she failed to explain why she had travelled to Delmas to do her licence, despite having no personal or constituency ties with Mpumalanga.

Three days later, she released a statement in which she said she regretted perceptions that she had used her influence to "jump the queue".

She also lashed out at newspapers that had interpreted her statement as an apology.

Brazer was scheduled to testify before the commission twice this week, but was unable to shake off a second stress-related heart ailment. He had to book himself into hospital just hours before he was due to testify.

Hospital staff said he appeared to have been suffering from stress-related heart problems, but seemed fine.

Brazer, who is still in hospital, has issued strict instructions that neither the name of his doctor nor any comment about his condition be released.

He was not the only senior official who booked himself off this week with stress-related ailments just before he was due to testify. Both Mabona and his deputy, advocate Stanley Soko, booked themselves into Gauteng clinics near their homes. Their doctors pronounced them too ill to answer the allegations before them until late this week.

Soko has been asked to appear before the commission after internal investigators accused him of quashing their probe into Mbete-Kgositsile's licences just 16 days after they were issued.

Earlier testimony from frus-

trated traffic inspectors l
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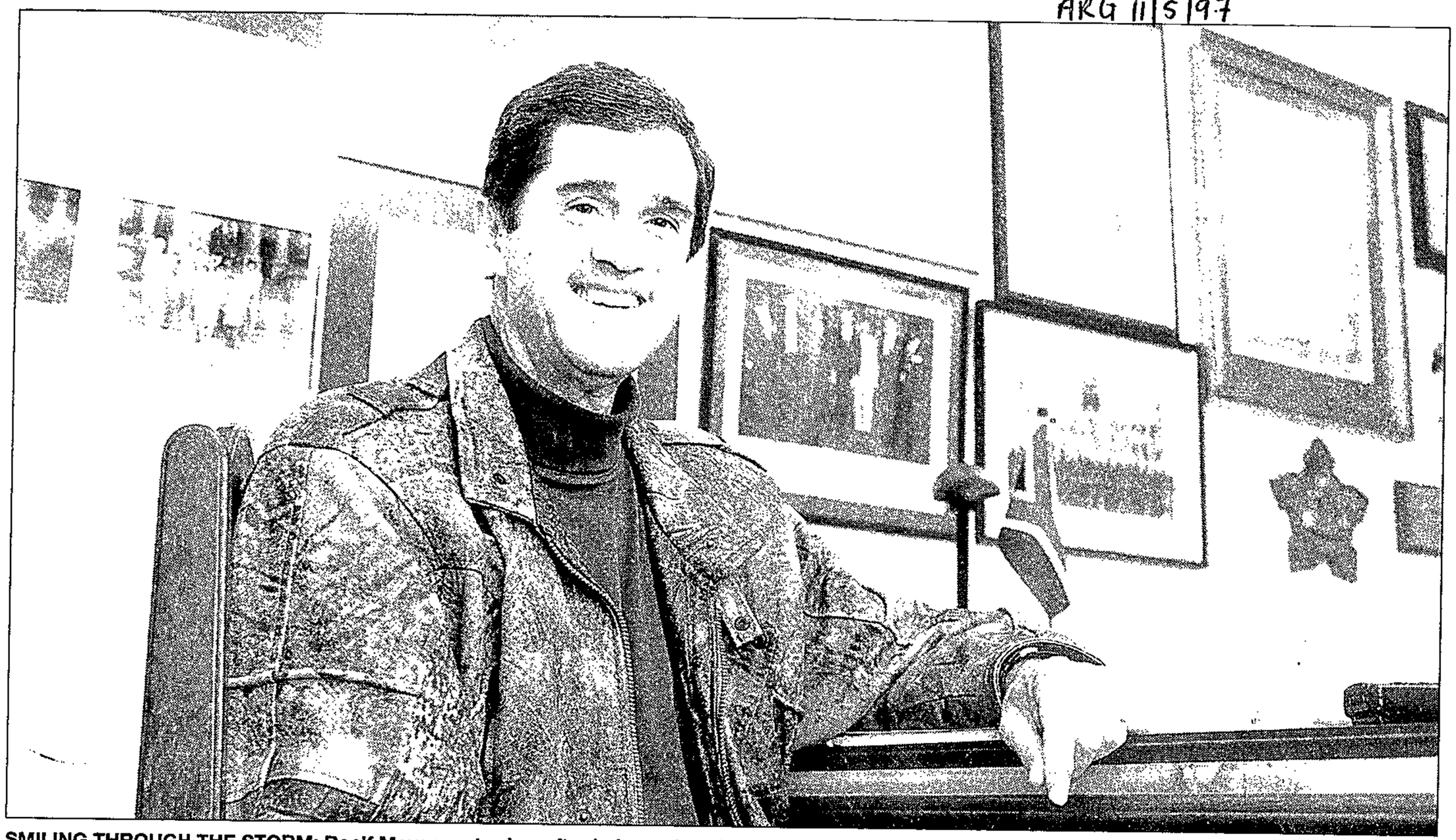
How Hernus ruined Roelf's party

(304A)

FW De Klerk sides with the Nat old guard and puts a stop to Meyer's date with the future

ARG 11/5/97

RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent



SMILING THROUGH THE STORM: Roelf Meyer yesterday, after being reduced to the status of an ordinary MP this week **Picture: JON HRUSA**

IT ALL started on Monday when Roelf Meyer got to clause 2(c) of his report to the National Party federal executive on the progress made in the search for a new opposition movement.

Seated around Meyer at the meeting in Cape Town were his colleagues on the task team established to investigate transforming opposition politics, Sheila Camerer, David Malatsi and Sam de Beer.

Also at the meeting were NP leader F W de Klerk and the men who had begun to take a dim view of Meyer's reform initiative, Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel and the party's rising star, Martinus van Schalkwyk, as well as the NP's provincial chairmen.

In February, De Klerk had asked Van Schalkwyk to head a second task team with equal status to Meyer's to investigate "building and consolidating the NP".

In so doing, he had set the two men on a collision course — one seeking transformation, the other an entrenchment of the status quo.

The smash came on Monday.

Meyer read the words of clause 2(c), which, in essence, called for parties to disband in order to provoke a shake-up in opposition politics that would lead to a new opposition movement.

It was a conclusion Meyer had been moving inexorably closer to as he realised just how politically damaged the NP was in the eyes of the black South Africans it needed to attract to stay alive in politics.

To Van Schalkwyk it was like a red rag to a bull.

He led Meyer's opponents with a harsh critique of the proposal and the meeting once more saw the NP firmly divided over the concept of a new movement.

Van Schalkwyk's argument was that it would be politically foolish to abandon the NP's existing structures in the hope of establishing a new party that might never materialise.

For some time Van Schalkwyk had been suspicious of Meyer's claim to have achieved some sort of breakthrough among black South Africans. In the meeting, he is said to have questioned the stature of the leaders Meyer had begun to woo, men like expelled ANC firebrand Bantu Holomisa and former homeland despot Lucas Mangope.

It was up to De Klerk to do what he had done so many times in the past two years — find some way of uniting the NP's fractured leadership.

A compromise was sought and Camerer was asked to redraft 2(c) in more acceptable language. The revised clause said the party would retain its identity while a new movement was created and would only then consider forming a new political party.

Throughout the meeting, Kriel was critical, but left the heavy spadework to Van Schalkwyk.

As leader of the NP in the Western Cape, Kriel had also been on a steady collision course with Meyer. For Kriel, the most important priority was the winning of the 1999 election with the white and coloured majority he had achieved in 1994.

The idea of dissolving the party in search of a new identity before the next election threw up the spectre of defeat. As he was to say later in the week: "In politics, timing is everything. I don't think the time is right for a new political party."

But, on Monday, he was still taking a pragmatic view and supporting the vague nod to party reform in the compromise formulation of 2(c), which the meeting adopted unanimously.

After the meeting, De Klerk issued an innocuous statement, once again projecting party unity.

Then, on Tuesday morning, the long postponed public collision between Meyer and Kriel finally happened.

In an article in the Cape Times newspaper, Meyer was quoted as suggesting Kriel could leave the NP and go it alone in the Western Cape. His exact words were: "Personally, I wouldn't exclude that option."

Meyer was to later claim his views had been misrepresented by the newspaper. But, whether or not this was the case, the quote had the effect of unleashing the wrath of De Klerk and Kriel.

De Klerk called Meyer into his office in the parliamentary complex in Cape Town. In what has been described as "a lengthy and tense" meeting, an angry De Klerk demanded that Meyer publicly retract the statement and apologise.

Meyer said he had been misrepresented and refused to back down. The meeting ended inconclusively.

Afterwards De Klerk's frustration at what he believed was a major disciplinary lapse began to harden. He spoke to his provincial leaders, winning their support for his next step: the closing down of Meyer's task team — a move which would effectively demote Meyer to the status of an ordinary MP.

De Klerk received a strong endorsement from Kriel; Kwazulu Natal's Danie Schutte, an old foe of Meyer's, gave his backing; and, one by one, the other provincial leaders came to ally themselves with the decision.

By the time Meyer entered De Klerk's office on meeting early, did not say a thing to De Klerk.

Surprised at how quickly his plans had come to an end, Meyer retreated to his corner office.

He called the DP's Tony Leon and arranged a meeting with MP Douglas Gibson. A second call was made to Holomisa to confirm a meeting for Thursday night in Pretoria. At both meetings he said he intended continuing his search for political realignment, but made no commitment to leaving the NP.

Among the first to state their support for him on Thursday was the NP's forum of Johannesburg councillors. By Friday afternoon, the messages of support jammed the switchboard of his Pretoria office.

Inside, his tie and jacket thrown over a chair, Meyer began the proce[illegible]

Cape bid to keep parliament boosted

ARGT 14/5/97 (304A)

CITY EDITOR

The campaign to keep parliament in Cape Town has been given a R200 000 boost by the Cape Metropolitan Council.

Other local authorities are being asked also for financial support for the campaign. A decision on parliament is due to be taken at the African National Congress's national conference in December.

In thanking the metropolitan council, chairman of the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament Gerald Morkel said the battle could be won only if various municipalities and the private sector were prepared to "dig into their pockets".

CAPE TIMES
WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1997 ★

STRONG BID BY GAUTENG

Cash boost for city to keep Parliament

CT 14/5/97 (304A)

THE CITIZENS' Alliance for Parliament, given R200 000 by the Metro Council for its lobby, says Gauteng's challenge is worryingly strong. Political Writer **KARIN SCHIMKE** reports.

COMPETITION from Pretoria and Midrand to take Parliament away from Cape Town is vigorous enough for Capetonians to be worried, supporters of the city have disclosed for the first time.

The city risked losing against strong challenges by Gauteng, Mr Kallie Hanekom, executive director of the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP), said yesterday.

"It's time for people here to *skrik wakker* (wake up). The competition is lobbying aggressively."

Hanekom's statement follows renewed efforts to persuade parliamentarians to vote to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

Earlier this year, the Speaker, Dr Frene Ginwala, said the question should be decided this year. The African National Congress is expected to reach a decision in November or December.

The National Party, ANC and the Democratic Party in the Western Cape provincial legislature, presenting a united front, said in a recent press statement that they were opposing a campaign by property speculators in Gauteng for Parliament to be moved.

The Cape Metro Council, demonstrating its support for the cause, gave R200 000 to CAP yesterday.

Hanekom said this money would be used for a publicity campaign that would target the ANC in particular.

Western Cape MEC for Police Services Mr Gerald Morkel said that more important than the financial commitment was that the money represented a joint initiative by all the political parties represented on the Metro Council.

The people of the Western Cape should not allow such a large part of their heritage and economic base to be given to another province — one which "already has too great a concentration of economic and political power", Morkel said.

It is understood that powerful voices in the ANC, many of whom have settled in Gauteng with their families, are keen for Parliament to be moved. ANC members of the provincial legislature, however, are unanimous in wanting Parliament to remain in Cape Town.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa has said his organisation is to conduct a study and release its findings for public discussion. Its decision was likely to be determined by the findings and the debate, he said.

Cape Town may have an ally in the Constitution, which stipulates that a two-thirds majority vote in the National Assembly is required to move Parliament. Public hearings will have to be held before the vote is taken.

CAP has collected more than 700 000 signatures — far more than those collected by competing cities. However, this did not mean Cape Town's citizens could sit back, Hanekom said.

"There is a serious move by businessmen and top people in the ANC to get Parliament to Gauteng — and our chances of losing are not slender."

De Klerk's KZN loyalists reject Meyer, will woo IFP

(304A) CT 16/5/97

POLITICAL STAFF

THE KwaZulu-Natal National Party has moved swiftly to squash rumours of a festering split by denying there were differences between its leader, Mr Danie Schutte and the deputy leader, Mr Renier Schoeman.

This follows mounting speculation within the NP caucus in KwaZulu-Natal that Schoeman would come out in support of embattled Mr Roelf Meyer, ousted as task team head last week by party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

Meyer is reportedly expected to mount a challenge for the leadership if he could marshal sufficient support from the NP's federal council, which meets on June 17.

It is also believed the Northern Cape NP caucus yesterday came out strongly in favour of Meyer over De Klerk in a possible leadership tussle, but this could not be confirmed last night.

Schoeman said reports that he was involved in moves to oust De Klerk in favour of Meyer were "an utter falsehood and mischievous fabrication", as were suggestions he was on a collision course with Schutte.

He said Schutte, Mr S V Naicker and himself, as the most senior NP leaders in KwaZulu-Natal, were in full support of De Klerk's axing of Meyer.

Indeed, an announcement by De Klerk yesterday that a NP team led by Schutte, and including Schoeman would meet the IFP to explore co-operation, is seen as a step to shore up loyal forces against Meyer.

KZN premier Dr Ben Ngubane announced yesterday that the high-level discussions between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the NP would be held next week.

In addition to closer co-operation the indaba would also examine the nature of the relationship between the two parties.

Ngubane said the talks followed recent discussions between De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the IFP.

The IFP's team includes Ngubane, former premier Dr Frank Mdlalose, Deputy Minister of Safety and Security Mr Joe Matthews, the Rev Musa Zondi and Mrs Loretta Ngcobo.

In addition to Schutte and Schoeman, the NP delegation includes Mr John Mavuso, Mr S V Naicker and Mr Andre Fourie.

The meeting between the two parties also comes in the wake of a suggestion by Meyer's task team that closer co-operation between his party and the IFP was not in the interest of broadening the NP's power base.

TIME TO STAND AND DECLARE INCOME AND ASSETS

Mandela's not lost in a material

PARLIAMENT moved a step closer to promoting a new culture of transparency in which its 400 MPs must declare all free gifts, hospitality, overseas trips and extra-parliamentary earnings. Political Correspondent **MARLAN PADAYACHEE** looks at the new code of conduct.

IN almost true Gandhian spirit and style, President Nelson Mandela does not hoard gifts or clings to material things. But the same cannot be said for some of the ministers and parliamentarians in the new democratic government.

A new register of MPs interests, the first of its kind in South Africa, provides an interesting insight into who owns what and the type of gifts our ministers and MPs have received from well-wishers ranging from companies to foreign governments in the past three years.

The Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa) has published a Register of MPs' Interests in its parliamentary information and monitoring service, Parliamentary Whip.

In terms of the new law that came into effect in February this year, all MPs, members of the National Council of Delegates and people who are allowed to be present and participate in parliamentary proceedings, including Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and the Speaker of the House, Ms Frene Ginwala, are required to declare their assets, financial interests and extra-parliamentary income.

Only one-third of the information disclosed by MPs can be scrutinised by the public while the rest is kept in confidential files.

Mr Jay Naidoo, Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting, has received some attractive gifts, such as three cellphones and a handful of other niceties.

Apart from Naidoo being lavished with gifts such as ties, a book of stamps, a glass decanter, a CD, plates, glasses, a clock and a crystal ornament, pipe-smoking Deputy President Mr Thabo Mbeki received a R500 wooden tobacco box from CNN, a R10 000 computer notebook and printer from the Taiwanese vice-premier, and other expensive gifts such as a R2 000 porcelain clock, R100 pair of crystal glasses from the New Zealand government, a R6 000 camera from a Japanese delegation, and a R1 000 miniature grandfather clock, and so on.



Nelson Mandela

Mahatma Gandhi's grand-daughter Mrs Ela Gandhi, ANC MP, declared sponsored trips to the UN in New York, Philippines and Addis Ababa. She has 255 shares valued at R3 000 and another 100 valued at R1 000. She also declared that her four children owned flats valued between R100 000 and R230 000.

Her former husband, also an ANC MP, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, owned a flat and a vacant plot in Avoca, Durban, and is a director/partner in an insurance, financial and business consultancy. In 1994, he also received gifts during a parliamentary visit to Taiwan.

On the other hand there are others such as ANC MPs Mr Billy Nair and Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, both doyens in the freedom struggle, who have not declared any gifts and neither have they acquired properties.

Former Robben Island stalwart Mr Ahmed Kathrada, top presidential aide, has also declared he has not received any gifts or hospitality.

It seems that the American culture of paying top personalities "appearance fees" has at last come to South Africa with former Natal Indian Congress activist and pharmacist, ANC MP Mr Pravin Gordhan — who was fired from King Edward VIII Hospital for political activities — disclosing that he received an honorarium of R2 500 from Natal Technikon for speaking at the graduation ceremony.



Thabo Mbeki

Then there are a few oddities such as the Democratic MP who has interest in a coffin-making enterprise and the National Party MP who is an unpaid director of a debt-collecting agency.

From many of his foreign forays, including three visits to India, Mandela has received many gifts.

But he keeps very few, such as the bulls he received from Germany that were auctioned to establish an institution for emerging farmers.

Mandela does not have interest in immovable property, but is a beneficiary of the NRM family trust which holds two properties in Houghton, Johannesburg, and Qunu in the Eastern Cape.

National Party leader and former deputy president Mr F W de Klerk has travelled to the United States which included visits to the White House and PGA tournaments. He has a holiday home in Hermanus and time-share accommodation in Umhlanga Rocks and Sabie River. The gift list for him and Marike is zero.



Frene Ginwala

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Mr Kader Asmal owns a property jointly with his wife, Louise, in Rosebank, Cape Town, and their son occupies a residence in Observatory owned by the Asmal Family Trust. His pensions are from the Trinity College, Dublin, where he spent long years opposing apartheid, and the University of Western Cape. He received five ties from Nedbank Green Trust and three nights accommodation, paid by Independent Newspapers, in Dublin.

IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has declared 1 000 ordinary shares at 59 cents each with Khulani Holdings and 125 ordinary shares at R1 000 each with MIB Aldec. He also owns some land and property in KwaZulu-Natal.

Dr Ismail Cachalia, ANC MP, receives monthly payment from a few patients from his previous practice and watches, CD player and other gifts from the Taiwanese government.

NP MP Mrs Sheila Camerer loves the Johannesburg Stock Exchange where she has shares in several companies.

Former Natal University academic Mr Yunus Carrim has invested R10 000 in the Board of Executors and has a family residence in Martizburg. Former Springfield College lecturer and IFP MP Mr Farouk Cassim has launched Capetonian Investments with 15 members and is a partner with Mr G M Gounder on a 11 735-hectare sugar farm. He attended a religious conference in Libya, courtesy of the Call of Islam.

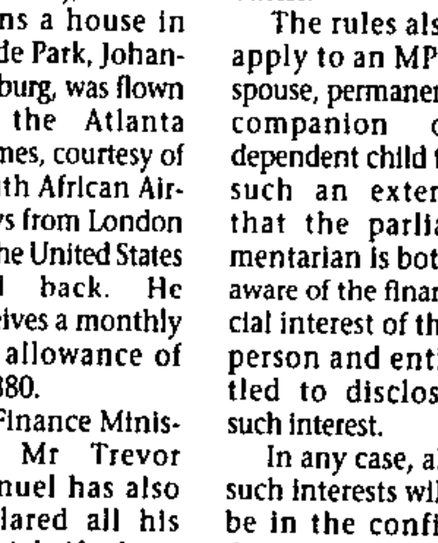
Former Robben Island prisoner Mr Lalloo Chiba, ANC MP, has a handful of shares in Metboard, Syfrets, BOE and Community Growth valued at under R10 000, and jointly owns a four bedroom house with his wife and daughter in Lenasia.

Speaker Ms Frene Ginwala also has an impressive gift list of a silver tray and goblets, a Bertil Vallien vase, dictionary, wool shawl, paperweight and a R1 500 silver medal and R750 ceramic bowl from Queen Beatrix of Netherlands.

Land Affairs Minister Mr Derek Hanekom has a three bedroom house in Kensington, Johannesburg.

Dr Essop Jassat, ANC MP and former Transvaal Indian Congress leader, has most of his money in the share markets and receives a remuneration from a medical practice.

Former SA Soccer Federation official and ANC MP Mr Danny Jordaan received a R16 000 honorarium from the SA Football Association.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Tourism Minister Dr Pallo Jordan, ANC MP, received pens and a coffee table book as gifts in his new job.



Jay Naidoo

Transport Minister Mr Mac Maharaj, who owns a house in Hyde Park, Johannesburg, was flown to the Atlanta Games, courtesy of South African Airways from London to the United States and back. He receives a monthly car allowance of R5 880.

Finance Minister Mr Trevor Manuel has also declared all his special gifts from the money markets and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa has declared a R400 woollen rug he received from the premier of KwaZulu-Natal.

Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi has not listed any gifts or hospitality.

The value of gifts given to Minister of Public Works Mr Jeff Radebe, including a bronze sculpture, are listed as unknown.

IFP MP and former House of Delegates education and culture minister Dr Kisten Rajoo [illegible] shares in two [illegible] plush home in Westvi

The list goes on ... Department of For[illegible]ing a list of gifts given ister Mr Aziz Pahad.

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[illegible] Nkr[illegible] rec[illegible] phe Paul Mr [illegible] act [illegible] to [illegible] inc[illegible] co[illegible] [illegible] lic.

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ND ASSETS

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(304A) CT 15/5/97

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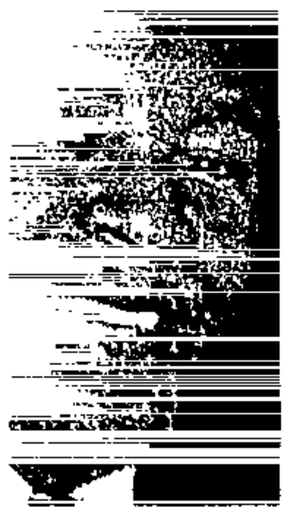

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IFP MP and former House of Delegates education and culture minister Dr Kisten Rajoo owns substantial shares in two enterprises and owns a plush home in Westville.

The list goes on and on, with the Department of Foreign Affairs keeping a list of gifts given to Deputy Minister Mr Aziz Pahad.

His brother, Essop, Deputy Minister in Mbeki's office, received whisky and mangoes for his 25th wedding anniversary and Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma received a cellphone from Mr Paul Ekon.

Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar received a woollen jersey from Justice Department staff.

However, the Registrar of MPs' Interests cannot act against parliamentarians failing to disclose assets or income unless a complaint is lodged by the public.

The new code of conduct has been hailed by independent monitors and political analysts as a step towards accountability and nurturing a culture of transparency in the political life of the 400 MPs and others.

The rules also apply to an MP's spouse, permanent companion or dependent child to such an extent that the parliamentarian is both aware of the financial interest of the person and entitled to disclose such interest.

In any case, all such interests will be in the confidential section of the register, says Parliamentary Whip.

In essence, the days of "freebies", under-the-table "hot money" and "moonlighting" are numbered. Even free tickets to international sports matches must be declared under gifts and hospitalities.



FW de Klerk

MPs must also disclose the description, value and source of gifts and hospitalities exceeding R350 per year. It is time for the MPs to be open with the electorate, especially in the light of the 1999 poll being billed as the "mother of all elections".

Some of the areas which MPs must disclose include stock exchange shares, extra employment (second or third jobs), directorships and partnerships, consultancies, sponsorships, benefits, foreign travel, land and property and pensions.

MPs are prohibited from lobbying for business on behalf of consultancy agencies.

These measures will be able to give voters an idea of whether an MP has potential conflict between public duty and private interest and assess their performance in the full context.

The system will be supervised by committee members of the national assembly with assistance from parliamentary staff.

Hearings involving code of conduct malpractices will be in private, but the committee has a duty to publish all findings.

The complete register will be updated every year and will comprise of "open" and "confidential" sections. Members of the public can buy the "open" section for R5 each.

According to the register, a number of MPs listed some of their interests in the confidential section. The 54 MPs, including 41 ANC MPs, who filled in the forms declared "not applicable" on the 10 categories.

Only 385 questionnaires were returned with the balance of the 400 MPs accounted for by resignations and new appointments.

The report, however, gives credit to our new breed of MPs, saying several MPs were invited to Taiwan and returned home with duty-free bags of gifts, but on the "two Chinas" question of diplomatic status, it showed that foreign policy cannot be influenced by giving compact disc players.



Ahmed Kathrada

NATIONAL PARTY

FM 16/5/97

Following the United Party into oblivion

De Klerk succumbs to political myopia by siding with Kriel and ditching Meyer (3049)

The once dominant National Party resembles the old United Party in its decline and seems destined, like the UP, to wither and die. The dispute between the UP's Old Guard and Young Turks finds a parallel in the discord between NP conservatives and reformists, with Hernus Kriel symbolising the conservative face of the refurbished NP and Roelf Meyer personifying its reformist alter ego.

At one level, the quarrel in the NP focuses on the question of whether the party should seek to consolidate its support in the minority white and coloured communities or concentrate on winning support in the majority black community.

Both wings agree — in theory — on the need for the party to serve as a catalyst for the formation of a new movement capable of attracting black members, and limiting and eventually ending the political hegemony of the ANC.

The differences appear to revolve around questions of timing and priorities. These differences, however, mask a deeper divergence. The conservatives want to retreat behind a new laager in the Western Cape where whites and coloureds are, for now, in the majority and where Kriel was installed as provincial premier after the NP's victory there in the provincial elections.

The reformists believe that conservatives are leading a retreat into a political impasse. They note that, in the not-too-distant future, blacks will be in the majority in the Western Cape and, by then, the "new NP" will have typecast itself as the old party of apartheid in new garb and irrevocably lost a chance of winning significant black support.

For the moment, the conservatives have control of the party, following F W de Klerk's shock decision to dissolve the special task force established under Roelf Meyer to explore the possibility of launching a new political movement.

De Klerk has insisted that his decision, reportedly taken after pressure from Kriel, is not a vote of no confidence in Meyer, the man who led the NP at the settlement negotiations. But there is little doubt that it has been interpreted as a rejection by Meyer and his supporters.



Courtesy of Beeld/Photographer Konrad du Plessis

***Power push** . . . Roelf Meyer may yet pursue new political movement*

Meyer, a man who chooses his words carefully, tells the *FM* that his relations with De Klerk have been damaged by the dissolution of the task team and the argument that preceded it. Meyer makes another frank admission: that he is considering working towards the new movement outside of the NP.

The prospect of a major split seems slight, though. The anti-defection clause in the Constitution — which requires parliamentarians to resign their seats if they switch parties — makes it unlikely that a significant number of NP representatives will follow Meyer if, or when, he quits.

David Welsh, of the University of Cape Town, sees the anti-defection clause as the NP's last — and only — protection from disintegration.

The NP's future looks bleak, even within the narrow parameters of a tactical decision to consolidate white, coloured and, in Natal, Indian support. The NP, having won less than half of the white vote in the last all-white election in 1989, has not performed impressively in the post-apartheid era. Its most recent record includes a thumping by the DP in a Kempton Park by-election, annihilation by the ANC in Alexandra and defeat at the hands of an independent in Pretoria East

While De Klerk still has support in the NP — arguably because there is no credible alternative leader — his backing of Kriel looks as though he has succumbed to political myopia.

As *Beeld* remarks in an editorial: "A party for whites and coloureds has a limited lifespan and even more restricted influence in the SA of today and tomorrow . . . (The NP) looks like a party acting in the grip of a death wish."

Patrick Laurence

Roelf prepares to quit NP

(304A) ARG 17/6/97

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Roelf Meyer takes the stage in Gauteng today to disclose his political future – and whether he will take what observers have dubbed the Van Zyl Slabbert option.

Mr Meyer, Gauteng leader of the National Party, will share a stage at the province's head council meeting with FW de Klerk, with whom his relations are at their sourest in his career.

It is the event that NP members and political observers have been waiting for throughout the tense days since the row broke out about Mr Meyer's task team, his comments about a possible Western Cape Nat breakaway, and the subsequent shutdown by Mr De Klerk of the Meyer task team on political realignment.

Since then, Mr Meyer has been on an odyssey of consultation with people in and out of politics to decide how he could best pursue the realignment to which he has made a personal commitment.

Sources close to Mr Meyer disclosed this week that he had done his arithmetic and could not hope to lead a mass walkout from the party.

Key factors blocking such a move are the anti-defection clause in the Constitution, which bars MPs from keeping their parliamentary seats if they leave their parties, and the extent to which Mr De Klerk's lieutenants have managed to fashion an image of support for the national leader's shutdown of the Meyer task team.

This is not to deny the enormous resentment among Nat MPs which Mr Meyer's recent actions have caused.

Apart from keeping party colleagues waiting in anguish for his decision on whether to quit the party or stay on, Mr Meyer snubbed the weekly parliamentary caucus meeting, devoting part of the time to a half-hour confidential courtesy call on President Nelson Mandela.

His meeting with Mr Mandela, interpreted by some as part of the ritual for senior politicians saying farewell to Parliament, astounded Nat colleagues aware of the desperate attempts made this week to minimise the damage caused by the Meyer affair. Mr De Klerk, whose precipitate handling of the shutdown of the Meyer task team is regarded, even by some in his own caucus, as ham-handed, held talks with Gauteng executive member Olaus van Zyl on ways to resolve the crisis about Mr Meyer's future.

But unless Mr De Klerk has found a way to pull off a manoeuvre today that would allow Mr Meyer to stay in the party while recovering from the humiliation of the task team shutdown, the firm grip of the conservatives within the party leaves little chance for Mr Meyer to stay on with dignity. An option for him then would be to follow the example set by former Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who in the '80s quit parliamentary politics to launch an initiative to remodel the political landscape.

Doing so would cost him his seat in Parliament, as it did Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, but would free him of the enormous liability of the National Party's severely tainted image.

The difference between Mr Meyer and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert would be their goals; the former PFP leader's was a broad initiative towards democracy; Mr Meyer's is to weld a new opposition political alignment within that democracy.

In the short term, Mr Meyer's resignation would precipitate a leadership contest within Gauteng, the outcome of which would determine whether the province retained its image as the conciliatory and reformist region of the party.

Mr Olaus van Zyl has projected an image of neutrality amid the turbulence between Mr De Klerk and Mr Meyer, while Mr Meyer's deputy chairperson, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, is very close to Mr De Klerk.

Should De Klerk supporters win control of

To page 3

Roelf to lay his cards on table

(304A) ARG 17/5/97

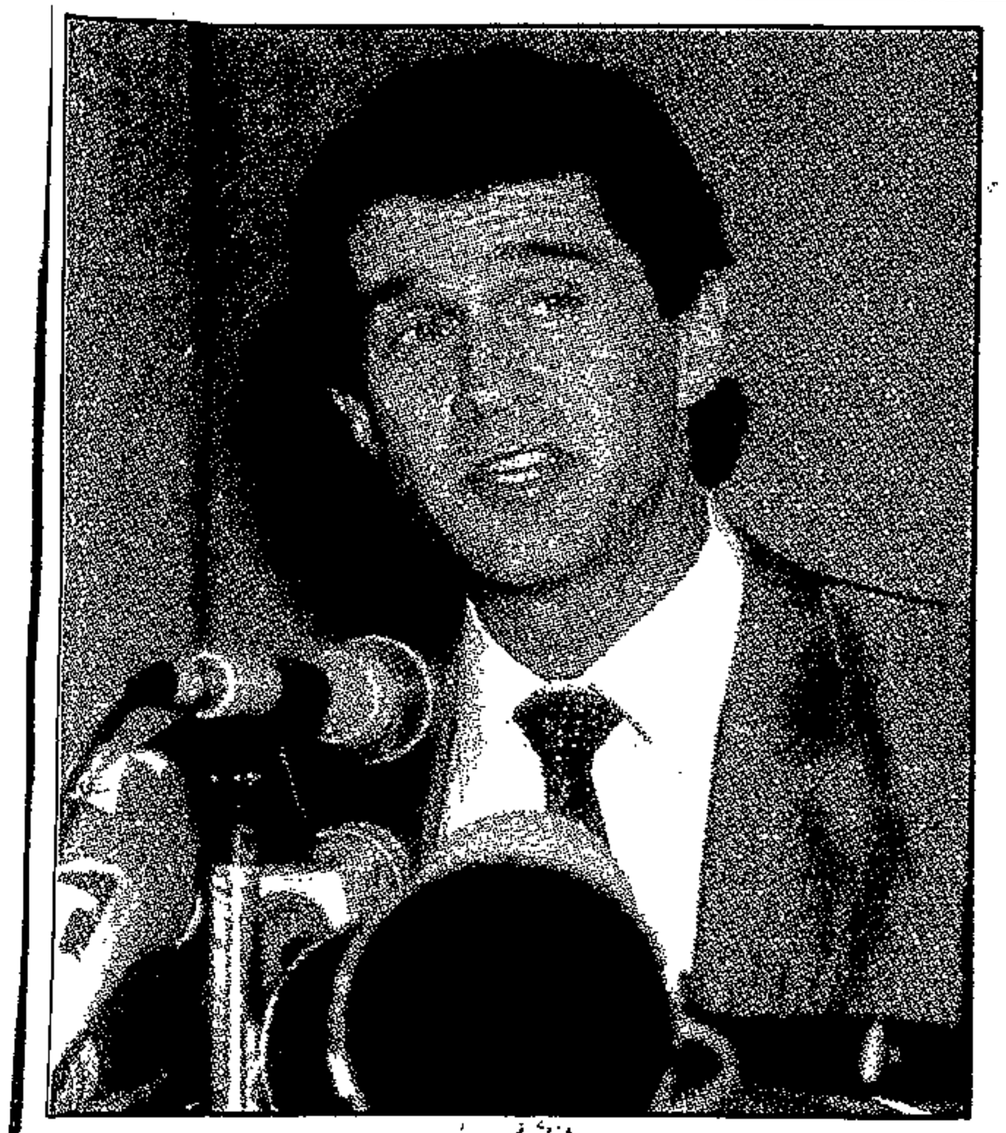
From page 1

Gauteng, it would serve to consolidate Mr De Klerk's control of the party, but at the expense of any hope of the party being sincerely interested in reform.

Mr Meyer's decision today will represent a crucial turning point in the battle for the soul of the NP. It may also prove a milestone on the party's final journey.

At the core of the row about Mr Meyer's task force has been a reluctance by Mr De Klerk and others in the conservative establishment of the party to accept certain realities. One is that an opposition cannot be credible unless it has leadership representative of the population, as Mr Meyer has said more than once.

The other is that if the NP hopes to survive, it should do the bidding of the young and ambitious within its ranks and disband. Today, long before these realities are accepted, Mr Meyer may strike out on his own path, rather than idle on the benches of a party drifting towards oblivion.



OUT . . . NP member Roelf Meyer's resignation yesterday made FW de Klerk do some hasty footwork.

No right-turn, says FW

ep 18/5/97 (304A)

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE NATIONAL PARTY yesterday moved swiftly to allay widespread fears that it had been "hijacked" by rightwingers following the resignation of Roelf Meyer, one of the party's most "verligte" leaders.

Addressing a media conference in Pretoria after a meeting of the NP's Gauteng head council, NP leader FW de Klerk said his party was "committed as ever to the new movement" – a reference to the mooted idea of the NP disbanding and forming a new political movement with like-minded parties.

☐ In spite of De Klerk's denials most observers believe that with Meyer out of the way the NP will shift to the right and that it is unlikely to pursue the goal of a new movement with vigour.

A shift to the right could strengthen the hand of Western Cape premier and NP leader in the province Hernus Kriel, regarded as one of the NP conservatives.

A large number of the NP's Youth League in Gauteng is likely to follow Meyer.

De Klerk said he expected "a few" resignations.

He said there was no personal animosity in this matter and stressed that he supported the motion accepting Meyer's resignation.

☐ The fundamental point of dispute between Meyer and the party related to the timing of the NP's disbandment with a view to forming a new political party.

The NP believed such a party should result from a merger between political parties sharing common values, which should first develop mutual trust.

De Klerk said his decision to disband the task team had not been a sudden one. It had been preceded by several meetings between himself, Meyer and the task team.

"There had been a lot of clashes behind the scenes as a result of the fact that I felt the task team and Mr Meyer were not acting so as to resolve the confusion."

☐ De Klerk also revealed he would meet Pan Africanist Congress leader Stanley Mogoba and Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen in the next two weeks, and continue to hold discussions with extra-parliamentary groupings.

☐ African National Congress spokesman Ronnie Momoepa said Meyer's resignation was not a surprise and showed the state of disarray the NP found itself in.

He said it had been clear in the last few weeks that conservatives and rightwing elements within the NP had redoubled efforts to reclaim lost ground from enlightened and progressive colleagues.

☐ Democratic Party leader Tony Leon praised Meyer for his "courageous" step in sacrificing his parliamentary seat for a principle.

The DP agreed with Meyer that although South Africa needed a larger opposition grouping, the process of creating this could not occur within the NP, Leon said.

He said Meyer's departure left the former ruling party devoid of notable progressive leaders.

☐ Former ANC member Bantu Holomisa, who is also forming a new political party, welcomed Meyer's resignation and said this was the start of the shaping of the political landscape in South Africa.

Holomisa said he looked forward to meeting Meyer to hear his ideas.

Top black Nat calls for entire party leadership to step down

(3048) Star 20/5/97

By Jovial Rantao and Ramotena Mabote
Political Staff

Top black National Party MP David Chuenyane has called for the resignation of the NP leadership, including F W de Klerk, for failing to transform the party and appoint black Nats to decision-making positions.

Chuenyane, who recently unsuccessfully tabled a motion of no-confidence in the leadership, told The Star he had decided the debate about the NP's future should be in the public domain.

He said the leadership was ignoring demands by black Nats and black communities that blacks should be more visible in the party.

Chuenyane said he would stay with the NP until his term in Parliament ended in 1999, but would remain outspoken.

"I don't want to go to the elections with the same leadership, because there's no way that I'll be able to sell this party," he said.

His statement is a blow to the party which still reeling from the resignation of former secretary-general Roelf Meyer.

Party insiders told The Star that Nats expected to join Meyer included Gauteng's Sam de Beer, KwaZulu Natal's Dr Johan Steenkamp and Pieter von Pletzen, and the Western Cape's Glen Carelse.

Chuenyane said the party in its current form had no future.

"It will become another white party unless there are drastic changes in the leadership. I do not think De Klerk will be able to draw blacks into the party.

"He has been tainted by the truth commission for refusing to accept responsibility for the ills of the party."

Chuenyane said Africans were left out of the party, and, in Gauteng, all councillors and provincial legislators were either white, coloured or Indian.

He said that, as a leading NP member from Soweto, he was disillusioned by party members who ignored growing support in the townships.

He said most NP members were trapped by the anti-defection clause in the constitution, otherwise they would have joined other parties.

Referring to speculation yesterday that De Klerk could appoint leading black Nat, MP John Mavuso, to head a new task team, Chuenyane said many blacks would be appointed to senior positions to "appease them and let the matter die down".

► **A quantum leap**
Page 14

Six of Gauteng NP youth committee resign

CT 21/5/97 (30WA)

JOHANNESBURG: Six members of the Gauteng National Party Youth Action committee, including their chairman Mr Paulo Andrade, resigned yesterday, citing fundamental differences with NP leader Mr F W de Klerk.

Andrade said he would resign from the NP at the end of the month. He was not planning to join another party but would investigate forming a new youth movement.

Referring to the disbanding of Mr Roelf Meyer's task team, he said the party would never recover and "therefore, as young people, we do not see a future in the NP".

It was expected that many other youth leaders would also resign soon, Andrade said. De Klerk had left them no choice but to resign after he closed the door on debate around a new party, Andrade said.

He wanted to start a new youth movement to challenge the other parties' movements, especially that of the ANC.

However, he did not believe a new party alliance should be formed to gang up on the ANC.

Andrade said the committee members' resignation served as a commitment to transformation. It was necessary for there to be a complete break with the past.

NP federal youth leader Boeije de Wet said Andrade was out of step with the NP's philosophy and his views were isolated and not in line with those of the eight other provinces' youth leaders.

He said the six who resigned were only a small part of the 44-member youth committee, drawn from nine Gauteng regions, and included only one of the regions' leaders. — Sapa

More NP members defect to join Meyer

(3049)

Kevin O'Grady BD 23/5/97

DEFECTIONS from the National Party (NP) snowballed yesterday as several senior members, including Free State deputy chairman Zaza Pieterse and former Allied MD Kevin de Villiers, quit to join former Gauteng leader Roelf Meyer's new movement.

Four more members of the NP Gauteng youth committee also resigned, along with eight members of NP Youth Students' Action at Rand Afrikaans University, following the resignation of the entire Gauteng Youth Action executive committee this week.

The resignations come in the wake of Meyer's decision to quit the party and try to create political party to challenge the African National Congress.

De Villiers, a councillor on the Johannesburg council's northern substructure, was to have taken Meyer's seat in Parliament while Pieterse was next on the Free State candidate list for Parliament.

De Villiers was also the first NP councillor elected by proportional representation ballot to follow Meyer out of the NP and, as a result, loses his seat on the substructure. "I am not inspired by the prospect of serving in Parliament under the leadership that is now emerging," he said.

Pieterse said she was ending her 32-

Continued on Page 2

NP

(304A)

BD 23/5/97

Continued from Page 1

year NP membership because she was "searching for a new party that will be proactive and stand for things and not on the weaknesses of other parties". The first senior NP member from outside Gauteng to follow Meyer's lead, Pieterse was prepared to sacrifice a possible seat in Parliament "because I believe in Roelf Meyer's process".

Sources in Meyer's initiative said it was "gaining momentum" and attracting interest from disillusioned NP members, other groups and from potential local and foreign funders.

Further resignations were expected soon from NP youth members and councillors in Gauteng, Northern Province and Free State.

The resignations came as the Gauteng NP denied allegations it was on a witch-hunt and had tried to force Meyer allies to sign a statement swearing allegiance to NP leader FW de Klerk, whose decision to disband a task team investigating a new movement precipitated Meyer's resignation. However, sources confirmed this had taken place and said a Gauteng NP executive committee meeting this weekend would be used to "discipline" members who had allied themselves with Meyer.

Mining union throws in lot with Holomisa

(304A) BD 23/5/97

Reneé Grawitzky

THE Mouthpiece Workers' Union — a worker grouping which led a strike at Anglo American Platinum mines (Amplats) last year — said yesterday it had aligned itself with Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum.

This emerged after the union, which has applied for registration with the labour department, shared a platform with Holomisa at a Rustenburg rally.

Holomisa said yesterday he had addressed thousands of workers and local residents and had been surprised to learn that there was another union in the mining industry besides the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Labour analysts point to this development as a possible trend towards increasing fragmentation of the union movement. A growth in the number of small or splinter unions could be occurring because of changes brought about by the broader transition, internal union problems, opportunism and competition for political loyalty.

Holomisa said if workers wished "to work with our party, we will welcome them and will make sure their capacity is developed and advise them genuinely". He said the union indicated it would support his party because the African National Congress (ANC) had dumped them and they wanted their money. Last year's lengthy but unsuccessful strike revolved around the demand for payouts from a number of benefit schemes. Holomisa said workers were still demanding to know where their monies were and whether it had been invested. He said a number of Congress of SA Trade Union members were involved in his party.

Mouthpiece Workers' Union deputy president Teleford Nyati said the union had been formed out of last year's strike. He claimed the union had 17 000 members.

Amplats spokesman Johan Adler could not confirm this as the union was not yet registered or recognised. The union shares an office with an insurance company in Carletonville. The union said there was no link between the organisations. They were merely sharing office space.

Rainbow nation is a myth, survey finds

Star 21/5/97

(3041)

The demise of apartheid and the introduction of democracy to South Africa may have bound citizens from different culture and race groups together under a popular government, but we still do not identify strongly with one another or see ourselves as one people.

This is indicated by the results of a recent Gallup poll undertaken by Markinor with a cross-section of the population.

History

The first part of the survey dealt with how different race groups classified themselves in terms of identity and culture and whether they saw themselves as Euro- or Afrocentric.

Given South Africa's history of race "separation" and "identification" it is no wonder that only 2% of whites and coloureds and 1% of Indians thought of themselves as "African", compared to 31% of blacks. Some 3% of whites considered themselves "European", while no blacks, coloureds or Indians did.

Some 8% of coloureds and almost three in every 10 whites considered themselves Afrikaners. Only 10% of blacks thought of themselves firstly as black – perhaps because "being black" in the past was perceived as demeaning – compared to less than 1% each of coloureds and Indians.

More than two-thirds of adult South Africans identified best with their own language groups. Home language is therefore a strong, clear identifier of personal identity.

Values

Culture, history and values are very important to more than two-thirds of South Africans, while only 2% say these things are not important at all. These are again stronger identifiers than race/colour. After all, a person is a person by virtue of the language he or she speaks, cultural/ethnic groups he or she belongs to, and values implanted by family and society. Skin colour seems to come last when people identify themselves.

Of those who feel culture is very important, 77% are black, 13% white, 7% coloured and 3% Indian – about in line with SA's population distribution.

Of all South Africans, almost six out of 10 have strong religious and traditional beliefs. Indians are top of the list (73%), followed by coloureds (69%), blacks (57%) and whites (51%). Only 1% of the adult population do not feel that religious and traditional beliefs are important. Again, this indicates a strong bond with an individual's roots of religion and tradition.

Leading Nat quits to join Meyer

One of the most senior officials in the National Party, its management executive Kobus du Plessis, resigned yesterday to join Roelf Meyer in his quest for a new political movement.

Du Plessis' position is the top non-political post in the party's federal structure, equivalent, he says, to a director-general in a government ministry.

His responsibilities included management of party fundraising, administration, secretarial services, co-ordination between provinces, and personnel.

He said he had informed party leader F W de Klerk yesterday of his decision.

"I'm pursuing a new political order that will break with the past on a totally nonracial basis to unite all South Africans," he said.

The NP's decision earlier this month to disband the task team on restructuring headed by Meyer had made it clear to him that "we will have to find another avenue to pursue our goals and beliefs".

Asked whether he believed the NP had erred, Du Plessis said that if the answer were negative he would not have resigned. He would work with Meyer's "new-movement process". It had no formal structure at present, but an announcement on offices and phone numbers would be made next week.

Meyer, a former secretary-general of the NP, announced his decision to quit the party last weekend, after De Klerk scrapped the task team.

This week most of the executive of the NP Youth in Gauteng, where Meyer led the party, followed suit, and black NP MP David Chuenyane called for the resignation of the NP's entire top leadership.

Du Plessis took on the post of management executive in 1994. He joined the NP in 1965, aged 18. – Sapa

Star 24/5/97 (304A)

Firmer SA-German ties forged

BD 26/5/97 (304A)

Melanie Sergeant-Haape

MUNICH — SA-German relations get off to a firmer footing this week with the first meeting of the binational commission jointly chaired by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and German vice-chancellor Klaus Kinkel.

Five separate committees will meet and report back to the commission on June 4. These will cover development co-operation, science and technology, defence, the environment and economic co-operation, which encompasses trade. It is understood the committee focusing on culture will be constituted at a later stage.

The commission will be followed by a major investment conference in Bonn, organised by the SA embassy. It is expected to draw about 400 delegates, and has the trade and industry department's cluster studies as a major focus point.

Embassy spokesmen say SA's major stainless steel, aluminium and carbon steel projects, as well as the motor industry in general, will be discussed with a view to attracting investments in the beneficiation of these products, as well as in the industries themselves.

The conference, expected to be opened by Mbeki, will also feature German Economic Affairs Minister Gunther Rexrodt, who will speak on German-SA economic and trade relations.

Industrial Development Corporation CEO Khaya Ngquela will focus on investment opportunities in SA, while Cosatu secretary-general Sam Shilowa will discuss labour relations and privatisation in SA.

Matthias Klynardt of Daimler-Benz's will discuss the Southern African German Initiative and the Southern African Development Community. This initiative was set up a year ago during President Nelson Mandela's state visit to Germany, and is now expected to start yielding tangible results.

Embassy spokesmen say following these events SA's European heads of mission will meet in Bonn on June 6, where they are expected to be addressed by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi.

Dozens of Gauteng Nats bail out to follow Roelf Meyer

By Jovial Rantao and Anso Thom
Political Staff

Cape Town – The National Party continued to haemorrhage at the weekend, with no fewer than 55 members from its Gauteng structures defecting to join Roelf Meyer's new movement.

NP sources told The Star that 13 members of the NP's Gauteng provincial youth committee; 27 from its district and regional structures; the entire Alexandra district executive (seven members); three youth executives from Hillbrow; the entire executive of the NP branch at the University of Pretoria, which had five members; and the Sterrenwag branch in Pretoria, who resigned en-masse, have thrown their lot behind Meyer.

In another development, Sam de Beer, believed to be the first Nat MP to defect to Meyer's camp from national level, is expected to announce his decision this week.

Kobus du Plessis, who was responsible for management of the party's fundraising, administration, secretarial services, and co-ordination between provinces, resigned at the weekend to join Meyer. He is expected to be replaced by Edwin Conroy. Meyer has also received support from former Nats Pik Botha, Chris Fismer and Gauteng youth leader Paulo Andrade.

Gauteng, the Eastern Cape and Free State have emerged as provinces where Meyer has overwhelming support. At the end of the week, councillors in Benoni, Germiston and Johannesburg are expected to defect, the sources said. Germiston National Party councillor Andre le Roux also resigned at the weekend.

Meyer's New Movement Process opens its offices in Church Street, Pretoria, today.

Meyer has held talks with former ANC national executive committee member Bantu Holomisa and Democratic Party leader Tony Leon about the realignment of the South African political landscape.

On Thursday, the organisation holds its first strategic planning meeting in Krugersdorp to discuss how to handle the NP exodus and create a credible structure that will not be dominated by former Nats.

The NP Gauteng executive meets in Pretoria today to discuss whether disciplinary steps should be instituted against David Chuenyane and Annelize van Wyk, both of whom have expressed support for Meyer.

Star 26/6/97

(304A)

Chuenyane apologises for asking NP leaders to quit

(3044)

Kevin O'Grady
BD 28/5/97

SOWETO National Party (NP) leader and MP David Chuenyane apologised yesterday for his recent call for the entire NP leadership to resign, and retracted his support for new movement process leader and former Gauteng NP head Roelf Meyer.

Chuenyane's apology came after he appeared with other NP officials before a party legal commission that was called in Pretoria to question NP dissenters about their support for Meyer.

His statement came at the same time as the first resignation of an NP provincial MP to join Meyer's process was announced. Gauteng MPL Nilo Botha said she would be vacating her seat in the legislature to work with Meyer in establishing a new party.

Chuenyane apologised to "Mr FW de Klerk, leader of the NP, for any damage which may have been caused".

"After extensive discussions with a number of members in the NP and with the law commission, I would like to retract my statements which I have made, as well as any statements attributed to me criticising the NP and its leader," he said.

He pledged his loyalty to the NP and its leadership and would continue working for party unity.

A source said Chuenyane had been issued with an ultimatum — to retract and apologise for his statements or face dismissal. It was unclear what steps were being taken against MPL Annelize van Wyk, who also appeared before the commission.

Gauteng NP executive committee chairman Olaus van Zyl said it would make recommendations to the committee which would decide whether to take action against dissident members within two days. He would not say which members appeared.

Botha, a member of the erstwhile Transvaal Provincial Council and the President's Council in the 1980s, said she believed Meyer's process was capable of "filling the vacuum between the African National Congress (ANC) and the NP".

She said the NP was "a victim of the past" and was not dynamic enough to "succeed in bringing a new movement together".

Meanwhile, Meyer told Rand Afrikaans University students yesterday it was "possible and attainable" to establish his new party before the end of this year, soon enough to enable it to gear up for the 1999 general election.

There was one "absolute prerequisite" to establishing the new party — that it should be "truly nonracial".

"There is no way we can make a start if it's just a bunch of whiteys that get together again because that will just be a repetition of what's happened in the past."

He hoped to begin visiting all the provinces to hold discussions with interested groups next week. "Then we'll have to take it forward and time will tell us how," he said.

"Looks at labour law, labour relations, trade unions, unfair discrimination, unfair labour practices, dismissal

'I CAN DO MORE WITHIN PARTY'

MP retracts criticism of NP

(304A) CT 28/5/97

PRETORIA: Nat MP and Soweto leader Mr David Chuenyane says he will not toe the line quietly as the party needs members to speak out when it is slow to change.

THE National Party's Soweto leader, Mr David Chuenyane, bowing to pressure from senior party officials who threatened to fire him, has retracted his public call for the party leadership to resign.

However, the defusing of conflict with one of its most senior black MPs brought cold comfort to the party as yet another top Nat, Ms Nilo Botha, a member of the Gauteng legislature, resigned yesterday.

Botha, who joined the NP more than 30 years ago, said she was joining the New Movement Process of Mr Roelf Meyer, the leading light who resigned recently amid differences over the party's direction. She is to leave the legislature on Friday.

Chuenyane, who had said on Monday he would not retract his statement, told a hearing at the party's headquarters in Pretoria yesterday that he withdrew his criticism of the party.

He also agreed to write a letter, apologising for any damage or embarrassment he may have caused the NP and to party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

The hearing, chaired by interim Gauteng leader Mr Olaus van Zyl, would recommend to the executive committee that Chuenyane's outburst be overlooked, well-placed sources said.

However, the fate of other dissidents, including Gauteng legislature member Mrs Annelize van Wyk, is not known.

Van Wyk said she would issue a statement today.

Van Zyl said the executive was expected to reach a decision within a few days about the action to be taken against other members. He would not say which members had been investigated by the committee.

Chuenyane, defending his reneging on his undertaking not to retract his statement, said he believed he could achieve more from within the party.

"It was pretty rough in there," he said after the hearing.

"I'm going to retract my statements because then I can continue functioning from within the party."

The party had promised him he could criticise the NP as long as he did so within party structures and not on public platforms or through the media, Chuenyane said.

"They said as long as I limit my comments to within the party, that will be fine. They said a platform would be created for me to express my opinion within the party."

However, his decision did not mean he would quietly toe the party line.

"When I get mad I'll just have to speak out. The NP needs people to speak out when things go wrong and when they are too slow to implement change. They need someone to play a role like that.

"That's why I'm staying on." — Own Correspondent

MPL quits 'dead-end' Nats to join Roelf Meyer

JOHANNESBURG: A National Party member of the Gauteng legislature, Ms Nilo Botha, has resigned from the party to join Mr Roelf Meyer's initiative to create a political realignment.

Explaining her decision, Botha said yesterday she had concluded that the party was on a road to nowhere.

"All my life I've walked the road with the NP. Now I believe that road ends in a dead end. I'm someone who needs a dream, who needs motivation. The road I was on had no motivation any more."

In joining Meyer's movement, she would have the immediate responsibility of setting up organisational structures. The country's politics were in a quagmire of self-created problems, Botha said. The ANC lacked willpower and discipline, while the NP was a victim of its past and lacked dynamism.

NP leader Mr F W de Klerk deserved credit for his leadership as the party had contributed to the fairly peaceful rearrangement of the political arena. — Sapa

"Highlights increased participation, occupational discrimination and discrimination against women in the labour force. Refers to a study which analyzes problems of women in middle and senior positions."

How we did it: SA dealmakers meet the Irish

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARG 30/5/97

Not peace talks; just a history lesson. That is how Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa describes this weekend's briefing to Irish political parties by veterans of the South African peace process.

The briefing will take place at a conference centre in De Hoop nature reserve near Arniston. Representatives of various parties involved in South Africa's constitutional talks will tell the Irish delegations how they dealt with issues such as the suspension of the armed struggle.

Those leading the briefings will include former ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, his ex-NP counterpart Roelf Meyer, representatives of minority parties and of the former SA Defence Force and UmKhonto weSizwe.

The Northern Ireland delegations are from the Alliance Party, Democratic Unionist Party, Labour Party, Progressive Unionist Party, Sinn Fein, Social Democratic Labour Party, Ulster Democrats, Ulster Unionists and the Women's Coalition.

The Sinn Fein delegation will be led by Martin McGuinness. Party leader Gerry Adams is not expected to attend the talks.

Some of the parties will be accommodated separately in briefings, at their request.

The conference was the brainchild of Irish-American academic Padraig O'Malley, who approached the South African government more than a year ago.

Mr Moosa said South Africa had agreed to hold the briefing provided all Irish parties were willing to take part on a voluntary basis.

"We are not going to suggest that what worked for us will work for Northern Ireland. This is not a continuation or part of negotiations on the Northern Ireland question. It is about discussing the South African transition. It is also not mediation of any kind. It is also not about South African negotiators advising Northern Ireland on the Northern Ireland question. We don't think we have sufficient expertise."



FED-UP 'FATHER': National Party leader F W de Klerk contemplates the fall of his favourite political son. ***PICTURE: GARTH STEAD***

Roelf 'naive' to defy NP — FW

CT 30/6/97 (304A)

CAROL CAMPBELL

OUSTED National Party bad boy Mr Roelf Meyer and his new ally, former cabinet minister Mr Pik Botha, were given a public dressing-down by former state president Mr F W de Klerk yesterday.

In a speech to a packed hall of students at Stellenbosch University, De Klerk said the two could not "take on" the might of the NP.

He said he thought very highly of Meyer, but that his former protegé was being naive to think he could swing votes away from "a powerful political party".

De Klerk did not attend Meyer's farewell speech in Parliament yesterday, a move which insiders say was a slap in the face to the party's former golden boy.

"Roelf Meyer was no longer selling the vision of the NP. In public he was saying we had too much baggage and he began to believe outsiders who said we should disband," De Klerk said.

It was in the interests of politicians like DP leader Mr Tony Leon and ousted ANC MP Mr Bantu Holomisa for the NP to disband because it would increase their political power, he said.

Holomisa and Mr Sifiso Nkabinde (a former KwaZulu-Natal ANC member now accused of being a spy) also had "political baggage", he claimed.

"Ask people what Nkabinde did in KwaZulu-Natal."

Once again De Klerk apologised for apartheid, but said that in 1948 apartheid was not only a South African phenomenon.

"There was apartheid throughout Africa and the world, but our mistake was institutionalising it."

The NP was still changing and improving, and he was proud of how far the party had come.

A student caused a stir in the hall when she asked De Klerk how he could expect more support when he had denied blacks the vote for so long, and security forces had shot innocent people in the back.

The NP leader replied that the student should not forget that it was his party that had given blacks the vote.

The ANC was also guilty of racial discrimination because whites and coloureds were finding it increasingly impossible to get jobs because of the government's policies, he claimed, adding that the government was being poorly managed and a wave of corruption was sweeping the country.

"When we handed over power South African Airways, for instance, was a wealthy asset. Now when they sell it, they won't get peanuts," he said.

Education and the civil service were also in chaos.

A speech by Minister of Education Dr Sibusiso Bengu at the university on Wednesday evening, in which he criticised the institution for being "too Afrikaans", was shocking, said De Klerk.

"I see this as the first obvious sign that the ANC is determined to turn this country into a melting pot."

A student asked why President Nelson Mandela, who was awarded an honorary doctorate by the university last year, had promised that the university's language policy would not be tampered with — but now Bengu was saying the opposite.

De Klerk responded that Mandela was no longer in control of his own ministers, who were allowed to "do their own thing".

During the hour-long talk some students made it clear they had switched allegiance from the NP to their new hero Meyer, but the majority gave De Klerk a rousing ovation.

Pretoria's plan 'preposterous'

CT 30/5/97

CHRIS BATEMAN

(304A)

PRETORIA'S plan to house Parliament would cost over R1 billion — excluding a parliamentary village — and was a "preposterous" waste of taxpayers' money, Citizens' Alliance for Parliament chairman Mr Gerald Morkel claimed yesterday.

The alliance reacted to the Pretoria Capital Initiative's marketing campaign launched on Wednesday — which included unveiling a model of the Church Street site — by sending their executive director, Mr Kallie Hanekom, and a quantity surveyor to inspect the proposed location.

Hanekom said he was convinced the site was "totally unsuitable". He claimed the real intention of the Pretoria lobby was to get agreement on the cheaper venue, and then to build a new complex at nearby Klapperkop at huge cost.

"Pretoria is hiding its real intention on the basis that the Church Square site would not have major financial implications," he said.

Morkel said it was "preposterous" to spend what he estimated would be well over R1bn to build a new complex.

ANC signals end to chiefs' power

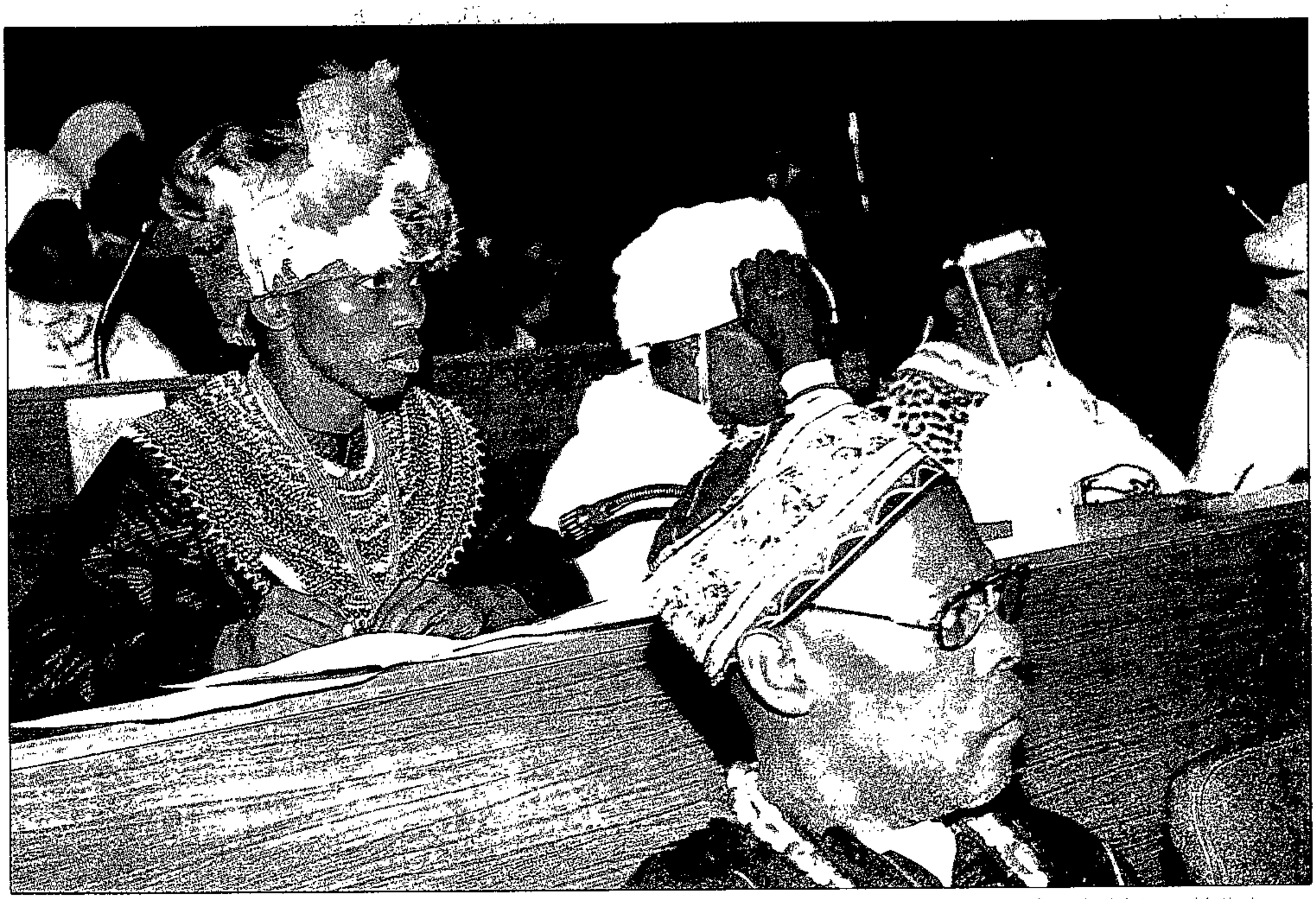
THE African National Congress fired the first salvo yesterday in the battle to remove automatic representation of chiefs in rural local government structures.

During a workshop on the needs of local government after the Transitional Local Government Act reaches the end of its life in the year 2000, ANC spokesmen clearly indicated that the party was becoming increasingly intolerant of chiefs whose vested interests did not necessarily comply with urgent needs for social and economic development in rural areas.

The most outspoken was North West Local Government Minister Mr Darkie Afrika, who made no bones about the need to "remove" chiefs from rural district councils in the post-transitional era.

In response to questions from the Inkatha Freedom Party's Mr Peter Smith about steps being made to consult chiefs about their future role in local government, Afrika said there was a need to "talk" to the chiefs, but insisted that local government funds be released from being spent on traditional structures. — Political Staff

University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers 1991



NATURAL HEALTH: Traditional healers from around the Western Cape yesterday brightened the halls of the Western Cape legislature with their distinctive clothing when they came to hear presentations on the role of traditional medicine. Speeches by representatives of traditional healers' groupings will continue today before the standing committee on health and welfare. *PICTURE: THEMBINKOSI DWAYISA*

Govt plan to incorporate traditional healers

CT 6/6/97

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG: The health department is examining ways to incorporate traditional healers in the health system, Gauteng health MEC Mr Amos Masondo said yesterday.

Masondo was speaking here during a public hearing on the establishment of a statutory council for traditional healers.

The proposed council would determine the conduct, standards of training and safety, research code and discipline of the profession.

Masondo said his department had met traditional healers' organisations to discuss the recognition of the profession.

The hearings will also focus on the admissibility of medical certificates issued by healers and the use of medical aid and health insurance funds to pay for consulting a traditional practitioner.

Chairman of the Gauteng legislature's portfolio committee on health Mr Mondli Gungubele said the hearings would help formulate policy on traditional healers.

"It has been found that over 60% of Africans, 40% of Indians and 20% of whites utilise or consult traditional methods of healing," Gungubele said.

Dr Ralph Mgijima, superintendent-general in the Gauteng health department, said it would be difficult to decide on the registration criteria for healers because of the different forms of training.

Dr Nthato Motlana, a medical practitioner and businessman, said he could not see any place in the health system for healers who claimed to have been inspired by ancestors.

Mr Michael Freestone from the Representative Association of Medical Schemes said healers should be represented by a statutory body which would maintain standards of safety and training.

"A minimum training period should be set up and there should be written examinations and grading given to traditional medical practitioners," Freestone said.

The hearings continue today.
—Sapa

ANC offers Buthelezi top central govt post

BD 9/6/97 (304A)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The African National Congress (ANC) has offered to elevate Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in central government to a still undefined position — though there was speculation that it would be the second deputy presidency — in exchange for him relinquishing the chairmanship of the KwaZulu-Natal house of traditional leaders.

The ANC said in a document — given to the IFP last week and released at a news briefing yesterday — that Buthelezi's "stature befits that of a national leader".

ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma said while there was speculation that Buthelezi would take the second deputy presidency vacated by National Party leader FW de Klerk, and retain it after the 1999 elections, ANC national structures had not discussed this. This discussion would arise after agreement with the IFP was reached on the principle that a "position and a responsibility" had to be found for Buthelezi at national level.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal deputy chairman Sibusiso Ndebele said Buthelezi would have to choose between being a national political figure and the house chairman. "We want traditional leaders to be above party politics, in the same way that (Zulu King Goodwill) Zwelithini is." Buthelezi had "more" to contribute at national level.

Buthelezi said it would be wrong for him to respond to the proposal at this stage. However, he had no plan to step down as house chairman.

The ANC document said Zwelithini should also be entitled to appoint one or more representatives to the house, dominated by chiefs aligned to the IFP.

The document seemingly ruled out a merger, saying each party needed to recognise the other's "organisational and ideological independence and sovereignty". However, the two parties' leaders should not "shirk" the responsibility of bringing about peace.

The ANC wanted an additional seat in the KwaZulu-Natal cabinet in the interests of "mutual confidence".

The ANC also unveiled its amnesty proposals for political violence in the province, saying the truth commission would create a "special board" — made up of people acceptable to the ANC and IFP — to deal with applications.

Applications would be heard in-camera. Victims' families would be informed of disclosures and might be allowed to attend hearings. However, the media would be barred so as not to discourage people from coming forward.

A new requirement for amnesty would be for applicants to identify arms caches and the source of their weapons, ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said.

Zuma said no proposal had been made on a cut-off date for amnesty. However, it was understood that the two parties were considering extending the deadline to the date when they would sign their peace agreement.

An IFP source said the party found the amnesty proposals acceptable.

Another IFP source said the party had also submitted proposals for peace. It wanted the constitution to be amended to recognise the institution of the Zulu monarchy and to entrench the role of chiefs at local government level.

Zuma said the two parties would hold negotiations in Ulundi on June 19. He said national leaders would become involved in the talks at some stage because certain issues could not be resolved provincially.

Buthelezi may become a deputy president under new

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban – A top position – possibly deputy president – appears to be on the cards for IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an ANC peace package announced for KwaZulu Natal at the weekend.

The ANC refused to confirm this speculation last night and would only say that Dr Buthelezi's stature "befits that of a national leader" and therefore a position of responsibility had to be found for him at a national level.

Commenting on the idea of Dr Buthelezi becoming a deputy president, Cosatu provincial secretary Paulus Ngcobo said while this move was likely to create peace in the province, it was important that grassroots membership be encouraged to discuss this sensitive appointment fully.

Announcing the peace plan in Durban yesterday, the ANC also proposed:

■ That the ANC conditionally withdraw their court action against the KwaZulu Natal government regarding the composition of the House of Traditional Leaders;

■ That King Goodwill Zwelithini, in turn, be approached to withdraw his court action and be given representation on the House of Traditional Leaders;

■ That the ANC be given the additional provincial ministerial portfolio it is entitled to, following the National Party quitting the provincial government of national unity;

■ That a special board be created within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for ANC and IFP members to apply for special amnesty to make full, in camera, disclosures about their involvement in political violence;

■ That the cut-off date for amnesty applications for political crimes in KwaZulu Natal be reconsidered beyond the period between 1960 and May 10 1994.

Yesterday, Buthelezi declined to comment on the ANC's peace package stating that he did not want to pre-empt the planned talks between the IFP and ANC on June 19.

ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma refused to be drawn on whether Buthelezi would be appointed to the position of deputy president, but said if it did happen it would not be a problem to amend the constitution accordingly.

The peace package further calls for the ANC to be awarded a fourth ministerial portfolio within provincial government.

ANC 'peace plan'

Sowetan 16/6/97

KwaZulu-Natal IFP rejects ANC offer to elevate Buthelezi's status

(304A) BD 10/6/97

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KwaZulu-Natal yesterday rejected "outright" an African National Congress (ANC) proposal that party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's status be elevated at national level.

Buthelezi's career did not depend on "favours", IFP provincial legislature spokesman Blessed Gwala said.

ANC provincial spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said Gwala was ill informed. Buthelezi "knows what we are talking about". He did not elaborate.

Buthelezi said "delicate and important" negotiations could not be conducted in public, and he would not respond to "kites which are being flown" about his political future. He had held no discussions with President Nelson Mandela on the possibility of a future position in government.

"While I respect Jacob Zuma as the leader of the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal, he is not the president of the ANC."

He said it would be inappropriate for any IFP member to comment on the ANC's proposal, except national chairman Ben Ngubane.

The ANC proposed in a peace package last week that Buthelezi relinquish the chairmanship of the KwaZulu-Natal house of traditional leaders, and a new role "befitting his stature" be found at national level.

Gwala said the IFP was unhappy that the ANC had made its package public as this breached a confidentiality agreement. The issue of a position for Buthelezi should not form part of a peace package. He could become the deputy president or president only through the ballot box.

He said a foundation for peace would be laid if the ANC agreed to long-standing IFP proposals that the constitution be amended to recognise the institution of the Zulu monarchy, provide for the restoration of the Zulu kingdom within a federal dispensation and guarantee the involvement of chiefs at local government level.

After agreement on these and other differences was reached, the issue of special amnesty for perpetrators of political violence in the province — another key ANC proposal — could be dealt with.

An IFP source said the party had found the ANC's amnesty proposals, which provided for a special board to deal with applications at closed hearings, acceptable. However, the IFP wanted legal cross-examination so applicants did not "get away" with falsely implicating people.

Truth commissioner Richard Lyster said the amnesty proposals, which had not been canvassed with the body, would be discussed by the commission next week. In-camera hearings might create legal difficulties because "you cannot have one process for KwaZulu-Natal and another for the rest of SA".

Anti-defection clause is rejected

BD 10/6/97 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Allowing MPs to cross the floor and retain their parliamentary membership would in the short term favour the African National Congress (ANC) and hurt minority parties such as the National Party (NP), political analyst and University of Cape Town academic Prof Robert Schrire said yesterday.

However, it would make political realignment possible in the long term, he told Parliament's ad hoc committee on membership of legislatures.

Schrire and University of the Western Cape academic Prof Nico Steytler were briefing the committee on the desirability of scrapping the anti-defection clause. Both men came out in support of a qualified defection clause.

Scrapping the anti-defection clause would initially favour the ruling party, Schrire said.

"SA politics is no longer dominated by major ideological clashes. For the moment, at least, politics is dominated by a centrist consensus. Patronage and access to resources is thus the most powerful lever in political life.

"The ANC, the guardian of the state resources, is thus in the most powerful position to maintain its own unity while encouraging disunity in smaller parties."

In the long term, however, greater political flexibility might create more fluidity in politics.

Schrire said he believed it was a "big mistake" for former ANC MP Bantu Holomisa and former NP MP Roelf Meyer to think that political realignment was possible outside Parliament.

The two announced at the weekend they would join forces to start a new political party.

Schrire said the best choice for SA at present was not to allow an individual the right to cross the floor, but to allow a group the right to break away from an existing party and sit either as independents, or join another party or form a new party.

While the definition of "group" would be political he believed that it could be either 5% or 10% of the parliamentary membership of a party.

This would protect small parties where the minimum threshold would simply not be possible.

Although complete freedom of an individual to cross the floor and join any other party was the ideal, SA's stability was too tenuous to favour unrestricted individual choice, Schrire said.

Other options included the freedom of an MP to leave an existing party but to retain parliamentary membership as an independent only, or to leave a party and retain a seat in Parliament without the right to vote. — Sapa.

(3049)

Allowing MPs to cross floor 'will favour ANC'

CT 10/6/97

ALLOWING MPs to cross the floor and retain their parliamentary membership would in the short-term favour the ANC and hurt minority parties such as the National Party, political analyst Professor Robert Schrire of UCT said yesterday.

However, it would make political realignment possible in the long-term, he told Parliament's ad hoc committee on membership of legislatures.

Schrire, along with Professor Nico Steytler of UWC, were briefing the committee on the desirability of scrapping the anti-defection clause.

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"The ANC, the guardian of the state resources, is thus in the most powerful position to maintain its own unity while encouraging disunity in smaller parties."

In the longer term however, greater political flexibility might contribute to the fluidity of politics.

In an aside, Schrire said he believed it was a "big mistake" for former ANC MP Mr Bantu Holomisa and former NP MP Mr Roelf Meyer to think that political realignment was possible outside of Parliament.

The two announced at the weekend that they would join forces to start a new political party.

Schrire said it would be best not to allow individuals to cross the floor, but to allow a group to break away from an existing party and sit either as independents, join another party or form a new party. A group could be either five or 10% of the parliamentary membership of a party.

Although freedom for an individual to cross the floor and join any other party was the ideal option, South Africa's stability was too tenuous to favour unrestricted individual choice, Schrire said. — Sapa

NP resignations continue unabated

(304A)

CT 10/6/97

POLITICAL STAFF

PRETORIA: The election of reformist candidate Mr Sam de Beer as Gauteng leader of the NP at the weekend has done little to stem a stream of resignations from the party.

Two local government councillors announced yesterday their resignation from the embattled party, bringing to over 60 the number of members who have jumped ship since Mr Roelf Meyer's departure last month.

And a senior member of the party in KwaZulu-Natal is expected to follow suit tomorrow.

Johannesburg local government councillor Mr Eddie Venter announced yesterday that he would join former NP Gauteng youth leader Mr Paulo Andrade's new youth movement.

Venter, a northern metropolitan substructure councillor for Ward 20, said he believed the party needed fundamental changes in name and policy, which he had been advocating for a number of years.

He said he had considered resigning for several weeks, but had delayed his decision until the weekend NP elections.

"I'm not cross with the NP, I just think their time is up."

Andrade resigned last month, along with many youth executive committee leaders, citing fundamental differences with NP leader Mr F W de Klerk. He said he was working towards creating a new political youth movement outside of existing movements.

Venter's resignation was accompanied by that of Eastern Cape head council member and chairman of the Graaff-Reinet district Mr Johan Malherbe, who said he was dissatisfied with the internal politics of the party and believed in Meyer's New Movement Process.

"My main reason is the internal politics in the party in the Eastern Cape. I couldn't stand the negative politics anymore — it was personal politics on primary school level," he said.

He said he would be speaking to Meyer about joining him.

Speculation that the whip of the NP's caucus in Maritzburg, Mr Pieter van Pletzen, was also on his way out was fuelled yesterday when a media alert was issued by an unidentified source confirming his resignation.

Van Pletzen said he had not yet decided, and hinted at his likely plan of action.

"I am, in the light of the fact that there seems to be major confusion within the NP about the road ahead, still talking to the leadership of the NP and will make an announcement on Tuesday (today) about my political future."

He said he felt it fair to inform the leadership of any decision before announcing it in the press.

> *'I am not cross with the NP, I just think their time is up.' —*
>
> ***newly resigned NP councillor***

Deal upholds SA's access to Hong Kong

BD 13/6/97 (304A)

Stephen Laufer

SA HAD reached an interim agreement with China on measures guaranteeing continued unrestricted access for business and holiday travellers to Hong Kong, the foreign affairs department said yesterday.

The agreement, negotiated by Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad, ensures visa-free travel and air services to the city between July 1 and the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Beijing in January, and maintains the status of the consul-general. It includes new overflight rights for SA Airways (SAA) over China.

Pahad said the absence of an agreement would have adversely affected the ability of SA businessmen to operate effectively in Hong Kong and southern China until full diplomatic links were established.

Trade between Hong Kong and SA last year totalled $1,5bn and investment in SA was more than $270m. The possible withdrawal of landing rights for SAA in Hong Kong could have robbed it of one of its top 10 sources of SA-bound tourists.

The agreement comes after President Nelson Mandela's controversial decision to switch SA diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to Beijing.

Analysts said at the time that the early announcement of the decision, which was greeted with anger from Taipei, had been motivated by a desire to secure SA's representation in Hong Kong following the colony's reversion to China.

Hong Kong returns to Chinese rule on July 1, ending British rule.

A foreign affairs spokesman said yesterday it was still unclear whether SA would be officially represented at the handover ceremonies.

Pahad said SA travellers to Hong Kong would not require visas, and Hong Kong citizens would be able to travel freely to SA.

A foreign affairs official said SA visitors to Hong Kong wishing to travel to China would still need visas.

Chuenyane dropped from NP shadow cabinet

CT 13/6/97 (3049)

FORMER Administrator of Natal Mr Con Botha has made a political comeback by being appointed NP shadow minister of provincial and constitutional affairs.

While the new line-up of 25 shadow ministers sees an expanded team of black representatives from six to eight, Soweto NP leader Mr David Chuenyane has been dropped as public works shadow minister — just days after having to apologise for calling for the resignation of NP leader Mr F W de Klerk.

His shoes are filled by the virtually unknown — and only Indian representative in the shadow cabinet — Mr Desmond Padiachey. Chuenyane criticised De Klerk for the way in which he disbanded former Gauteng leader Mr Roelf Meyer's "new vision" task-team.



BACK: Con Botha

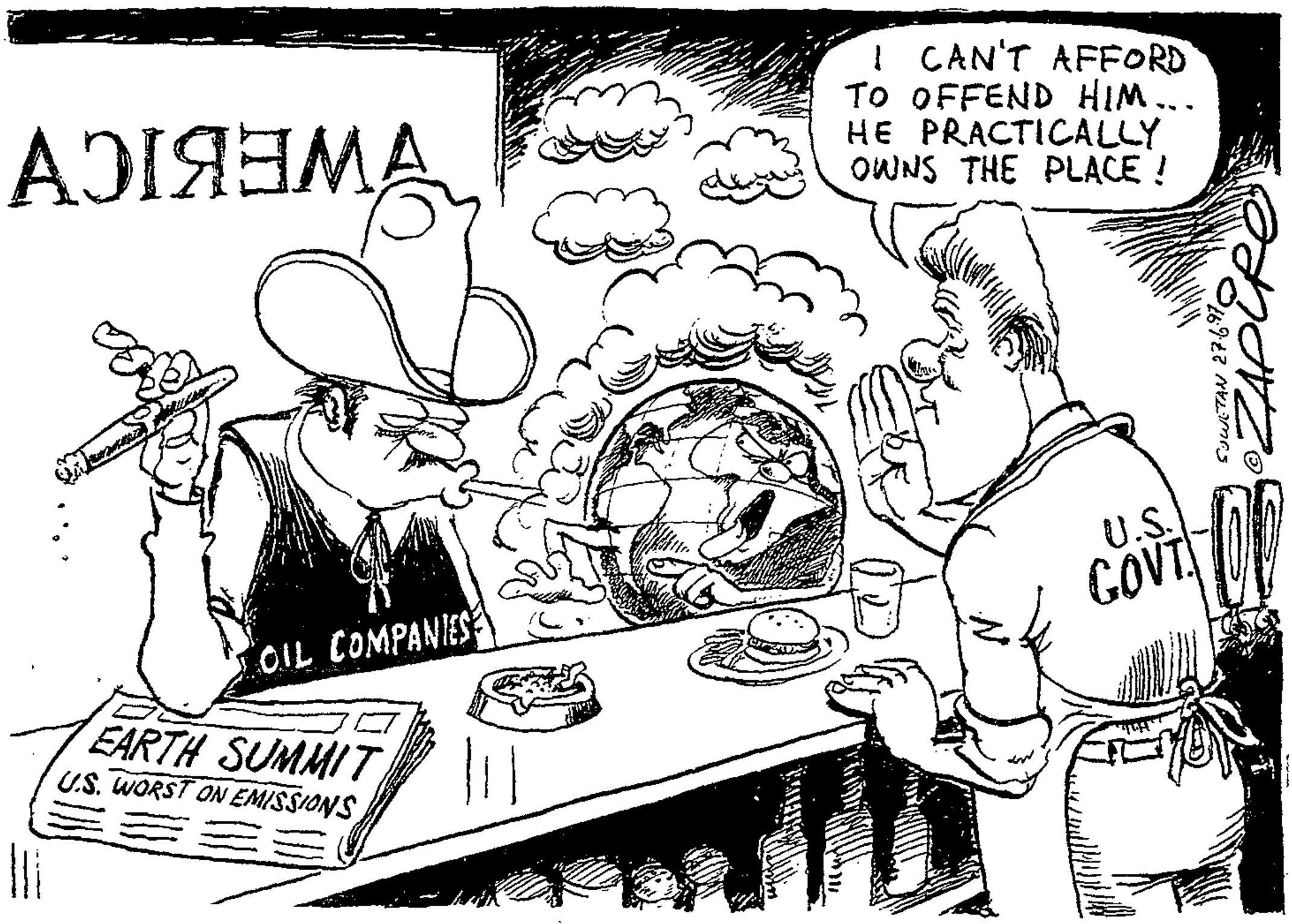
Botha, also a former MP for Umlazi in the old tricameral parliament, takes the place of Gauteng's Mr Fanus Schoeman who has been moved to De Klerk's office. This effectively means that he has become shadow minister to the ANC's Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Valli Moosa.

The new line-up, which is still dominated by white Afrikaans speakers, also includes former SABC news presenter Mr Cobus Dowry, who becomes the communications shadow minister. He replaces Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk who is now NP executive director.

The other new black shadow minister is Gauteng's Mr John Gogotya, who takes on public enterprises. He replaces Mr Dawie de Villiers, who will become the deputy secretary-general of the International Tourism Organisation.

The existing black shadow ministers are Mr Patrick McKenzie (welfare), Mr John Mavuso (transport), Mr Zenani Mnguni (water affairs and forestry), Mr Charles Ntsizi (arts, culture, science and technology), and Mr Jac Rabie (housing).

The new white shadow ministers are Mr Adriaan Blaas (labour), a former Newcastle MP, and Mr Andries Beyers (land affairs), former Conservative Party secretary general. — Political Staff



SA on the right track



Critics of the political scene are pessimistic but, with the exception of crime, SA's civil and state institutions are functioning quite well. **Julian Ogilvie Thompson** explains...

(304A) Sowetan 27/6/97

SINCE I last reported, there has been further progress in establishing political and economic stability, both essential for business confidence and increased investment.

In the political realm violence is now the rare exception, and the focus has properly turned to the functioning of the new Constitution and the beginnings of an inevitable and indeed highly desirable party political shake-up.

The current party line-up is a product of the past and, as our market democracy continues to evolve, one can increasingly expect to see both the ruling party and the opposition more accurately reflect new interests and values, perhaps along the lines of the Social Democrat-Christian Democrat divide that is observable in many industrialised societies.

The process of realignment should cause no concern to investors, foreign or domestic, or to South Africans as a whole, even if it should be accompanied by political turbulence.

Too many critics of the political scene are pessimistic both in general terms and in particular of the performance of Government and the civil service.

While there are certainly numerous excesses with regard to accepted democratic and ethical behaviour at all levels of government and while party political developments that further strengthen democracy are desirable, what should be remarked upon is precisely how well South Africa's institutions are continuing to provide democratic checks and balances.

The free Press, the judiciary, the churches, non-governmental organisations and the institutions of the Constitution like the Constitutional Court, Parliamentary Portfolio Committees, the Public Protector and the Auditor-General have all responded effectively to the challenges which have confronted them.

The existence of such a broad range of institutions, many of them independent, is one of the fundamental reasons for a continued positive outlook on the country's future.

As important is that government, on balance, has performed creditably in the face of enormous challenges, as fair-minded South Africans will acknowledge.

Indeed, since its democratic transition South Africa has enjoyed four years of positive economic growth, declining inflation, increased foreign investment and generally good race

Many South Africans have rightly stressed that, constrained as it is for all resources, government needs to place a premium on effectiveness.

This means maintaining a judicious but difficult balance between equity considerations and efficiency considerations. Government must prioritise its actions and not try to do everything at once. A further important consideration is that there is a limit to the amount of change, however desirable, that a society in transition can digest at any one time.

Much of the success of South Africa's peaceful transition has rightly been attributed to the emphasis placed on reconciliation by President Nelson Mandela.

There are however signs that the spirit of reconciliation is flagging, and that many white South Africans are overly cynical and pessimistic about the progress of the country, and are consequently withdrawing from participation in the broader society or even emigrating.

Defensively dismissive

In turn government often perceives all criticism to be hostile and racially motivated, and in many cases is defensively dismissive of the actual or potential contribution of those outside the ruling party.

The solution to this conundrum lies in the recognition by all South Africans that when there is government ineffectiveness, whether at national, provincial or local level, its source often lies in the emergence into the open, of problems created during apartheid and in the lack of experience of many now in the public sector and government.

In no area has the combination of the legacy of the past and ineffectual current management combined so damagingly as in the criminal justice system, in particular its near total incapacity to handle violent crime – which is a feature of many countries in transition.

The approach adopted by Business Against

Steadily eschewing confrontational public criticism, BAC has sought to gain influence with government in determined but private engagement. It is my belief that this supportive strategy helped convince government that its original assessment that crime was being exaggerated by those pampered in the past by the apartheid apparatus was wrong and that this is a serious national problem.

In bringing private sector analysis to bear through sponsored and *pro bono* work, BAC was able to assist key political actors in putting in place the National Crime Prevention Strategy and some important systemic changes.

However, while some of these programmes will serve to build systems and capacity over the medium to long term, it became clear that the South African Police Services (SAPS) and other parts of the criminal justice system lack the management skills to prioritise and mobilise resources effectively in the short term.

The consequent inability to combat crime lies at the root of low morale among the public, and indeed the SAPS itself.

Hence, the decision by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to invite Mr Meyer Kahn, one of South Africa's toughest and most experienced managers, to take up the post of chief executive of the SAPS with responsibility for all strategic, organisational and administrative issues, represents a new milestone in constructive cooperation between the public and the private sectors.

While the step in no way guarantees quick successes, it does signal strong political will on the part of the Government and an equally strong determination by the private sector to support decisive action. The step is also important because it will help build bridges between business and government, create mutual confidence and attack some of the misconceptions that still occasionally bedevil relationships.

Perhaps it will also point the way for the private sector to help ensure that considerations of efficiency and effectiveness rise on govern-

Canada gives SA mixed rating

ARG 17/6/97 (3044)

Canada – The Toronto-based Globe and Mail has featured a detailed analysis of the South African Government's performance and has awarded Pretoria passing marks in four out of six areas examined.

Under the heading "Report Card on ANC", the daily gave Pretoria an A-minus in economy, with the notation: "The Government is probably as close to a national consensus on macro-economic policy as is possible."

The lowest grade on the boxed "card" was an E, in law and order. "Excuses and statistics cannot hide the fact the state cannot protect South Africans from one another," it said in the remarks column. In an accompanying article, headed "ANC performs economic balancing act", Michael Valpy reported South Africa had the world's highest violent crime rate.

Pretoria was given another failing grade, a D-plus, in health care: "Muddy vision, few advances."

It squeezed by in housing with a C-minus and the notation: "Much more effort and attention required."

In infrastructure, the Government rated a respectable B.

"High marks for achievement and energy but the policy needs more clarity," it said under remarks. – Sapa

From pariah to player, learning on the job

ET 17/6/97 (SOUTH)

PAUL ALEXANDER

THREE years after shucking apartheid, South Africa is trying to emerge as Africa's major diplomatic player. The on-the-job training has been trying, expensive and, at times, humbling for a nation trying to show the world that Africa can solve its problems instead of relying on others for help.

With a charismatic leader in President Nelson Mandela and an economy far stronger than that of all its regional allies combined, South Africa finds itself under pressure to show leadership after decades as a pariah state.

"I think South Africa is going to play a role in the region whether it likes to or not," says Richard Cornwell, head of current affairs for the Africa Institute of South Africa, a think-tank.

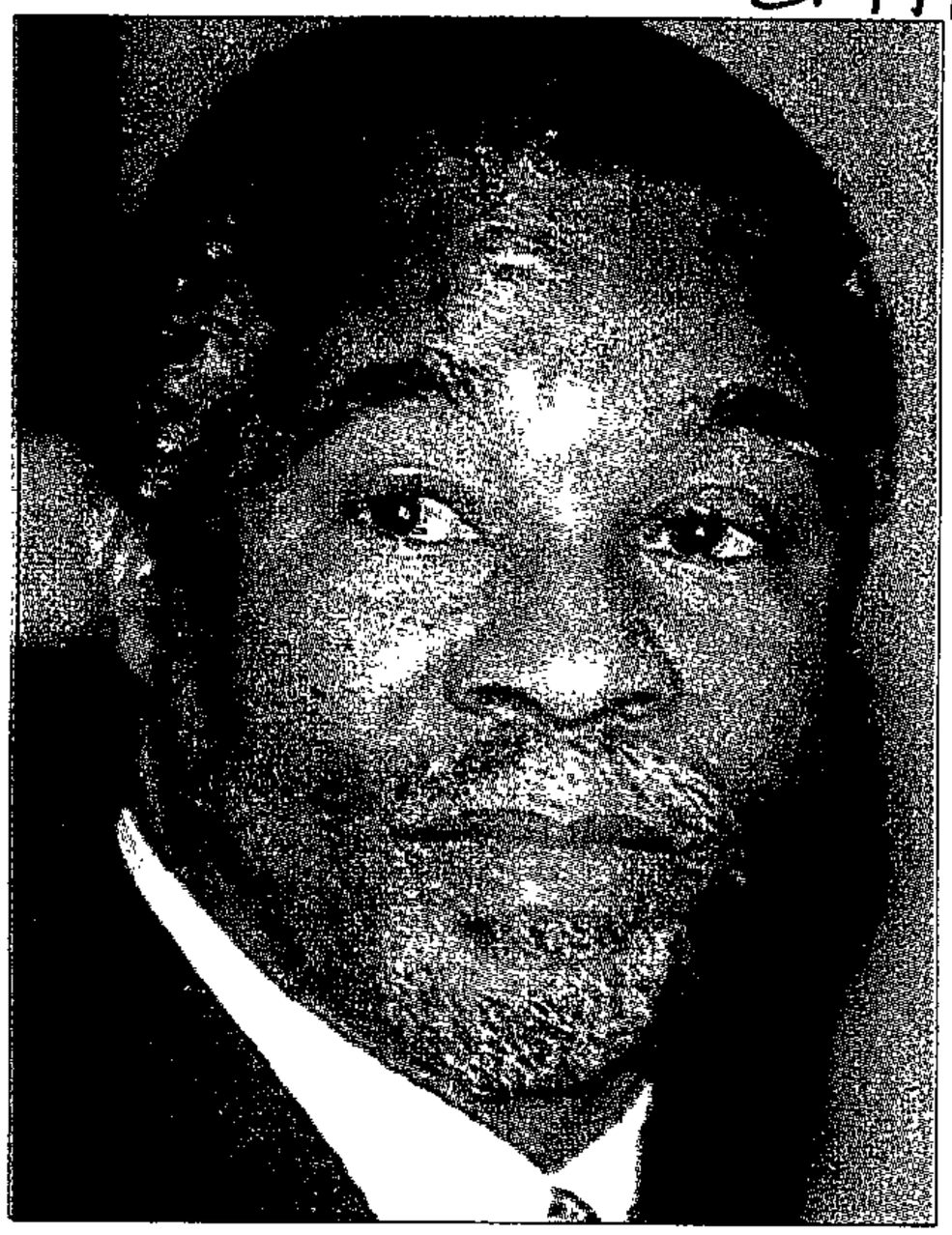
Government officials freely admit mistakes have been made, due mostly to inexperience in dealing with global matters after decades of isolation and internal struggle against apartheid.

Still, the credentials are impressive. South Africa has international stature for its negotiated, peaceful transition from white-minority rule to a black-led democracy. Mandela is one of three Nobel Peace Prize winners still active in national affairs, along with opposition leader FW de Klerk and Truth and Reconciliation Commission chairman Desmond Tutu, the retired Anglican archbishop.

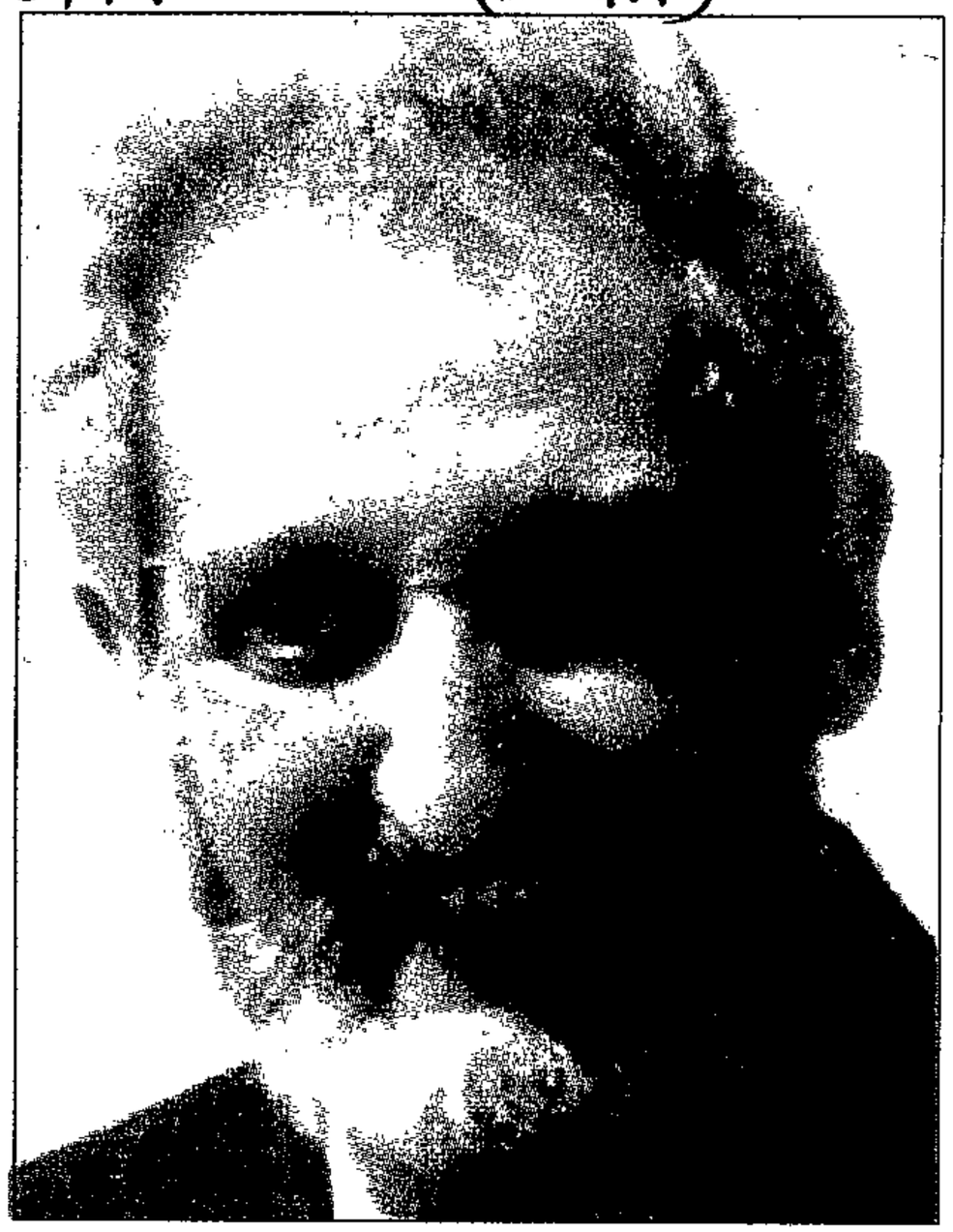
With the goal of promoting development and growth on this continent, officials say solving chronic regional conflicts must be the top priority.

"It is important that Africa deal more pro-actively and aggressively with African problems," Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad said. "South Africa's involvement is very important in general for economic and political reasons. None of our hopes for improvement is possible without conflict prevention."

Colonial powers Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal have reduced their roles in Africa. South Africa's peaceful shift from apartheid in 1994 launched a period of stability in Southern Africa, followed by Mozambique's elections and the Angolan peace treaty later that year.



HEIR-APPARENT: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has played an important role in representing SA in Africa.



CONFLICT PREVENTION: Deputy Foreign Minister Pahad said if Zaire were unstable, SA would suffer the consequences.

A change in the exercise of regional power ensued. When tiny Lesotho's king dissolved the elected government in 1994, Mandela led a troika of Southern African leaders who used threats and persuasion to reverse the move.

The next diplomatic effort proved less successful. Mandela sent envoys to Nigeria in 1995 to try to prevent the executions of playwright Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni tribesmen.

When the Nigerian government hanged them anyway, an angry Mandela called for immediate sanctions by the Commonwealth and Western powers. He was ignored, showing that no matter how high his international profile, Mandela still lacked the personal power to sway global policy.

Cornwell pointed out that diplomacy required money for the formulation of policy and the physical act of negotiating. Faced with staggering social needs after apartheid, South Africa has little cash to spare.

"A major problem is who foots the bill," Cornwell said. "They can't do it alone. The emphasis must be on multilateral efforts."

In its highest-profile role to date, South Africa took the lead in promoting mediation in the former Zaire's civil war. Mandela arranged the first face-to-face meeting, on a South African naval ship, between dictator Mobutu Sese Seko and rebel leader Laurent Kabila, who now is president of the newly named Democratic Republic of Congo.

"We were concerned that if Zaire blew up, it would have serious effects on the region," Pahad said. "If it is unstable, South Africa will suffer with refugees, the proliferation of weapons and the damage to the image of Africa abroad."

Mandela took a highly visible role, supported by heir-apparent Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Not everyone was impressed. Kabila kept Mandela waiting for several hours for the shipboard meeting, then failed to show up for a second meeting.

But the feared bloody battle for Kinshasa never occurred, as Mobutu's soldiers refused to fight after the ailing despot fled the capital with Kabila's fighters approaching.

It was unclear how much impact South Africa's efforts made. Just before Mobutu went into exile, his closest West African allies told him the end had come.

"We cannot look at these types of situations as successes or failures," Pahad said of the South African mission, which cost millions of dollars and thousands of man-hours.

South Africa has business interests in Congo and the central African country's vast hydroelectric potential — estimated at 100 000 megawatts — could bolster plans for a regional electricity grid.

"We will continue to be involved even when there is no perceived economic interest," Pahad said, but added: "We're not going to pretend we have the capacity to be involved in every issue to this extent."

For example, South Africa has deferred to West African leaders in dealing with the latest crisis: a May 25 military coup that ousted a democratically elected government in Sierra Leone.

"I think that South Africa is still trying to define its role," said Jeffrey Herbst, associate professor at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School.

"The new South Africa is only three years old, so it is reasonable for them to have a long period of uncertainty where policy is defined on a case-by-case basis," Herbst said. "Of course, the region will continue to pose novel questions which will make a concrete foreign policy hard to design." — Sapa-AP

Chiefs demand more financial perks

(304A) BD 29/6/97

BISHO — Government should grant African kings state funerals and also change the way local government worked, the Eastern Cape's provincial house of traditional leaders decided yesterday.

In a morning session, the house ratified a 31-page document of responses to, views about, and actions on traditional affairs issues queried by the national department of constitutional development.

Clause 15 of the document states that kings (Kumkani) should be given state funerals and government should pay for the casket, roads for mourners, temporary toilets, groceries, water and a public address system.

Chiefs should be accorded similar benefits, it says.

Tensions between chiefs, kings, headmen and the predominantly Sanco-aligned transitional rural councils were evident in a number of clauses.

Clause 12 states that rural councils were established without the participation of traditional leaders, and therefore do not have support.

"Still, we are willing to enter into negotiations with the government with a view to remedy the situation," the document reads.

Payment of traditional leaders is discussed in the document, asking the government to recognise traditional leaders' secretaries as town clerks and pay them accordingly.

Government is also asked to subsidise the cost of messengers, cleaners, caretakers and watchmen employed by chiefs and headmen.

On issues of land ownership, the document states land claims stretch back to the 15th century when "colonialists and imperialists" landed in the country.

The suggested solution to land claims against commercial farms was incorporating the farm into a tribal authority, title deed notwithstanding, and allowing the farmer to continue as long as he paid royalties to the relevant traditional authority.

The document also holds the communal land tenure system up as being "highly secure", and further asks for housing subsidies to be available to "deserving families who are living on communal land".

The final clause of the house of traditional leaders' document reads: "The representations are not made in a spirit of confrontation or hostility towards the government". — ECN.

State's role 'is facilitator, not goods provider'

(3049) BD 27/6/97

Lumkile Mondi

THE 1997 World Development Report is devoted to the changing role of the state in a changing world.

In four phases, the report maps the challenges which the state must overcome. It addresses the role of the state, matches the state's role to its capability, suggests reinvigorating institutional capability, and endorses removing obstacles to change.

The report identifies the collapse of centralised economies of the former communist eastern bloc and former Soviet Union. It also examines the fiscal crisis of the welfare state in developed countries, the success of state intervention in eastern Asian economies, the collapse of some states and the explosion of humanitarian emergencies in several parts of the world.

Before statisticians rejoice over the bank's "bringing back of the state back", they should read the complete text which argues that the state should be a facilitator and regulator rather than a provider of goods and services.

Libertarians and Marxist-Leninists should also take note that being a facilitator and a regulator is not tantamount to the state withering away.

Its main argument is that state capability must be increased for it to be effective. Capability is defined as the ability of the state to undertake and promote collective action efficiently. Effectiveness is achieved by matching the state's role to capability and by reinvigorating all public institutions.

The first part of the report on the role of the state glosses over the historical evolution of the state and its contribution in development. The bank is known for its research and material assistance to economies where output per head is less that US$2 000.

For example, in the 1980s sub-Saharan Africa benefited, albeit unsuccessfully, from interventions by the bank through its structural adjustment programmes. In 1989 the bank released a report "Sub-Saharan Africa: from crisis to sustainable development" which acknowledged the complexities of all problems experienced by these countries.

By recognising that change will have to be driven from inside, the report appears to acknowledge their problems but is too busy to provide solutions.

It is therefore not surprising that there is no politics in the report.

tion, bounded rationality and opportunism frustrate the allocative efficiency of the market, whereas the state could be undermined by the incentive problem (markets set standards through the price system). The benefits of each have to be weighed against costs. The benefits can be maximised and the risks better managed through a process of careful and transparent consideration.

It is seldom the case that the market will allocate resources better, as the report argued. A case-by-case treatment can be more effective and efficient than an ideological one.

In conclusion, the report argued that the state should match role to capability to be effective in macroeconomic management and service delivery. Understanding the state's capability also provides opportunities for the private sector to do what it does best.

However, the report fails to recognise that the state can also allocate efficiently. Costs and benefits of each have to be weighed before transferring responsibility.

Countries dogged by lawlessness are ignored by the report. Learning through experience could provide such countries with an opportunity to start over again by deterring force and fraud, enforcing contracts, and, above all, helping to solve problems of asymmetric information.

Lumkile Mondi is group economist at Transnet.

vices, and unlocks opportunities for private sector development.

However, the report acknowledges that scaling back the overextended state is a political, institutional and technical issue and therefore should be handled with care. Transparency is important when governments unbundle.

Greater use of markets creates competition and more exit options for users seeking better quality of services.

According to the report, countries that have reinvigorated their public institutions have set up performance-based agencies and formal contracts even for complex activities, such as defence, education and health care.

In the 1980s, New Zealand split up its large multipurpose ministries into focused business units headed by managers on fixed term, output-based contracts with considerable autonomy. The result was a turnaround in the budget deficit of about 9% to the gross domestic product into a surplus.

Therefore, the means of managing necessary change to ease disruptions and develop new opportunities for economic and social progress should be considered when deciding between state or market driven economies.

The benefits in terms of lower costs of services, flexibility and improvement should determine whether the state or market will allocate efficiently. Public misgivings about potentially adverse effects of transferring services to the market must also be addressed.

However, asymmetry of informa-

Is the World Bank abandoning the poor by focusing only on bankable states?

The private sector's view in the report on institutional capability is telling. Avoiding price distortions, maintaining macroeconomic stability and liberalising trade and investment are identified as good policies for growth.

This recipe for good policies is well known, but too many countries still fail to take it to heart, and poor performance persists, notes the report.

SA has learned the lesson and results are gradually emerging from its strategy for growth, employment and redistribution (Gear). A net inflow of R3,6bn in the first quarter of 1997 was recorded compared to a net inflow of R3,9bn for the whole of 1996.

However, the report does not explain why investors operate in countries that pursue different macroeconomic policies which diverge from the recipe. There is evidence China violates intellectual property rights, human rights and uses prisoners in the production process. However, China attracts huge foreign direct investment and is one of the fastest growing economies.

The report argues for the unbundling of the delivery of infrastructure and social service to achieve a better match between roles and capabilities. Unbundling frees up public resources for high priority activities, paves the way to better, cheaper ser-

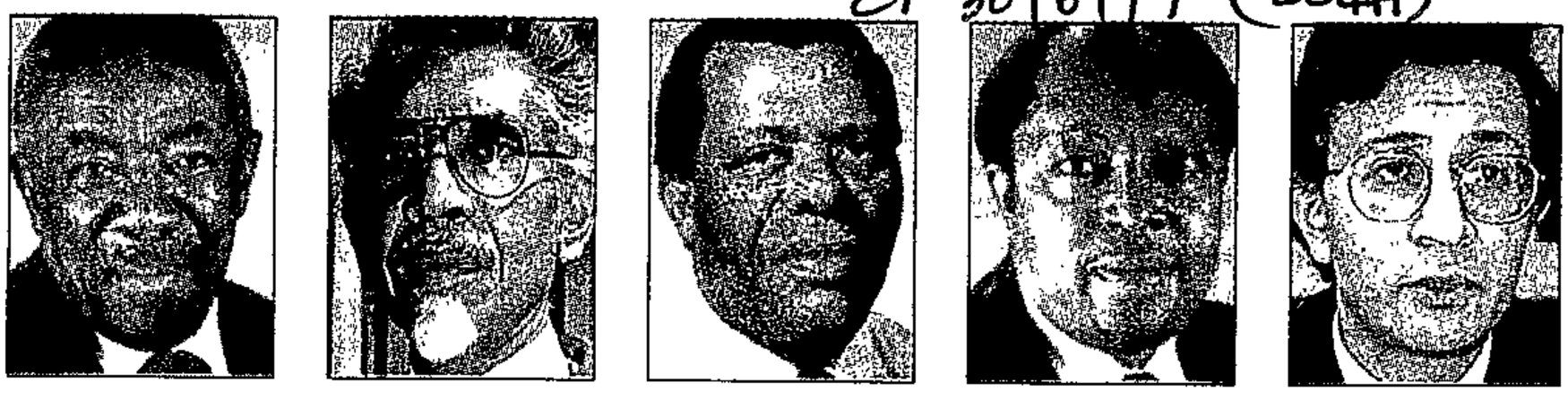
CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1997 ★

LENGTHY PROCESS TO LEGALISE MOVE

MPs 'back Parliament shift'

CT 30/6/97 (304A)

AS THE HOME of Parliament, Cape Town has the law on its side — but that doesn't mean the battle is already won. Political Writer **KARIN SCHIMKE** reports.



FIVE IN FAVOUR: Politicians (from left) Alfred Nzo, Mac Maharaj, Steve Tshwete, Sibusiso Bengu and Mohammed Valli Moosa favour moving Parliament to Pretoria according to that city's Metro Council exco chairman Peter Maluleka.

IF anyone knows whether President Nelson Mandela would rather have Parliament in Cape Town or Pretoria, they are not telling ... and neither is he.

His spokesman, Mr Parks Mankahlana, yesterday said the president had never indicated his preference.

This, despite claims by Pretoria Metro Council executive committee chairman, Mr Peter Maluleka, that Mandela supported a relocation to Pretoria.

Maluleka also claimed five cabinet ministers — Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Steve Tshwete, Dr Sibusiso Bengu and Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa — backed Pretoria's bid to be the nation's legislative capital.

"I have spoken to them. They said their tasks would be made easier if Parliament were in Pretoria," Maluleka said yesterday.

Politicians are treading carefully now, but the question of where Parliament should be could become one of the most emotive debates seen in the National Assembly since the new government came into power.

"This is going to be more emotive than the abortion debate," said Mr Kallie Hanekom of the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP), which is fighting Cape Town's case to keep Parliament where it is.

History shows this may not be a far-fetched expectation as to the proportions of this dispute.

In 1909 — when negotiations not unlike those at Kempton Park resulted in bringing together four provinces, and Boer and Brit, together in the new Union — the Convention almost failed because of a dispute over the same question.

Compromise resulted in the current situation: Pretoria became the administrative capital, Bloemfontein the judicial capital and Cape Town the legislative capital.

An article in the Cape Times of February 5, 1909, quotes "a merchant" as saying that with two capitals "the neck between the Cape legislative head and the Pretoria administrative body will be stretched to undue length, and the business of South Africa will stick in the gullet".

Another change of government in 1948 saw the debate returning with equal heat.

The issue returned to newspaper headlines again in the 90s and at the beginning of this year, National Assembly Speaker, Dr Frene Ginwala, appealed that the capital issue be resolved by December.

What few seem aware of, is that the highest law of the land has already settled the question. The Constitution states that Cape Town will be the seat of Parliament and that this can only be changed by a vote of 201 MPs, subject to approval by the National Council of Provinces (NCOP).

If the NCOP does not approve, a vote of 280 in favour can change the seat of Parliament. In other words, two-thirds of the members of Parliament must want it to change.

Also, Parliament can only be moved by an Act of Parliament. So a lengthy process of public hearings must be undertaken.

Based on the ease with which more than 700 000 signatures were collected for a petition to keep Parliament here, Capetonians are likely to take part vigorously.

What is worrying, though, said Hanekom, was that Capetonians were being fairly apathetic about the serious threat posed by Pretoria's bid to have Parliament.

Hanekom said: "Capetonians tend to think because it's in the Constitution we've already won and we needn't fight. Or they think we've already lost. We haven't, but if we don't put up a fight we could."

Hanekom said the ramifications of losing Parliament were far-reaching. The most serious consequences would be the loss of jobs, the loss to the economy and to tourism.

"We're doing such a good job on the Olympic bid. Why aren't we fighting as hard for Parliament?" he asked.

"Winning the Olympic bid is not going to be a consolation for losing Parliament."

'Parly for Pretoria' backing denied

ARG 1/7/97

(304A)

Pretoria – Four cabinet ministers have denied publicly supporting a bid to move Parliament to Pretoria, but a councillor remains adamant they did so.

"I will not retract my statement, I will even repeat it," said Pretoria Metropolitan Council executive committee chairman Peter Maluleka.

He recently claimed President Mandela and ministers Steve Tshwete, Sibusiso Bengu, Alfred Nzo and Mac Maharaj had backed Pretoria's bid to become the next legislative capital.

Mr Mandela's spokesman Parks Mankahlana said the president had never indicated his preference in this regard.

Mr Maluleka said yesterday he had made his statement based on press reports last year that Mr Mandela had pointed out a site near the Union Buildings which he said might make a good location for Parliament.

Yesterday Sports and Recreation Minister Steve Tshwete also denied the statement.

"Individual preferences are confidential and should not be handled as cabinet decisions," his office said.

Spokesmen for Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and Transport Minister Mac Maharaj have all denied Mr Maluleka's statement.

Mr Maharaj's spokeswoman said he believed it was a decision for the Cabinet. – Sapa

Tug of war hots up over moving of Parliament

(304A)

W Cape breakaway hint

ARG 7/7/97

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

With five months to go to the official decision on where Parliament should be, Cape Town and Pretoria have renewed their tug-of-war.

Acting Western Cape Premier Gerald Morkel has hinted that the Western Cape would consider seceding from the rest of the country if Parliament was to be moved from Cape Town.

Mr Morkel said during a radio interview that should attempts to take Parliament away from Cape Town prove to be a political ploy, the people of the Western Cape should consider "going it alone".

Reacting to Mr Morkel's statement, Kallie Hanekom, chief executive of the Cape Town lobby group, Citizens' Alliance for Parliament, said the calls for secession were understandable.

People of the Western Cape, correctly or not, were beginning to believe they were being punished.

"Take this sentiment and add in a threat to move Parliament, with its concomitant loss of jobs, prestige, economic manifestations and other negative consequences, and you have a growing and increasingly powerful lobby to move towards secession."

Mr Morkel estimated job losses if Parliament was moved at about 10 000.

Meanwhile, reports appearing to indicate high-level support from four top ANC cabinet ministers have been denied.

Sapa reports that four cabinet ministers denied supporting a bid to move Parliament to Pretoria, but Pretoria city councillor Peter Maluleka remained adamant that they had done so.

Mr Maluleka also claimed that President Mandela and several cabinet ministers backed Pretoria's bid to become the legislative capital.

Mr Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, denied this, and said the president had never voiced a preference.

Mr Maluleka said that he had made his statement based on press reports last year that Mr Mandela had pointed out a site that he said at the time might make a good location for Parliament.

Sports and Recreation Minister Steve Tshwete's, Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu's, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo's and Transport Minister Mac Maharaj's reported support for Pretoria was also denied.

THE BIG STORY

Is Parliament losing its powers?

ARL 7/7/97 (304A)

IS POLITICAL POWER BEING SHIFTED FROM PARLIAMENT TO INDIVIDUAL MINISTERS? COLIN DOUGLAS, PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS MANAGER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS, DISCUSSES A DISTURBING TREND IN SOUTH AFRICA'S DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY



LEON MÜLLER

A bold front? the elegant facade of Parliament could come to conceal a powerless body forced to rubber-stamp ministerial decisions

Parliament is in danger of becoming a rubber stamp as Government ministers adopt the habit of writing laws to give themselves wide and loosely defined powers to make regulations.

The implications for South Africa's democratic life are worrying, as these laws allow ministers and their officials to draw up policy, rules and penalties behind closed doors, without the public scrutiny and debate of the Parliamentary process.

Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma is one of the Cabinet's prime regulators. For example, her controversial Medicines Control Amendment Bill, withdrawn in the face of criticism but soon to be reintroduced, provides that she may make regulations on no less than 38 matters, including the price of medicines and "the circumstances in which any medicine may be sold".

The Minister of Health will be required to "consult" the Medicines Control Council before issuing a regulation – but the council will be appointed by her and "accountable" to her. She will be required to publish draft regulations for public comment, but not if she is "of the opinion that the public interest requires (a regulation) to be made without delay".

The effect of these provisions would be to give the minister the power to bypass Parliament on key matters of policy, and to assume sole authority for major decisions affecting the economy.

The entire parliamentary debating process would be circumvented in respect of such decisions, and Parliament would have absolutely no power, short of scrapping the Act, to overturn any of the minister's regulations.

Dr Zuma's draft National Health Bill goes even further, giving her and her successors the power to "issue regulations on any matter necessary or expedient to achieving the purpose of this Act", including the activities of private health care providers.

Such a regulation may "confer a power or duty on any person, body or public authority", may include conditions and exemptions, and may differentiate between different categories of person and parts of the country. For some regulations, the minister would require the consent of a majority of provincial health MECs; on others her powers are exclusive.

If Parliamentarians grant Dr Zuma and her colleagues these kinds of powers, they will legislate away their responsibility for considering and making policy. They also will expand State power, giving ministers a back-door route to make rules which might not otherwise survive the process of public and parliamentary scrutiny and debate.

Lawmaking by executive decree is nothing new in South Africa; indeed, it was the norm in apartheid South Africa. The troubling thing is that the new Government has learned the tricks of the old.

Under the Labour Relations Act (LRA), for example, Labour Minister Tito Mboweni inherits the power invented by his NP predecessors under the previous legislation – to extend bargaining council agreements, which regulate matters such as minimum wages, to employers and employees which are not party to these agreements.

For good measure, the act also gives the minister the power to make regulations on "any matter" when he considers this to be "necessary or expedient" to promote good labour relations.

He is required to "consult" Nedlac – but not Parliament – before issuing such regulations.

This theme is taken up in other proposed items of labour legislation.

The green paper on employment equity proposes to give the minister the power to approve or reject the affirmative action plans which employers would be obliged to draw up.

Mr Mboweni's Basic Conditions of Employment Bill gives him and his successors the power to set minimum wages and ban contract work in certain sectors of the economy.

And the minister – unlike employers and employees – has the discretion to vary most of the bill's basic conditions, such as working hours and overtime rates. He may replace or exclude virtually any basic condition in respect of any category of employees or employers, or in respect of a particular employer or employee.

The Basic Conditions of Employment Bill points to another danger inherent in executive discretion, particularly when it affects companies' bottom lines: the heightened potential for the abuse of power.

There is no requirement in the bill that the minister's decisions to vary basic conditions treat competing firms in an even-handed manner, opening the way for future ministers to favour their friends.

Whether or not labour ministers exercise their powers unfairly, there is no doubt that executive lawmaking by these ministers, past and present, has had a damaging impact on the economy and job creation, much of which has escaped the public scrutiny which would have gone with parliamentary legislating.

There is growing concern about the implications of this kind of "indirect" lawmaking in other countries, notably the USA, where regulation swelled to cost the economy $600-billion a year in 1995, and is now estimated to cost the average household more than its annual income tax bill.

Regulation in the West has grown apace over the past three decades, as the shift towards a free market consensus has deprived governments of old-style interventionist tools like nationalisation and price controls.

But while regulation may be less apparent to the naked eye, it is just as expensive.

In South Africa, though, the issue is barely on the political agenda.

The draft Open Democracy Bill, which gives the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications broad powers to make regulations on any matter which he believes to be "necessary or desirable", does take a step towards more democratic decision-making by requiring him to get the consent of the Human Rights Commission before making such regulations. But this development is not matched in other legislation.

The South African Institute of Race Relations is undertaking a project to highlight the costs of executive lawmaking and advocate policy changes aimed at reducing such regulation and making it more democratic, taking into account other countries' recent experiments in regulatory reform.

Policymakers in the US have, over the past decade, begun implementing several measures to render regulation fairer, cheaper, more rational and more transparent.

These measures have required regulatory bodies to publish their regulations in draft form, together with their reasoning, to give affected parties an opportunity to comment before such regulations are promulgated.

For expensive regulations, the government is required to publish cost-benefit analyses before promulgation and, in a terms of law passed last year, Congress, as the supreme lawmaking body in the land, is entitled to rescind any federal regulation.

Whatever regulatory reforms may be undertaken, though, the deciding factor will be the temperament of Parliament.

If MPs are willing to cede their power to ministers and pass the buck on tough policy decisions, reform will have little real effect and Parliament will, indeed, become a rubber stamp.

SA strengthens ties with South America

The announcement that SA is to establish embassies in Peru and Venezuela is a foreign relations breakthrough, writes Greg Mills

(304A) BD 14/7/97

SA has, until now, been comparatively underrepresented in the Americas with just eight SA embassies for 35 countries, including the US and Canada.

But the recent announcement that SA embassies are to be set up in Peru and Venezuela raises a number of interesting questions about why Lima and Caracas were chosen. The answers lie in a combination of the strategic benefits both offer to SA.

The cost-benefit criteria to set up missions have to take into account economic as well as other dimensions of SA's national interest, including strategic location.

This, of course, involves more than just a simple assessment of the bulk of trade and investment flows. It must also include an estimation of the nature of the partner's market — including a demographic breakdown, types of goods exported, state of infrastructure, and trends in the rates of increase in trade flows.

Any potential expansion in mission numbers will be severely tested by such criteria in an environment where belt-tightening and cost-cutting is the order of the day. In its 1996 budget, foreign affairs was given R1,146bn, just a 0,7% increase on the previous year and far below inflation and the rate of the rand's international depreciation.

The 1997 budget saw a 12,4% increase in nominal terms. The cabinet sliced about R130m off an original request for capital projects for improvements to SA's foreign mission, priced at R152m.

Already this budget has been sorely tested by the dramatic expansion in diplomatic ties. From just 30 overseas mission in 1990, SA now has relations with all bar 22 (including North Korea, Iraq, Somalia, Liberia, Haiti and Sierra Leone) of the 170 or so countries and institutions holding diplomatic status. Before the latest announcement, it had 108 residential diplomatic accreditations (75 embassies or high commissions) abroad (as opposed to 167 in SA, of which 96 are embassies/consulates) and 44 nonresidential accreditations.

To give a comparison of similar size powers, Argentina has 80 embassies, 52 consulates and five multilateral missions; and Chile 66 embassies and eight multilateral missions.

Along with this increase, since 1990 a number of missions have been closed, including Houston, the Comores, Glasgow, Istanbul, St Petersburg, Sydney, Rio, Blantyre, Zurich, Ascuncion and Karachi.

But why increased representation in Latin America?

Take Venezuela, which has been characterised by extremes of growth (over 6% in the 1950s and 1960s) contrasting with decay and instability, as an example. Although oil — which accounts for more than 70% of total government revenue — brought, in the words of former Minister of Industry Moises Naim, "Venezuela to the peak of prosperity, it did not cushion the country's plunge into economic crisis".

The oil boom which had sustained industries despite decreasing productivity, went bust in the late 1970s and the economy shrank with it. By 1985 real GDP was 25% lower than it had been seven years earlier. Capital flight, escalating foreign debt (over $30bn in the 1980s) and the loss of access to international credit markets led to a severe foreign exchange shortage.

By the mid-1980s the government was devoting almost 70% of all its export revenues to service its foreign debt, while the budget deficit had grown from 3% of GDP in 1985 to 9,4% three years later.

A rampage of rioting and looting in February 1989 which flared in response to bus fare increases brought Venezuela to the brink of collapse. Following from this, President Carlos Andres Perez instituted wide-ranging "shock-tactic" macro-economic reforms known as El Gran Viraje, or "The Great Turnaround".

Determined to modernise the economy, Perez's macroeconomic stabilisation measures were to be complemented by major structural reforms: trade liberalisation; deregulation of capital, goods and labour markets; reform of the agricultural, industrial and financial sectors; foreign investment promotion; and privatisation.

Up until 1996, Venezuela successfully privatised 32 state-owned enterprises, resulting in more than $2bn in revenue.

As a result, the Venezuelan economy grew by 6,5% in 1990, and 10,4% in 1991. Although this dipped to just 1,2% in 1996, for 1997 it is predicted to pick up again at 4%.

However, the management of such wide-ranging reforms has brought with it political challenges: two failed coup attempts occurred in 1992, and Perez was removed from office in May 1993 on corruption charges.

In April 1996, the current incumbent, Dr Rafael Caldera Rodriguez, began implementing his own economic reforms — known as Agenda Venezuela — aimed at reducing inflation (running at 60%), restoring investor confidence and improving resource allocation.

In investment terms, Venezuela possesses vast mineral wealth, with large reserves of iron ore, bauxite, coal, gold, diamonds and silver.

With 12 operating refineries, it is the ninth largest petroleum producer worldwide, and the largest supplier to the US.

SA mining links are growing. Gencor has signed a consortium agreement with a Venezuelan partner, Sural, to formalise a partnership in a $3bn privatisation of the state-owned aluminium firm Corporacio Venezolana de Guyana.

In 1995, Anglo American acquired a 75% stake in the Loma de Hierro nickel project, bringing its total holding to 85%.

The volume of SA's trade relations with Latin America increased substantially by 27% from a total of R4,5bn in 1995 to R5,7bn ($1,3bn) in 1996. Of the latter figure, SA exports amounted to R2,8bn, and imports R2,9bn.

There were a number of spectacular performers in this group: Venezuelan-SA trade increased by more than 186% to R188m from 1995/1996; and trade with Brazil by 20% to R2,3bn; with Peru by 60% to R203m; with Colombia by 124%; with Uruguay by 150%; and with Mexico an astounding 226%.

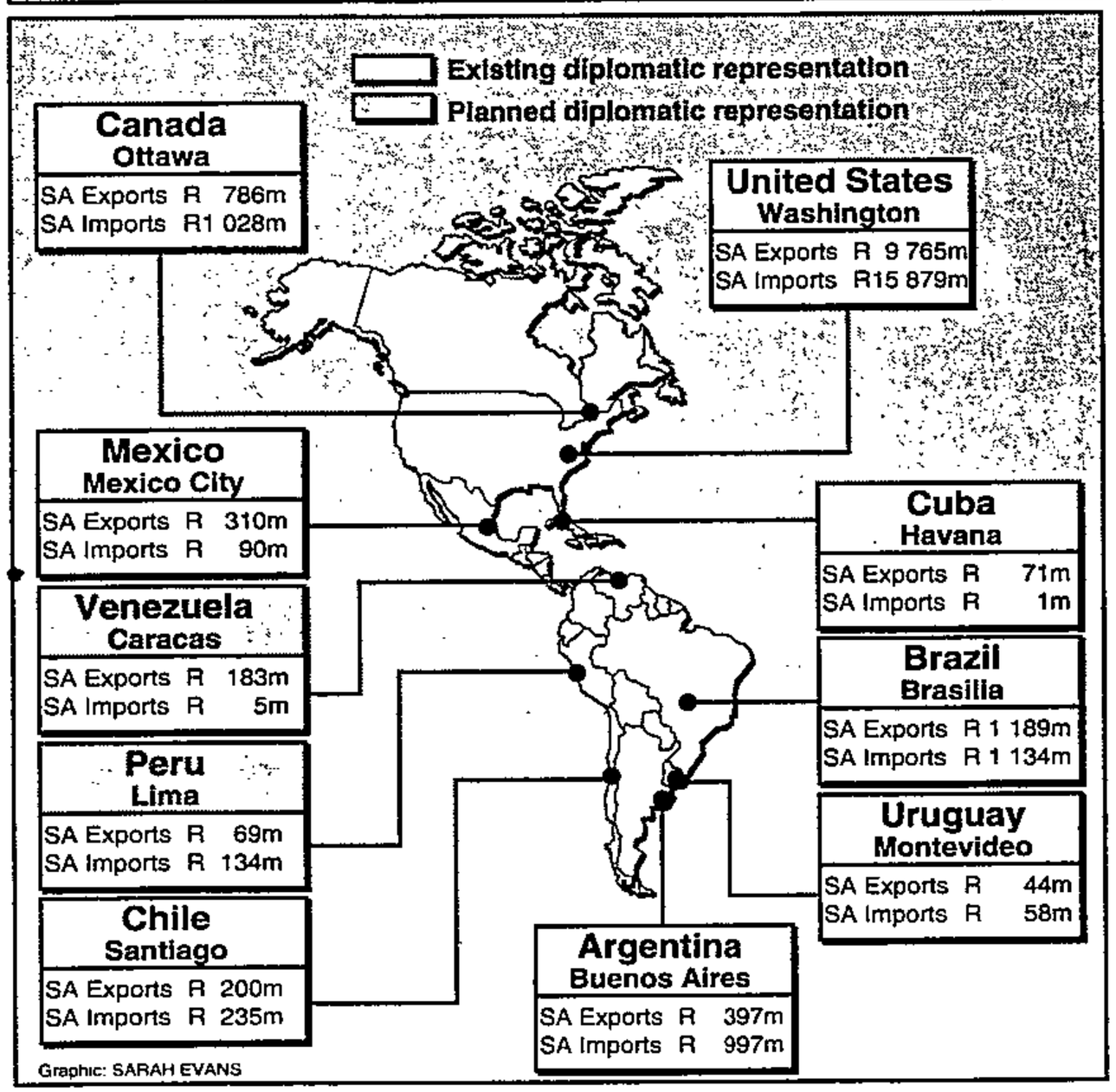
There is therefore much hope for improved ties across the South Atlantic. These are likely to strengthen with increasing trade and investment links, similar maritime security concerns, and mutual contemporary political understanding.

These interests have been fostered this decade by a common understanding and appreciation of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, market economics, and of stability and peace as a prerequisite for growth and development.

The opening of new missions can only enhance this relationship.

□ Dr Greg Mills is the national director of the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg.

SA looks to the Americas



Graphic: SARAH EVANS

Peaceful co-operation as a partner is the thrust of SA's new foreign policy

Star 16/7/97 (304A)

By Moeletsi Mbeki

South Africa's leaders have repeatedly expressed the importance of entrenching democracy in Africa. But how is this democracy to come about? Can it be merely talked into existence or do we have to do a bit more to twist the arms of Africa's tyrants?

Foreign Minister **Alfred Nzo** outlines his vision of South Africa's position in Africa and what it has achieved so far in promoting democracy in southern Africa.

Q: There is a feeling in other African countries that we are being naive to some extent in thinking that Africa's problems can be resolved by discussions only. Many political scientists are saying South Africa must recognise that there are lots of bad people in Africa, bad governments, bad rulers like in Sierra Leone for example. It does not seem as if we recognise that force sometimes has to play a role. Is this an unfair perception of South Africa's thinking?

A: Now you see that is very unfair. We believe in this country that the solution of problems should be to start with dialogue. Those who think that this has meant nothing must remember that South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana were involved in trying to bring about a return to democracy in Lesotho after the elected government had been swept away by edicts of the king.

Those discussions brought about the situation in Lesotho where the government was re-installed. We didn't need to deploy units to go and bring about that situation. There is the ongoing problem in Swaziland, where sometimes it erupts in very militant actions by workers but basically the underlying problem is the issue of democracy in Swaziland.

We have again been very actively involved in discussion with the king. In fact he has come here on a number of occasions to seek advice as to what he must do. Some of us have been to Swaziland for discussions there. As yet there has been no progress but, after the last action by the workers of Swaziland, indications were that there was going to be progress in this regard, and we encouraged the king to proceed along those lines.

Again we did not need to deploy troops to go and resolve the problems. We are only hoping that the king will realise that people want democracy and move along. We shall keep on in any case.

For a time, of course, and we have made this known, it was difficult for South Africa to participate physically by deploying units into peacekeeping forces because we were going through a process of transition of our military forces and until that process was complete we were not in a position to deploy those units.

Now there are already indications that South Africa will be in a position to participate in peacekeeping operations. For instance, recently the Blue Hungwe exercise (which took place over a number of days in Zimbabwe, where military units from various countries of SADC participated as a way of getting our people attuned to peacekeeping operations) was successful.

Again, however, you must bear in mind that you can't just send our people here and there and give them jackboots to march over everyone. Parliament must agree. In concurrence with our Parliament, South Africa will be in a position now whenever asked to do so by the United Nations to contribute towards peacekeeping operations.

But I must emphasise the issue of a diplomatic approach remains paramount, particularly for South Africa, because we have had a very bad history, where everybody regarded us as a people that were ready to march into other people's countries and cause havoc. We've got to correct that. That has been part of the focus and the thrust of our foreign policy – to convince our neighbours that we are here as partners and here as a peaceful neighbour ready to do with others what is necessary to bring about stability.

We have been playing an active part for instance, within the Southern African Development Commission itself in the formation of a new organ within the SADC to look into the questions of defence, security and politics. This was approved by the last SADC summit in Lesotho 1996.

That organ is going to be the one that is going to take charge of operating at the level of SADC. Whenever a situation arises our leaders will come together under the umbrella of that organisation to decide on what is to be done in the situation that has arisen.

We are doing all this because we are convinced that without stability there can be no development. We are very anxious to assist our countries to achieve this development.

Q: Many people say South Africa is a regional power. Now I will grant you that this is a very nebulous concept, but is South Africa a regional power in the eyes of our Government and what does that mean?

A: Our cabinet has never sat down to discuss if we are a regional power. It is the perception of some, which for various reasons are known only to themselves, that we are a regional power. But for me as Foreign Minister, really I would resist that kind of label being attached to our country.

We have consistently said, and I must repeat, we are ready to act in co-operation as an equal partner with everybody. Of course there are the obvious points: South Africa is historically endowed with better development than some other countries, so people might because of that say we are a regional power, but we are not. We are not aspiring to that position.

We are ready to use what we have in the interest of mutual benefit. We do not have everything that other countries need. It is a two-way process. We also would benefit a great deal from the solidarity of others and not be isolated as a regional power. That is precisely what we must avoid.

■ *This is the final part of a three-part interview with Minister Nzo.*

Afrikaners are doing very well

ET 18/7/97 (304A)

THE COMPLAINT that Afrikaans is being deliberately undermined by the government is countered in the second of a two-part article by **PALLO JORDAN.**

NELSON MANDELA, who is charged with undermining Afrikaans, struggles through two Afrikaans dailies every day; when addressing Afrikaans-speaking audiences, he laboriously works his way through at least one passage of his speech written in Afrikaans; he regularly takes time out to visit Afrikaans-medium institutions — all by way of reassuring the Afrikaners that they have a valued place in our democracy.

Compare also the favourable position Afrikaans enjoys compared with the other African languages. There are entire publishing houses, owned and controlled by Afrikaners, that churn out literature — ranging through daily newspapers, a variety of magazines, specialised publications, academic journals and latterly, even erotica — every week in that language.

Stack that up against the position of Xhosa, Tswana, Sesotho or Zulu, let alone Venda and Tsonga!

These languages are no less expressive than Afrikaans! But past policies have ensured that their publishing houses collapsed!

As for the civil service, any census will bear out that at national, provincial and municipal tiers it is still dominated by Afrikaners.

To return to Giliomee's reticence of matters of merit. I must confess that I find it disturbing that he appears unwilling (or is it unable?) to make value judgments about policies. If policies are about the uses and the exercise of power, can they be treated as a value-free discipline in which "just" and "unjust" are merely ideological constructs to be manipulated for the legitimisation of power?

Can it be considered unjust:

● That not a single Afrikaner child has been shot, imprisoned, tortured or otherwise harassed by the authorities for refusing to be taught in Zulu or Sesotho, or Tswana or, for that matter, English?

● That not a single Afrikaner has been dispossessed of his land, evicted from his home, driven from a life-long neighbourhood by government decree?

● That not a single Afrikaner has been compelled to submit to a degrading pass system which effectively excludes him from job opportunities, while these are offered up to foreign-born blacks who have barely settled in South Africa?

● That Afrikaner neighbourhoods have not been periodically subjected to well co-ordinated police raids for passes, evidence of paid employment, tax receipts and other official documentation?

● That not even one Afrikaner political leader (not even the most repugnant) has been arrested, beaten, tortured and murdered in cold blood merely for expressing opinions the government disapproved of. (Remember Steve Biko?)

Can it be considered unjust that not a single Afrikaner child has been shot, imprisoned, tortured or otherwise harassed by the authorities for refusing to be taught in Zulu or Sesotho or Tswana or ... English?

If, indeed, there is Afrikaner alienation, at least it has not been occasioned by studied injustice, but has some other cause which Giliomee and like-minded analysts seem reluctant to articulate.

In this instance, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's eloquence also failed him recently (or was it merely lost on the full-witted among his audience?) because his rhetorical questions were challenges to the dissenters to come up front and say what was eating them.

If he finds it difficult to comprehend the continuous whining and fault-finding of Afrikaner opinion-makers, perhaps it is because these whiners and fault-finders stubbornly refuse to express their essential dissent from the national consensus that we should build a more just society in which accidents of birth (such as race) will have no bearing on opportunity.

It is only the optimistically naive who expected the Afrikaner male, who has dominated public life for 50 years, not to feel aggrieved when that position faced radical alteration. But such anticipated whining does not substantiate the outlandish claims of discrimination and exclusion. Disadvantage is quantifiable to a number of indices — all of which indicate that Afrikaners are doing very well, thank you!

❑ *Pallo Jordan, MP, is the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.*

NP defectors send a clear message to FW

Star 19/7/97 (304A)

By MARCO GRANELLI
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Political observers have hailed this week's defection of 10 Pretoria city councillors from the National Party to Roelf Meyer's New Movement Process (NMP) as "hugely significant".

It was the first time people at the grassroots level of the party have spoken and they have sent a clear message to the National Party leadership: "Move now or we will move," said Unisa political science head Professor Dan Kriek.

"It's no longer a question of whether others will follow but when. There will be further defections from Gauteng and the other provinces and my advice to (NP leader) F W de Klerk is to form a new movement before it's too late." He said the fact that the defection occurred in the Pretoria City Council was also of great significance.

Pretoria was always the bastion of the conservatives in the National Party and was the flagship of the party in local government. Not anymore.

If the "conservatives" in the party believe it's time for change and nothing is happening, one can only imagine the sentiments in the rest of the party.

HSRC group social dynamics executive director, Dr Vincent Maphai, said the move showed that the leadership of the NP lagged behind its grassroots supporters.

"Even the rank and file in what is traditionally conservative Pretoria believe the party has to widen its support base," he said.

It shows that Roelf Meyer may have read the mood of the party much more accurately than anyone else.

Very soon there will be a clear competition between Meyer and (Western Cape leader) Hernus Kriel with De Klerk becoming increasingly marginalised, if not irreleyant.

Even NMP leader Meyer, usually hesitant to speculate about defections, was cautiously optimistic.

"I have the feeling the same might occur in other parts of the province and the country," he said, adding that the move was significant because it reflected the grassroots support for his new movement.

"I did not canvass or recruit these people. The first time I spoke to them since I left the NP was on Tuesday when they phoned to talk to me.

"By that time they had already decided to leave the NP. Our strategy is to evolve from the bottom up and that's what's happening."

Meyer said the presence of 10 NMP councillors on the Pretoria City Council would provide his movement with a platform to air their policies.

Baleka in new scandal

Deputy Speaker in fraud probe over ID book after driver's licence furore

ST 20/7/97 (219) (3049)

JUSTIN ARENSTEIN

THE deputy Speaker of Parliament, Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, has sparked a fraud probe after she allegedly tried to have her invalid driver's licence included in a new identity book.

In May, the Moldenhauer commission ordered Mbete-Kgositsile to surrender her ID book after the Sunday Times revealed that the driver's licence in it had been issued irregularly and in secret, without her being tested by a qualified official or being asked all the required questions.

But, when she applied for a new book this month, the deputy Speaker stated that she has a valid licence. Police are now investigating whether this is true. Submitting false information on official documents is regarded as fraud.

The police expect to complete their investigation by Tuesday and will hand the docket to the attorney general's office before Friday for a decision on whether to prosecute.

This week's probe is linked to the previous scandal in that Mbete-Kgositsile allegedly claimed that she was issued with a valid driver's licence on October 1 last year — the day she was issued with the driver's licence that was later declared invalid. The initial scandal cost Mpumalanga safety and security MEC Steve Mabona and the provincial traffic director, Henry Brazer, their jobs.

Documentation leaked to the Sunday Times in Cape Town this week indicates Mbete-Kgositsile applied to the Department of Home Affairs for a new ID book two weeks ago, on July 3. Insisting that the only reason for the application was because she needed a new book, she states categorically in her signed and fingerprinted form that she has a code 08 driver's licence, issued on October 1 1996.

The application is accompanied by a copy of the ID book that she was ordered to hand over to either the police or home affairs two months ago for destruction.

Captain Rihanie Hartdegen, head of the Nelspruit fraud unit, confirmed on Friday that she had opened a fraud docket against Mbete-Kgositsile and had been asked by provincial police commissioner Alfred Malete to try to complete her investigation by the end of next week.

"This is the first apparent concrete proof that the deputy Speaker may have committed a criminal act. We're convinced that the documentation our investigators discovered is genuine and are launching a full fraud probe into the incident," said Hartdegen.

Although reluctant to give details, she confirmed that the allegedly fraudulent form had been discovered during routine investigations.

"We haven't yet interviewed the deputy Speaker because Parliament is in recess and we're having difficulty getting hold of her. We are, however, eager to speak to her," said Hartdegen.

Mbete-Kgositsile failed to return the Sunday Times' numerous calls and messages left at her office and home, and with her bodyguard, parliamentary spokesman and personal assistant. But her legal representative, Richard Spoor, rejected the allegations.

"I haven't managed to reach Kgositsile but am aware that she intended to apply for a new ID to expunge the details of the invalid licence. She has publicly accepted the commission's findings that the licence was invalid, and any suggestion that disclosing details of the invalid licence in her application was a back door attempt to validate the licence is preposterous.

"The facts ... do not justify even the insinuation of improper conduct," he said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa initially insisted Mbete-Kgositsile did not have to comment publicly or answer to the charges because "we're not accountable to the press but only our constituency".

When pressed, he later said the ANC had confirmed that the entire "licence scam" docket and subsequent fraud allegations had been forwarded to the attorney general for a decision on whom to prosecute.

He advised the deputy Speaker to await the attorney general's announcement so as not to create the impression that she was trying to preempt the legal process.

Baleka confirms she lied in application

(304A)
(~~25~~)

Sowetan 21/7/97

By Simon Zwane
Political Reporter

DEPUTY Speaker of parliament Ms Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile's political career was hanging in the balance yesterday after confirmation by the police that she had lied in her application for an identity document.

Mpumalanga police commissioner Mr Alfred Malete said a police team from the province discovered an apparent fraud last week in Mbete-Kgositsile's application when they checked documents she had submitted to the Home Affairs office in Cape Town.

The team had gone to the Mother City to check whether Mbete-Kgositsile had handed over her driver's licence which had been declared invalid by the Moldenhauer Commission of Inquiry.

The commission, set up after revelations that Mbete-Kgositsile had been irregularly issued with a licence without undergoing proper testing, had recommended that she should surrender her licence.

The police found that Mbete-Kgositsile had applied for a new ID document this month and had answered "Yes" in the space where she was asked whether she had a valid driver's licence, when she should have answered with a "No".

Former MEC for safety and security Mr Steve Mabona, who had arranged for Mbete-Kgositsile to be issued with the now invalid licence, resigned a day before the findings of the commission were made public. The commission recommended that he be axed.

Mpumalanga traffic director Mr Henry Brazer was fired after the commission found that he had been directly responsible for the whole controversy surrounding the issuing of the "licence" to Mbete-Kgositsile.

Malete told *Sowetan* yesterday that police were investigating charges of fraud against Kgositsile and a docket would be handed to the attorney-general's office this week to decide on whether to prosecute.

The National Party said it would table a motion calling for Mbete-Kgositsile's resignation or replacement should police investigations prove that she had indeed supplied false information on an application form.

The NP was ruled out of order by the Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala last month when it called for a parliamentary debate on Mbete-Kgositsile"s licence scandal.

It then pledged that it would not rest until the deputy speaker was removed from her office.

Yesterday the NP said it would monitor the situation very closely and request the police for the results of their investigation, spokesman Gert Oosthuizen said in a statement

Fraud probe of deputy speaker under way

BD 21/7/97 (3044)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Opposition parties in Parliament will attempt to force Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile from office if allegations that she has been involved in fraudulent attempts to get an illegal driving licence included in a new identity document are found to be true.

It was also confirmed yesterday by the SA Police Service that a fraud investigation into Mbete-Kgositsile is in the process of being completed by Capt Rihanie Hartdegen of the Nelspruit fraud unit.

Senior Supt Theo de Bruin said Hartdegen had confirmed that the investigation would be completed this week and handed to the attorney-general for a decision on a prosecution.

Opposition parties said if it was true that she allegedly attempted to have the illegal licence, which she was ordered to destroy recently after it was found to have been issued irregularly, included in a new identity document, she would "have to go".

A report in the Sunday Times said that Mbete-Kgositsile allegedly attached a copy of the illegal licence to an application for a new ID book two weeks ago, and claimed she had a valid licence.

Democratic Party (DP) leader Tony Leon said he was amazed that Mbete-Kgositsile had continued to occupy her post as deputy speaker after the findings of the Moldenhauer commission that she had obtained an illegal licence. If it was shown that she had again tried to have a licence illegally included in her identity document "it would be intolerable for her to remain in her post and intolerable for the DP to have any regard for her status as deputy speaker".

Leon said that the response of National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had so far been "underwhelming".

Senior National Party (NP) whip in the National Assembly Gert Oosthuizen welcomed the police investigation.

"If the police investigation reveals that the allegations are true, the NP will table a motion calling for her resignation and replacement as deputy speaker," he said.

DP member of the National Council of Provinces James Selfe said that, constitutionally, the speaker or the deputy speaker could be removed from office only by a resolution of the National Assembly.

He said that before this happened it was likely that an ad hoc committee of the National Assembly would have to be established to investigate, which . would then report to the National Assembly. What this means is that Mbete-Kgositsile's position as deputy speaker is entirely at the discretion of the ANC, which holds a 62% majority in the National Assembly. Attempts to reach Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, who chairs the ANC's ethics committee, proved fruitless as he is away until later this week.

Attempts to reach Mbete-Kgositsile also proved fruitless. Her legal representative was quoted in the Sunday report as saying that suggestions that Kgositsile was attempting to get the illegal licence validated through the back door were "preposterous".



Amnesty International gen
which he was critical of t
leaves SA for Malawi toda

Politicians sign pledge for tough new Masakhane campaign

(Rdm) BD 21/7/97

Deborah Fine

ALL elected political representatives, including senior Cabinet members, who live in Gauteng are now obliged to pay their monthly municipal service charges and property assessment rates or face having their names published in a monthly defaulter's list.

This follows the signing of a new Masakhane pledge in Johannesburg at the weekend, seen as symbolic of the seriousness with which government viewed it and its aims of nation-building through, among others, the payment of municipal rates and service charges.

The pledge was signed by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale, Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Gauteng local government MEC Sicelo Shiceka, Gauteng provincial legislature speaker Trevor Fowler, Johannesburg mayor Isaac Mogase and about 70 provincial MECs, mayors, local councillors and provincial legislature members.

Included on the list of officials obliged to pay up or face the consequences are members of President Nelson Mandela's office with residences in Gauteng, cabinet ministers, national MPs, staff of Sexwale's office, provincial MECs, MPLs, mayors and councillors as well as senior civil servants including directors-general, deputy directors-general, chief directors and departmental heads.

Payments defaulters will also face being disciplined by their respective political parties or administrations.

Similar pledges are expected to be signed in other provinces shortly.

Sexwale said it was important to remember that Masakhane was not only about the payment of municipal tariffs, but was also a campaign to "pick up the pieces of our society's broken moral fibres and re-establish moral values".

The campaign was not aimed only at the townships, but at all levels of society including big business and multinationals, often the "first to point fingers" yet run by directors of whom some had committed varying degrees of fraud.

New movement no flash in the pan — Meyer

(304A) CT 21/7/97

CHRIS BATEMAN
POLITICAL WRITER

FLUSH from a bonus defection of 10 NP councillors to his New Movement Process (NMP), and with six provinces already "consulted", Roelf Meyer said yesterday that anyone who thought his movement was a flash in the pan was "making a very big mistake".

Tracked down to a bushveld location near the Kruger Park where he is holidaying, Meyer revealed yesterday that the NMP would officially launch as a political party in Johannesburg on September 27 — and fight the 1999 elections.

"We haven't got a name for it yet — but if you've got any suggestions they'd be welcome," he quipped.

Meyer said the Pretoria council defections preceded a recruitment campaign — the NMP still has to hold consultative meetings in three more provinces before active recruitment begins — but agreed that this made Pretoria his first local government stronghold.

The 10 former NP councillors defected to the NMP, but two were proportionally elected and will have to resign, leaving the NP with 13 councillors, the ANC 22 and the NMP eight.

This will give the NMP its first real taste of negotiating power.

"Our emphasis is not to play politics but to consult right now," Meyer said.

His "consultative roadshow", which at times included his political bedmate Mr Bantu Holomisa, had revealed that there was "a powerful need for something new" in the political arena.

"It's the same message everywhere. Yes, there have been defections elsewhere, but I haven't kept a running tally. It's going literally by the day, not just from the NP, but from the DP and ANC as well," he claimed.

Meyer said his bushveld remoteness prevented him from being able to cite defection numbers across the country.

In spite of the Western Cape's being the NP stronghold, Meyer said, a consultative meeting in Bishop Lavis a month ago had led to "more people turning up than were invited".

Among his staunch Western Cape allies are former tri-cameral parliament MPs Mr Ken Lategan, Mr Tommy Abrahams and Mr Andrew Julies.

'Our emphasis is not to play politics but to consult inclusively right now'

He responded with amusement to the claim by Pretoria NP chairman Mr Fanus Schoeman that the 10 defectors had broken an oath that they would resign as councillors should they resign from the NP.

Meyer said: "I was always of the view that the NP was in support of scrapping the anti-defection clause. It surprises me that there is suddenly a different view now."

The Pretoria defectors said the NP had pulled out of the government of national unity without consulting them as councillors.

"Fanus Schoeman is either not interpreting the party line correctly or the party position has changed without anybody being informed once again," one said.

THE BIG STORY

Security Council seat within SA's grasp

ARG 21/7/97 (304A)

MOVES TO REFORM THE UNITED NATIONS – INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY LIKE SOUTH AFRICA BECOMING A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL – ARE UNDER WAY. THE CAPE ARGUS POLITICAL STAFF AND JOHN GOSHKO OF THE WASHINGTON POST REPORT

South Africa's ambition to become one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council has been brought a dramatic step closer by a United States decision to support a move to increase the size of the council to include three developing countries.

The US also has decided to back the demands of Germany and Japan to become full permanent members.

The UN Security Council is the most powerful United Nations body.

Its approval is needed for UN military intervention and for all peacekeeping operations, and its decisions are binding in international law on all UN member states.

South Africa, Nigeria and India are among the developing countries which have been agitating for membership of the 15-nation council, which has five permanent members.

The US is by far the most powerful member of the council, and its support for the reform is considered vital to any change in the UN charter.

The US agreed last week to support the demand for permanent seats on the council for three developing nations as part of a council expansion that also would include Germany and Japan.

But, while US officials sought to portray the offer as a major gesture toward the Third World, it left many things unsaid.

Most important, officials refused to comment on whether Washington believed new members should have the veto power over council decisions that the existing five permanent members wielded.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said in Washington: "The United States now agrees that we ought to have developing countries on the Security Council as permanent members.

"We believe that the regions themselves – the African countries, the Latin American countries and the Asian countries – ought to decide how these seats will be filled."

Mr Burns made the announcement after American UN ambassador Bill Richardson briefed a closed meeting of UN diplomats about the US position.

Asked about the veto question, Mr Burns replied: "We have not taken a position on the veto for new permanent members, including Japan and Germany, but we will oppose any resolution which infringes on prerogatives for current permanent members."

News of the expansion initiative drew an immediate negative response from Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, a long-time critic of the UN.

Mr Helms authorised an aide to say he was "incredulous," not just at the proposal, which he opposed, but at the fact that he learned about it from news reports.

Mr Helms was not informed in advance by the State Department.

A senior State Department official acknowledged the failure to brief Mr Helms.

The reason, he said, was that Mr Richardson went public prematurely, leaking the details to the New York Times.

"Bill got way out ahead of himself on this one," the official said.

For years, Third World countries have been seeking an expansion of seats on the council, which is the most important body in the UN structure because of its power to act against threats to world peace and security.

Several United Nations sources said they believed the United States decision to support expansion was aimed at winning the co-operation of developing countries for reforms sought by Washington, including lowering the American share of the UN budget and peacekeeping costs.

The present permanent members – the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain – were the five principal World War 2 victors and have held their seats since the UN's inception in 1945.

It has 10 other members who are elected for two-year terms from various regional groupings.



BOB GRIERSON

Joining the club? President Mandela and the United Nations crest – it seems likely South Africa could soon have a seat on the Security Council

The US has long backed permanent seats for Germany and Japan on the grounds that they were major economic powers whose membership would make the council more reflective of present-day realities.

With regard to other countries, US officials publicly have said for some time that they would be willing to consider further council expansion.

Behind the scenes, however, the United States' position has been more complicated and equivocal.

Specifically, senior US officials have said in private that increasing council membership beyond 20 or 21 would pose a serious danger of making it too unwieldy to function effectively.

Even more, they fear that giving the veto to Third World countries would threaten many high-priority American policy initiatives in the council.

They note, for example, that if there had been Third World members with veto power at the time of the 1990-'91 Persian Gulf crisis, it is highly doubtful the US would have been able to get council endorsement for the economic embargo and subsequent military campaign against Iraq.

However, US officials have acknowledged that openly opposing Third World membership would be an untenable position because of the resentment it would arouse.

As a result, the Clinton administration has been moving reluctantly toward a the idea of endorsing expansion while temporising indefinitely with the veto question.

Expurgated ID books leave no room for licence

CT 22/7/97 (26?) (304A)



CATCH 22: Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile

CHRIS BATEMAN

IT was similar to the Monty Python *Book of Birds* skit, where the exasperated attendant tears out the page depicting the gannet to satisfy the customer who insists on "the expurgated version — the one without the gannet".

Only this time the "customer" was the Deputy Speaker in Parliament, Ms Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile — and she wanted an expurgated identity book, one without the page bearing her "dodgy" driving licence.

Following weekend newspaper reports that the police probe into the irregular issuing of her driving licence by the Mpumulanga authorities had widened to fraud after her identity document application, Mbete-Kgositsile responded for the first time yesterday.

She forcefully denied she had used a "dodgy" driving licence to claim a new one in her recent application for a new identity document.

Her explanation depicted her as becoming further entangled in bureaucratic red tape as she attempted — with the best intentions — to unravel and correct her messy and embarrassing irregular licence fiasco.

Mbete-Kgositsile said that on May 26, just two days after the Moldenhauer Commission report into irregular licence issuing was published, she duly returned her ID book to the Department of Home Affairs to have her ("dodgy") licence expunged.

Home Affairs sent it back the next day, saying they could not remove the licence — she would have to apply for an entirely new ID document.

Mbete-Kgositsile duly lodged her application for a new ID with Home Affairs in Cape Town on July 3.

The ID application form requested particulars regarding driving licences issued during the past six months.

She duly provided details of the "dodgy" licence, issued in Mpumulanaga in October last year, and — here's the Catch 22 — "could hardly be claiming that it was valid as the ID book was being requested in order to expunge this (very) licence".

Mbete-Kgositsile said yesterday she was consulting her lawyers over claims that she had "lied and acted fraudulently".

All for an "expurgated" ID book ...

Code of ethics falls 'short of the mark'

CT 22/9/97 (304A)

THE RECENTLY unveiled Code of Conduct for Public Servants has been placed under the microscope by **SEAN JACOBS**, who asks: "What's new?"

PAKISTAN'S "holy war" against corruption includes urging people to report corruption in government to an anti-corruption agency, in the prime minister's office, for a reward of 10% of any of the proceeds recovered.

Although levels of corruption by civil servants in SA have not reached those of Pakistan — US$50-million per day, according to Transparency International — the need for a code of conduct for public servants is an imperative, given the large-scale corruption and fraud associated with the civil service under apartheid and since the new democratic order came into being.

There has, therefore, been some element of expectancy about the government's new Code of Conduct for Public Servants, launched by Minister of Public Service and Administration Dr Zola Skweyiya. It has been touted as a guideline to employees on "what is expected of them from an ethical point of view... in their individual conduct and in their relationship with others".

The public service code follows closely on the heels of a code of financial conduct for MPs and the Register of Members' Interests, which came into effect two months ago. It was published in June, the product of three years of planning, research and consultation. It is mainly an attempt to bring public servants' conduct in line with the constitution of 1996.

The Public Services Commission (PSC), chaired by Professor Stan Sangweni, had the task of drawing up and promoting the code. Whatever its merits, the code does have a number of shortcomings. All it contains are broad guidelines on the relationships of public servants with Parliament and the government (stressing loyalty and accountability), with the public (emphasising impartiality, fairness and respect in service delivery) and interaction in the workplace (stressing cooperation, effectiveness and integrity).

It is clear that the PSC, the minister and Parliament have a daunting task ahead of them to ensure that the code is publicised and enforced. Particularly with regard to the latter, the code is short on any detail. If the purpose of a code of ethics is to be easily understood, clear in its objectives and acceptable to public servants and the community, the code falls far short of the mark.

It does not contain any new or innovative provisions relating to sanctions against corrupt or unethical public officials. This is largely because it is promoted as a broad "framework or guideline", relies on department heads to enforce it and makes use of existing disciplinary provisions contained in the Public Service Act of 1994.

The Act has a number of weaknesses. In relation to disciplinary hearings for corrupt officials, it does not compel the presiding officer (usually a colleague), department head, director-general or the minister to disclose the findings of internal, closed hearings. It does not provide protection for officials who "blow the whistle", who go above their immediate superiors to report abuses to, say, the Public Protector, Auditor-General or the media, without following the proper reporting channels.

Unlike Parliament's ethics code, there is nothing to prevent a senior official displaying a conflict of interest by owning shares or engaging in businesses related to the executive functions of that department, which he or she manages at the same time.

The idea that the code of conduct must rely on department heads to enforce it should be challenged for several reasons. Firstly, the civil service is not known as a place of dynamic change and experience suggests that public servants are not keen to act against their colleagues. Secondly, any ethics vision without specific guidelines and objectives (rather than broad frameworks) would result in the initiative being viewed as a burden by senior public servants charged with its implementation. The result is usually a mechanical, piecemeal and technocratic approach to ethics, rather than a proactive strategy to curb corruption.

However, the minister and the PSC have publicly indicated their openness to suggestions to improve the code. As a start, they could extend it considerably so that it goes beyond merely being a broad "framework or guideline". Working specific provisions into the code, including conflict of interests, could do this as well as specific measures for disciplinary action against corrupt officials.

Compelling arguments need to be made for public servants to embrace ethics, beyond it merely being a constitutional requirement.

Finally, plans should be developed and specified to transform the cultural milieu of departments and/or administrations in terms of being more receptive and responsive to a work culture promoting good governance and ethical standards.

❑ *Sean Jacobs is a researcher with Idasa's Political Information and Monitoring Service.*

lieved the Mxenge family was opposed to the granting of amnesty in general and was using allegations of irregularities by the commission as an excuse. "They want revenge, and will stop at nothing to have Coetzee incarcerated," he said.

Knight will oppose any application by the family and ask that additional legal costs incurred by his client be carried by the Mxenge family.

The family claimed last month it was "tipped off" by a senior truth commission official that a decision to grant Coetzee amnesty would be announced on June 11 — three days before the deadline for the Mxenge family's lawyers to file their written objections with the commission. However, no announcement was made.

Deputy speaker tells her side of ID story

Wyndham Hartley

BD 22/7/97 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile said yesterday details of the driving licence which she was ordered to destroy were included in her application for a new identity document because the form asked for details of licences issued.

Kgositsile said she could not have been claiming that the licence was valid because she was specifically applying for a new ID book in order to have the invalid licence "expunged".

She explained that she had sent her ID book to the home affairs department in late May with a request for the licence to be removed. Home affairs returned the ID to her, saying the licence could not be removed and she would have to apply for a new document. The application for a new ID book was made on July 3.

"The application form requested 'particulars regarding driver's licence(s) issued during the past six months'. I provided details of the licence issued in Mpumalanga. As the ID book was being requested in order to expunge this licence I could hardly be claiming that it was valid," Kgositsile said.

She also announced she was taking legal advice about reports at the weekend that she had attempted to have the invalid licence included in her new ID document by including it in the application form.

A copy of the application form released by Kgositsile shows that in section five where particulars of licences issued in the past six months are requested, she includes details of the invalid licence. In the section asking for the reason for the application for a new ID book, Kgositsile wrote "need a new ID book".

Mphahlele will appear before the tary mistakes.

Gold

BD 22/7/97

Continued from Page 1

Hall said: "Even though we've seen a rise in the gold price, I still remain cautious." The outlook for gold had improved because of Wall Street's mild selloff at the weekend as investors could be "putting more into gold, which obviously translates into (higher prices in) the gold shares... Fears of inflation again in the US will also help (gold)."

He predicted that the index would not see further gains "unless the (gold price) does — $330 is an important psychological barrier to break through".

Meanwhile, currency dealers said dollar demand by offshore banks and local importers pushed the rand over the R4,57 to the dollar level, from Friday's R4,5660. They attributed the mild weakening to general dollar bullishness and uncertainty about emerging market currencies and SA assets in particular.

"If two or three big fund managers get themselves into trouble (in one country), a lot of them get out and put their money somewhere else... They have been reducing their weightings (in rand-denominated assets)," said the chief dealer at a major SA bank. He pointed to the "correction" on the bond market in the past two weeks, which led to net outflows of foreign investment. He said although there were weaknesses in the rand, "it is not just one-way traffic".

Gengold

Continued from Page 1

lifting gold production to five tons. The lower gold price and a R7m tax bill saw its distributable cash fall sharply to R2,6m from R32,8m, Dale said.

Negotiations with trade unions to lift productivity were "crucial" to the future of Evander as it had to generate cash to develop new resources. While the mine had significant cash reserves, about R234m, it had decided to pass the dividend considering the gold price as it "just might need this cash".

Beatrix was the star performer, bringing cash costs for the financial year down to a world competitive $207/oz. The mine had secured a gold hedge at almost R53 000/kg, which contributed R7m.

Gengold's aggregate operating profit was 1,3% higher at R102,8m. After tax and capex of R48,7m (March: R49,9m), the group's distributable profit fell nearly a third to R60,7m.

See Page 15

PEANUTS By Charles Schulz



Sonn shines in the US

M+G 25-31/7/97 (304A)

Lizeka Mda recently discovered that South Africa's ambassador to the United States is a consummate salesman



Franklin Sonn: His efforts are beginning to pay off PHOTOGRAPH: ARGUS PICTURE SERVICE

WAYZATA is a picture postcard pretty town some 30 minutes south of Minneapolis and St Paul, Minnesota, with a population of about 3 000. On this Saturday afternoon, the weather is perfect for the northern hemisphere June — balmy and sunny.

The cream of the Twin Cities business and political elite are gathered under a marquee on the lawn of the home of Joel Conner and Gina Paulucci Conner. The setting for the finale of the Minnesota International Centre's programme on South Africa couldn't be more beautiful than this gracious home on Lake Minnetonka.

At the annual Gala Silent Auction, Franklin Sonn, the ambassador of the Republic of South Africa to the United States is relaxed. There is no tie with his suit. While he jokes about the perfect weather, saying it was only the least he could do to bring decent South African weather to the Minnesotans, he keeps track of what the deal is — business for South Africa.

He massages the continental ego of the Americans to get to their generosity and wealth. He thanks them for being with South Africa through thick and thin. For listening when the call was made for sanctions.

Minnesota, of course, is the home of 3M who did not disinvest, but who's going to bring that up here? Especially since the company is one of the conference's generous sponsors?

He lays it on rather thick. He thanks the US for loving South Africa. They wouldn't be helping us rebuild the country if they did not care. Even as I'm chuckling to myself at his schmoozing, I cannot help but marvel at how good he is at this game. The audience, which knows very well what the score is, is lapping this up.

Admittedly, the relaxed Sonn adlibbing at the auction is more sympathetic than the technocrat delivering a stodgy text on *Restructuring the Economy: South African Government Policies* at the symposium.

Here's a sample: "The restructuring of the South African economy is accordingly not an expedient or merely practical step, but is informed by our deep philosophy and commitment to openness and freedom in everything we do.

"The restructuring of the economy had to be profound and all pervasive. It had to be an economic system which befits our democracy in every way and does not only refer to the privatisation of state assets as is often wrongly assumed. The systematic selling off of state assets in a business-like manner and along business lines, forms a cardinal element of the restructuring process.

"This massive restructuring of the economy simply had to occur in a carefully planned way and it could have been disastrous had we allowed ourselves to be rushed into hasty, not well-thought through changes."

Sonn went swimming for two hours and jogging for an hour. He's relaxed, but still looks too wan. He says he jogs every day in Washington DC.

When winter makes that impossible, he is on the treadmill at 5.30am. "That's why I'm thin," he lies to himself. I think he is thin for the same reason Nelson Mandela is losing his hair, and Thabo Mbeki and Bill Clinton have heads of white hair. Politics is a nasty job. And Sonn's job couldn't be harder.

"Sanctions and disinvestment were a big shock to American investors," he says. "It is against their culture of doing business to take political decisions. Consequently, American business takes a long time to take decisions.

"It is a hard job to tell them to come to South Africa, that we are serious about economic restructuring and a free market. They are concerned about the noises unions are making, talk about nationalisation, exchange controls, and the South African Communist Party, that maybe they cannot repatriate their profits."

I had been told that Sonn was ready to come home. That in his arrogance he was boasting that he had completed his five-year mandate in two years.

He denies that he is even considering coming home before his time is up. Anyway it's obvious that if he came home it would be throwing in the towel, not because his job was done.

"There was a tendency to feel that now that apartheid is gone, South Africa should find its own way," he says. "When I came here I thought all of that comes automatically."

'Only the uninformed have further concerns that our government for the foreseeable future — a decade or two — is in capable hands'

At the symposium he sold the growth, employment and redistribution (Gear) strategy as an answer to the criticism from investors when he first arrived about the absence of a macro-economic plan.

"A macro-economic strategy, Gear was destined to underpin the Reconstruction and Development Programme. It served to reaffirm the government's commitment to internationally acceptable policies, but also clearly laid out specific fiscal rules and revealed the clear intentions of a government determined to meet the needs of its people while becoming a worthy and respected member of the global community."

Then he pretended not to sell Trevor Manuel: "The markets' earlier scepticism of the new finance minister has been replaced by a perception that the African National Congress is capable and willing to tackle the economic challenges head-on and in an able manner, and that the new finance minister is tough-minded and able to deliver on fiscal discipline over the next few years.

"In the Department of Trade and Industry the restructuring process is on track, also led by a highly capable and internationally respected former trade unionist, Alec Erwin."

And Mbeki, even though he says the deputy president has broken through on the "What happens after Mandela?" issue: "And the market has had the opportunity to come to the mind that we are serious by observing Deputy President Mbeki overseeing in an informed yet disciplined way the second South African miracle in the making.

"He is respected as a highly competent economic thinker and a leader, which affords his team the [freedom] to demonstrate their talents as long as they meet the objectives of achieving the economic restructuring towards sustainable economic growth and development. Only the uninformed have further concerns that our government for the foreseeable future — a decade or two — is in capable hands."

He told a parable likening Mandela to an apple, and South Africa the tree that produced this saint-like apple. To applause, he said the tree was perfectly capable of producing more apples.

"If you'd asked me six months ago how it's going, I would have told you it's a battle. I try though. I go to every city they ask me. I tell them South Africa is not only an attractive investment on the strength of its own 43-million people [this was before the census shock], but it represents 300-million people in Southern African."

He says his efforts are beginning to pay off because now there is a resurgence of interest in South Africa. "Because of what I term the death of distance, it does not matter where the factory is because people communicate electronically. All investors want to know is that the government supports them. We compete with Brazil and others for investment."

The only fly that seems to threaten the ambassador's optimism ointment is crime.

"It is not a deterrent so far, but people are concerned. Investors need to feel that crime is being dealt with. All references to corruption make investors nervous. We must get that under control." But even for Sonn there are moments of relief. Like the cellular phone ringing to interrupt our conversation.

Someone from his office in Washington informs him that Minister of Health Nkosazana Zuma has withdrawn the two Bills that were giving the pharmaceutical industry an ulcer. While I am dismayed, His Excellency is grinning from ear to ear. From his point of view that takes care of the headache of the all-powerful US pharmaceuticals whose government is often quick to threaten retaliation.

In this one incident I get some idea of the difficulty of a job that involves so much wheeling and dealing in Washington DC. And ambassador Sonn clearly has not taken to it.

"Washington is a difficult town," is his at-first-taciturn response to my query. Then he shrugs and continues: "It's a town of subterfuge and power games. If they don't win you above the table, they will find other means. If you don't satisfy them, the power blocks will badmouth you. It is not nice at all. It's a constant challenge. People play hard ball.

"Washington is the capital of the world, and so it is all about power. People don't care about money, but how much power you have.

"It's a big market place. At dinners there are always people telling you where you should sit because of the sitting position of someone important. And at times they ask you off-the-wall questions. Gossip is traded vigorously. So you must be there to say 'that's nonsense'."

Back at the auction, Sonn has this audience of wealthy liberal Minnesotans — including the mayor, a judge — eating out of his hand. He is talking about the exciting co-operation between this Goliath and David at the end of the world.

He speaks very well. And a nasty voice tells me he is exactly the kind of black Americans like to deal with. They comment — is it really with surprise? — on how well-spoken he is, at every opportunity.

The ambassador mingles. He is fantastic at reading name tags at a distance and greets everyone who approaches by name. And if they want to chat, he, for one, is all ears.

This is a far cry from the image of him I had gotten from two African-American women in New York. They said he was a snob who had shoved them aside at a function at the South African consulate. Perhaps Sonn has climbed a few steps on this learning curve.

Two staffers at the New York consulate had also painted a picture of a bumbling Falstaff whose capers had often landed him in hot water out of which the deputy president had to ladle him.

Perhaps it's all these experiences that give him this humble demeanour I observe in Minnesota. I had expected the ambassador to have an entourage of minions attending to his every need. Instead he goes to the bar by himself to order an orange juice.

Even at the symposium, when I asked for a copy of his hand-written speech, he went to find a photocopier himself. He is alone. Except for Mary Tiseo, daughter-in-law of his Twin City hosts, George and Sally Pillsbury, who tries to keep up with him as he strides along doing it all by himself. And these are only "the" Pillsburys of The Pillsbury Company, the food and beverage giants.

Even then, as Tiseo hustles him off for a boat cruise on the lake with his hosts and the governor of the state of Minnesota, I can't help but reflect that the salesman-like figure I encounter in the American Midwest is a shadow of the powerful rector of the Peninsula Technikon, not to mention the member of the boards of major South African corporations, and the executive director of New Africa Investments Limited.

Lizeka Mda is a freelance journalist in Johannesburg

ANALYSIS

Survey shows declining confidence in government

(304A) BD 28/7/97

Business Day Reporter

SIX in 10 urban South Africans think that President Nelson Mandela is doing his job very well, but only four in 10 say the same about the government.

These overall figures, however, conceal some less flattering opinions held by coloureds, Indians, and especially whites, who believe that while Mandela's performance has declined, the government's has plummeted over the past two years.

Most black South Africans, on the other hand, have a stronger confidence in Mandela and government now than they did in 1995, although they think both hit their peaks last year.These are the main points of a three-year tracking study conducted for Business Day by Market Research Africa (MRA).

Each April since 1995, urban adults have assessed Mandela's performance and that of the government on a scale of "very good, good, average, poor or very poor".

Area stratified probability samples were used, making each year's data comparable reflections of public opinion. Just over 2 500 people, representing 13,7-million urban adults, participated each year.

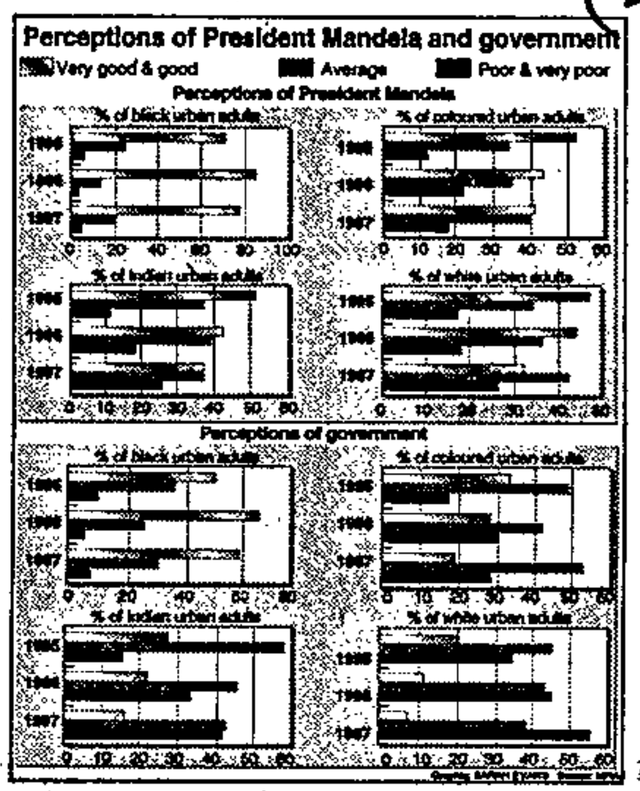
Mandela was voted good to very good by 77% of blacks (85% last year, 71% in 1995). Government's performance was rated good to very good by 60% of blacks (67% in 1996, 51% in 1995).

"This is a lower level of confidence than in Mandela, but one which still swamped the ratings of the other population groups," said MRA MD Hanna Fourie. "Compared to six in 10 blacks, less than one in 10 whites and less than two in 10 coloureds or Indians thought the government was performing well.

"The white majority view (55%) is that government is performing poorly, and 41% of Indians agreed, while 42% of Indians and just over half the country's coloureds (53%) rated its performance average."

White respondents were more favourably disposed towards Mandela, but not as much as in the past. In 1995 and 1996, the president's performance was rated good to very good by four to five in 10 whites. This has now dropped to three in 10. The white majority view (42%) is that Mandela is now putting in an average performance.

Most coloureds and Indians also rated Mandela well in 1995 and 1996, but they, too, perceive a drop



in his performance: 37% of Indians rated him average, 37% good/very good. Similarly, 40% of coloureds thought Mandela's performance average and 41% good/very good.

On a regional basis, majorities ranging from 50% to 71% in each province thought Mandela was performing well. However, except for the North West and Northern Cape, these majorities were lower than those last year. The levels of "average" ratings were highest (34%-36%) in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

Over the full tracking period, the president received more positive ratings this year than in 1995 in the Eastern Cape, North West/Northern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. His performance was thought less impressive now than in 1995 by respondents in Northern Province/Mpumalanga, Gauteng, Free State and Western Cape.

The government was seen as putting in a good performance by respondents in all provinces except the Free State and the Western Cape, where it was rated average.

In Gauteng, favourable ratings of both Mandela and government were down 11 percentage points on last year's. This did not affect overall views that both performed well. Six in 10 Gauteng respondents said the president did a good job while four in 10 thought government did, too.

The Western Cape had the smallest majority of pro-Mandela respondents, and residents were the least enthusiastic about government: 50% assessed Mandela as performing well and 29% said the same of the government.

In KwaZulu-Natal, views reflected continuing political upheavals. Government performance was described as average in 1995, and then good to very good in 1996. Opinions conflicted this year, with 38% believing the government's performance was average while the same proportion rated it good to very good. Mandela also lost backing, but his generally good rating has held up over the full period. He was seen as performing well by 53% of adults in KwaZulu-Natal, compared to 63% last year, but 49% in 1995.

The strongest support for the government this year was in Northern Province and Mpumalanga where 55% of people thought its performance well above average.

Fourie said this was significant, because last year Northern Province and Mpumalanga respondents were the only ones who did not think government had improved.

The controversy over the ousting of Patrick Lekota as Free State premier may have affected Mandela's ratings in the province. He received ratings of good to very good from 57% of respondents this year, compared with 72% last year. However, 41% believed government average (43%), while 39% — the same as last year — thought it good to very good.

Madiba tops poll – far ahead of government

But both are seen as slipping ...

(304A) ARG 28/7/97

Johannesburg – President Mandela is outperforming his government in the popularity stakes, results of a survey by Market Research Africa show.

But Madiba can take small comfort in the knowledge because the poll shows South Africans believe the president's performance has declined and his government's has plummeted, especially according to white, coloured and Indian respondents.

Most black South Africans, on the other hand, have more confidence in President Mandela and the Government now than they did in 1995, although they think both hit their peaks last year.

MRA's three-year tracking study has urban adults assessing the Government's and Mr Mandela's performances on a scale of very good, good, average, poor or very poor. Just over 2 500 people, representing 92 percent of the country's urban adult population of 13,7-million people, took part each year.

Mr Mandela's performance was voted good to very good by 77 percent of blacks (85 percent last year and 71 percent in 1995), but 60 percent of them shared the same view about his government (67 percent in 1996, 51 percent in 1995).

Other racial groups' opinions were less flattering. Less than one in 10 whites and fewer than two in 10 coloureds and Indians thought the Government was performing well.

The white majority view (55 percent) was that the Government was performing poorly. To this, 41 percent of Indians agreed, while 42 percent of Indians and just over half the country's coloureds (53 percent) believed the Government's performance was average.

White respondents were more favourably disposed towards Mr Mandela, but not as many as in the past.

In 1995 and 1996, the president's performance was rated good to very good by four to five in 10 whites. This has now dropped to three in 10.

The white majority view (42 percent) is that Mr Mandela is now putting on an average performance.

Most coloureds and Indians also rated Mr Mandela well in 1995 and 1996, but they too perceived a performance drop: 37 percent of Indians rated him average, 37 percent good/very good.

Similarly, 40 percent of coloureds thought Mr Mandela's performance average, 41 percent good/very good. – Sapa

Mandela more popular than Government

But perceptions of Madiba's performance shows decrease from previous two years

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela is outperforming his Government in the popularity stakes, results of a survey by Market Research Africa have shown.

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Mr Sipho Seepe of the University of Western Cape's department of politics, said the survey was basically about perceptions. – *Sapa.*

CAPE TIMES
TUESDAY, JULY 29, 1997 ★

REPORT HIGHLIGHTS SANDF WASTE

SAAF lost millions in obsolete spare parts

CT 29/7/97 (304A)

THE AUDITOR-GENERAL'S reports on the performances of five government departments in 1995/96 are litanies of shortcomings in the management and use of resources.

THE defence force had wasted millions of rand buying unnecessary aircraft components and spares that became obsolete, an investigation by the auditor-general found.

It found stock worth an estimated R820 million had been kept in storage for three years without being used, while components worth R6,111 billion had not been accounted for properly or within the required time.

The findings, released yesterday, were among those made in performance audits carried out in five national departments during the last six months of 1995 and in 1996.

They highlighted major shortcomings in the management and use of resources.

The performance of the SA National Defence Force focused mainly on vehicle management, certain aspects of 1 Military Hospital and the administration of aircraft components and spares.

Recommendations, made in 1991/2 — before the SA Defence Force became the SA National Defence Force — for improvements in the management of vehicles and at 1 Military Hospital had still not been implemented, the auditor-general said.

Computerised stock values were found to be unreliable because unrealistic values had been allocated to stock.

"At a specific unit, for only four items, the total price difference between the maximum estimated unit price and the prices on the system was R66m," the auditor-general said.

The audit of the Department of Trade and Industry found that initially a French firm had been contracted to design and develop a software system for the Patents and Trademarks office.

By August 1995, the system was about 80% complete and R6,6m had been spent.

A system to computerise company and close corporation documentation was not completed in the time intended — and an extra R1,68m had to be spent.

The performance audit at the Department of Public Works found that a feasibility study had not been undertaken before R2,063m was spent on infrastructure at a prison in Vryburg.

It was found later that the soil on the site had a high clay content and an extra R8,5m would have to spent in reinforcing the foundations. The project was abandoned.

The audit also found that the deterioration of a building in Marshall Street, Johannesburg, contributed to the cost of repairs being more than R1,45m.

Fire-fighting equipment in about 41% of buildings owned or leased by the state had not been serviced satisfactorily in more than a year. All round, fire safety measures were inadequate, the auditor-general found. — Sapa

US-SA body needs a more focused agenda

Top level talks between the US and SA should be focusing on greater issues such as how to achieve an African renaissance, writes **Salih Booker**

BD 30/7/97 (304A)

IN IMPORTANT parts of Africa today there are three critical and connected problems that are ripe for resolution: insecurity, the absence of democracy, and underdeveloped economies.

For the US to contribute to lasting solutions to these three challenges, a stronger alliance is needed with America's leading partner on the continent, SA.

Developing policies to tackle this agenda will require the right people from both countries to meet periodically and communicate regularly. However, the existing vehicle for building such an alliance — the US-SA Binational Commission — is not working. And by consuming so much political capital it is, perhaps, even getting in the way.

When US Vice-President Al Gore and SA Deputy President Thabo Mbeki meet for the semi-annual sessions of the commission, the agenda seems absorbed by technical details instead of the big picture that should determine the agenda of such an important bilateral relationship.

The fragile renaissance emerging in most of Africa, for which Mbeki is an eloquent spokesman, is seriously threatened by the conflicts, authoritarian rule and economic crises in a handful of states that can undermine the progress achieved by many others.

Washington and Pretoria should build co-operative policies to promote a consolidation of African renewal by aggressively trying to end these three threats. The Clinton administration's limited efforts to support Africa's second independence would be more effective if developed collaboratively with SA. Promoting security, democracy and development in Africa is what the commission should focus upon.

Washington's main effort to promote security, the African crisis response initiative, was hastily unveiled late last year to coincide with former secretary of state Warren Christopher's only trip to sub-Saharan Africa. The objective of the initiative is to build the capacities of African militaries to respond to crises and help establish a regional force of rapidly deployable peacekeeping units from several countries. The idea has merit, and a force could make a considerable difference.

However, the secretary's trip did not generate a broad African embrace of the concepts, in part because of SA's chilly response and the lack of African ownership more broadly.

SA President Nelson Mandela's concerns that the initiative failed to consider and build upon existing African efforts could have been addressed within the commission if such important Africa-wide security concerns were on the agenda. With SA involvement, the initiative could have been developed in a more coherent manner. As it is, the initiative's feeble start has only strengthened opposition to its funding in the Senate and scepticism in Africa, even as the training of Ugandan troops has begun. Similarly, on the democracy front, high-level talks in the commission could evolve a more forceful joint diplomacy toward such recalcitrant states as Nigeria or Sudan, or to support transitions to democracy in key states like the Congo (Kinshasa).

Though issues like these do come up in the private Gore-Mbeki meetings, democratisation in Africa is not a commission concern and the commission is not structured to build real collaboration in this area. Consequently, when both SA and the US sought to turn international outrage over the 1995 executions of Nigerian human rights activists into greater international pressure on the regime of Sani Abacha, their separate and uncoordinated diplomacy weakened the ability of each to mobilise their various counterparts in Europe and Africa.

In the former Zaire, the ad hoc mediation efforts of Washington and Pretoria may have contributed to Mobutu Sese Seko's eventual departure, but more focused co-operation is needed to assist the Congolese in their struggle to reconstruct and democratise a country whose future will have a serious impact on that of its nine neighbours.



MBEKI



GORE

Finally, the White House's recently launched Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa did not benefit as it should have from a sustained dialogue with senior officials from SA, the very country likely to benefit most from the initiative and perhaps incur the jealousy of its neighbours in the process.

Washington's new economic policy towards Africa thus appeared primarily motivated by the need to have a policy in hand at the recent Group of Eight economic summit in Denver, where Africa was on the agenda. It received a lukewarm response there as it has in Africa owing to its failure to address issues of declining development assistance and its suggestion that increased trade and investment alone will meet all of Africa's development needs.

Placing Africa's economic growth and development on the commission agenda makes sense because SA is America's most important economic partner as well as a major gateway and potential engine for the entire region.

The SA government is quite able to distinguish between its own interests in economic relations with the US, and those of the US and SA with the rest of the continent. SA is also likely to become a key advocate for more comprehensive solutions to Africa's economic problems.

Given the White House initiative's broader objective of helping to integrate Africa into the global economy and SA's position of leadership in Africa on this score, its absence from the commission agenda is inexplicable. The commission's objective of catalysing sustainable relationships between the US and SA is admirable — but that is also the domain of all the actors already engaged in daily co-operation. The commission should be more ambitious.

Ironically, the commission's mere existence raises expectations that something beyond the existing programmes of co-operation will be realised. In fact, it eats away at the time and resources of existing programmes, detracting from their normal implementation and delivery of results. If that is the price of these semi-annual meetings, they ought to focus on much larger subjects and produce significantly better results.

For the most powerful country in Africa and the most powerful country in the world to gather senior officials to ponder the latest concerns of an American pharmaceutical company or an SA exporter, or to plan yet another trade and investment conference to promote SA, ultimately cheapens the value of the commission.

This commission should be reserved for the more important regional and global matters where bilateral discussions could define shared objectives, evolve supportive policies and produce joint diplomatic strategies.

If the binational commission is not organised to build a long-term international partnership with SA, focused on promoting security, democracy and development in Africa, why have such a high level mechanism?

□ *Booker is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington — a nonprofit, nonpartisan organisation dedicated to promoting understanding of international affairs. The views expressed are the author's own.*

PARLIAMENT: WE'RE

Getting 2004 Games may clinch

move to Pretoria

ANC 30/7/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town is set to lose the campaign to keep Parliament.

The confidence of those wanting Parliament to move to Pretoria has been buoyed by a report, now circulating at the highest levels of the African National Congress, which is believed to come down clearly in favour of creating a single national capital in Pretoria.

Some ANC members believe a decision on the siting of Parliament will come almost immediately after the announcement of which city is to host the 2004 Olympics, and that if Cape Town is chosen by the International Olympic Committee the chances of Parliament being moved to Pretoria will be far greater.

"If Cape Town gets the Olympics it would be that much easier to make the decision on moving Parliament," an ANC MP said today.

The ANC is to make a formal decision on the issue at its tri-annual national conference in Mafikeng in December.

However, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said it had been decided the matter would be finalised by the end of the year and the decision would be taken by the ANC national executive committee.

A sub-committee consisting of Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe, Labour Minister Tito Mboweni and Baleka Mbethe-Kgositsile, the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, is expected to present a final report to the NEC in October.

There is considerable speculation that their report will favour moving the legislature to Pretoria.

The Pretoria Capital Initiative's optimism is believed to be based on its access to a confidential study in the hands of the Government.

The patterns of parliamentary life are also working against Cape Town's chances of retaining Parliament.

The absence of Cabinet ministers and their deputies from weekly question-times in the houses of Parliament are being used by the protagonists of Pretoria as evidence of the unworkability of having separate legislative and executive capitals.

The teething troubles of the National Council of Provinces, Parliament's second house, are also being cited, in particular an incident earlier this year when delegates travelled to Cape Town at great cost for a scheduled address by Nelson Mandela which then was called off when neither the President nor his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, was available.

Most diplomats are believed to favour consolidating the capital in Pretoria.

Many, particularly those from African and other developing countries, find the cost of travelling to and from Cape Town prohibitive. This could be an important consideration, given the Government's foreign policy priorities in regard to Africa.

The narrow brief of the committee, which focuses mainly on the financial implications of the two-capital set-up, as well as the system's impact on the legislative process and MPs' ability to serve their constituencies, could also work against Cape Town.

Support for the Western Cape attempt to retain Parliament is also understood to be dwindling among other provinces for cost reasons.

Another factor is continued public apathy in the city about its campaign.

ANC

Help us keep Parliament, Olympic bid team urged

ARG 31/7/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Lobbyists for the campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town will try to recruit the support of the Olympic Bid Company.

This follows reports that should Cape Town's bid succeed, the decision to move Parliament would be taken almost immediately after the announcement.

The Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP) described attempts to link the two issues as part of Pretoria's campaign to manipulate the African National Congress, which will approve a decision at its national conference in December on where Parliament should be located.

CAP executive director Kallie Hanekom said support for Cape Town among other provinces, equally sensitive to marginalisation by Gauteng, was as solid as ever.

Metropolitan mayor William Bantom said he would urgently approach the board of the Bid Company to ensure that it backed Parliament remaining in Cape Town.

He wanted the Bid Company's assurance that it would not sanction, or be part of, any trade-off between the Olympics and Parliament.

"This action could be interpreted overseas as a national vote of no-confidence in Cape Town's Olympic bid. We need to have Parliament where the Olympics are staged."

ANC whip Jannie Momberg said the location of Parliament and the Olympic bid were unrelated and could not be linked.

"What is most important is that we cannot be in a position where all the money and power is situated in one place – it is simply not in South Africa's interests."

Mampe Ramotsamai, the Deputy Speaker of the Western Cape Legislature, said she found it hard to believe that decision makers in politics were not sensitive to the likely reaction in the Western Cape, especially in the wake of the last Budget, were Parliament to be moved.

'Parliament must stay'

(304A) BD 31/7/97

CAPE TOWN — Parliament should remain in Cape Town even if the city won its bid to host the 2004 Olympics, Cape Town mayor William Bantom said yesterday.

He was reacting to a local newspaper report which quoted unnamed African National Congress (ANC) members as saying that Parliament's move to Pretoria might be clinched if Cape Town hosted the games.

Cape Town's lobby group, the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament, also dismissed the claim.

"Judging by their past record, which included blatantly untrue claims, later refuted, that President Nelson Mandela and other cabinet ministers favoured a move, it seems to us that this is yet another example of Pretoria's thinly disguised campaign to manipulate the ANC," alliance executive director Kallie Hanekom said.

"The ANC won't fall for this."

The ANC had committed itself to making a formal decision on the issue no sooner than its national congress in December, while the new constitution required support by a two-thirds majority in Parliament before a move could even be considered, Hanekom said.

Bantom said he would approach the Olympic Bid Company to ensure it stood squarely behind Parliament remaining in Cape Town and that it would not sanction, or be part of, any tradeoff.

"This action could be interpreted overseas as a national vote of no confidence in Cape Town's Olympic bid," he said.

ANC whip Jannie Momberg, who favours Parliament staying in Cape Town, said the location of Parliament and the Olympic bid were unrelated and could not conceivably be linked.

The Cape Argus reported on Monday that the confidence of those wanting Parliament to move to Pretoria had been buoyed by a report, now circulating at the highest levels of the ANC, believed to favour creating a single national capital in Pretoria.

Some ANC members believed a decision on Parliament's location would come almost immediately after the announcement of which city was to host the 2004 games, the newspaper said.

If Cape Town was chosen the chance of Parliament being moved to Pretoria would be far greater.

It quoted an unnamed ANC MP as having said: "If Cape Town gets the Olympics it would be that much easier to make the decision on moving Parliament." — Sapa.

S. A. Govt. and Politics

1997

Call to axe wasteful state commissions

R60-m could be saved, says DP

ARG 1/10/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

At least R60-million of taxpayers' money this year could be diverted to development if the Government agreed to rationalise its wide variety of commissions, says the Democratic Party.

Among the plethora of commissions, just seven have cost a combined R286-million in the past two years, without producing an output to justify the expenditure.

There are more than 40 statutory commissions, some set up by the constitution, as well as boards and other organisations performing a wide variety of tasks.

"Commissions are draining the fiscus without showing any concrete results," said DP executive director James Selfe.

He said several commissions, notably the Human Rights Commission and Gender Commission, had overlapping functions.

Salaries were excessive and in many cases unjustified by the work being done.

"Several commissions have found themselves in the ludicrous position of not having funds available to do any work after commissioners' salaries are paid."

There was a lack of formal controls on spending and the Independent Broadcasting Authority was a perfect illustration of the problems which could arise, Mr Selfe said.

A report on the seven commissions said South Africa, given its past, needed institutions to protect people from abuse of power by the state and private persons.

However, the report found duplication as well as high living.

The Gender Commission was unable to handle inquiries, its functions overlapped with the HRC and it had the same sweeping powers as the HRC, although Gender commissioners got lower salaries.

Not much was required of the Youth Commission, but its chairperson was the highest paid of all.

The Pan South African Language Board was still in limbo, with its future unclear.

The Volkstaat Council, created as an olive branch to a section of right-wing Afrikaners, had cost R10-million, was likely to cost millions more, and it was extremely unlikely a Volkstaat would ever be established.

The DP recommended:

- Standardising salary packages and putting this in the hands of an expanded commission.
- Establishing financial controls, including annual business plans, subject to public review.
- Criminalising the abuse of public office.
- Encouraging voluntary and part-time service.
- Abolishing the Volkstaat Council
- Absorbing the Gender Commission into the Human Rights Commission.
- Abolishing the Youth Commission and transferring its functions to the Deputy President's Office.

Parliament: Real democracy at risk

CT 2/10/97 (304A)

IF PRESSURE FROM the ANC leadership to move Parliament to Pretoria succeeds, South Africa's brief but exhilarating experiment with real democracy will be on the way out, writes **JAMES SELFE.**

IN THE great debate about the siting of South Africa's capital(s), the arguments advanced by some proponents of particular cities are used in much the same way as a drunk uses a lamp post — more for support than for illumination.

The proponents of a single capital (and, with the notable exception of Speaker Frene Ginwala, for this read Pretoria) commonly advance two reasons why a single capital would be better for us.

The first is this would save us money. This is probably true, although a single capital would not save as much money as its advocates would have us believe.

The second is it would lead to better governance. This argument is complete nonsense.

The cost argument usually goes like this: MPs have to travel to Cape Town and back to their home or constituency bases. Civil servants have to be brought to Cape Town. Expensive duplication occurs. Time is taken up toing and froing and time is money.

This argument might have held water 10 years ago, but it is no longer true.

MPs will have to travel wherever Parliament is located. If it is in Pretoria, those who live in Gauteng (because of the national list system most ANC MPs happen to reside there, whatever nominal constituency they might have been allocated) will not have to travel, but every other MP will.

The state owns the property it needs to maintain a parliamentary capital in Cape Town. In addition to the parliamentary complex, it owns or leases 120 Plein Street, Garmor House, Parliament Towers, Parliament Chambers and Stal Plein House.

The state owns Acacia Park, Laboria Park, Pelican Park, Groote Schuur Estate and myriad single properties acquired over many years to accommodate those who might have to come to Cape Town for parliamentary business. In fact, it probably owns too much fixed property. This derives from our recent history of being an over-concentrated country at war with itself.

Efficient government is not necessarily the same as good government; indeed, there is seldom a correlation. What we need to foster in South Africa is good governance.

The third point is that modern technology has largely overcome the need for people to come to Cape Town. The Internet, e-mail, teleconferences and evidence taken and transmitted by satellite (a step recently pioneered by the Portfolio Committee on Transport) have revolutionised efficiency in decision-making worldwide. We need to meet the challenge of technology head-on and reap its benefits. The problem is that people (and old-order civil servants in particular) tend to resist technological innovation.

Parliament itself needs to become more organised. Too often, the agendas of parliamentary committees are arranged so that officials have to travel from Pretoria needlessly and too often. The worst is, of course, when officials travel vast distances and at great expense only to find that the relevant parliamentary committee does not have a quorum or is otherwise not prepared to deal with the matter on the agenda. This is inexcusable, but would probably happen wherever Parliament was.

Having two capitals is more expensive than having one, although I suspect those favouring a single capital exaggerate the costs of maintaining two. However, when the cost argument gets frayed at the edges, the single capital advocates fall back on the suggestion that one capital would lead to good or better governance; that, if we had one capital, suddenly South Africa would be governed better.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

With one capital, we might have more efficient government — Italy had more efficient government under Mussolini and South Africa had more efficient government under PW Botha. Efficient government might mean that bills proceed through Parliament without amendment, that the trains run on time or that opponents of the government disappear without a trace. Sometimes and for a short while this sort of "efficient government" leads to investor confidence. Efficient government is not necessarily the same as good government; indeed, there is seldom a correlation. What we need to foster in South Africa is good governance.

Good governance is predicated on the concept of the separation of powers. This in turn implies that each part of government has distinct but interrelated functions. Each needs to be empowered to fulfil its functions, but each part of government is limited by the others.

The executive — the cabinet and the civil service — needs to apply legislation, develop policy and frame legislation for approval. The legislature — the two Houses of Parliament — approves or rejects legislation and votes or withholds money to enable the executive to carry out its functions. The executive is answerable to the legislature for the performance of its duties through a variety of mechanisms — question time, parliamentary committees and the activities of the parliamentary "watchdogs", such as the Auditor-General and the Public Protector. In turn, the judiciary — in this context, chiefly the Constitutional Court — can strike down laws passed by Parliament or executive actions as unconstitutional. Each part of government is held in check by the others and no one part can become too powerful.

If this is true, the separation of powers and good governance are supported if these parts of government are physically removed from one another.

No one seriously argues that good governance is hindered by virtue of the fact that the executive is in Pretoria and the Constitutional Court in Johannesburg. That Parliament is in Cape Town (it could have been anywhere provided it wasn't Pretoria) has already allowed Parliament as an institution and parliamentarians as a class to develop the capacity to have independent sources of research and information and to challenge the conventional wisdom dished out by the civil service.

This has enabled parliamentarians elected in 1994 to exhibit a refreshing independence; on more occasions than at any other period in SA's history, they have chosen the interests of their constituents and the country, rather than what cabinet ministers wanted.

If you think this analysis is overstated, think back a couple of years. Can you imagine a pre-1994 parliament turning down a request from General Magnus Malan for more military hardware? Or a request by P W Botha to extend the state of emergency?

The pressure to establish a single capital comes from the leadership of the ANC. This leadership wants "efficient" government. It prefers a compliant Parliament, one more resembling what we had pre-1994 than the independent and fiesty product of our democratic revolution.

Move Parliament to Pretoria and before long the civil servants will be briefing the ANC study groups about "what the minister wants to achieve" as they used to brief the NP study groups. When this happens, our brief Prague summer will be over and with it our brief but exhilarating experiment with real democracy. This seems too good a prize to give up without a fight.

❑ *James Selfe is a Democratic Party Western Cape permanent delegate to the National Council of Provinces.*

DP's 'shoddy report' dismissed

(252) (304A) (276) CT 2/10/97

PRETORIA: The National Youth Commission (NYC) yesterday dismissed a DP report calling for its demise as a meaningless document which had been "shoddily cobbled together".

"If any other statutory organ had produced a research document as shoddily cobbled together and factually inaccurate as the section on the NYC clearly is, it would have been vilified," spokesperson Mr Paul Johnson said.

The report, released by the DP on Tuesday, listed seven statutory bodies which it said needed closer examination. Serious questions had to be asked about their cost to the taxpayer, DP spokesperson Mr James Selfe had said.

He had called for the scrapping of the NYC, saying its functions should be transferred to the office of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Johnson said the DP's assertion that NYC chairperson Ms Mahlinge Bhengu was earning a salary of R350 000 a year showed what he called a fundamental misunderstanding of the pay scales.

"The salary component (of Bhengu) starts at R191 712 per annum. The gross package, assuming all benefits, allowances and schemes are activated, works out roughly to R350 000."

Reacting to the DP's criticism that Bhengu was 26 years old and inexperienced, Johnson said: "They have her age wrong. She is in fact 27."

He added: "It is surprising that the DP of all parties should raise this in relation to the principled issue of levels of public service remuneration."

Commission members, Johnson said, received a basic annual salary of R163 000, the same as a director in the public service. "I assume the amount of R276 000 the DP gave is what it will come to if you activate all benefits."

The NYC had only one office, he said, "not seven. The DP had failed to distinguish between the NYC and provincial youth commissions.

They had also been incorrect in putting the NYC's annual budget at R10 million. It was R6,9m.

Complaints by the DP that the body had failed to come up with a single youth development strategy were also ill-informed, Johnson said.

"These projects are not of the nature that they can be launched almost as soon as they are conceptualised. They require long-term, meticulous planning, preparation and canvassing."

Johnson, communication director, said the NYC had a staff complement of 21, but not all posts had been filled. He was, for example, awaiting applications for the position of his deputy.

Asked about the need for this, he said: "In my area you can argue that if they pay me double, I can do everything. But for what they pay me, I am not going to do more than what I am doing." — Sapa

STATUTORY COMMISSIONS (304A)

Toothy bulldogs with no bite

KM 31/10/97

Our democracy cherishes its commissions, but can it afford them?

SA spent R330m last year on more than 40 statutory commissions, boards and task groups, but there are no adequate financial controls to ensure taxpayers' are getting value for money.

A research report released by the DP this week calls for underperforming and superfluous commissions to be scrapped.

The DP estimates that R60m-R70m can be saved this year if commissions are rationalised to eliminate duplication, salaries are reviewed, frills cut and proper financial controls introduced.

"Commissions are draining the fiscus without showing any concrete results," says DP spokesman James Self.

Some, like the Katz Commission and the Judicial Services Commission, discharge their tasks efficiently and economically, but others spend vast sums on frills and poorly defined goals, he says.

"We need to reassess the way these bodies are structured and how they function to ensure they enhance democracy, rather than act as an expensive substitute for it," he adds.

The Finance Ministry went some way towards keeping commissions' profligacy in check by cutting their 1997-1998 budgets, but this rendered some practically useless, thus defeating their rationale for existence.

The report criticises the Human Rights Commission (HRC) for granting chairman Barney Pityana and commissioners backpay and increases totalling R1m after Pityana compared his salary with "the equally unjustifiable salary" (R352 366) of 26-year-old Youth Commission chairman Mahlengi Bhengu, and found it wanting.

However, the HRC complains that it has no money for an additional printer to alleviate a backlog of about 500 cases, while the Youth Commission has yet to come up with a single youth development project.

The report recommends that commissioners' salaries be standardised and made commensurate with their skills.

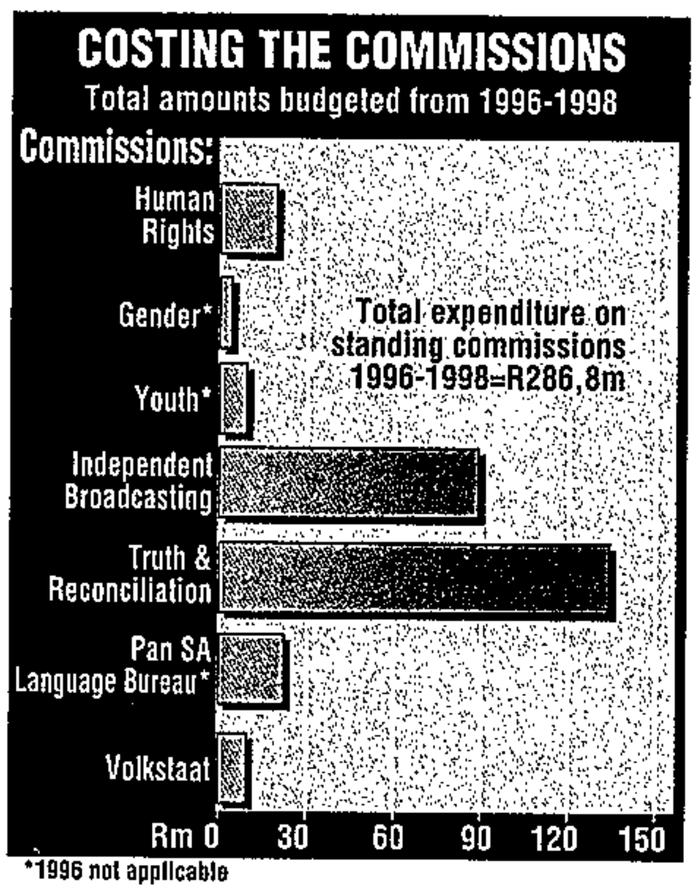
Pityana earns R400 000, the IBA chairman R411 520, the Gender Commission chairman R212 400 and the TRC chairman R292 200. By comparison the National Commissioner of Police earns R303 000, the Deputy President R480 000, a director-general R297 000, a self-employed stockbroker R449 900 and a CEO R366 200.

The lack of financial controls and accountability mechanisms allows for considerable abuse, says the report.

It calls for the misuse of public office to be criminalised. It also recommends that every commission prepares an annual business plan with set goals, budgets and performance targets.

Failure to stick to deadlines and targets can be costly. For example, the expansion of the TRC's amnesty committee from seven to 19 members and extension of its life by four months will cost about R43m.

On the other hand, some commissions lack the basic resources to get off the ground like the Pan SA Language Board (PanSALB), whose commissioners operated for the first year without pay, and the Gender Commission which ran out of funds this year after commissioners' salaries were paid out of its R2m budget.



The DP has always believed the Gender Commission should be absorbed by the HRC because of their overlapping functions. For the same reason it calls for the Youth Commission to be scrapped and its functions subsumed by the Deputy Presidency.

It would also like to see the Volkstaat Council and the yet to be established Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Minorities scrapped and the latter's function taken over by a beefed-up PanSALB.

The report will be submitted to government but the DP will have to garner the support of other opposition parties if it is to succeed in gaining the two-thirds majority it needs to scrap commissions mandated by the Constitution.

Claire Bisseker

We're not lazy, say commissions

ARCT 3/10/97 (~~252~~) (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A group of Government commissions, targeted by the Democratic Party as wasteful and unproductive, have sprung to life in their own defence.

The DP this week released a report naming seven commissions as having cost a combined R286-million in the past two years while doing little or nothing to justify the huge cost.

The party recommended abolishing three: the Volkstaat Council, which the DP said had cost about R10-million while there was little chance there would ever be a volkstaat; the Gender Commission, which had produced little of value and could be merged with the Human Rights Commission; and the Youth Commission, a costly body with a highly-paid chairwoman which it said had also produced no results.

The DP also recommended standardising salary packages and criminalising the abuse of public office.

The Gender Commission said the DP's recommendation that it be scrapped and absorbed into the Human Rights Commission was based on scanty evidence of the Gender Commission's role and performance.

It also accused the DP of lying by saying that the party had not been able to speak to anyone at the commission.

The Youth Commission contested DP claims about the commission's budget, saying that it was in fact R6,9-million and not R10-million. The commission added that chairwoman Mahlinge Bhengu received a total package of about R276 000, rather than this being her salary.

Sapa reports that Youth Commission spokesman Paul Johnson said complaints by the DP that the commission had not come up with a youth development strategy were also ill-informed.

"These projects are not of the nature they can be launched almost as soon as they are conceptualised," he said.

"They require long-term, meticulous planning, preparation and canvassing."

Corne Mulder of the Freedom Front said the DP had declared itself to be an enemy of Afrikaners by its demand for the abolition of the Volkstaat Council.

Carolus to take over as High Commissioner

(304A)

CT 3/10/97

JOHANNESBURG: After months of speculation, President Nelson Mandela has confirmed that ANC acting secretary-general Ms Cheryl Carolus will be appointed South Africa's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom.

Carolus would replace Mr Mendi Msimang.

Although Mandela has not signed the Presidential Act yet that would make the matter official, his office has confirmed that Carolus will be appointed later this year.



LONDON BOUND: Cheryl Carolus

Mandela had previously intimated that a new posting would be announced for Carolus.

Speculation in ANC circles about Carolus' pending foreign posting began soon after she had announced in mid-year that she would not be available for any leadership positions when the ANC holds its 50th national congress in December.

The speculation was heightened by reports that Msimang, who has been nominated for the position of ANC treasurer-general, was ill and ready to come home to a less stressful job.

His wife, Ms Manto Tshabalala, is Deputy Justice Minister, based in South Africa, which was also causing a strain in his family life.

The ANC has welcomed Carolus' appointment as an expression of a motion of confidence by Mandela and the government in women's abilities to represent the interests of the country abroad.

"The commitment of democratic government to women's emancipation is totally without question — more than at any time in the history of our country is the government committed to this laudable principle, without which the democratisation process would be incomplete," ANC spokesperson Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said.

The ANC expressed its confidence in Carolus' ability to continue to promote South Africa's process of democratisation and transformation abroad.

However, the NP accused the ANC government of making a habit of using the diplomatic corps and South African missions abroad "to discard the unwanted and those in disfavour within the ANC. These include, among others, Carolus, Mr Carl Niehaus and Mr Robert McBride".

"Surely within the ranks of the South African diplomatic corps there are more than enough capable persons who could have been appointed to represent South Africa at this very important mission." — Own Correspondent

New force rising

M+G 3-9/10/97 (304A)

'Betrayed' by the ANC, Contralesa is reviewing its options for the future, **Wally Mbhele** *reports*

The congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) confirmed this week that it plans to cut ties with the African National Congress, but played down suggestions it was seeking links with the newly launched United Democratic Movement.

Contralesa's shift away from the ANC will be discussed at the organisation's national conference in Johannesburg this weekend.

Speaking to the *Mail & Guardian*, Contralesa president Chief Patekile Holomisa said his organisation felt "betrayed" by the ANC government and now had to consider whether the constitutional recognition of the role of traditional leaders was a "mere symbolic" gesture or "something meaningful".

He said three views will come under discussion this weekend. The organisation will consider whether to seek new political alliances, to transform into a political party or remain neutral.

These proposals could cause ANC officials like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, who is the treasurer of Contralesa, to reconsider their membership of the organisation. Madikizela-Mandela, for instance, holds executive positions in both organisations. Holomisa is also an ANC MP in the National Assembly.

There has been speculation in recent weeks that many Contralesa members are attracted to the idea of an alliance with the UDM of Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer.

Contralesa's Holomisa acknowledged that many of his members have joined the UDM, but nevertheless emphasised that his organisation has "people from across the political spectrum".

He said it had been necessary in the past to forge political ties with the ANC, as many tribal leaders were engaged in resisting independence in former homelands.

"We needed the restoration of the dignity attached to the institution of the tribal authority, and when organisations were unbanned we pursued a similar goal within the ranks of the ANC," he said.

"Now that we have achieved democracy, there is a feeling that it is no longer necessary to form political alliances. We have people from across the political spectrum. A lot of us belong to the UDM now," he added.

Holomisa told the *M&G* that it was going to be difficult to decide on the question of political alignment as many members do not want to "burn their fingers" anymore.

"We won't be getting into any political fold unless the conference decides otherwise. We'll also focus on issues in which we share the same interests and goals with other parties," said Holomisa.

He said his organisation now realises that the ANC was only interested in granting traditional leaders a symbolic constitutional recognition, but not a real and practical recognition.

"So far our recognition in the Constitution has been one of our major achievements since the dawn of democracy in South Africa. We, however, have to consider whether or not this recognition goes far enough."

He alleged that traditional leaders in some provinces have been "disempowered of their traditional authority" and the conference will have to look into that.

"We have a situation where we are no longer allocated budgets in some provinces. The House of the Council of Traditional Leaders is not given funds to carry out its tasks. Our role has become worse in the final Constitution.

"Looking at the land question, title deeds to certain land ... which was taken away from the tribal leaders have not been restored. The present government does not want to restore title deeds to the tribal authority."

He felt marginalised by the government as his organisation was not invited to be part of the Heritage Day festivities. "The question of art and culture is very important to us ... we were supposed to be actively involved," he said.



Marginalised: Contralesa president Patekile Holomisa.
PHOTO: HENNER FRANKENFELD

Keep Parliament in Cape Town, says management forum

(304A) ARG 4/10/97

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Black Management Forum of the Western Cape has come out strongly in favour of keeping Parliament in Cape Town, warning of devastation of the regional economy if it is moved.

The forum is holding a landmark conference in Cape Town this weekend.

Gavin Pieterse, chief executive of the BMF Western Cape, said that without Parliament the province would become increasingly culturally isolated from the rest of the country.

"Cape Town is fast developing a reputation of being divorced culturally, aesthetically and spiritually from the rest of the country," he said.

The presence of Parliament in the city stemmed this. "We need the distinctly African flavour of the majority of parliamentarians and the many dignitaries from the continent gracing our city to advance continued Africanisation," Mr Pieterse said.

The province would become isolated from the mainstream economy were Parliament to move.

Should Parliament be located in Gauteng, South Africa's already lopsided economy would be completed dominated by that province.

Parliament being in Cape Town has meant that international business interest in Cape Town has remained strong.

Mr Pieterse pointed out that the city was home to headquarters of several companies in key sectors such as oil, insurance, shipping and retail.

In addition, Parliament attracted diplomatic business through the location of embassies and trade missions in the city.

The loss of Parliament would have a devastating impact on the economy of the Western Cape. According to KPMG, direct earnings brought by Parliament to the Western Cape over the past year totalled R870,6million.

The loss would be felt all over the province, but most particularly in Cape Town's central business district.

"Both black and white business will be affected, because part of their market will dissolve," Mr Pieterse said.

Small entrepreneurs, including street traders, were totally dependent on passing trade, many of whom were employees of Parliament.

"Small black entrepreneurs will be directly impacted and may lose their income if Parliament is removed - can any form of income protection be offered them?"

The overall spending power contributed by Parliament to the region was considerable.

The property market would be hard-hit, Mr Pieterse said.

Reduced demand for office space in the CBD would affect rentals. "Property values will decline and there could be a slow-down in new construction developments, with long-term negative impacts for the city's business community.

'Loss of business interest could lead to Cape Town becoming isolated'

"Both construction workers and office-related labour will be affected."

The loss of Parliament would seriously affect the service sector, because of a drop in need for a wide range of services normally contracted out to small and medium enterprises. This applied not only to businesses serving Parliament, but also foreign embassies and media businesses.

Mr Pieterse said types of business at risk included restaurants, caterers, computer, telephone and communications specialists, research and information personnel, hotel and other accommodation, car hire and taxis, office services and suppliers of office equipment.

Loss of domestic and international business interest could lead to Cape Town becoming isolated from the rest of the country.

Marginalisation will mean loss of Cape Town's international status and reputation as a prime tourist destination.

Contralesa head slates it for 'chaotic' management

CONTRALESA president Patekile Holomisa yesterday slated his own organisation for chaotic financial and administrative management and for lack of commitment from its leaders and members.

Opening the general council meeting of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa in Potchefstroom, Holomisa pulled no punches in his criticism of the way the organisation's provincial and national structures had conducted themselves over the last few years.

Contralesa is a non-aligned organisation of traditional leaders, whose members are free to associate with other political groupings as individuals. It has been competing with civic organisations in an attempt to maintain traditional tribal authority in rural areas, and regards itself as the custodian of the culture of South African people. (3049)

Holomisa pointed out to members that the organisation had never held an annual general meeting since its national executive committee was elected in December 1994, and that the NEC had not yet met this year.

He said the national leadership had not applied itself to its responsibilities and lacked commitment to the organisation's goals.

"Our NEC is notorious for taking decisions and resolutions it does not carry out. I am convinced that most of its members do not hold report-back meetings in their respective provinces and branches. For these and other reasons, meetings of this particular NEC are a waste of money and time."

Besides idleness and lack of commitment, some of the provincial branches were failing to build up the organisation because of petty tribal jealousies and rivalries. Some leaders sabotaged the development of Contralesa if they stood to lose leadership positions, he said.

"If our provincial councils continue to perform as poorly as most of them do we shall soon become irrelevant."

Contralesa, he said, was a huge organisation, which could raise thousands of rands from its membership.

"Yet, there is no money in our coffers," he said.

Provinces were withholding subscription amounts due to the NEC, and various excuses and reasons were being put forward for this.

"Whatever their worth they cannot justify the stifling of the work of the organisation."

The financial committee's task was to raise funds and administer the finance of the organisation.

"This committee, ever since it was formed, has probably met only once and without any results, and has not raised a single cent. It owes this general council an explanation as to why it has failed so dismally in its task.

"What has been occupying its time? Why were there no budgets, nationally or provincially, ever prepared for consideration by the national and provincial leadership?"

The lack of funds had resulted in no head office for the organisation, despite sterling work by the treasurer (Winnie Madikizela-Mandela) to find one and keep it open.

"As we all know, for a very long time she has had to use her own money to keep it going while it did."

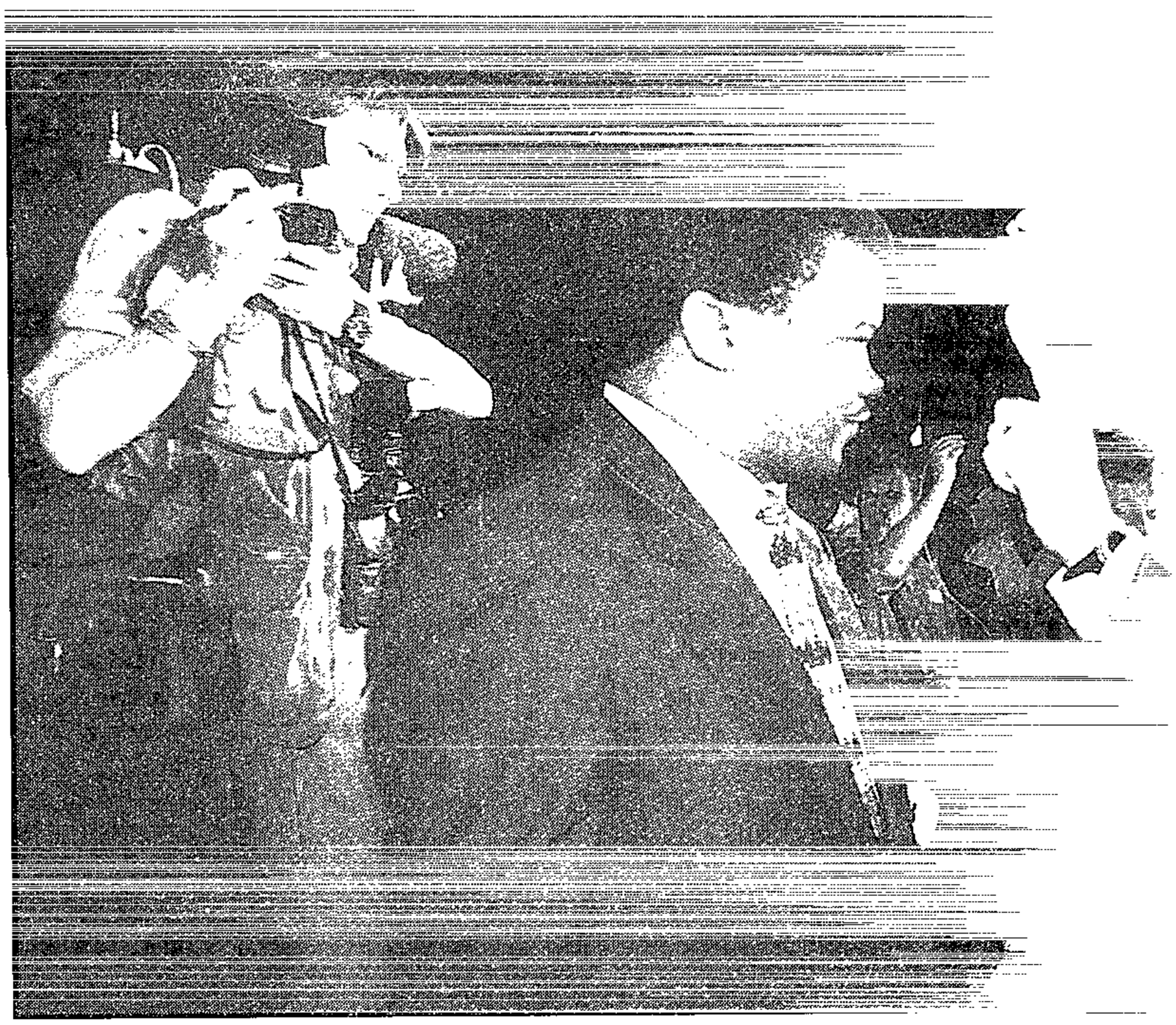
On a more positive note, Holomisa urged his organisation to pull up its socks and added "all is not lost".

In spite of its shortcomings, Contralesa was growing rapidly.

"The views of the organisation are being sought by all relevant institutions on matters pertaining to land, customs and our history.

"More and more of our people are once again appealing to us for direction, even in political matters. We cannot fail them," Holomisa said. – Sapa

CP5/10/97



POINTING THE WAY: Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer at the launch of the new United Democratic M

Rainbow amb of an impos

Holomisa and Meyer symbolise a paradoxica

IT WAS reminiscent of one of those great fight nights at Madison Square Gardens in the US in the 70s.

To an almost tumultuously rousing welcome, and a sea of fluttering red, green and gold miniature flags, Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer made their way slowly to the stage, shielded by a phalanx of bodyguards from a frenzied media pack and excited followers.

The artist on stage emptied his soul in a moving rendition of an all-time favourite, *The Impossible Dream*, as Holomisa and Meyer took the podium to announce the birth of the United Democratic Movement.

The baby had been a long time coming, and meticulous planning was evident in the slickness of the birth ceremony at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

A typical Boere tannie from Pretoria sat next to a black woman who, in the good old days of Verwoerdian apartheid, would have been at the launch to serve the "madam" with tea and sandwiches.

A streetwise township youngster asked for a smoke from a white man when he could have helped himself to a packet and a wallet had he picked the man's pocket.

James Mahlangu, a traditional leader who once reached the political heights of being a chief minister in an apartheid bantustan, sat comfortably in the middle of former puppets in the discredited tricameral parliament, along with Cape Flats gangster Rashied Staggie.

The paradox of this amazing coming together of minds was captured in the very fact that Meyer, a former defence minister in the National Party government, stood next to Holomisa, a former military head of a homeland government who turned on his Pretoria masters by offering the territory as a sanctuary for the banned ANC.

They stood together, ready to march towards an ideal that many doubt South Africa is ready for.

As Holomisa said in his opening address, Saturday's was a unique gathering in context and circumstance.

"The founding members come from diverse backgrounds, yet the driving force which motivated the people to unite is a common passion and a mission to rebuilding the country as South Africans, irrespective of artificial, narrow differences."

Meyer added: "South Africanism is a transcending value. It is the cohesive force that binds us all to the soil of our land. It is the instinctive sense of belonging we all have, of being here in South Africa, part of a wider region, part of Africa. It is that common willingness to work together across all divides for the common good, to make this place worth living in for all our people."

Indeed, the coming together of South Africans from diverse backgrounds, unified in the spirit of South Africanism, is a powerful theme and should go down well with the electorate.

The movement was also accurate in identifying the ills of our society: crime, unemployment, a lack of significant growth in foreign investments and the failure of the ANC to fulfil its promises.

A discussion document on policy was circulated at the launch. It will serve as a basis for finalising positions and it is envisaged that a policy manifesto will be ready for consideration at the movement's first full congress next year.

The UDM hopes to build its fundamental policy on a series of core values, which are:

- Respect for the life, dignity and human worth of every individual;
- Integrity in public and private life;
- The individual rights and freedoms enshrined in the Constitution;
- Tolerance and respect for the rights and freedoms of others;
- Solidarity in the common spiritual ownership of all that is good in the country;
- National self-discipline based on an acceptance that each right and freedom carries with it a corresponding and equal obligation and responsibility;
- National moral regeneration towards a clear distinction between right and wrong, between what is acceptable conduct and what is not, between good and evil;
- Economic policies based on moral values;
- Freedom of religion and worship.

Holomisa and Meyer explained that the mission of the UDM is to unite South Africans from all communities in a new political home, built on the foundation of the principles and ideals of the Constitution.

"To this end we will address poverty and imbalances in our society, inspired by our unifying love of our country and its people. We will set free the creative power inherent in our diversity and will co-operate with all stakeholders to ensure a quality life and individual freedom for every citizen," the policy discussion document expanded. Meyer promised to make South Africa a "winning nation" within 10 years.

As a counterproposal, the UDM document does not give clear points of departure from what the ruling party is doing, or at least attempting to do.

On the economy, for instance, the UDM's approach is that jobs must be created by growing the economy, which in turn should be done by encouraging foreign and domestic investment through "sound fiscal, monetary, taxation and tariff policies".

There is hardly anybody in South Africa today who would quibble with that, and it is a sentiment to be found in one form or another in policy documents of virtually all political parties.

The privatisation of state monopolies and conglomerates "with due regard for the interests of all stakeholders and the broader national interest" is also hardly unique.

Nor is the effort to encourage and support the labour movement to bargain collectively on an apolitical, non-ideological platform to better the lives of its members.

Having identified crime and the creation of jobs as priority issues, the UDM says in its discussion document:

"A national consensus is required to designate the problem of civil order as one of the highest priorities for the country . . . communities should be intimately involved in the fight against crime at all levels. Declare war on crime and criminals in a literal sense . . ."

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...ment at the World Trade Centre last week — Picture: RAYMOND PRESTON

...itions born ...ible dream

...new unity, writes CYRIL MADLALA

(304A) ST 5/10/97

...only slightly radical ...t in this regard is the ...on that the government spend more money on ...minal justice system, ... necessary, at the ex... of other important but ...ucial demands" on the ... But the UDM has yet to ...ther it has in mind as ...ucial" for government ...vision of clean water and ...ity, free education and ... health care, or even the ...ion of the environment.

The UDM suggests that a referendum should be held on the reimposition of the death penalty, and on abortion on demand.

"The demand for punishment and retribution is a legitimate and understandable human sentiment under our present circumstances. Ideological preconceptions should not be allowed to take precedence over this demand," says the discussion document.

Education up to a "certain" secondary level should be provided by the state, while on constitutional matters, the UDM suggests that provinces be given their own fiscal means, as far as possible, to pursue their particular interests and wellbeing.

The movement also favours the assignment of governmental functions to the level where they can be executed most appropriately and effectively.

From all this, what is certain is that the United Democratic Movement is not proposing drastic changes in government policy — it is more a question of how the policy is implemented.

Neither is there anything in the policy discussion document that has not been raised on one platform or another by the other opposition parties.

Being outside Parliament, the UDM is at a disadvantage because the debating chamber is a useful forum for any opposition party to assail the policies of the ruling party and market its own solutions.

The DP, which has mastered the art of exploiting the benefits of the system, is a good example.

While the element of novelty will generate interest, possibly financial support as well, the UDM will find setting up proper party structures a daunting task, especially if any dent is to be made in the awesome organisational machinery at the disposal of the ANC.

On the basis of policy alone, the finalised positions of the UDM are not likely to be its strongest card.

However, Holomisa instinctively knows what could hurt the ANC, and because he is black, he can say things which Meyer may not without being accused of being racist.

Holomisa will therefore continue to drive the message to those who have not yet reaped the fruits of their liberation that "transformation is only for some. There is an arrogance of power. There is much talk and little being done. Something needs to be done so that the new South Africa is not only for the few who have friends and relatives in high places."

Meanwhile, while it is desirable for South Africans of diverse backgrounds to come together, the UDM will have to weigh the political cost of being associated with some characters.

Even before the birth of the movement, Meyer and Holomisa's past connections with murder accused Sifiso Nkabinde and fraud accused Lucas Mangope was not a good public relations exercise. Now they have attracted the interest of Staggie, the kingpin of the Hard Livings gang in Cape Town, although they did not invite him.

As the song so aptly captured the reality as Holomisa and Meyer took the stage on Saturday, theirs is to "dream the impossible dream, to fight the unbeatable foe" — which the ANC will be for the foreseeable future.

Whether the UDM will succeed, the 1999 election will tell.

For now, Holomisa and Meyer can dream on, and hope that theirs is a possible dream.

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Germany and SA seal their friendship

Europe watches from the sidelines as Pretoria changes its tactics and settles on Bonn as a 'strategic partner'

(3044) ST 5/10/97

ANDREW TRENCH: Bonn

SOUTH AFRICA's allies in Europe have launched a flurry of diplomatic overtures towards Pretoria following the cementing of a "strategic partnership" between South Africa and Germany this week.

Britain and France apparently watched developments between Bonn and Pretoria with unease as Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and his delegation shifted relations between South Africa and Germany into a higher gear.

Mbeki, in Bonn to co-chair the first meeting of the binational commission between the two countries, made it clear the nature of relations had changed.

He described South Africa's relationship with Germany as "a strategic partnership" — a clear upgrade from the historic "friendship".

Mbeki's visit sealed co-operation on a range of issues — from reforms of the UN Security Council and South Africa's efforts in international mediation to increased defence links and more support for access to European Union markets.

"There was no fluff here, just a lot of substance," observed one official.

In terms of formal structures and depth of political co-operation, the relationship between South Africa and Germany is now stronger than that between South Africa and any other country.

Also, with two-way business totalling R20-billion a year, Germany is already South Africa's biggest trading partner.

After meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Mbeki said Germany regarded South Africa as an important facet in its overall international relations, especially in Africa.

This was confirmed by Klaus Kinkel, Germany's Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister who also co-chaired the meeting.

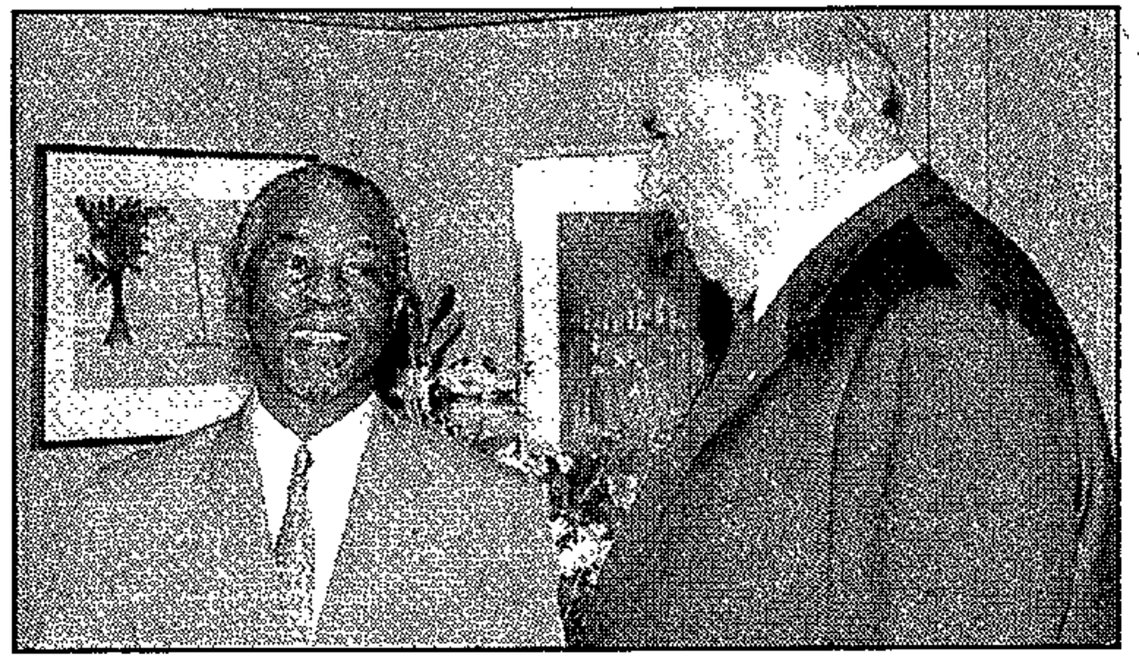
He said there was "no other country in sub-Saharan Africa with which we have such close political, economic and cultural ties.

The intensity of political contact is unique compared to all other African countries. Our interest in South Africa is unwavering."

Senior officials told the Sunday Times that London and Paris had watched the developments with concern as Britain and France feared dilution of their influence.

The British government is understood to be anxious to begin talks on setting up Anglo-South African structures similar to those established between Germany and South Africa.

Hubert Vedrine, the French Foreign Affairs Minister who is to visit South Africa soon, apparently has similar concerns on his agenda.



YOU'VE GOT IT: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl moved into high gear this week

France and South Africa already have a joint economic commission and are talking about scientific and cultural ties.

But France is believed to want more formal arrangements to secure political co-operation with South Africa in a bid to polish its image in Africa, which was most recently tarnished by its support for Zaire's former dictator Mobutu Sese Seko.

France is also concerned about losing influence in Africa to the US, which is more actively involved on the continent and has a binational commission with South Africa.

Members of Mbeki's delegation said the moves to strengthen the relationship with Bonn were partly motivated by the need to counterbalance increasing American influence. He said it marked the start of a new phase in South African foreign policy.

The Mbeki visit signals a shift away from South Africa's often criticised "friends to all" policy and towards a more tactical approach of targeting countries of strategic interest.

South Africa is the only country with which Germany works in a binational commission.

German officials said the partnership with South Africa was also viewed as a "test run" for a more assertive foreign policy designed to secure its international interests, particularly in Africa.

"We would never say this publicly, but for us South Africa is the only country we can deal with on the continent," a senior German foreign ministry official said.

The binational commission and meetings between Mbeki, Kinkel and Kohl covered a range of areas and secured mutual support on key issues.

South Africa announced it would support Germany gaining a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, while Germany reciprocated with support for a permanent seat for Africa.

Kinkel said Germany would support South Africa in gaining better market access to the European Union and it would work to increase German imports from South Africa to reduce the trade imbalance.

Mbeki secured "a favourable response" to his request for finance from the German overseas development agency for regional projects such as the Maputo corridor.

Kinkel has instructed German government departments to look into helping South Africa gain access to cheap drugs to reduce the cost of health care.

Kohl offered to help expedite the signing of an agreement which would allow the exchange of "sensitive" technology.

Mbeki confirmed that Kinkel raised the question of the German package of fighter aircraft, submarines and corvettes which it is eager to sell to South Africa. But he added he did not think it had been pushed as "a particularly hard sell".

Kinkel and Mbeki agreed they would give priority to co-operation in peacekeeping.

The next meeting of the binational commission will take place in South Africa next year.

New Boer republic is set up in Balmoral, near Witbank

Star 6/10/97 (304A)

Balmoral – Alleged discrimination against Afrikaners in the new South Africa has prompted several Afrikaner businessmen to establish a Boer republic in Balmoral, near Witbank.

Fritz Meyer, chairman of the Boere Republiek Ko-operatief Beperk (Boer Republic Co-operative Limited) said Afrikaners' rights had to be protected. "People are being discriminated against if they are Afrikaners and this is not acceptable," he said.

Afrikaners were losing their jobs because of the Government's "racist" affirmative action policy. The Boer co-operative aimed to economically uplift the Afrikaner.

The Government was also incapable of maintaining stability in the country. "Crime is out of hand and one of our aims is to ensure the collective safety of our members."

Three private farms totalling about 200 hectares in the Balmoral area were registered in March as the Boere Republiek. On October 11 members of the Boere Republiek will each fork out R1 200 to purchase a 1 000 square metre stand for housing.

Meyer explained: "The first residential area will be named Voortrekkerhoogte, after the Voortrekkers."

He said a shopping centre, clinic and schools would also be built on the property. "We will not pay for services, but will have our own refuse removal, water and sanitation services which will be run by a board of directors." He said education, health, safety and security in South Africa were deteriorating and that the Afrikaner had to be protected. – Sapa

Big shift in SA voters' allegiances, poll shows

BD 7/10/97 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress has increased its support in the Western Cape to a position where it could challenge the National Party in an election, an Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa) poll has shown.

The results released yesterday by Prof Bob Mattes reflected a dramatic shift in "partisan" allegiance and an increased fluidity in politics with about 40% of the electorate undecided on which party to support.

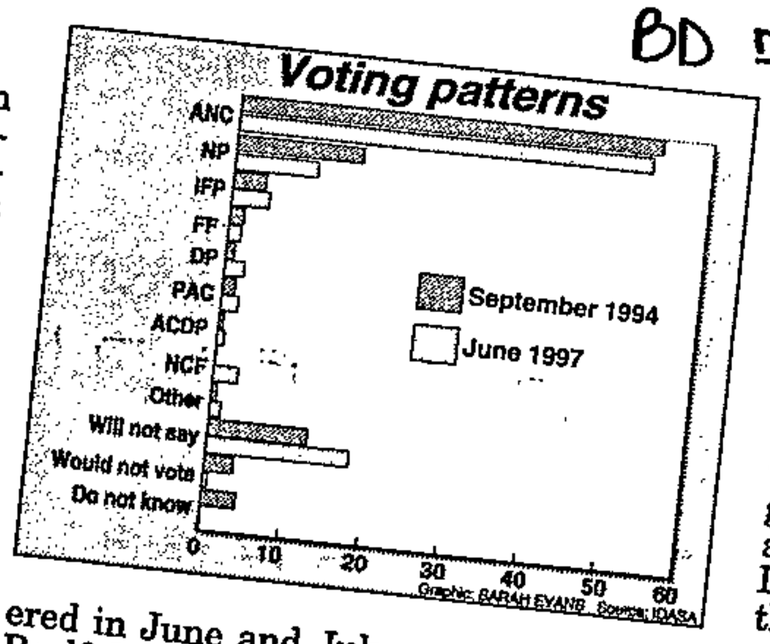
The results also registered public response to the United Democratic Movement of Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa with about 2% of the electorate "identifying" with the party.

He said yesterday that all the political parties had lost support. Hardest hit was the National Party (NP) "which has suffered major erosions in Gauteng, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and North West. Most importantly, its support in the critically important battleground of the Western Cape has dropped from 41% to 18%," Mattes said.

The Idasa poll results, gathered in June and July — after Roelf Meyer's resignation but before FW De Klerk's - - show 31,6% of the Western Cape electorate would now vote for the NP compared to the 37,9% who voted for them in 1994. The ANC maintained its position at about 34%.

In sharp contrast, the NP has improved its position in the Northern Cape, 49,2% saying they will vote for the party compared with 25% in 1994. ANC support dropped from 54% in 1994 to 31% this year.

He said that declared voting intention for the ANC had stabilised nationally at roughly the same level as 1994, recovering to 54% from a low in late November of 46%. The declared intention to vote for the NP was down by one third from 16% to 10%. The surprise in the package was a 3,1% declared voting intention in favour of the Holomisa-Meyer group which put it ahead of the minority Democratic Party, the Freedom Front and the Pan Africanist Congress.



Mattes said that "ANC identification among blacks had dropped from 75% to 51%" while the NP's white support had fallen from 48% to 19%. NP support among the coloured voters in its Western Cape stronghold had also fallen by 25% to 28% and its support among Indians had halved.

"Since 1994 there has been a significant shift in public attachments away from political parties in general.

"The data demonstrates that a large proportion of voters are not enthusiastically sewn into irrevocable patterns of partisan support," he said.

CAPE ARGUS, **TUESDAY**, OCTOBER 7, 1997

R1-bn price tag put on new Parliament building in Gauteng

ARG 7/10/97 (304A)

Tension rises in ANC ranks

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Independent quantity surveyors say it will cost over R1-billion to build a new Parliament in Gauteng, according to the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament.

The claim comes as tension mounts within the ANC over the issue, with the national executive committee poised to make a decision within days.

The Western Cape ANC is hoping to at least stave off a decision on the future seat of Parliament, in the knowledge that moving it from Cape Town could be a body blow to ANC electoral chances in the province in 1999.

Adding to concerns are projections of cost. The finding by surveyors Bham Tayob Khan is that replicating the existing parliamentary facility would cost R1,063-billion.

This is based on construction costs of almost R600-million, pre-contract escalation costs of R104-million and cost escalation during the contract of about R100-million.

In addition, professional fees would come to about R142 million and value-added tax about R130-million, simply to create a 115 000m2 building to mirror the existing facility.

CAP executive director Kallie Hanekom said it was increasingly obvious that the Pretoria lobby planned a two-phase campaign, first to get Parliament moved into existing unsuitable buildings, then to push for a wholly new complex.

Draft plans for a Parliament in Pretoria include putting the National Assembly into a disused theatre now being used as a car park, putting the National Council of Provinces into an old council chamber, and giving MPs offices in the former Transvaal Provincial Adminstration building.

"Once the ANC has fallen for this so-called cost-saving option, and the country has been severely divided across north and south lines in acrimonious parliamentary debates, a commission of inquiry will 'find' that the proposed site for Parliament would be completely inadequate.

"That's when the bells will ring for the property developers and construction companies who are financing Pretoria's expensive schmoozing campaign," Mr Hanekom said.

Mr Hanekom pointed to the experience of Australia, where building a new parliament saw costs escalate by about 350%.

"Allowing for the conversion of currencies at the present rate, the Australian experience would translate back to a South African Parliament costing R3,5-billion."

Building costs were not the only cost ramification, Mr Hanekom pointed out.

At the time of union in 1910, Pietermaritzburg was paid substantial compensation for loss of status as a capital, a precedent which Cape Town could attempt to emulate for the huge loss of jobs and income which Parliament moving would mean.

Mr Hanekom said once the ANC had taken a decision to move Parliament to Pretoria, the legislation would have to run the gauntlet of both Parliament itself and each of the nine provincial legislatures, each of which would be entitled to hold public hearings on the issue.

This, he added, could lead to further delays and costs involved in the process.

NP SUFFERS BIGGEST LOSS

'Independent' voters abandon parties

CT 7|10|97 (304A)

IDASA'S LATEST public survey shows political parties across the board are now less popular than in 1994. The ANC says it is now ready to take the Western Cape from its chief rival, the NP.

THERE has been a significant shift in partisan support for political parties since 1994, according to Idasa's latest public opinion survey, and, with one exception, every political party has lost support.

Idasa's Dr Bob Mattes said the survey, in June and July, showed there was now a large group of "independent" voters, unattached to any political party available for persuasion.

Nationally, the African National Congress and the National Party seemed to have suffered the most politically important losses.

The new United Democratic Movement had made an early, significant mark in voter identification.

The ANC and NP had also suffered significant declines within several provinces.

Perhaps the most politically important decline, Mattes said, was the large reduction in identification with the NP in the Western Cape. Identification was measured as having dropped from 37,9% in 1994 to 31,6% today.

Also, the UDM had emerged as a potentially important player in the Eastern Cape.

Voter identification with the ANC dropped from 62% after the 1994 elections to 49% 1997, Mattes said. However, this was a recovery of support from the low of 45% in September 1995.

The NP had lost over half of its identifiers, from 16% in 1994 to 8%in 1997.

The Inkatha Freedom Party remained virtually unchanged, moving from 6% in 1994 to 5%.

The Freedom Front dropped from 2,2% to 0,8%, and the African Christian Democratic Party from 0,8% to 0,2%.

The Pan-Africanist Congress moved up from 1,8% to 2,2% and the Democratic Party from 1,6 to 1,9%, Mattes said.

Voting intention nationally put support for the ANC at 52,5%, the NP at 10,4%, IFP 4,7%, FF 1,6%, DP 2,5%, PAC 2,2%, ACDP 0,9% and UDM 3,1%.

'The NP's Western Cape support is collapsing and the ANC is set to win there.' — Sisulu

Mattes said it should be noted, however, that all surveys of this size — anywhere from 2 500 to 3 500 people — had a margin of error of at least 2,5%.

National Party media director Mr Daryl Swanepoel said the relative strengths of the parties remained largely unchanged. No party had gained substantial support from the others. He said it was the pool of undecided voters that had swelled.

ANC Chief Whip Mr Max Sisulu said the survey showed the NP's support in the Western Cape was collapsing, and the ANC was set to win the province.

"These results are the clearest evidence yet of the collapse of support for the National Party — at both national and provincial level — and of the continuing massive support for the ANC among the people of South Africa," Sisulu said.

IFP spokesman Mr Ben Skosana said the report openly acknowledged the IFP's electoral support was consistently higher than that shown in every survey.

Therefore, the figures given in respect of identification and of support consistently missed something, he said.

DP parliamentary manager Mr Ryan Coetzee said the best news was the growth in the party's support among what the survey called African voters — 24,2% of DP supporters now were African, up from 21,7% in 1995 and just 2,2% in 1994.

The DP, unlike the larger parties, was growing, Coetzee said. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1997 ★

NO LOBBYING, SAYS MANDELA

Dogfight looms in ANC over Parliament

ct 7/10/97 (304A)

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has warned ANC MPs and exco that he will not tolerate lobbying (for Parliament) in any form in favour of any city. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

THE secretive manner in which the ANC is moving towards a decision on the future seat of Parliament is seriously alienating its Western Cape members and driving a growing wedge between the party's own caucus and executive.

President Nelson Mandela stepped in yesterday, warning MPs and his exco that he would "not tolerate lobbying in any form or manner" in favour of Pretoria, Cape Town "or any city".

Mandela is refusing to receive any delegation aiming to persuade him to take one view or another in the growing controversy — including members of his own party caucus, newspaper editors and businessmen.

Many Western Cape ANC members believe they are being "sold out" in the NP-ruled region while the national caucus — which represents the public — has angrily demanded to be "fully informed" by the executive well before any decision is made.

This emerged when key ANC provincial exco (PEC) members were canvassed for their candid opinions recently, while some national exco (NEC) members admitted that there was a "helluva fight" in the offing over the manner and style of the decision-making process.

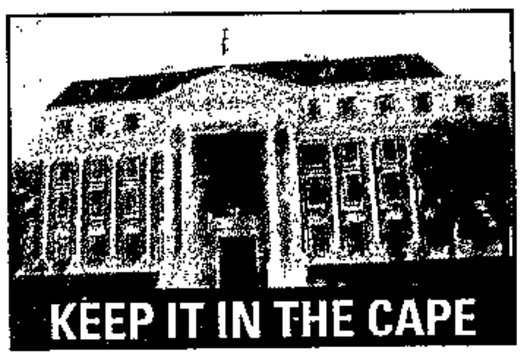
One NEC member who attended a party caucus meeting recently said she could not recall "so much heated debate and emotion" during any caucus gathering.

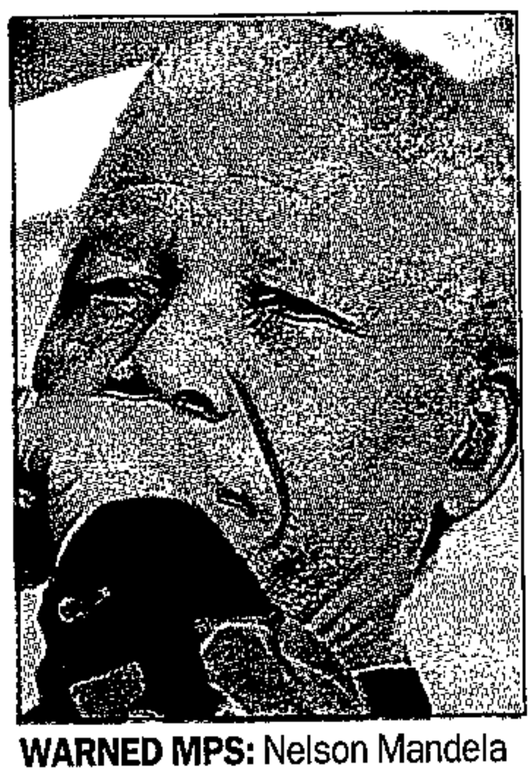
A clear Pretoria/Gauteng-favouring cabal is emerging within the ANC's NEC, and yesterday even the most hopeful estimates had only about one-quarter of the 64 members strongly in favour of keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

"The divisiveness will only increase if the decision is seen as having being smuggled through rather than going a through proper, open process," one ANC provincial exco member said.

He and several others questioned why the ANC had moved away from its common practice of circulating position papers among all the branches for discussion and participation, thus allowing "a more informed decision".

A decision is expected at the national ANC congress in Mafikeng in mid-December after the NEC unanimously agreed at a "bosberaad" at Lohathla in January that the matter should be finalised by the end of this year.





WARNED MPS: Nelson Mandela

The emerging internal ANC division comes hard on the heels of an outcry in opposition parties over the lack of transparency and inclusivity in a matter of such crucial national importance.

They say the ongoing ANC research has gaping omissions — such as failing to properly probe the use of modern communication technology — which prove a bias in favour of Pretoria .

One example is video-conferencing and direct networking between Cape Town and Pretoria, thus avoiding a major chunk of official travel and accommodation costs.

In July an initial report by the ANC's three-person parliamentary sub-committee (on the seat of Parliament) leaned heavily towards Pretoria. It caused an outcry when the report was leaked to the media.

The NEC promptly ordered the committee, consisting of Labour Minister Mr Tito Mboweni, Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe and Deputy Speaker of Parliament Ms Baleka Kgositsile-Mbete, to revisit their methodology and terms of reference.

The NEC's determination to resolve the issue by the year's end — a position backed by Parliamentary Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala — was illustrated by one NEC member who said yesterday: "We can't afford to have the uncertainty and speculation continuing like this. It doesn't do Pretoria or Cape Town any good."

He added: "There will be a helluva fight with the Western Cape guys, but in the end they will lose."

The Western Cape ANC PEC appointed Mr Randall van der Heever (who represents the National Assembly caucus on the PEC) and former regional chair (and Economic Affairs MEC) Mr Chris Nissen to prepare lobbying tactics.

ANC national spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday's National Working Committee meeting focused mainly on the December national conference, but was unable to rule out that there had been discussion on the seat of Parliament.

Of the Western Cape MPs he said: "I think they're jumping the gun. There is no decision yet — they have a right to express their views in the NEC, where they are represented".

Nissen and Van der Heever's central thrust would be to try to stem the tide of haste for a Mafikeng decision and "to get the issue onto the backburner", one source said.

They would question the "overhasty" process, the NP-led "balkanisation" of the Western Cape, over-centralisation and the major economic and developmental loss it would mean for the region.

"But taking Parliament away will also be a victory for the Nats and cost us votes in 1999," another ANC source said.

Some of the most upset pro-Cape Town ANC members are MPs who bought homes in Cape Town and settled their children into local schools after April 27, 1994 .

There is a growing — but so far, publicly silent — lobby within the ANC caucus to allow a free vote when the matter gets to the National Assembly for final ratification.

This runs counter to strict party-line voting in the ANC and directly supports the stand by opposition parties.

The ANC usually aims for consensus during caucus meetings before parliamentary voting.

Mandela's spokesman, Mr Parks Mankahlana, said the president's view was that "this matter should be handled very sensitively — and he'd strongly disapprove of any behaviour by MPs which amounts to lobbying for one position or another".

He added: "It's a question which is uppermost in his mind. Any insinuation that he's failed to apply his mind, we'd regard as being influenced by those trying to exact pressure on him".

● The ANC's national executive committee is due to sit in mid-November when a decision will almost certainly be fine-tuned for ratification at the Mafikeng congress.

Moving parliament to Pretoria a 'two-step, billion-plus scam'

(304A)

Star 8/10/97

Campaign 'senseless and divisive and designed to benefit only property developers and construction companies'

SAPA
Cape Town

Moving parliament from Cape Town to Pretoria would require a massive R3,5-billion and was not a cost-saving option for South Africa, the Cape Town-based Citizens Alliance (CAP) for Parliament said yesterday.

Following the release of the first independent assessment of the cost of rebuilding the legislature in Gauteng, CAP criticised the campaign to move parliament to Pretoria, calling it a "two-step, billion-plus scam".

The campaign was "senseless and divisive" and was designed only to benefit property developers and construction companies, CAP executive director Kallie Hanekom said in a statement.

"Until now, we have been asked to believe that the cost of moving parliament would almost be saved in a couple of years of reduced commuting costs for members of parliament and government officials," he said.

According to an estimate provided by CAP, by independent quantity surveyors, Bham Tayob Khan, just the cost of reconstructing the existing parliamentary facility would be R1,063-billion.

This is based on construction costs of nearly R600-million, pre-contract escalation costs of R104-million and cost escalation during the contract of about R100-million.

In addition, professional fees would amount to R142-million plus VAT.

It would cost R130-million simply to create a 115 000sq-m building to mirror the existing facility.

Hanekom said this latest information needed to be seen against the background of the current campaign to get the African National Congress to agree to move parliament.

> **"Quantity surveyors put cost at R3,5-billion"**

"It is becoming increasingly obvious that the Pretoria clique has a two-stage plan to persuade members of the ANC to move parliament on the basis that existing unsuitable buildings scattered around central Pretoria can be integrated into an ideal parliament for the new South Africa," Hanekom said.

"Once the ANC has fallen for this so-called cost-saving option, and the country has been severely divided across north and south lines in acrimonious parliamentary debates, a commission of inquiry will 'find' that the proposed site for parliament – Church Square – would be completely inadequate and require a turn-key, stand-alone facility."

This would be when the bells would ring for the property developers and construction companies who are financing Pretoria's expensive "schmoozing" campaign, he said.

Hanekom said South Africans should take note of what happened in Australia recently. There they had a situation where they simply needed to rebuild parliament in the same city, Canberra.

"Inevitably, as will happen here if South Africa is to embark on this senseless and divisive course, is that once the opportunity is created to custom-build a new facility for the new millennium, we will find that, as in the case of Australia, the costs will escalate by some 350%."

Hanekom said that by allowing for the conversion of currencies at the existing rate, the Australian experience would translate back to a South African parliament costing some R3,5-billion.

Long wrangling likely if Parliament is to move

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARG 8/10/97

A round of costly and lengthy public hearings, and possibly even referendums in some provinces, lies ahead if the African National Congress decides Parliament should move from Cape Town.

Ahead of the formal decision at the ANC national conference in December, lobbyists campaigning to keep Parliament in Cape Town are hoping for support from other provinces at the ANC conference, not least the Eastern Cape and Northern Cape.

Together, the three provinces that make up the former Cape province, and which have the most direct interest in retaining Parliament in Cape Town, have just less than a third of the votes at the conference.

Rubber-stamping by the conference of the ANC national executive committee decision on the issue next month is not a foregone conclusion. It is quite possible that at least a section of the grassroots will go against the will of national leadership, as happened in some quarters on the abortion issue and in Gauteng with the election of a new chairman.

Further damage to the ANC lies in wait on the issue, with opposition parties already having clearly indicated they would make the moving of Parliament a key election platform in each of the Cape provinces. Once a decision was made by the conference, the process of amending the constitution would have to begin. This would mean a bill having to be tabled and referred to the portfolio committee.

On an issue of profound national importance, with cost implications running into billions of rands and affecting jobs and national unity, Parliament will have no option about holding public hearings. Public consultation could take a month.

If the bill is approved by the committee, it will require a majority of members of the National Assembly, rather than just those MPs present on the day, for approval by the Assembly. The ANC would have to impose the strictest possible party discipline to get 201 of its MPs present and voting in favour.

As with the abortion bill, it is quite possible some MPs might choose to absent themselves from the vote. If approved by the Assembly, the bill will have to go to the National Council of Provinces and must win the approval of at least five of the nine provinces.

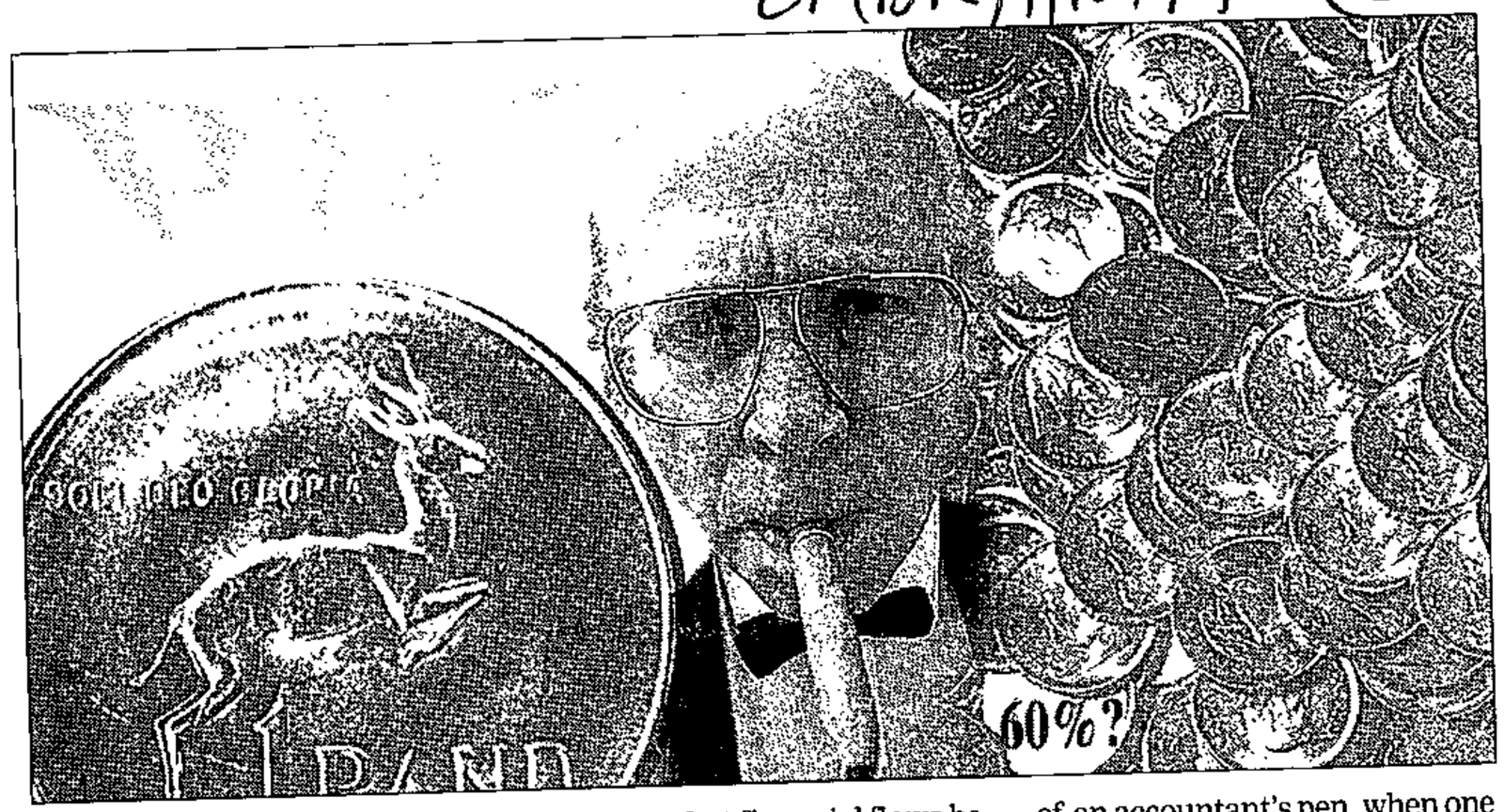
At least some provinces will hold public hearings and even have the constitutional option of referendums. The Western Cape is sure to hold public hearings. Opposition parties in the Northern Cape, where the ANC majority is on a knife-edge, are also expected to call for hearings.

DEBT BURDEN

The real trap is the State Pension Fund

ET (BDR) 9/10/97 (300)

JEFF RUDIN AND BRIAN ASHLEY



The Business Report article highlighting the scale of South Africa's debt burden is timely. Current economic wisdom has it that South Africa is under-borrowed. However Christo Volschenk, Business Report's economics editor, points out that the debt ratio has come perilously close to the dreaded 60 percent of gross domestic product (GDP).

And yet there is a large element of the surreal in the official statistics. This Alice-in-Wonderland dimension begins with the government choosing to exaggerate the size of the debt by a massive margin. Research recently commissioned by a number of NGOs, including the Alternative Information & Development Centre (AIDC), is beginning to reveal a very strange world.

This realm of the fantastical starts with the bookkeeping sleight of hand that makes the government the largest single creditor to the government! Some 40 percent of government debt this year is owed to the shadowy Public Investment Commission (PIC) that is headed by the minister of finance, the deputy minister of finance and the director-general of the department of finance. What is more, the government paid PIC some R10 billion last year in interest on the money the government has effectively borrowed from itself.

A husband and wife operating a joint bank account might well wish to keep a separate record of deposits and withdrawals made by each of them individually. They might function as creditors and debtors between themselves. Provided their account remains in credit, however, their internal arrangements are of no relevance to the outside world.

But the government wants us to believe that its internal accountancy arrangements are different; that financial flows between organs of the government must be registered as part of the public debt.

When we exclude the debt the government owes itself, the "debt trap" begins to look very different. All of a sudden new possibilities emerge. Exclude the money the government owes itself and the social objectives of the RDP — remember them? — begin to look altogether less pie-in-the-sky.

The real deficit, looked at economically and not from an accounting perspective, is the amount of finance which must be raised from other sectors of the economy. Thus, at the stroke of an accountant's pen, when one excludes what the government owes itself, the debt ratio to GDP becomes a healthy 35 percent.

Similarly, the Gear-inspired target of reducing the budget deficit to 4 percent becomes a reality that has already been achieved (in 1995 to be precise). Given this wonderful news, the deep mystery is why the state should choose not only to keep quiet about it but to portray a much less promising picture.

Behind the surreal quality of the government's chosen accountancy practices lies the reality of the State Pension Fund and, more particularly, of the 1989 decision by the apartheid government to change the way in which the fund was financed. Prior to 1989 the fund was based on the perfectly sound principles of pay-as-you-go, that is, the contributions from those currently in work pay for the pensions of those who have retired.

In 1989 the State Pension Scheme began its transformation into a fully funded scheme — one with sufficient assets to meet all its liabilities at once.

It seems that the change was inspired by the desire of senior apartheid officials to safeguard their pensions and to pay for the golden handshakes they expected from the post-apartheid state.

The government of the new South Africa has rightly drawn attention to the heavy debts it has inherited from the apartheid days. What remains as yet another puzzle is why the Mandela government has done little to challenge the apartheid debt.

Changing the State Pension Fund back to a pay-as-you-go scheme would cost nothing. It could, however, have a great effect on the lives of most of our citizens who were abused by apartheid and who continue to live in apartheid-bequeathed poverty.

☐ *Jeff Rudin and Brian Ashley work for the AIDC Tel (021) 448 5197*

Tourism groups back call for Parliament to stay

CT 9/10/97 (388) (304A)

DAN SIMON
TOURISM WRITER

CITY tourism organisations have unanimously supported a call by the city's tourism marketing body, Cape Town Tourism, for the government to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

Calling Parliament's possible move "extremely shortsighted", Cape Town Tourism chief executive officer Mr Gordon Oliver proposed the motion at the organisation's annual general meeting.

Copies of the motion are to be sent today to President Nelson Mandela, Speaker of the National Assembly Dr Frene Ginwala and members of the ANC's national executive committee.

Oliver said there was a real threat that Cape Town could lose Parliament.

"All citizens of Cape Town and its many institutions and organs of society, and particularly the tourism industry, need to be aware of the very real threat that this proposed move will mean to our economy generally and to tourism specifically."

Oliver said that having Parliament in Cape Town meant that foreign dignitaries and VIPs visited Cape Town on international business and state affairs.

"They are always accompanied by a large entourage and give us huge exposure in international media. There are enormous benefits for the city, not to mention the potential for official or personal follow-up visits.

"The role played by the diplomatic and consular corps in Cape Town is immeasurable. All of these benefits will be lost to us should Parliament be relocated."

Oliver said visiting foreign dignitaries and groups were always pressured for time and would not be able to travel to Cape Town from elsewhere in this country.

"Mindful of the serious economic and business threat that faces Cape Town ... and of the wisdom in not centralising organs of government in one location, the general membership of Cape Town Tourism calls on the State President, the Speaker of Parliament and the governing party to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

"We believe that more than adequate financial and political justification exists for the retention of the present shared-capital city status in South Africa and that the effects of relocating Parliament will have major negative implications for South Africa in both the medium and long terms," the statement says.

New Boer homeland declared in Mpumalanga

Star 9/10/97 (304A)

Co-operative venture will focus on housing, agriculture, small industries, shops and businesses

By Shirley Woodgate

Four hundred neglected Boer graves in the former concentration camp at Balmoral, near Witbank in Mpumalanga, are the sole landmark for the third Afrikaner homeland, which will be launched this weekend.

The graves are mostly those of babies and children, a mere handful of the 27 000 Boers who fell victim to the British scorched-earth policy which led to the incarceration of women and children in concentration camps during the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War.

Interred in neat, largely unmarked graves, they cover a vast spectrum of Afrikaner surnames, from Booysen to Coetzer, Malan to Scheepers and Prinsloo to Visagie.

Niehaus, FW, Hanekom are not welcome

This is the cultural and historic spot which forms the heart of the planned new Boer Republic, the brainchild of a business registered as the Boere Republiek Kooperatief Beperk (Boer Republic Co-operative Limited). The business has bought three farms totalling 180ha for its shareholders, director Louis Swanepoel said.

Following in the steps of Orania near Hopetown and Kleinfontein, 30km from Pretoria, the latest fatherland was entirely legal, and would ultimately seek

tributed R1 200 each, will be allocated 1 000sq m stands so that they can prepare building plans for the homes they will build for themselves on plots to which the company will retain title," Meyer said.

Reports about the Boer Republic immediately prompted the Pan Africanist Congress to urge the Government "to stop dodging the land issue."

PAC deputy president Dr Motsoko Pheko said it was an important national issue which could no longer be dodged in terms of the constitution or the "colonially misguided" Freedom Charter.

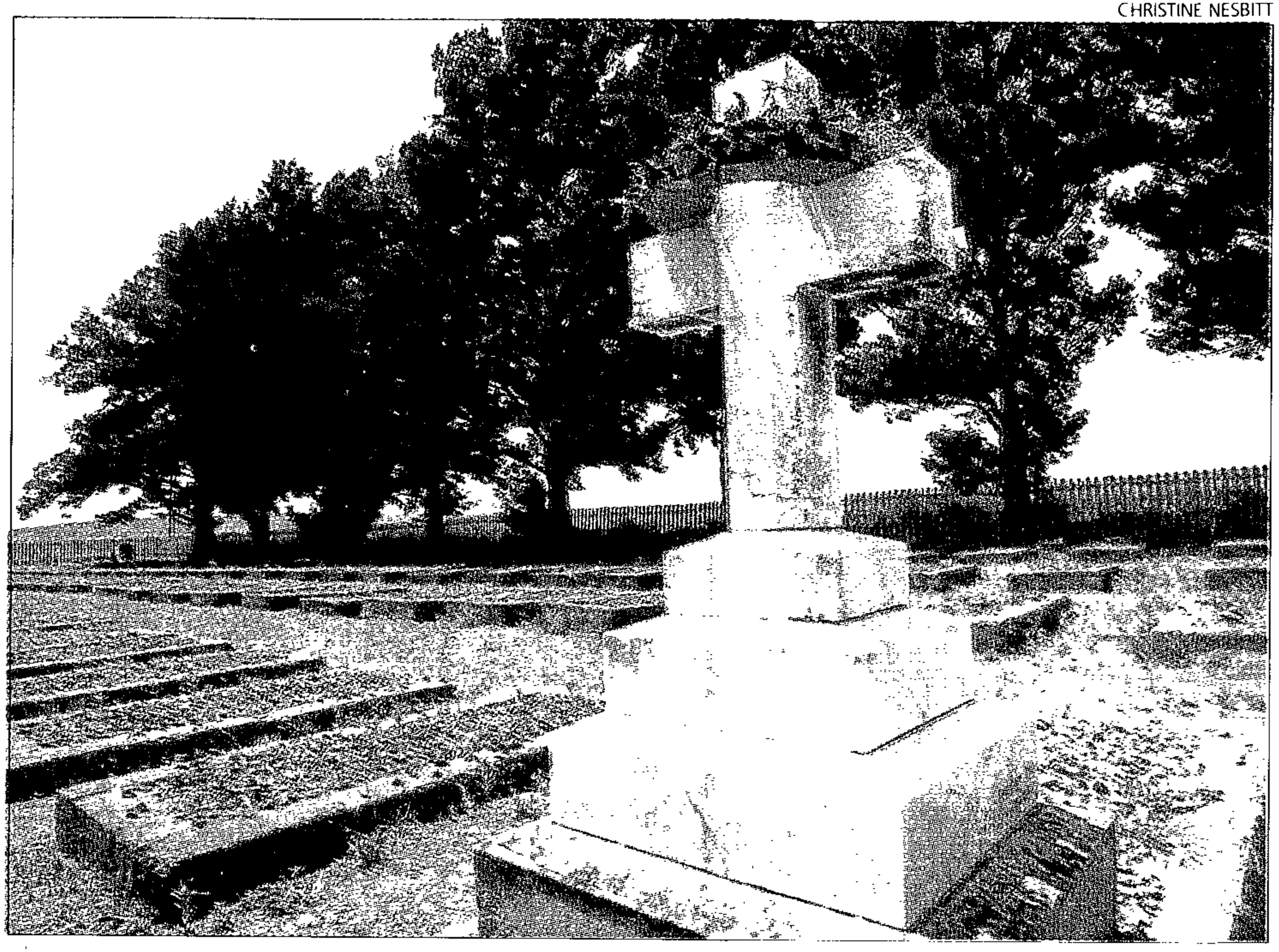
Advocates of the Afrikaner volkstaat concept should be reminded they were no longer living in the 1800s, and that when Van Riebeeck's ships brought the first settlers to the Cape they might have had guns and a Bible aboard, but not land, he said.

However, Swanepoel insisted the Boer Republic land had been bought with hard cash and would be developed by the sweat of Afrikaner brows.

He said it was not a racist move, but a business proposition, a growth point that was being launched with the stated aim of assisting downtrodden Afrikaners to help themselves.

The approach would focus on housing and accommodation, agriculture, the establishment of

CHRISTINE NESBITT



Heart of the homeland ... hundreds of unmarked Boer concentration camp graves at Balmoral cemetery form the heart of the latest Boer republic, which will be launched this weekend.

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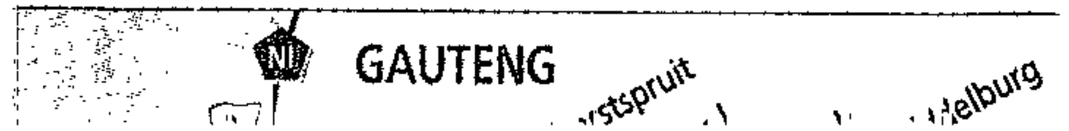
co-op's specific conditions.

Meyer added: "We are being threatened by crime and unem-



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Following in the steps of Orania near Hopetown and Kleinfontein, 30km from Pretoria, the latest fatherland was entirely legal, and would ultimately seek its "constitutional freedom", chairman Fritz Meyer said.

"We bought the initial land and registered it in March as the Boere Republiek.

"On Friday we will hold a church service in the Balmoral school hall and the next day, shareholders, who have contributed R1 200 each, will be allocated 1 000sq m stands so that they can prepare building plans for the homes they will build for themselves on plots to which the company will retain title," Meyer said.

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He said it was not a racist move, but a business proposition, a growth point that was being launched with the stated aim of assisting downtrodden Afrikaners to help themselves.

The approach would focus on housing and accommodation, agriculture, the establishment of small industries, and businesses and shops. The residents would naturally be whites, and people who qualified as bona-fide Boers, he said.

"It is not a racist move but applies to Christians who subscribe to the articles of our association as being members of the Boer Afrikaner volk, who accept the Blood River Covenant and who aspire to a self-governing Boer republic," Swanepoel said.

Meyer said that while these qualifications made it likely the members of the co-op would be white, they did not apply to people such as F W de Klerk, Carl Niehaus and Derek Hanekom who, he said, did not meet the co-op's specific conditions.

Meyer added: "We are being threatened by crime and unemployment because of affirmative action. We are all Boer Afrikaners with a deep desire to improve our conditions; people who have been forced not by hate, but by circumstances, to act out of a sense of camaraderie to create new opportunities for our fellow human beings."

CHRISTINE NESBITT



Heart of the homeland ... hundreds of unmarked Boer concentration camp graves at Balmoral cemetery form the heart of the latest Boer republic, which will be launched this weekend.



E Cape ANC leader backs bid to keep Parliament

But N Cape neutral

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARG 9/10/97

Cape Town's chances of holding on to Parliament have been given a boost by Eastern Cape Premier Makhenkesi Stofile.

Mr Stofile, former chief whip of the African National Congress in the National Assembly, is on record as backing Parliament staying in Cape Town and taking a firm stand on this position.

The Eastern Cape has a huge bloc of several hundred votes at the ANC national conference in December, which will be asked to ratify the November national executive committee decision on the issue.

Other prominent patrons of the pro-Cape Town campaign have been Govan Mbeki and Mluleki George, both with strong Eastern Cape ties.

Earlier, the pro-Cape Town Citizens Alliance for Parliament called for solidarity from the Eastern Cape and other provinces, warning of widespread impoverishment and job losses that would be caused by removing Parliament from the Cape.

However, there is no sign that the Eastern Cape ANC is united on the issue, with every indication that some would favour Parliament moving. Observers point to the strong historical links between the Western Cape and Eastern Cape ANC.

In another significant development, Northern Cape Premier Manne Dipico has taken a carefully neutral stance on the future seat of Parliament.

His office said he received delegations from all groups on the issue.

"He is not ready to pronounce himself yet," a representative said.

It is expected that the relocation or otherwise of Parliament will be a key election campaign issue in the Northern Cape, where the ANC and National Party appear evenly balanced in electoral chances.

There is considerable caution within ANC ranks about open debate of the Parliament issue, particularly after a warning by President Mandela earlier this week that he wanted a clean debate and would not tolerate lobbying within the movement.

A tough line against lobbying is likely to cause further frustration, particularly with the pro-Cape Town lobby hoping for an open vote on the issue, rather than MPs being whipped in to follow the National Executive Committee decision.

CAPE TIMES
★ THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1997

RIFT IN ANC DEEPENS

Most South Africans support Cape Town

(304A)

CT 9/10/97

AS THE CONTROVERSY over the siting of Parliament continues to divide politicians, a new survey shows most people want the House to stay put. Political Writer **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

A NATIONWIDE survey yesterday revealed that 55% of people want Parliament to stay in Cape Town — lending muscle to a growing group in the ANC which believes their own party is ignoring the will of the public by making the decision behind closed doors.

With President Nelson Mandela ordering ANC MPs and his own executive to "button up" on public lobbying — a move apparently forced on him because of the threat of a major party schism — yesterday's scientific survey of 2 000 urban South Africans comes as a further threat to party unity.

A significant group in the party — backed by Western Cape provincial legislators, business people and opposition parties — believes the decision-making process has been hijacked by the ANC's national executive council (NEC) and taken out of the realm of democracy into a non-representative three-person parliamentary subcommittee of cabinet ministers.

According to Research Surveys, which conducted the surprise survey last month, just 17% of the respondents believed Parliament should be moved to Pretoria, with six percent mentioning Midrand and four percent Bloemfontein.

Each respondent was asked whether they thought Parliament should remain in Cape Town or be moved.



The results also show that 65% of whites compared with 50% of blacks chose Cape Town as a suitable place for Parliament.

Of all the black respondents, 20% chose Pretoria as being suitable, compared with 10% of whites.

Among Cape Town residents only, 83% were in favour of retaining Parliament in the Mother City (74% whites and 89% blacks).

The ANC parliamentary sub-committee, consisting of deputy speaker Ms Baleka Kgositsile, Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe and Labour Minister Mr Tito Mboweni, has been asked by the NEC to revisit the issue after their initial report was leaked to the media earlier this year, raising questions about their impartiality and leading to allegations of bias in favour of Pretoria.

It is believed that at most a quarter of the 64 ANC exco members are clearly in favour of Cape Town remaining the seat of Parliament.

The NEC — which has signalled an intention to reach a decision by the end of the year— is due to meet in mid-November to discuss the issue.

A decision will almost certainly be ratified at the party's congress in Mafikeng in mid-December — unless an increasingly powerful Western Cape ANC lobby succeeds in putting the matter onto the "back burner" — their prime aim at present.

Let ANC govt be wary of these powers

BD 10/10/97 (304A)

More and more legislation is granting sweeping powers to ministers to make regulations, writes political correspondent Wyndham Hartley

IT IS worth remembering that the Constitutional Court ruled in 1995 that provisions in the Local Government in Transition Act, which allowed President Nelson Mandela to change municipal boundaries by proclamation, was unconstitutional. All those proclamations that had been issued in terms of those provisions were declared unlawful and the African National Congress (ANC) had to return to Parliament and legislate the changes.

The rationale at the time was that with the local government elections looming it was practical to be able to make quick changes. The political reality was also that Mandela could force the ANC's will on the National Party (NP) in the Western Cape with regards to the dispute over metropolitan boundaries in the Cape Peninsula.

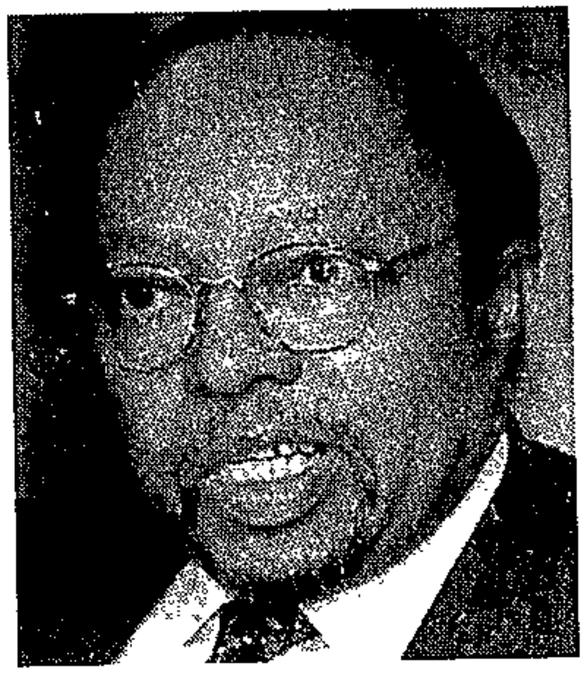
Recently, there have been persistent complaints from opposition parties that much of the legislation which comes before Parliament these days gives ministers sweeping powers to rule by regulation instead of having to return to Parliament to have changing policy embodied in legislation. Not that these measures are unconstitutional, as in the case of the presidential proclamations, but simply that they exhibit the same tendency towards granting broad powers to ANC ministers.

Controversial pieces of legislation at present before Parliament which demonstrate this tendency are the Higher Education Bill and the troika of bills from Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma.

For example, the Higher Education Bill goes to great lengths to create a representative council for higher education to make decisions and offer advice to Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu, and then gives the minister the power to ignore this advice. The minister is required to give reasons for his failure to listen to the advice of the council, but he still does not have to listen. He, solely, will determine policy for tertiary education "after consultation".



ZUMA



BENGU

This has caused alarm in opposition parties. The NP fears that Bengu could use the new arrangement to force an unwelcome language policy on Afrikaans universities. As the law stands, regardless of what stakeholders in education feel is right, the minister will be able to compel universities to do his bidding, without the scrutiny of Parliament.

The DP is concerned because autonomous universities would become a thing of the past.

Zuma's Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Service Professions Bill similarly says the minister may make regulations for compulsory community service for the medical profession "after consultation" with the SA Medical and Dental Council. Again there is no obligation to reach agreement with the council before proceeding. A law already enacted to govern the nursing profession has similar provisions.

The Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Bill also allows Zuma the power to make regulations without necessarily being in agreement with the Medicines Control Council.

The Labour Relations Act and the Conditions of Employment Bill confer substantial discretionary powers on Labour Minister Tito Mboweni, while Finance Minister Trevor Manuel is granted considerable power over the SA revenue service in legislation making the service independent of the state. It has been suggested also that discretionary powers given to Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom are excessive.

In most cases the legislation creates a council to drive an industry or profession and then gives the minister the power to circumvent them without having to explain his reasons in public to Parliament or to all the stakeholders in public hearings. This, of course, raises the question: why have a council of experts at all if the minister is not compelled to listen to them and reach some sort of agreement, if not consensus, before making regulations?

The tendency is symptomatic of a desire for absolute control by the ANC — and its corresponding insecurity. This is demonstrated by its point-blank refusal to allow any exclusive powers for the provinces in the constitution. In all areas, the national ministry has at very least concurrent powers and also the authority to set overall policy that must be followed by the provinces. The powers now being conferred, or being considered, will achieve the same thing with other organs of society.

In all probability it is perfectly legal for legislation to be formulated in this way and there is little chance of a Constitutional Court challenge to the process being successful — but the ANC should take care. It was often said during the writing of the constitution that it should be designed as if "your worst enemy" would be in power. Similarly, the ANC should take care in placing legislation in the statute books that confers sweeping powers.

In addition to the damage these regulations do to the separation of powers, and the integrity of the legislative process, the ANC should consider the implications of another party coming to power and using the same provisions to implement policy anathema to it.

SA, German partnership finds its feet

After a shaky start, the potential of the German-SA binational commission appears unlimited, writes **Tim Cohen** in Bonn

BD 6/10/97 (304A)

IT IS hard to imagine a worse start for the German-SA binational commission. In June Deputy President Thabo Mbeki pulled out of the carefully arranged launch after being ordered by President Nelson Mandela to take a holiday following exhaustive negotiations with the soon-to-be-president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Laurent Kabila.

Because the commission was at least partly intended to build a relationship between German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and Mbeki, his attendance at the conference was crucial. Staff at the SA embassy in Bonn were flabbergasted at the implied slight of a mere holiday taking precedence over developing trade and political links with one of world's most prominent economies, although the circumstances were unique.

Mbeki had the grace to apologise in public to both Kinkel and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl about the fact that he had not turned up, but the incident did leave a bad taste because it seemed to underline the casual way South Africans regard their commitments — which tends to offend punctilious Europeans.

To their credit, the German authorities did not take umbrage, at least not in public, and the formal launch of the commission was delayed until last week while the five subcommittees went ahead and began work immediately.

The commission is unique for Germany, which has no similar arrangements with any other country, although of course it has stronger links with many other countries and its relationships with European Union countries border on the obsessional.

It is the second binational commission SA is involved in, the other being with the US.

The two commissions are structured in a similar way, both being led by Mbeki and a prominent leader of the partner country. Consequently, both are partly intended to build the profile of politicians who are expected to at least have a shot at the top office some time soon. Both commissions have similar subcommittee structures which are intended to bring together departmental officials from participating countries.

The establishment of the German-SA commission is at least partly a reaction to the establishment of the US-SA commission, and is therefore an attempt not to concede too much diplomatic ground to the big-footed US and to build on the strong commercial links that already exist between Germany and SA.

SA officials linked to the German-SA commission like to draw one important distinction between the two commissions: they claim the US-SA commission is much more show-biz than action compared with the German-SA commission, which they hope will show real, practical results.

It is true that there tend to be many more photo opportunities during visits of US Vice-President Al Gore than seem absolutely necessary. It is also true that members of the SA government who support the SA-US commission do so because of the access to senior US officials it provides, rather than because of the actual projects it has generated.

By comparison, the potential of the German-SA commission is overwhelming. After the official launch Mbeki confirmed earlier reports that discussions were taking place about a German proposal for the re-equipping of the SA National Defence Force which would cost about DM4bn (R12bn) — more than Gauteng's budget.

This huge deal would provide the navy with new corvettes, the air force with new fighters and the army with new tanks. From the meetings last week, it became clear that the stage of convincing the South Africans that this was all necessary had passed and that discussions now focused on how the deal could boost SA manufacturing ability and how it could be financed. Mbeki said the proposal was that it could be financed off-budget because the purchase of the equipment would essentially form part of a broader, commercial transaction.

This would have the neat result that it would not be seen as taking resources from other sectors many would see as more deserving. It may even mean Parliament might not be called on to tender its opinion about the deal, which would be convenient for those seeking to avoid such debates.

Interestingly, if the deal goes through, it would constitute a case study on the perils of privatisation, because the SA government would essentially be privatising the financing of a potentially controversial deal.

Asked about issues relating to the deal, Mbeki demonstrated admirable caginess. He made a point of saying that it was the German, not the SA delegation, which had raised the suggestion. He made a point of saying that a variety of other European countries were also making other proposals, speaking at length about possible SA involvement in a UK and Swedish proposal regarding the upgrading of a Swedish fighter to Nato standards. He made a point of saying the ultimate deal might involve a number of different countries.

But aside from the potential industrial development it would theoretically bring, the deal would remain a debt that the country would have to bear. Arms are, after all, not generators of wealth. However the deal is dressed up, the question must be asked: what on earth does SA actually need this stuff for? It is not as though the mighty Kenyan army, or any other African force for that matter, is threatening to swoop over the border.

One possible answer is peacekeeping, which was discussed at the commission, but does that require fighter jets?



German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel with SA Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in Bonn last week. Picture: AP

There are also other questions involved. There was some discussion about the dangers of technology slipping into the hands of "undesirable" states which would require mechanisms for joint agreement on arms exports. Partly this is because of the restrictive German constitution, but the attempt by European arms producers to sell to SA brings with it an attempt to draw SA into the ambit of western armaments diplomacy.

This may be no bad thing, but it is impossible to ignore the fact that a big arms deal with Europe comes with golden shackles.

Big arms contracts, especially off-budget ones, increase possibilities for corruption, which was a topic raised in the meeting between Mbeki and Kohl. Kohl mentioned to Mbeki that such was the quantity of "dirty" money sloshing around western Europe that corruption was taking hold even in sectors of society that were previously relatively impervious, like among auditors and accountants.

Kohl was discussing the topic of the globalisation of crime, but the fact that he raised the topic could hardly have been accidental given SA's crime rate and the emergence of allegations of corruption at a high level.

Kohl made another point about German-SA relations, saying the desire to see SA succeed was embraced by all levels of German society, not just by members of the government or business, and that it was this that laid a foundation for the SA-German commission.

Though undoubtedly true (the book about Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Katiza's Journey, for example, has just been translated into German), SA is enjoying a period of being in fashion as a partner among foreign governments. There is even talk of a third binational commission with the UK.

But this period is passing quickly. For example, one of Germany's premier newspapers, the Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung, devoted a mere eight lines to the launch of the commission. The foundations laid now still have to satisfy the test of time.

For bona fide Boers only ... a new Afrikaner volkstaat

'Not a racist move, but a business proposition'

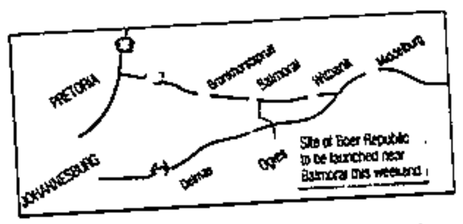
ARG 10/10/97 (304A)

Johannesburg – Four hundred neglected Boer graves in the Balmoral concentration camp near Witbank are the sole landmark for the third Afrikaner homeland, which will be launched this weekend in Mpumalanga.

The dead are largely babies and children, a mere handful of the 27 000 Boers who fell victim to the British scorched earth policy which led to the incarceration of women and children in concentration camps during the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War.

Interred in neat, largely unmarked graves, they cover a vast spectrum of Afrikaner surnames, from Booysen to Coetzer, Malan to Scheepers and Prinsloo to Visagie.

This is the cultural and historic spot which forms the heart of the planned new Boer Republic, the brainchild of a business registered as the Boere Republiek Ko-operatief Beperk (Boer Republic Co-operative Limited) which has bought three farms totalling 180ha for its shareholders, said director Louis Swanepoel.



Following in the steps of Orania near Hopetown and Kleinfontein, 30km outside Pretoria, the latest fatherland was entirely legal, and would seek its "constitutional freedom", added chairman Fritz Meyer.

"We bought the initial land and registered it in March as the Boere Republiek. On Friday we will hold a church service in the Balmoral school hall and the next day, shareholders who have contributed R1 200 each, will be allocated 1 000m² stands so that they can prepare building plans for the homes they will build for themselves on plots to which the company will retain title," said Meyer.

Reports of the Boer Republic immediately prompted Pan Africanist Congress calls on the Government to "stop dodging the land issue".

PAC deputy-president Motsoko Pheko said advocates of the Afrikaner volkstaat concept should be reminded they were no longer living in the 1800s, and that when Jan van Riebeeck's ship brought the first settlers to the Cape they might have had guns and a Bible aboard – but not land, he said.

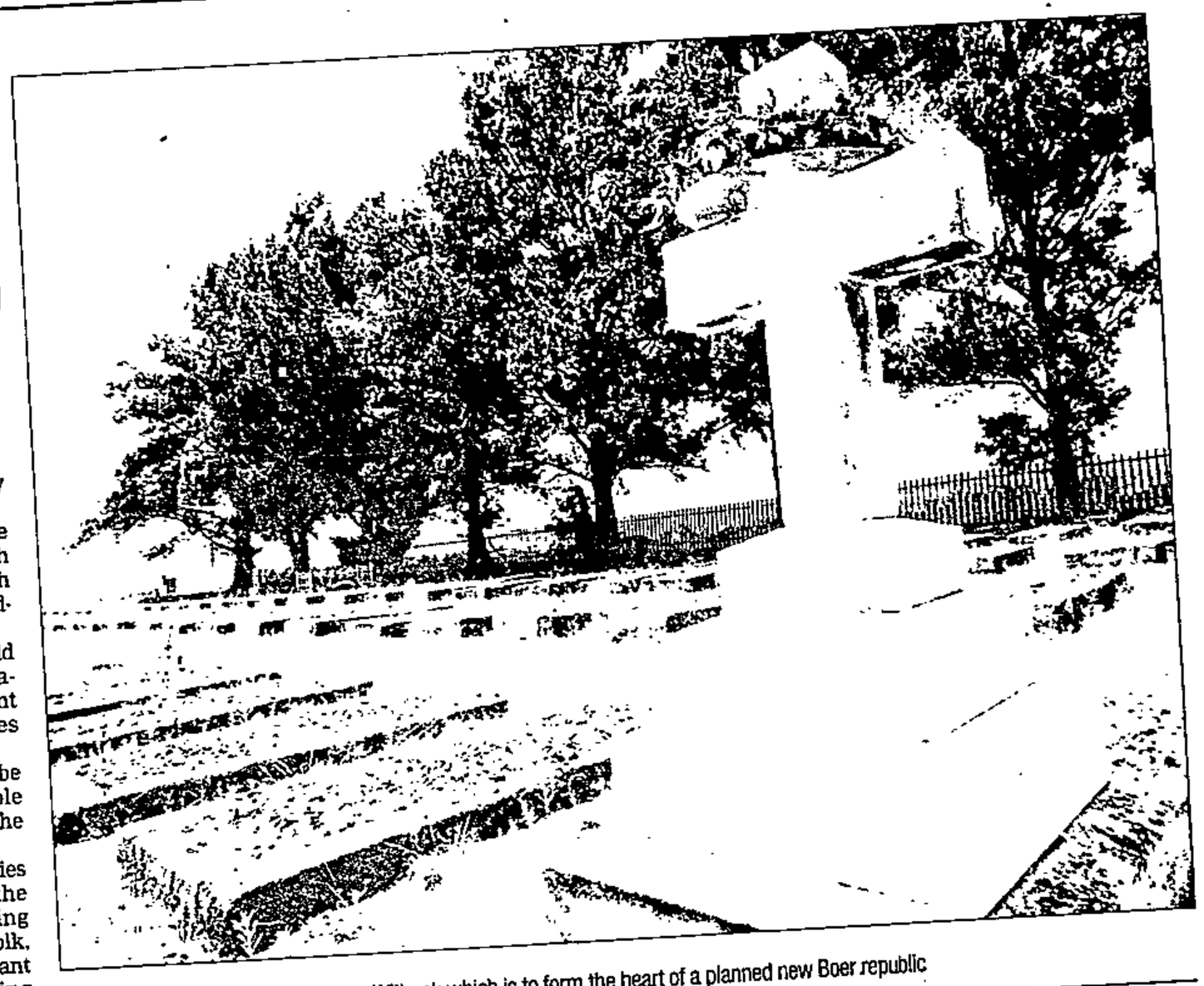
But Mr Swanepoel insisted the barren land had been bought with hard cash and would be developed by the sweat from Afrikaner brows.

He said it was not a racist move but a business proposition, a growth point which was being launched with the stated aim of assisting downtrodden Afrikaners to help themselves.

The four-pronged approach would focus on housing and accommodation, agriculture, the establishment of small industries and businesses and shops.

The residents would naturally be whites from all walks of life, people who qualified as bona fide Boers, he said.

"It is not a racist move but applies to Christians who subscribe to the articles of our association as being members of the Boer Afrikaner volk, who accept the Blood river Covenant and who aspire to a self-governing Boer Republic," Mr Swanepoel said.



Fatherland: tte Boer cemetery near Witbank which is to form the heart of a planned new Boer republic

Just off the highway, a new 'Boer Republic' with a mass grave in the centre

ARG 11/10/97

MARY BRAID

Johannesburg – A "Boer Republic" is being established this weekend just 80 kilometres east of Pretoria. Its founders – 200 Afrikaner families – say it is their right to go it alone. The blacks they have evicted disagree.

Wind and heavy drizzle batter the headstone in the middle of the cemetery. In Afrikaans, T and B Steyn have inscribed "Here lies our dear Ella, born 12 January 1898, died 18 December 1901 in the concentration camp at Balmoral".

Around Ella's tiny grave are hundreds of others – mostly without stones – of the women and children who perished in the camp set up by the British during the Boer war just beyond the dirt road. More than 26 000 Afrikaners – mainly women and children – died in such camps.

Apart from Ella, the bodies and names are largely unmatched and victims share the memorial engraved with their names at the entrance gate. The least fortunate are piled in mass graves at the far corner of the cemetery. History will never remember their names.

This weekend the graveyard finds itself at the heart of a new "Boer republic", on land jointly purchased by 200 Afrikaner families and from which blacks will be banned.

Since the coming of black majority rule in 1994, Afrikaners have begun to trek again, heading north into Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique, setting up farms and Boer-only communities. At home, 600 have trekked into the northern Karoo to found Orania, whose patron saint is Hendrik Verwoerd.

Balmoral is the most bizarre exercise in Afrikaner exclusivity so far. For these trekkers – shareholders in the new Boere Republiek Kooperatief Beperk (Boer Republic Co-operative Ltd) – have barely left the mainstream. The "republic" – 190 hectares of farmland – lies just off a main motorway.

It is apt that the graveyard should lie at its centre, for once again Afrikaners feel victimised and under attack. "The intention of this regime is to destroy us," says Andries Campher, 53, a towering farmer with rough, shovel-sized hands, who is one of the founders. "We just want to survive financially as a group, with our own identity still intact." The alternative, he insists, is annihilation.

Mr Campher complains about affirmative action for blacks and rising white unemployment. Christian values, he says, are being eroded in schools where educational standards are plummeting and Afrikaans is no longer spoken. To stop the rot, Boers must build their own communities and govern once again, albeit in a miniature kingdom.

Hopes have evaporated that the Government will give over land for a Volkstaat. And provided you are white and Afrikaner the Balmoral "republic" offers democracy. Every investor owns the same share and has an equal say.

Although not all of the investors will live on the land, some will begin laying the foundations for new homes this weekend. The group intends to buy more land later.

And land is the thorny issue. For the new "republic" has already evicted local blacks. According to Mr Campher, farm workers employed by the previous owner were told their labour was no longer needed. He claims they hung around for a while but eventually disappeared.

Blacks have told another story. One weeping woman says the Boers conducted a campaign of terror and intimidation, forcing her off the land she was born on.

"That's rubbish," says Mr Campher. "They just moved on. I never spoke to them personally. They were nothing to me then and they are nothing to me now."

(304A)

New legislation which would have strengthened black workers' rights to tenure does not come into effect for another few months. In recent months farmers all over South Africa have been evicting blacks before the new laws are introduced. Mr Campher admits he was well aware the legislation was coming.

The African National Congress says that the Boer Republic Co-operative has operated lawfully. But the Pan Africanist Congress says the ANC is failing to grasp the land issue and is allowing Afrikaners to grab land as if it was still the 19th century.

Fritz Meyer, another "republic" founder, insists the Afrikaner families are simply setting up a business and that racism plays no part. But the founders clearly feel they are the true defenders of the Volk. Yesterday they petitioned the British High Commission in Pretoria for an apology for the concentration camp deaths.

As Mr Campher conducts a tour of the cemetery, two middle aged Afrikaners from nearby Witbank look on. One rolls his eyes in disbelief. "This republic is just not viable," he says. His friend says the new South Africa is certainly tougher. Before the political changes he was never out of work. He has just spent six months unemployed.

But he has an interesting take on the old wagon metaphor: "It will do no good if the oxen pulling the wagon go in opposite directions. All South Africans must pull together now." He shrugs without a hint of bitterness.

The Independent, London

'We'd be just like PE, but with a mountain'

Cape Town councillors unite in battle to keep parliament

Star 13/10/97 (304A)

OWN CORRESPONDENT
Cape Town

Without parliament Cape Town will be nothing more than Port Elizabeth with a mountain, Kallie Hanekom of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament has told the Cape Metropolitan Council executive committee.

After listening to Hanekom's presentation and a short discussion afterwards, all councillors present agreed to join forces in a united effort to keep parliament in Cape Town.

Hanekom said that when Germany moved its capital to Berlin, the former capital city of Bonn received R14-billion in government compensation, and that when Rio de Janeiro lost the capital of Brazil to Brasilia, it experienced a 15% lower economic growth than the rest of the country for 10 years.

Papers tabled at the meeting said the building of a new complex, or even refurbishing an existing one, would involve massive building costs invariably exceeding estimates.

It was noted that in Australia, the building of a new parliamentary capital in Canberra, which did not even involve a move from another city, had a final cost estimated at about R3.86-billion.

If, at its national conference in December the ANC decides parliament should be moved, a bill to that effect will have to be brought before parliament.

"This would lead to a messy public hearing something like the abortion debate," said Hanekom.

Even if the ANC decides not to take a stand on the issue, the debate will continue for at least the next two years, he believes.

"The Transvaal Provincial Administration building in Pretoria is standing empty and has been earmarked for a R200-m refurbishment as a future location for parliament," he said.

"But I believe this (the TPA building) will be a temporary location and once the battle is won, new parliament buildings will be built on the site Sir Herbert Baker originally chose, on top of Pretoria Hill near the Union Buildings."

To date, the CMC has given R200 000 to the Citizens Alliance for Parliament. This is more than half its budget.

CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1997 ★

'MOVE WILL EXCEED ESTIMATED COST'

Cape Town 'will be PE with a mountain'

CT 13/10/97 (304A)

CAPE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL members have agreed to bury political differences and campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town. Metro Writer **CLAUDIA CAVANAGH** reports.

WITHOUT Parliament Cape Town would be nothing more than Port Elizabeth with a mountain, Mr Kallie Hanekom of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament has told Cape Metropolitan Council executive committee members.

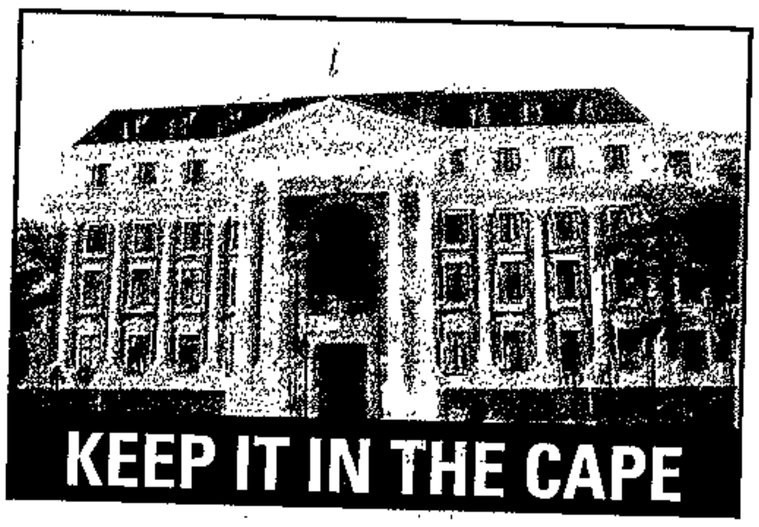
After Hanekom's presentation and a short discussion afterwards, all councillors present agreed last week to bury political hatchets and make a united effort to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

Hanekom said that when Germany moved its capital to Berlin, the government gave Bonn, the former capital, R14 billion in compensation. When Rio de Janeiro lost its status as capital to Brazilia, for 10 years its economic growth was 15% lower than that in the rest of the country.

Papers tabled at the meeting said the expense of building a new parliamentary complex or refurbishing buildings was huge and invariably exceeded estimates.

"In Australia, the building of a new parliamentary capital in Canberra — which did not require a move from another city — was estimated at Australian $277 million. The final cost rose to over $1,3bn (R4,459bn at today's rates)."

In Gauteng, refurbishing the Johannesburg City Hall to accommodate the Gauteng legislature had cost R47m — about R27m more than estimated.



If the African National Congress decides at its national conference in December that Parliament should be moved, a bill to this effect will have to be tabled before the National Assembly.

"This would lead to a messy public hearing — something like the abortion debate," said Hanekom.

"We're looking at a long and messy battle."

Even if the ANC decided not to take a stand on the question, the debate would continue for at least two years, Hanekom believed.

"The Transvaal provincial administration building in Pretoria is standing empty and has been earmarked for a R200m refurbishment as a future location for Parliament," he said.

"While these buildings remain unlet — for the next year or two at least — the threat to move Parliament remains.

"I believe (the TPA building) will be a temporary location and, once the battle is won, new parliamentary buildings will be built on the site Sir Herbert Baker originally chose, on top of Pretoria Hill near the Union Buildings."

The CMC has given R200 000 to the Citizens Alliance for Parliament. This is more than half its budget.



NO MORE MR NICE GUY: Former health and welfare minister Abe Williams, pictured at his lawyer's office, said he was fed-up with being linked to allegations of fraud and corruption in the Western Cape welfare department. ***PICTURE: BENNY GOOL***

PENSION SCANDAL

'Honest' Abe fighting back

(300) (CT) CT 14/10/97

FORMER MINISTER Abe Williams, still "suffering" the 1994 pensions scandal, says he's no longer taking the blame — and he's suing Ebrahim Rasool, reports **ROGER FRIEDMAN**.



FORMER minister of health and welfare, Mr Abe Williams, said yesterday he had not committed any crimes and would no longer tolerate his name being linked to allegations of fraud and corruption in the Western Cape welfare department. He said he was finalising plans to sue Western Cape Health and Welfare MEC, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, for damaging his reputation.

Williams resigned from the cabinet hours after simultaneous raids on his homes and offices in Cape Town and Pretoria by members of the Office for Serious Economic Offences (OSEO) 20 months ago. He continues, however, to occupy his National Party bench in Parliament as an ordinary MP.

In a series of developments yesterday: Rasool released a report on corruption in the Western Cape department which does not implicate Williams; the OSEO said its probe initially focused on the award of a tender to the private company, Nisec CC, for the payout of pensions in the Western Cape, but subsequently it "branched out"; Williams revealed the contents of a series of letters he wrote in 1994 to the then-minister of finance, Mr Derek Keys, among others, in which he expressed concern over the awarding of the tender to Nisec.

Williams' anger towards Rasool sprang from Rasool's statement to the media soon after the OSEO raids that Williams had been "declared a serious economic offender".

Williams said yesterday: "I have kept quiet on this matter because I was advised ... to allow the OSEO investigation to continue unhindered. I am now prepared to reveal the contents of documents because I feel I am constantly and unfairly being linked to Mr Rasool's investigation and have given adequate time for the investigation to be concluded.

"I have held back suing Mr Rasool pending the outcome of the investigation but cannot allow it to drag on indefinitely. Therefore an action for damages will commence shortly. I expected Mr Rasool to be man enough to have conceded by now that I was never involved in the Nisec tender or Western Cape pension fraud."

He said he had done the "honourable thing" by stepping down from the cabinet and not harming the NP's local government election effort last year.

"At the time I said I was not involved in the tender but everyone had already found me guilty. I have lost a lot of friends and my family has endured enormous suffering. I am known as a very jovial person, very outgoing, but my credibility has been under attack.

"I have tried to put a good face on it — I've been on my bench all the time — but it's unfair that each time Mr Rasool issues a report, instead of bringing the guilty parties to book, they try to link it to me as the previous minister. They are trying to gain political capital at my expense," Williams said.

In 1994, after receiving representations from a company which failed in its application for the Western Cape pension-payout tender, Williams wrote to Keys asking him to investigate the awarding of the tender.

Williams also addressed similar requests to the ombudsman, Mr Justice P van der Walt, Western Cape Premier, Mr Hernus Kriel and Rasool, while the acting director-general of the national welfare department, Dr Boet Schoeman, wrote along the same lines to Western Cape director-general, Mr Herman Beukes.

Van der Walt found that the regional office of the State Tender Board had "applied its mind to the facts and exercised its discretion properly".

Keys pointed out that there was no private company experienced in the payment of social pensions because payments had previously been handled by the provincial administration.

Spokesperson for the OSEO, advocate Phyllis Atkinson said yesterday: "Part of our ongoing investigations into allegations of fraud and corruption involve, inter alia, Mr Williams ...

"It is difficult to say when the investigation into Mr Williams will be concluded, it is proceeding full-steam-ahead. The Nisec aspect of the investigation is virtually complete and a (final) report is in the process of being drafted."

Williams said if the OSEO had discovered any wrong doing on his part he was unaware of the deed.

Rasool said he preferred not to comment on the Williams affair until after the OSEO investigation had run its course.



SUMMER TRICK: Tokyo Sexwale, enjoyed his retractable glass dome.

LESSON FROM GAUTENG

Warning of 'administrative upheaval'

(304A)

CT 14/10/97

AN ANC MEMBER of the Gauteng legislature has warned of the "administrative upheaval" that moving Parliament would cause. Political Writer **KARIN SCHIMKE** reports.

On particularly hot summer days in Gauteng, reporters would brace themselves for a press conference to be called by Premier Tokyo Sexwale. He seldom, it was joked, missed an opportunity to show off the retractable glass dome that stretched over his super-modern inner-city office.

The gliding-open of this dome never failed to impress his visitors, who welcomed the cool air.

There are few South African politicians who can boast such swish surroundings. Sexwale was rather lucky that the Gauteng government was able to rent such impressive and conveniently situated offices.

But moving all the scattered departments of the old Transvaal Provincial Administration and then setting up home in Johannesburg was a procedure officials and politicians could not wait to get behind them.

The cost in time, energy and human resources steadily rose through the project. For instance, the original estimated cost of refurbishing the old city hall for the Gauteng legislature was R20-million. About a year and a half after the estimate was made, costs had risen to R58m and the job was not yet complete.

The upheaval and intricacies of moving an institution like Parliament have now been highlighted in an anonymous report sent to the African National Congress' parliamentary caucus by an ANC member of the Gauteng legislature.

Being old hands at the moving business, those who went through Gauteng's consolidation of its administrative and legislative arms in one city should be listened to when they speak out about the possible pitfalls.

"The debates around the location of Parliament have been remarkable for the absence of one key factor: the administrative upheaval that relocation will cause the legislative process," says the report.

President Nelson Mandela recently stated that he would not tolerate any lobbying from members of the ANC about Parliament's eventual home. This document seems less like an attempt at lobbying than an appeal to ensure that all the implications of moving Parliament from Cape Town be considered.

The report is entitled *Parliament: the forgotten dimension* and rightly points out that "the financial debate is clouded by a lack of information and the acknowledgement that any set of figures will be distorted to reflect the perspective of whoever has commissioned them".

Nowhere, says the report, was this better illustrated than in the debate around the location of the Gauteng seat of government.



"In public hearings held at the legislature — a transparent process that national leaders would be foolish not to emulate — the figures presented by all bidders were brutally and accurately savaged by members, depending on their preference for Johannesburg or Pretoria," says the report.

It goes on to say that when the legislature set up its temporary home at Nasrec in 1994, the administrative systems were chaotic because of the inappropriateness of the building.

"It took months before even the basic procedures were in place. The functioning of the legislature was painfully slow and public participation in proceedings was virtually non-existent owing to the lack of facilities."

The report points out that the national Parliament had a few "serious teething problems" of its own, with MPs expressing frustration at constant bureaucratic problems, and adds that international experience shows that planning to move Parliament will take two years.

Add another two years to physically setting up the institution in new premises and all the hassles in setting up computer networks, physical distribution of information, adequate sound equipment, housing and transport for non-Gauteng members, and it adds up to what could be months and months of disruption.

Referring to the administrative and political upheaval in Parliament during transition, the Gauteng legislature member asks in the report: "Can we afford to go back to square one and for another few years have Parliament floundering in a sea of administrative chaos?"

Complaints from ANC members unhappy with the somewhat secretive way in which the issue of moving Parliament is being dealt with by its national executive committee are leaking in steadily. This report makes an impassioned and rational plea that because of the potential administrative chaos the issue should be opened for debate.

"Parliament does not belong to the ANC, to the cabinet or to the present members of Parliament. It belongs to the nation. Let the nation decide."

Is the cost of our democracy too high?

HRC chairman Barney Pityana is calling for a consultative forum of commissions in response to the DP charge that the number of these bodies is 'wasteful extravagance'

Star 16/10/97 (304A)

BY HOPEWELL RADEBE AND DAISY JONES

TEXT: DAISY JONES GRAPHIC: DAVIDA TANCHEL

Human Rights Commission (HRC) chairman Barney Pityana is calling for a "consultative forum" of similar organisations by the end of this month to work out new ground rules to avoid duplication in their work.

The effect of the proposals would be to contain the soaring expense of government-funded commissions, which have cost R287-million since March 1995.

Pityana's proposal, contained in an internal document drawn up in August, is being discussed within the commissions' executive structures.

Although Pityana has dismissed criticism of the cost of various state commissions, he acknowledges that there may be a "lack of focus and inefficient utilisation of scarce resources".

Pityana's document is published on the heels of a scathing survey of the commissions by the Democratic Party which concludes that they are the fruit of "the politics of wasteful extravagance, needless duplication and excessive power".

Pityana also suggests that the proliferation of government and non-government human rights bodies could take up the limited pool of funds available for human rights promotion. He now wants the HRC to be responsible for developing a strategic plan for human rights work. Earlier this week, Pityana said the commissions would start sharing offices and other facilities in the provinces.

In an attempt to gauge whether the commissions are in fact doing their jobs, The Star has asked them to state their goals, achievements and costs.

We would like readers to judge for themselves whether the commissions are worth the cost.

CHAIRMEN	CONTACT	PURPOSE	ACHIEVEMENTS	COST
 SELBY BAQWA	**THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR** Contact: Elsabe de Waal Tel: (012) 322-2916 Private Bag 677 Pretoria, 0001	■ Formerly called the Ombudsman, the protector is there to investigate complaints from people who feel they have been treated unfairly by a government agency or an official. Political parties may also ask the protector to investigate their allegations of misconduct within the state bureaucracy. A good example of this was the protector's investigation last year, at the request of the Democratic Party, into the *Sarafina 2* controversy. Only decisions of the courts are beyond the protector's jurisdiction. The incumbent serves for a non-renewable seven-year term.	■ The protector's office has been handed about 2 000 complaints this year and has settled 590 of them. Many have been from former public servants complaining about late retrenchment and pension pay-outs. Other complaints have been about conditions in prisons. Baqwa's report on *Sarafina 2* last year was roundly praised for its balanced approach to what was a highly sensitive political issue.	The budget this year is **R5,827-m** and Baqwa earns **R367 650**. There are 23 permanent staff members.
 BARNEY PITYANA	**HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION** Contact: John Mojapelo Tel: (011) 484-8300 Private Bag 2700 Houghton, 2041	■ It is intended to build and promote a culture of human rights and to monitor the extension of rights to all citizens in line with the constitution's Bill of Rights. It has the power to demand annual reports from government departments on their progress in implementing socio-economic rights. It may also investigate specific instances in which public or private institutions are alleged to have trampled on the rights of a citizen. So a complaint about racism in a public school, for example, should go to this office which will investigate it and make a recommendation.	■ It received 1 439 complaints between January and September this year: 588 cases were either rejected or referred, 95 cases are being investigated and 203 telephonic complaints were settled by offering advice, 371 complaints are being assessed and 182 complaints are in the in-tray. Three of the 11 original commissioners have resigned, citing tensions arising from bureaucratic inefficiency and problems between staff and bosses. It is a permanent body.	Its budget this year is **R6,841-m**, Pityana earns a package of **R400 000** a year. Ten commissioners and 34 staff are employed.
 THENJIWE MTINTSO	**THE COMMISSION FOR GENDER EQUALITY** Contact: Faried Esack Tel: (012) 322-4482 Private Bag 91 Pretoria, 0001	■ To ensure equality among men and women by promoting respect for the ideals of gender equality and by ensuring people are not discriminated because of their gender. It also advises and educates on issues relating to gender equality. Its powers are quite wide and at the time the commission was being set up in Parliament, some observers wondered if it was appropriate that a gender watchdog should have such wide legal powers of search and entry.	■ It has only been up and running since June. It has produced a report on gender equality, made submissions to Parliament, addressed meetings and consulted widely with 80 government and civil society entities. Its 300-page report and its report-backs to about 250 meetings around the country are claimed as successes. It needs more money to do its job properly: it wants more than four times the amount allocated. It has a five-year life which can be renewed once.	Mtintso's package is **R252 273**. The 11 commissioners earn **R203 133**. Salaries swallowed the budget of **R2,059-m** leaving a **R20 000** deficit.
 MAHLENGI BHENGU	**YOUTH COMMISSION** Contact: Paul Johnson Tel: (012) 328-4708 Private Bag X911 Pretoria, 0001	■ It was created to ensure the rights of youths are upheld and that their needs as youth are met. Its main task is to devise a national youth policy which is to be presented to government. It has no constitutional status and has been set up in the office of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki with the aim of making it Government's chief advisory body on youth affairs. It may also monitor public and private bodies and is tasked to conduct information and education programmes.	■ In July this year, the commission presented its annual "activity report" to President Mandela informing him of its work. Forty workshops have been conducted nationwide. The five commissioners were appointed for five-year terms which may be renewed. It does not have legal or infrastructural resources to receive and deal with complaints although it may "facilitate assistance" and possibly provide funding.	Bhengu is paid an annual package worth **R320 000**. The budget is **R6,9-m**. It employs 15 permanent staff members.
 JOE SEREMANE	**COMMISSION FOR RESTITUTION OF LAND RIGHTS** Contact: Thys Human Tel: (012) 341-7900 PO Box 56720 Arcadia Pretoria, 0001	■ Individuals, communities and descendants who have unfairly lost their land since 1913 may lodge claims for the return of the land or for reparation in the form of alternative land, money or other relief. Its job is to investigate the claim and to try and settle the dispute without recourse to the courts. It may also prepare claims on behalf of aggrieved parties and these claims may then be forwarded to the Land Claims Court for it to make a ruling.	■ It has successfully finalised two claims: one by the Elandskloof community which received State-purchased farms at Citrusdal in the Western Cape, the other claim at District Six, Western Cape, and Cato Manor, Durban, is still in the balance. By July-end, 16 670 individual claims had been lodged: 3 086 in rural areas and 13 584 in cities. Some claims have been grouped, which may help overcome the case backlog: its five-year life may be extended by 10 years.	Seremane earns **R349 735**. Its budget was slashed by 60% this year to **R6,945-m**. It has 65 permanent and 74 contract workers.
 DESMOND TUTU	**TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION** Contact: Sello Rabothata Tel: (011) 333-6330 10th Floor Sanlam Centre Cnr Jeppe and Von Wielligh Strs Johannesburg, 2001	■ The TRC has three main tasks: to compile a picture of human rights abuses during the apartheid era, to restore to victims their human dignity by having them tell their stories and to recommend how they can be helped, and to consider granting civil and criminal amnesty to people who committed atrocities for what they now claim were political reasons, providing they give full details of the deeds for which they are seeking amnesty. It has until April 30 next year to finish its investigations and until July 30 to finish hearing amnesty applications.	■ It has received 12 000 statements from victims. About 2 000 of these have given statements in public. It has 7 000-odd amnesty applications, of which about 1 700 have been dealt with so far. Fifty amnesties were granted after hearings and 23 in chambers: 17 people were denied amnesty and 1 648 have been refused on paper. Another 600-odd applications need to be considered in chambers and 1 635 need to be dealt with in hearings.	Its budget this year is **R50-m** and Tutu earns **R292 000**. It has had to hire 300 people on contract which expires for most of them on April 30 next year.

Mathews Phosa may quit politics

Sowetan 17/10/97 (304A)

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

MPUMALANGA Premier Mathews Phosa almost resigned this week after a meeting with President Nelson Mandela where he was allegedly asked to step down from the race for deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC).

Phosa yesterday declined to comment on the matter.

Well-placed sources close to the ANC leadership say Phosa was asked on Monday to step down in favour of ANC national chairman Mr Jacob Zuma.

The sources said the meeting with Mandela was believed to have had the blessing of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who is known to prefer Zuma for the deputy presidency.

They said the request for Phosa to withdraw was aimed at consolidating support for Zuma against Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

Afterwards, Phosa is said to have told some ANC National Executive Committee members that he felt betrayed by Mbeki and was considering throwing in the towel.

Mandela's spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said he was not aware of the meeting as the President attended to ANC matters at Shell House on Mondays. Netshitenzhe referred further questions to ANC head office.

Mbeki's political adviser Mr Vusi Mavimbela denied that his boss was trying to push Phosa out of the race, adding that Mbeki "had not even pronounced himself on this leadership question".

Mavimbela said Mbeki was "shocked" by the allegations, insisting relations between Mbeki and Phosa were at an "all time high".

Mavimbela said: "It seems to have become fashionable to blame things on the Deputy President. It is consistent that every bad thing associated with the ANC is heaped on him."



Mathews Phosa may be on the verge of resigning his position.

However, ANC insiders say Mbeki's preferences were behind the ANC Youth League withdrawing its support for Phosa and then nominating Zuma – the man they had initially refused to back.

Apparently, a group of NEC members approached Phosa and presidential spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe last year, requesting them to stand.

Initially, the two were said to be adamant that Zuma would be the best man for position, by virtue of his seniority in the ANC.



Nelson Mandela – called shots.



Jacob Zuma – preferred choice.

"It seems to have become fashionable to blame things on the Deputy President. It is consistent that every bad thing in the ANC is heaped on him"

But they were told that the party needed "new blood" and Zuma was not appropriate for the job which might ultimately lead the incumbent to succeed Mbeki as President.

Mbeki was said to be part of these meetings, therefore giving the impression that he was comfortable with the decisions of those NEC members.

And it was after these meetings that the ANCYL was approached and the names were suggested to them.

The youth leadership agreed with the proposal and their first nomination list had both Netshitenzhe and Phosa for the deputy presidency.

However, after the list went public, some NEC members raised objections to Phosa's inclusion. This was around the time the campaign for Zuma intensified and Phosa was said to have offered to step down.

But the ANCYL is said to have refused to budge, insisting on having either Phosa or Netshitenzhe.

It was only at the last ANCYL executive meeting two weeks ago that Phosa's supporters came under pressure and withdrew both his name and Netshitenzhe's, and agreed to support Zuma.

On Monday, Phosa is said to have told some of his colleagues that he wanted out.

Insiders said Phosa was even considering quitting his job, and following former secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale, both of whom Mbeki is accused of pushing out of the ANC.

However, some ANC leaders are said to have approached Phosa and insisted that he stays.

(304A)

Phosa 'almost resigned' over leadership race

Star 17/10/97

Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa almost resigned this week after a meeting with President Nelson Mandela where he was reportedly asked to step down from the race for deputy presidency of the ANC.

Phosa yesterday declined to comment on the matter.

Sources close to the ANC leadership say Phosa was asked on Monday to step down in favour of ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma.

The sources said the meeting with Mandela was believed to have had the blessing of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who is known to prefer Zuma for the post.

They said the request for Phosa to withdraw was aimed at consolidating support for Zuma against Winnie-Madikizela-Mandela.

Afterwards, Phosa is said to have told some ANC National Executive Committee members he felt betrayed by Mbeki and was considering throwing in the towel.

Mandela's spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said he was not aware of the meeting as the president attended to ANC matters at Shell House on Mondays. Netshitenzhe referred questions to the ANC head office.

Mbeki's political adviser, Vusi Mavimbela, denied his boss was trying to push Phosa out, adding Mbeki "had not even pronounced himself on the leadership question".

Mavimbela said Mbeki was "shocked" by the allegations, insisting relations between Mbeki and Phosa were at an "all-time high".

Mavimbela said: "It seems to have become fashionable to blame bad things on the Deputy President." – Own Correspondent

Leon upbeat after DP's fourth victory

BD 17/10/97 (3044)

Pule Molebeledi

THE four successive wins by the Democratic Party (DP) in local government by-elections showed it would not be "marginally squeezed" between the National Party (NP) and the African National Congress (ANC) in the forthcoming 1999 elections, DP leader Tony Leon said yesterday.

Leon was speaking in the Gauteng legislature after the DP registered a "convincing" win in the Boksburg by-election which was contested by six parties on Wednesday night.

DP candidate Mike Masson won ward 11 with 1 742 votes to the NP's 694.

Of five by-elections it has contested, the DP has lost only one — in the Western Cape, to the NP. It has won by-elections in Kempton Park, Witbank and Margate.

Responding to claims that the 30% voter turnout was poor, Leon said the NP had "run out of steam and excuses. If votes were going away, they were from the NP, not the DP.

Leon said the DP would be the leading party in any realigned opposition as indicated by the remarkable affirmation of "our record as an effective opposition" by voters.

He said Afrikaner voters in the former Conservative Party (CP) stronghold, voted for the DP as an alternative to the NP.

Referring to Boksburg as a "watershed for politics in our country", Leon said his party would be the official opposition after the 1999 elections.

The DP would be contesting another by-election in Roodepoort next month where, among others, the new United Democratic Movement would be taking part.

In its reaction to the by-election loss, NP spokesman Johann Killian said the DP had "something coming its way".

He denied the NP was losing its supporters to the DP.

"Our traditional support base stayed at home as it was trying to send us a message, and we are listening," he said.

He said the NP was hamstrung by the fact that it tried to be all things to all people.

"We had no clearly defined role as we were part of government and part of the opposition. We need to rethink our strategies," Killian said.

Swazi TV may effect blackout on SABC

BD 17/10/97

Mbongeni Mbingo

MBABANE — Swazi TV announced yesterday that it would be effecting a blackout of SABC channels for all areas in Swaziland, in a move that was widely criticised by the viewers.

Many viewers phoned newspapers and the TV station alleging that the blackout was imposed for political reasons, after SABC's news coverage of the kingdom's mass stayaway on Monday when it reported that violence had erupted. The Swazi station, conversely, had reported the strike was uneventful.

Following a public outcry yesterday, the station later changed its mind, issuing a statement saying the move would be suspended.

Government was alleged to have earlier directed the station to block SABC. Swazi TV, which is government controlled, has satellite dishes picking up SABC transmissions, and transmitters which beam the programmes making it possible for local viewers to catch the SABC channels.

A move to block out SABC was expected to affect thousands of viewers in the Mbabane area, but should not affect viewers with their own satellite dishes.

Swazi TV said that SABC was originally transmitted in the Mbabane area to provide the Sun Group hotels with the service for their SA tourists.

Viewers would be hard hit because they would be left with only one channel, Swazi TV, which many viewers described as boring.

Acting CEO of Swazi TV, Mike Cornwell, said the blackout would affect areas which received SABC from Swazi TV's satellite feed.

According to Cornwell, the station reached the decision purely for commercial reasons. Local advertisers would benefit as more viewers would be switching to Swazi TV, "and hopefully this will help to boost the local economy".

Meanwhile, the mass stayaway called by the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, which began on Monday, was officially suspended on Wednesday.

However, the union said it would stage regular two-day blockades of goods coming in and out of the country aimed at forcing government to accede to demands.

Phosa was set to resign, say ANC insiders

CP 19/10/97 (304A)

By JIMMY SEEPE

DESPITE denials by the ANC that one of its top officials, Mpumalanga Premier Matthew Phosa, was set to resign, City Press has received further confirmation from highly placed individuals within the ANC that Phosa did indeed threaten to quit this week.

And in a new development, there are rumours within the organisation that members of a "cabal" – that allegedly existed within the organisation prior to the 1994 general elections – are thinking of also nominating a candidate for the party's deputy presidency.

The cabal, which allegedly consisted of former members of the United Democratic Front and remnants of the Mass Democratic Movement, have been discussing this possibility, sources say.

One of the names being bandied about as the "cabal's" choice is that of Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the current chairman of the National Council of Provinces. City Press was, however, unable to confirm the allegations.

Regarding Phosa's threat to resign, City Press has learnt that the premier had timed to announce his resignation from the organisation on Tuesday, but was persuaded by ANC party bosses not to go ahead.

Phosa's threat to resign reportedly followed a meeting he held with president Nelson Mandela where he was allegedly asked to step down from the race for the deputy presidency of the ANC.

City Press has learnt that it took several interventions from party bosses to persuade the charismatic premier to reconsider his resignation.

By yesterday, Phosa still refused to be drawn into the speculation and continued to issue a no-comment response to all inquiries.

ANC acting secretary-general Cheryl Carolus told a media briefing this week that Phosa "was not intending to quit politics for business" – as alleged.

Carolus said that media suggestions that Phosa was to quit did "not accurately reflect the letter and spirit of discussions that took place between the president and the premier".

City Press has confirmed that ANC national chairperson Jacob Zuma was being punted for the deputy presidency – instead of Phosa – by President Nelson Mandela himself.

It is alleged that Mandela's instructions were conveyed to ANC-president elect Thabo Mbeki, who is known to prefer Zuma as his deputy.

Observers say the move was aimed at consolidating support for Zuma against Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, who has been nominated for the post by the ANC Women's League.

The ANC confirmed that Phosa had met Mandela on Monday, but said it was related to briefings the president was receiving from ANC provincial chairpersons, about the state of the organisation ahead of the December national conference.

Carolus said the ANC's national executive committee and its working committee "had no favourite candidates", sentiments which were also echoed by the offices of President Mandela and Deputy President Mbeki.

They said the right for all members to elect – or be elected – into positions of authority within the movement was "a prerogative" of the national conference.

"We wish to reaffirm that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was not involved in the Monday meeting, or any discussions about the deputy presidency", said Carolus.

She emphasised that any ANC member, including Zuma, Phosa, and Madikizela-Mandela, had "the inalienable and democratic right" to stand for any position in the ANC.

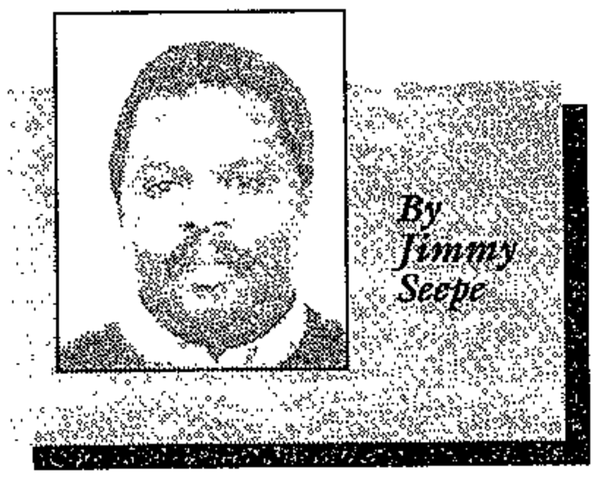
A Volkstaat is not our thing

CP 19/10/97 (304A)

Afrikaner business says it does not see Volkstaat as viable



HOPING FOR BUSINESS SUPPORT ... Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen.



By Jimmy Seepe

THE ORGANISED Afrikaner business grouping, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, which earlier this week suggested that R9 billion be donated to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission from a special political unrest insurance fund, has dropped a further bombshell on those who may have been hoping for its support for an Afrikaner Volkstaat.

President of the AHI, Theo van Wyk, in an interview after his organisation had submitted its report to the TRC, told City Press that the AHI would find it difficult to support the establishment of a separate Afrikaner homeland.

This could represent a severe blow to Freedom Front leader, Constand Viljoen, and other Afrikaner groupings such as the Conservative Party (CP) and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), who hoped that Afrikaner business would rally behind them in creating a Volkstaat.

It also came at the time when the grouping suggested the release of the R9 billion to the TRC accrued from the SA Special Risk Insurance Agency fund which was set up during apartheid to cover costs incurred during political unrest.

The fund was formed by an Act of Parliament in the '80s to cover the riot losses of contributors, mainly business enterprises.

Van Wyk said the AHI, which now supports affirmative action and black empowerment, would find it difficult to support a Volkstaat unless there were convincing arguments to indicate the country would benefit more from a Volkstaat than it was currently doing.

"If aspirations in that regard were a means to creating social stability in the country, then there would be an argument," he said, adding that SA needed to build social bridges and break artificial barriers.

"We have to move away from a position held by 10 percent of the population against the view of the majority."

The AHI is said to represent about 150 local chambers with approximately 5 000 members in the urban and rural areas; about 250 direct business members, some of whom hold corporate membership, and close to 30 affiliated organisations representing a further 35 000 members.

The AHI's submission received a strong response from Afrikaner groupings, especially the Conservative Party.

CP spokesperson Hannes Scholtz said the fund had not served its purpose, because more political unrest was in the offing unless the government granted Afrikaners self-determination.

"Billions of rands in insurance claims can be expected should the government continue to ignore Afrikaner nationalism. Much political rioting lies ahead unless the government heeds the desire of people to govern themselves in their own territory," Scholtz said.

CP spokesman Hannes Scholtz

On the Volkstaat idea

"Much political rioting lies ahead unless the government heeds the desire of people to govern themselves in their own territory"

Van Wyk rejected the CP's assertions, saying there was no justification for continuing with the fund.

"The political risk that called for the fund to be established has fallen away".

He echoed his organisation's belief that the fund could best be used for reparation and for human development through skills training. "Special emphasis should be assigned to the reclamation of the lost generation," he said.

Van Wyk said his organisation regretted its support of separate development which had done harm to the country's economy and population groups.

"The AHI supported separate development in the belief that it would bring about acceptable results for all in the country," he said. "It did not."

The AHI accepted moral responsibility for its insensitivity and admitted that its actions wronged fellow South Africans.

It admitted that while at its conferences throughout the years, it paid lip-service to good labour relations, training, proper wages and productivity, there was an absence of proper labour relations within the organisation that made provision for worker rights.

Clarifying its role during apartheid years, the organisation said it was aware of the perception that business, in particular Afrikaans business, benefited from apartheid.

It accepted that apartheid disadvantaged black business.

He said the AHI supported affirmative action and the black empowerment policies many businesses had adopted to help people realise their full potential.

"Special efforts are warranted for the disadvantaged," he said, but care should be taken to prevent such measures from evolving into a new form of discrimination.

To achieve these objectives, Van Wyk said AHI has engaged the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) in developing ideas and establishing structures for cooperation.

As a departure from past practices, the AHI started several initiatives where members were encouraged to help poor communities and support Masakhane.

But when asked about the Minister of Labour Tito Mboweni's Training and Development Bill which would require companies to pay a tax levy for training, Van Wyk said: "The AHI agrees with the principle of providing training but does not believe in the method of funding".

15 ANC leaders to bow out

CP 19/10/97 (11A) (30 4A)

By JIMMY SEEPE

AN ESTIMATED 15 ANC leaders in the current National Executive Committee are to bow out along with President Nelson Mandela at the party's national conference in December, City Press has learned.

And, according to insiders, ANC members are likely to use this opportunity to entrench more Africanists in a bid to keep out leaders from the South African Communist Party.

Among those likely to stand down are Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo, Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu, acting secretary general Cheryl Carolus, MPs Adelaide Tambo and Albertina Sisulu, as well as veteran members serving in diplomatic missions abroad.

The organisation is said to have already prepared a list of preferred candidates to replace those who will be standing down.

The new NEC will be elected along with the organisation's top six leaders.

The conference is expected to phase out the old guard in favour of a new generation which rose to the hierachy in the post-1976 period.

The nomination process is expected to change gear in the next few weeks to focus on a vigorous campaign and lobbying of those earmarked for inclusion into the highest decision-making body.

According to party insiders, the idea of choosing a younger generation is meant to represent continuity for the organisation in the next millenium.

Two individuals who have already been identified for inclusion in the new NEC, who enjoy support from the leadership and the youth league, is Thabang Makwetla, currently ANC parliamentary caucus chairperson, and Vusi Mavimbela, one of the special advisors to deputy president Thabo Mbeki.

Both are considered social and policy engineers within the ANC, and their inclusion in the NEC is considered to be long-overdue. They are said to enjoy the support of both Mandela and Mbeki.

They have both worked closely with the president's director of communication and strategist, Joel Netshitenzhe.

The ANC Youth League, which has set the pace for the election of leaders, is expected to put their names forward when it draws up a comprehensive list of individuals who should be included on the new NEC.

The nominations of candidates to replace the older generation of ANC leaders has already started in the provinces.

Some of the ANC leaders whose positions have to be filled in the NEC are Raymond Mhlaba, former Eastern Cape premier and SACP leader, Wilton Mkhwayi, a former Rivonia Treason Trialist who served time on Robben Island, Ahmed Kathrada, also a Treason Trialist, and Andrew Mlangeni, another Rivonia Treason Trialist.

Speculation is also rife that Bengu and Nzo might not seek re-election. But party members told City Press that this might not happen as both are still considered to have enough energy to continue within the NEC.

According to party insiders, all members who had joined South Africa's diplomatic missions will be replaced. These include veteran activists Ruth Mompati in Bern, Switzerland, John Nkadimeng in Havana, Cuba, Carl Niehaus in the Hague, Netherlands, Raymond Suttner in Stockholm, Sweden, Getrude Shope, also in Havana, Cuba, and Cheryl Carolus, who will become South African High Commissioner in London, England.

The youth league plans to support the re-election of its former president, Peter Mokaba.

Another candidate who could likely be included in the nomination list is chairperson of the parliamentary standing committee on Safety and Security, Rapu Molekane.

Bill aims to put an end to dual citizenship

Cape Town – Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday piloted through the National Assembly legislation that will prevent South Africans from holding dual citizenship.

He also tabled a bill that will allow women to variously adopt double-barrelled names to include both her married or maiden names, her maiden name even if she is married, or resume her maiden name or a combination of various married and maiden names.

Both measures were accepted by all seven parties. The South African Citizenship Amendment Bill and the Births and Deaths Registration Amendment Bill are expected to be passed into law by the end of the current session.

The citizenship bill also provides that a child – whether born in or out of wedlock – may become a citizen of SA if he or she is born outside SA "as long as one of his or her parents was a South African citizen at the time of the birth".

Buthelezi said permission was still being granted on application to carry two passports. – Parliamentary Bureau

It's official — a rose by any other name is just as sweet

(304A)

ct 21/10/97

HOME Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday piloted through the National Assembly legislation which will prevent South Africans from holding dual citizenship.

Buthelezi also piloted through a measure that will allow a woman to variously adopt double-barrelled names to include both her married or maiden names, her maiden name even if she is married, or resume her maiden name or a combination of various married and maiden names

Both measures were accepted by all seven parties.

Both the South African Citizenship Amendment Bill and the Births and Deaths Registration Amendment Bill are expected to be passed into law by the end of the current session of Parliament. The National Council of Provinces is to debate the bills on November 18. President Nelson Mandela can then sign them into law.



DOUBLE-BARRELLED: Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... piloted bills.

The citizenship bill also provides that a child — whether born in or out of wedlock — may become a citizen of South Africa if born outside the republic "as long as one of his or her parents was a South African citizen at the time of the birth".

Previously, this applied only to those born after October 6, 1995.

The minister is given the power to deprive a person of SA citizenship "where such person is making use of the passport facilities of another country". However, Buthelezi said, dual citizenship could be granted at ministerial discretion. — Political Staff

(236) (304A) ET 21/10/97

Rose by any other name ...

HOME Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday piloted through the National Assembly legislation to prevent South Africans holding dual citizenship.

Buthelezi also piloted a measure which will allow women to adopt double-barrelled names to include both her married and maiden names.

A woman may continue to use her maiden name, even if she is married.

All seven parties in the National Assembly accepted both measures.

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● Full story, Page 5

CAPE TIMES
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1997 ★

NEW

LEAKED LIST FALSE, SAYS GOVT

Parly buildings for sale — document

CT 21/10/97 (3049)

A DOCUMENT LEAKED to the press, revealing which parliamentary buildings will be sold if Parliament moves, has been described as disinformation. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

A "DIRTY TRICKS" campaign is under way in the high-powered tug-of-war over the seat of Parliament.

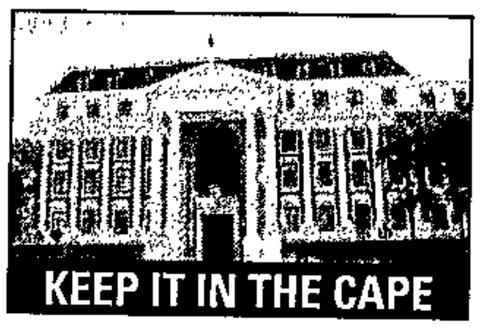
Yesterday a leaked document — detailing selling and rental prices for parliamentary buildings ranging from the ministerial headquarters at 120 Plein Street to parliamentary villages — was described as "pure disinformation" by the Department of Public Works.

Marked "top secret" the two-page anonymous document gives a net total income from the sale of the Mother City's parliamentary buildings as R261,1 million.

Parliamentary officials and Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP) staffers disagreed strongly about the document's authenticity.

It includes a typed table of sales and rental income figures which is linked to specific government buildings on a separate computer-generated spreadsheet.

From this it appears all the parliamentary villages would be sold, as would the Marks Building, 120 Plein Street, plus state homes for ministers, deputy ministers and directors-general.



Tuynhuys, Genadendal (Westbrook), Groote Schuur Estate and and the old President's Council building (Good Hope building) are earmarked for retention.

A Public Works spokesperson said the separate itemisation of the Good Hope Building, (duplicating the President's Council Building), plus the typing in different formats, pointed to an "amateurish attempt at disinformation".

He quoted Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe as saying the documents were not official and that Radebe had never seen them.

"Besides, we haven't got anywhere near this kind of costing."

He added: "Disinformation does more harm than good in what should be a sensitive debate".

Deputy director-general of property management Mr Nazeem Martin said he, too, had never seen the documents.

However, Mr Kallie Hanekom, CAP executive director, said: "It seems to be very real; if it's true it's outrageous because it means the proceeds of the sale of local buildings will be used for re-investment in Pretoria — which means a double whammy for us.

"We keep getting leaks which affect the debate so much — yet whenever I speak to MPs they've never seen any of this stuff".

The ANC is to make a decision on the seat of Parliament at its tri-annual congress in Mafikeng, a week before Christmas. It will need to be ratified by the National Assembly in which the ANC carries an overwhelming majority.

PAC claims spark uproar

Sowetan 23/10/97

Speaker insists that PAC MP's behaviouor is against the rules of parliament (304A)

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

THERE was uproar in the National Assembly yesterday when the Pan Africanist Congress named several African National Congress Members of Parliament members as having been spies during the apartheid era.

In a highly emotional debate around the alleged interrogation of one of its members, Mr Malcolm Dyani, PAC MP Mrs Patricia de Lille lashed out at Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla and said there were "at least 12 members" of the ANC who should be interrogated on their role as spies.

She was, however, forced to withdraw the spy allegations after naming the ANC members.

Some of those she named were Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna, Defence Minister Joe Modise, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau, Deputy Tourism and Environmental Affairs Minister Peter Mokaba, Eastern Cape Premier Reverend Arnold Stofile, Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, and Nhlanhla himself.

The issue came to a head when De Lille, who first threatened to reveal the names of those she said had "betrayed the soul of the nation" but, following loud heckling from ANC benches, appeared to angrily rattle off the names.

MPs were clearly stunned by the outburst. ANC deputy Chief Whip Naledi Pandor immediately jumped up and said De Lille was guilty of "unparliamentary" behaviour and had abused her parliamentary privilege.

Parliament's Speaker Frene Ginwala agreed, and insisted that De Lille withdraw the use of the word "spies" in relation to any member of the House.

Reluctantly, De Lille said she was unaware of the rules to that effect and would withdraw her allegations "conditionally".

Ginwala again ordered her to "withdraw, or not withdraw" the allegation, but that she could not "half withdraw" the allegation. De Lille then rose to withdraw the allegation.

The heated debate was an off-shoot of the ongoing controversy between the PAC and the ANC on the nomination of PAC leader Bishop Stanley Mogoba to the parliamentary committee on intelligence.

Interviewed

It has emerged that Dyani was interviewed by the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) and the question that the PAC's Mr Mike Muendane put to the Justice Minister Dullah Omar was whether the August "interrogation" had taken place.

Answering on behalf of Omar, Nhlanhla said no, and that he had not given instructions for an interrogation to take place.

Muendane lashed out at Nhlanhla, saying he was "appalled" that the Minister did not know what was going on inside his own organisation, the NIA.

De Lille accuses ANC leaders of having spied for former govt

Star 23/10/97 (304A)

SAPA AND STAFF REPORTER

Cape Town – Seven senior figures in the ANC, including three cabinet ministers, were named in Parliament yesterday as being on a list of alleged spies for the apartheid-era security forces.

Pan Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille said the list, with 12 names, was in the possession of President Nelson Mandela and his deputy Thabo Mbeki.

She named Defence Minister Joe Modise, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau, Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla, Deputy Environment Minister Peter Mokaba, Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa and his Eastern Cape counterpart Makhenkesi Stofile, and Ricky Nkondo as on the list.

Reacting to De Lille's claims, Mokaba denied ever being involved in spying activities, claiming the allegations appeared to be part of a CCB plot which was already being tested in the High Court and by the Truth Commission.

He challenged De Lille to repeat her comments outside Parliament so he could " add her name to the list of CCB members and newspapers" against whom he was taking action for attempting to discredit him.



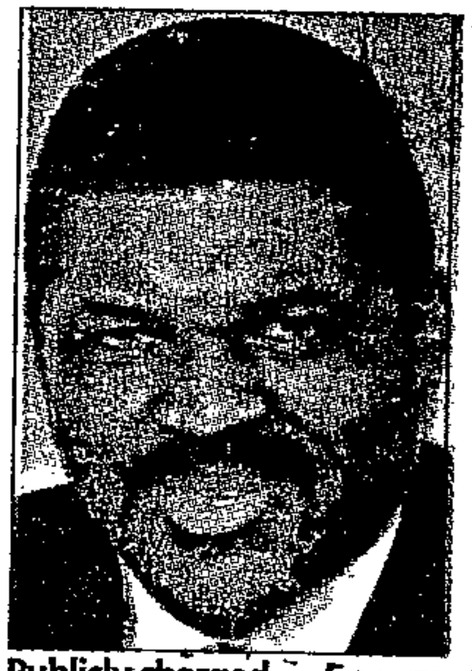
In firing line ... Defence Minister Joe Modise.



In spotlight ... Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau.

De Lille asked whether the ANC could tell the country whether they had been spies, and if they would be interrogated by the National Intelligence Agency.

She said the Government was suppressing the list. The PAC also called on the Government to tell the public which agents had received blood money to betray their comrades.



Publicly charged ... Energy Minister Penuell Maduna.

She withdrew the word "spies" after Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala ruled that it was unparliamentary to make those unsubstantiated allegations against MPs.

Earlier in the debate, PAC secretary general Michael Muendane complained that PAC MP Malcolm Dyani had been interrogated for six hours by the NIA when he was being vetted for membership of the parliamentary intelligence oversight committee.

He denied that Dyani's name had been submitted for membership of the committee.

The incident coincided with a row over the PAC's nomination to the committee of its leader, Stanley Mogoba.

Mogoba withdrew after intervention by President Mandela, who claimed he did not want Mogoba subjected to the "indignity" of a security check. The PAC subsequently resubmitted Mogoba's name, which Mandela approved last week.

Nhlanhla said Dyani had been interviewed, not interrogated, in a routine security vetting which he agreed to.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation viewed the allegations in a very serious light and as libellous.

"It's our contention that the allegations undermine the integrity, name and reputation of those senior leaders of the ANC referred to.

"The burden of proof in such matters lies with those making such allegations to substantiate them.

"In this context, we challenge De Lille to repeat the allegations outside Parliament as well as reveal her sources.

"The ANC wants to put it on record that neither President Mandela nor Deputy President Thabo Mbeki have at their disposal the alleged list of spies," he said.

De Lille names ANC ministers as 'spies'

BD 23/10/97 (3049)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The battle between the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress over security clearances came to the boil in the National Assembly yesterday with the ANC and President Nelson Mandela being challenged to confirm that three ministers, two deputy ministers and two provincial premiers were on the list of those who had spied for the apartheid government.

PAC MP Patricia de Lille for the first time named some of those assumed to be on the list of spies which is apparently in Mandela's possession. At the end of a rowdy "interpellation" debate she asked for confirmation that Mineral and Energy Minister Penuell Maduna, Defence Minister Joe Modise, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau, Deputy Environment Minister Peter Mokaba, Deputy Intelligence Services Minister Joe Nhlanhla, Mpumalanga premier Mathews Phosa and Eastern Cape premier Makhenkesi Stofile were spies on the list.

Speaker Frene Ginwala, after finally managing to restore order following shouting between ANC and PAC members, said it was unparliamentary to suggest MPs were spies, and ordered De Lille to withdraw that part of her statement. She complied.

At issue was the apparent "interrogation" of a PAC member by the National Intelligence Agency. De Lille asked why a PAC member had been interrogated when there were agents of a despicable past in the ANC benches who had betrayed black people in their struggle against apartheid. She called on Mandela to name them.

Nhlanhla replied that it was an interview and not an interrogation and had been carried out with the permission of the PAC member concerned.

The row follows Mandela's rejection of PAC leader Stanley Mogoba's nomination to serve on the intelligence oversight committee. Mandela said he did not want him to be humiliated by the security check committee members have to pass. The PAC recently nominated Mogoba again. His nomination has apparently now been approved.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
October 24 to 30 1997

Winnie, Zuma and Phosa square up

M+G 24-30/10/97 (304A)

Wally Mbhele

Mpumalanga province this week stood firm on its support for provincial Premier Mathews Phosa as African National Congress deputy president, in the face of reported pressure from President Nelson Mandela to get Phosa to move aside for the national leadership's candidate, Jacob Zuma.

This opens the possibility of a tense three-horse race between Zuma, the favoured son of the party leadership, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the headstrong and controversial candidate of the populists, and Phosa, who could gain both from those who oppose Madikizela-Mandela and those who are resistant to being told how to vote.

Provincial representative Jackson Mthembu said: "It's not a few people or a group of people. Not even someone from the national or provincial structures can tell us to withdraw his candidacy."

Phosa has maintained a stony silence over the claims, and has refused to be drawn on whether or not he will allow his name to go forward as a candidate for the second most powerful political position in the country.

The one thing that is clear is that the ANC's electoral process is once again under fire amid objections to perceived meddling and manipulation by head office.

Many observers point to the irony that it was Phosa himself who was until recently the most vocal ANC leader on the defects of the way the party elects new leaders and the harm that this does to its image.

Phosa recently voiced this concern at the meeting in Mpumalanga where he was nominated for the organisation's deputy presidency. He had even promised that he would put forward a proposal to revamp the system of electing leaders at the December conference. Now Phosa has himself become a victim of the process.

The reported encounter with Mandela has led to widespread speculation on whether the ANC has already chosen leaders ahead of the conference.

ANC Gauteng branches are expected to endorse Zuma's nomination for the position when they meet this weekend. The Northern Province, however, is playing its cards close to the chest.

While Phosa is keeping silent, at least two other contenders for the deputy presidency, Zuma and Madikizela-Mandela, have offered sharply divergent views.

Zuma, in an interview with the *Mail & Guardian* this week, said it was not strange for a party or a particular individual to ask "a comrade" to withdraw his nomination for a certain position.

"It has been happening all the time. It's practically what happens; it's an internal thing," said Zuma, who asked, "Is it wrong if that leader is advised by a particular comrade to remain where he is until the party deploys him somewhere?"

But Madikizela-Mandela has claimed there is something sinister in the practice, accusing the ANC of asking Phosa to step down in order to consolidate Zuma's support against her. She has also criticised the ANC for failing to implement the constituency-based parliamentary system.

While Madikizela-Mandela's tirade against the system of electing new leaders is viewed in certain quarters as an attempt to consolidate her bid for the position, many ANC members share her sentiments.

They think voting at the conference in December is going to be a mere formality. The leadership has already chosen Zuma for the position, they said this week.

But, according to some in the ANC, the reasons why Zuma is preferred by the head office over other candidates is not clear.

The only explanation the *M&G* managed to solicit from certain pro-Zuma lobbyists on the national executive committee was that Zuma belongs to the older generation of ANC leaders.

A high-profile national executive committee (NEC) member ascribes this to the tradition of the ANC. He says it "is not acceptable to have officials from the younger generation challenging the more senior generation for leadership positions.

"It's not an analysis people would like to know but it is there, we cannot do away with it. Our tradition cannot be undermined," he said, adding that Phosa and Zuma do not to belong to the same generation of ANC leaders.

"In order to have peace within the organisation, we need to get the older generation in leadership positions first. They should not find themselves competing for positions with members of the younger generation in the party.

"You don't just emerge on the basis of votes. Phosa belongs to the third generation of ANC leaders. Their time will come."

Asked why the youth league decided suddenly to withdraw its nomination of Phosa in favour of Zuma, he said the youth had not widely consulted before nominating him.

"Zuma wants to stand. He is very critical for us in KwaZulu-Natal. I don't believe he can become deputy president of the country. We can only increase his stature by making him deputy president of the ANC — which will be an indication that we indeed take that province seriously," said a source from the NEC.

Sources say the youth league withdrew its nomination of Phosa after pressure from the ANC head office mounted.

Meanwhile, Mpumalanga's Mthembu said that they would stick by Phosa. "He has not told us that he wants to withdraw and only the provincial ANC branches who nominated him have the right to instruct him to step down.

"Nobody in the ANC nor in the government has the authority to prescribe to provinces when it comes to

Zuma's drive may win him top job

Wonder Hlongwa

Jacob Zuma is admired for the drive that took him — despite his lack of formal schooling — to the position of African National Congress national chair. But his close associates are not convinced he has the ability for the post of ANC deputy president.

Sources close to him say he is more of a backroom operator and strategist than a public politician. But, they say, if Mbeki is elected ANC president and Zuma his deputy, they will have to complement each other well.

As Mbeki is more of an academic and always in the office, Zuma will have to be "the smiling face of South Africa". However, until now he has avoided the public eye and even his closest friends find it difficult to picture him smiling at the electorate.

"Now we have a president who is very acceptable to the people and deputy president who spends a lot of time doing what the president should be doing. Zuma will take on Mandela's role and Thabo will go on with what he is doing. But only if Zuma wins," a close political associate says.

He says he uses the word "if" because he believes Zuma does not enjoy the support of branches like another candidate for the position, Mathews Phosa. The source says if Phosa was really no longer available as a candidate, this could hurt Zuma, as he believed branches might elect Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, despite the recent damaging allegations against her.

"What happened to Frank Chikane in Gauteng?" he asks. Despite the support of the ANC leadership for Chikane, he lost the election for Gauteng ANC chair because he did not have the support of branches.

However, if elected, there could be an end to allegations that senior positions in the ANC are only held by Xhosa-speaking people. Zuma has a reputation as a man with deep respect for Zulu traditions.

A colleague in the Kwazulu-Natal government calls him "a source of inspiration" and "one of the world's most talented men".

"He occupies very senior positions in this country without formal education. He normally boasts that all over South Africa not a single teacher can claim to have taught Zuma. His only education was Robben Island adult basic education classes up to standard eight," the admirer says.

Born 55 years ago in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands at Nkandla near Kranskop, Zuma's desire at an early age was to fight apartheid. He joined the ANC aged 17, despite its constitution stipulating that members should be 18.

From 1960 he served 10 years' imprisonment in Robben Island after being arrested while leaving the country for military training. Immediately after his release he succeeded in leaving for exile, and was based in Mozambique and Zambia. In exile, he rose to head the ANC's intelligence department and to the position of deputy secretary general.

At the ANC's 1991 conference he was again elected deputy secretary general. Three years later he was voted into the position of national chair after the party amended its constitution to enable him to hold the dual posts of the national and Kwazulu-Natal provincial chairs.

Zuma's 1994 election to head the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal followed a bruising three-way leadership tussle with then Southern Natal chair Jeff Radebe and KwaZulu-Natal Midlands chair and communist party stalwart Harry Gwala.

Critics point out that the battle divided the ANC in the province in the run-up to the elections, and say while Zuma was elected partly on the belief that his Zulu traditionalism would win over rural voters, this strategy has obviously failed, in part because of Zuma's low public profile. He addressed only a few public rallies during the campaign.

Observers say he does not have a good track record as KwaZulu-Natal's MEC for Economic Affairs and Tourism. Four years after he inherited the department from the KwaZulu homeland's chief minister's office, other departments are talking about delivery, but Zuma is still hiring staff.



Within his grasp: Jacob Zuma is the ANC leadership's choice

But colleague Mike Sutcliffe serves with Zuma in the provincial ANC, say many factors must be considered before judging his performance as MEC.

"He is the man behind the proposed King Shaka Airport and special development initiatives such as Maputoland, a project that will link Mozambique to South Africa. He is involved in large-scale industrial projects in Richards Bay, Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Then there is also the development of Cato Manor and a number of peace initiatives," said Sutcliffe.

Zuma's peacemaking in KwaZulu-Natal has not produced any fruits yet, however. His special amnesty deal for Inkatha members seems to be dead, despite an effort spanning more than seven years on his part to bring the ANC and IFP back into the alliance they shared before 1979.

Zuma was the first ANC leader to initiate the formation of an eventual merger between the two parties. This effort followed closely on the heels of Zuma's key role in fomenting King Goodwill Zwelithini's September 1994 breakaway from the IFP — a move calculated to draw traditionalists away from the IFP, but one that failed.

But those close to him say bringing peace to KwaZulu-Natal is not something that will be achieved by one man, because of the complexity of politics in the province. However, they say he played a major role in cooling off the tense atmosphere that prevailed after the elections when the ANC, led by Gwala, refused to accept the election results.

Zuma's former colleague says he is a weak manager. "He wants to have his hand on everything." He added that if Zuma is to be the deputy president, he will need a strong administrative team. "oth-

Motheo buddies still in business

M+G 24-30/10/97

Leading figures in the Motheo scandal are earning consultancy fees from the controversial company, writes **Justin Arenstein**

Despite getting their fingers burnt and losing their jobs for bulldozing the R198-million Motheo rural housing deal through Mpumalanga's housing board, the central figures in the scheme are still doing business with each other.

Sacked Nedcor credit general manager, Kevin Gibb, currently works at least eight hours a day for Motheo through a close corporation called Reeves Enterprises & Tours.

Motheo director Alfons Meyeridricks confirmed that Gibb had begun consulting for the developer almost immediately after leaving Nedcor and told the *Mail & Guardian* that Gibb did substantial financial and budgetary planning for Motheo, as well as marketing.

He added that Gibb also handled much of Motheo's negotiations with contractors but stressed that these services had only been paid for by Motheo after Gibb was dismissed from Nedcor.

The first payment to Gibb was made on August 26. Meyeridricks refused to discuss how much Gibb was earning but sources confirm that he receives at least R20 000 a month for his efforts, as well as an unspecified vehicle and travel allowance.

Gibb's colleague at Nedcor, Granny Seape, is also employed as a consultant by Motheo and has been paid at least R70 000 for her services since resigning from Nedcor just after Gibb was fired in April.

Seape, who played a major role in establishing the concept of rural housing while at Nedcor and who initially canvassed support for the project from local authorities as a Nedcor representative, is also the sister of Motheo majority shareholder, Dr Thandi Ndlovu. Seape stressed during testimony that she had recused herself from these duties after Gibb announced that Ndlovu and Motheo would be the developer.

Ndlovu, Seape and Gibb are all close friends of Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele. Other indications of the close personal links between the major players include confirmation that Gibb arranged vehicle financing for Mthembi-Mahanyele's secretary, Bertha Nene, while he was still at Nedcor.

Payment for Seape's services as a "highly skilled" liaison with local authorities and target communities are currently made through a separate company which is fully owned by Meyeridricks, called Coral Sands Property CC. "Granny was uncomfortable working directly for Motheo because of her sister's ownership of the company and particularly with all the controversy going on. I don't see anything sinister in it at all, but she asked me to [pay] her indirectly," explained Meyeridricks.

Seape's initial services included setting up Motheo's offices after the company had signed its R198-million contract with Mpumalanga and recruiting Motheo's core staff.



Mthembi-Mahanyele: Ndlovu, Seape and Gibb are all close friends.
PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

Seape is also a partner with Meyeridricks in another, unconnected, development company called Securitised Housing Management (Pty) Ltd. She was paid a R50 000 retainer by Motheo for setting up its offices over two months. Seape said this week that she was consulting through a close corporation, Ahamang CC, of which she is the sole member. She described herself as a "development facilitator" and said that Motheo was one of three large clients she had. She denied involvement in any business ventures with sacked Mpumalanga housing board chief Saths Moodely or Gibb but added that Moodley also consulted for some of the same clients as she did. She declined to name the clients. "This entire Motheo thing has caused me a lot of distress."

During her testimony before the Mpumalanga commission investigating the deal on Thursday, Seape vehemently denied allegations by Dri-Block chief executive Paul Jewkes that Seape had negotiated for between 25% and 50% shares in a development company which later became Motheo. "I don't know what Jewkes is talking about. He must have been hallucinating a lot at that time. My only discussions with him, in line with my Nedcor mandate, were how to involve him in low-cost housing. At no stage did we discuss shareholding, either including me or anyone else."

The only name mentioned other than Ndlovu's during shareholding discussions, Jewkes said, was that of a woman by the name of Zanele who had been proposed as a director because of her position. Seape denied ever mentioning her name in discussions with Jewkes and also dismissed allegations that the woman was in fact Zanele Mbeki, a prominent banker and the wife of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

"We are the victims of some political or commercial plot," said Meyeridricks. "The charges against us keep on changing. First it was nepotism, then not following procedures and not being a registered company. If this whole circus hadn't blown up, there would be 11 000 families living in new houses today." — *African Eye News Service*

Motheo: Sankie's not off the hook, PAGE 31

PAC battles to clear Mogoba

Marion Edmunds

The Pan Africanist Congress found itself battling on two fronts this week to clear the name of its president, Dr Stanley Mogoba. This week it was alleged he had collaborated with the apartheid government against a comrade.

Hours after PAC MP Patricia de Lille tried to shift the spotlight away from her party by insinuating that a string of top African National Congress leaders were spies at a rowdy parliamentary debate, a former Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) commander, Enoch Zulu, announced that Mogoba had betrayed him in his treason trial in 1988.

These statements have severely embarrassed the PAC and exposed its weak flank in the Transkei, where there is sill residual support for former PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Mogoba's arch-enemy, and the man the PAC suspects is behind Zulu's U-turn.

PAC leaders De Lille, Mike Muendane and Johnson Mlambo have rejected Zulu's version. Mlambo said it was Zulu who had betrayed Mogoba, when he cracked under police torture and revealed where he had lived while on the run from the police.

Zulu had been the PAC's star witness last week in its attempts to clear Mogoba's name. He was flown to Cape Town for an interview with the *Mail & Guardian* to explain the circumstances around Mogoba's testimony at his trial.

Mogoba had merely confirmed in court that Zulu had lived at his house while he was on the run from the police. The PAC had taken this step to dispel rumours that Mogoba's past security record would prevent him taking up a seat on the Joint Standing Intelligence Committee in Parliament. Even President Nelson Mandela had advised Mogoba to refrain from taking the security check.

This week Zulu changed his story and alleged that Mogoba's testimony was a betrayal. Mogoba is currently touring the United States and could not be reached for comment.

The new twist in Zulu's tale is particularly humiliating coming just after De Lille launched into a broadside against the ANC for spreading rumours about Mogoba's past, and branded ANC leaders as spies, including Minister of Minerals and Energy, Penuell Maduna and Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa. The PAC will now have to explain its own member's allegation that Mogoba collaborated with the apartheid state.



De Lille: Accuses ANC leaders of being spies

Zulu had had strong links with the National Intelligence Services, having worked for them when he returned from exile after 1994. "When he was was integrated into the army he worked as an intelligence operative. He was out of his depth so he took a package and left last year," said Muendane. "Zulu played a prominent role in exile but when he came back he could not fit in anywhere, that is his gripe."

De Lille and Muendane say that Zulu had stage-managed the character assassination of Mogoba because he supports former ousted PAC leader Makwetu.

"Mogoba was the real hero. He harboured Apla commanders in those dark days. He testified with Zulu's agreement and all the talk about betrayal is just nonsense," says Dikang Moseneke. Moseneke was Zulu's legal representative in the treason trial and is now acting Telkom chair.

Sex scandal erupts in Free State government

Mukoni T Ratshitanga

Following another scandal in the Free State government, police are investigating two charges after a jealous husband assaulted his wife in the office of the senior government official he suspected of having an affair with her.

Thandi Molosioa, a deputy director employed at the Department of Public Works in Bloemfontein, denied she had an affair with her head of department, Dr Eugene Mokeyane.

In a report to the director general of the Free State government, she said her husband, who has a "history of chronic jealousy", had come to her office when she phoned him to say she was working late, kicked open the door, dragged her out and slapped her.

"When we arrived home, he apologised profusely, in tears, stating that my refusal to leave Mokeyane's office caused him to assault me," Thandi Molosioa explained. "I am at a loss to understand why allegations of pointing a firearm at [my husband] or any other person arose.

"The existence of an intimate relationship between myself and the head of department is not based on factual evidence. It is rather based on the speculation of [my husband]."

Mokeyane also denied he had an affair with Molosioa. "During July 1997 I had been contacted by Molosioa who advised me that he had a suspicion that I had been having an affair with his wife. On this occasion I invited him to my office where he advised me he suspected two other persons in the department of 'being after his wife'. He in fact asked me to monitor the situation," he explained in his report.

Both Mokeyane and Molosioa denied a recent Free State newspaper report that they had been caught "red handed" in an intimate embrace. They intend suing the newspaper.

South African Police Service southern Free State representative Riaan Malan this week confirmed a charge of pointing a firearm had been laid against Mokeyane. However, the Free State attorney general declined to prosecute him.

A charge of assault and threatening to assault had also been laid by Molosioa and Mokeyane. "No one has been charged at this stage," said Malan. Mokeyane has left the Free State government for a position as chief director in the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry in Pretoria.



STIRRING UP A HORNETS' NEST ... *Patricia de Lille's list of 'spies' in high places has caused a commotion in the ANC.*

Fact or fiction? That's the burning question for ANC

PATRICIA de Lille's list of alleged spies in high places caused a sensation in Parliament this week – but had it been released outside, it could well have seen the fiery PAC MP facing libel suits.

The names she released seem to be from a so-called informers' list whispered about in ANC and media circles.

Whether there is in fact an authentic list is not established – let alone whether the names on the list are indeed those of informers.

De Lille, speaking during a mini-debate about Mogoba's treatment by the NIA, asked whether the names of 12 high-ranking ANC members were on a list of alleged spies handed to the Deputy President's office.

She then named eight people: Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, Eastern Cape Premier Arnold Stofile, Defence Minister Joe Modise, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau, Deputy Minister of Environment Peter Mokaba, Intelligence commander Ricky Nkondo, and the Deputy Minister of Intelligence himself, Joe Nhlanhla.

Rumours about spies, said to include several high-ranking government figures not named by De Lille, have been doing the rounds ever since former security policeman Jacques Hechter told the TRC that he knew of spies in high places.

The former director of NIS, Niel Barnard, made a similar claim to the TRC, saying he did not think revealing the names was in the national interest. President Mandela responded by saying he thought he was in a better position to decide on the national interest than Barnard.

While the TRC does legal battle to attempt to force Hechter and Barnard to reveal the names, demands to unveil the spies have meanwhile been fuelled by the ANC's Cheryl Carolus, saying the organisation would hand over lists of spies, including media spies, to the TRC. So far, the only list provided by the ANC which has come to light is the Shishita Report, and details about a few other spies caught by the ANC while it was banned.

Mandela has told Parliament he has requested a list of agents still in government, if any.

One problem is that many records are missing, having been either shredded or stolen. Others are suspect. Short of handlers coming forward to name agents, little can be known about those De Lille called traitors to the struggle.The origins of the rumours illustrates this.

For example, senior ANC members including Nhlanhla, Modise and Maduna, who met NIS representatives in Switzerland in the mid-1980s, were listed by NIS as agents. This was apparently done to protect NIS against attacks by the securocrats at the helm of the government.

Modise's position at the helm of MK made him a natural target for rumours; that his brother-in-law Glory Sedibe turned out to be an askari did not help.

Documents supplied by an MI agent during a civil court case brought against the minister of defence in 1994 included a copy of an MI plan to split Modise and other "moderates" from Hani.

They listed several ANC and PAC agents by number and seem to be the source of the rumours about Nkondo.

The allegation about Sigcau apparently dates back to her long involvement in the Transkei government and later attempts to overthrow General Bantu Holomisa, who has handed several files to the TRC.

Mokaba's inclusion on the list could well date back to claims made first at an underground SACP meeting in Fordsburg. These were apparently based on Mokaba agreeing to inform for the police after they detained him – something many activists did under duress and then reported to their organisation when they were released.

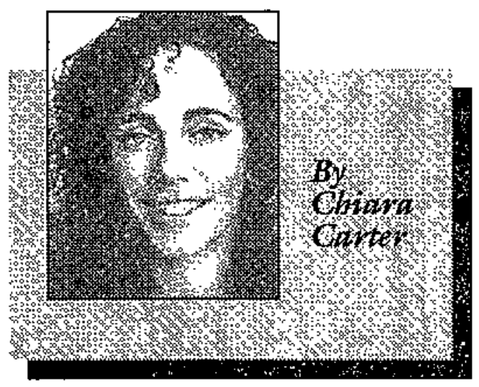
The ANC and several of the leaders named have reacted angrily, denying the allegations.

The list's origins are yet to be revealed, with De Lille saying she is more than willing to continue the debate in Parliament.

Whether she will be able to do this is unclear. The ANC wants her behaviour investigated by a special committee, even though she withdrew the comments after the Speaker ruled that they were not parliamentary.

But ANC members themselves want to know the truth about the past. As long as a veil of secrecy remains draped, not only will rumours continue to fester, but other bombshells are likely to erupt . . .

Rumours and denials abound as De Lille's 'spy list' causes political havoc for the ANC, and a committee is set up to probe her accusations.



By Chiara Carter

In the end, the party's image pays the price for PAC mudslinging

THE PAC excelled itself at mudslinging this week – both at the ANC and internally.

The party's attempts to reshape itself as an effective opposition have been overshadowed for a month by an intrigue about why PAC president Stanley Mogoba was blocked from joining the Parliamentary intelligence oversight committee by President Nelson Mandela.

While Mandela assured the PAC and the country that his motive was no more than concern that Mogoba did not have to undergo a humiliating security test, the PAC remained unconvinced and adherents of ousted PAC president Clarence Makwetu gloated.

Mogoba was renominated to the committee after the PAC rejected attempts by the government to instead have Malcolm Diyani serve and the PAC president was accepted without question this week.

While the deputy minister of Intelligence, Joe Nhlanhla, merely outlined that the Deputy President's office had instructed the NIA to screen Diyani, PAC MP Patricia de Lille took a foray into intelligence operatives' world of "smoke and mirrors", boldly listing names said to be on a list of alleged informers,

But back in the Eastern Cape, the PAC faced another storm. Former Apla Specials Operations director Enoch Zulu told a rally Mogoba had sold him out by giving evidence for the state in 1988.

Makwetu faction members have for two weeks been saying the question mark over Mogoba's head relates to his role as a state witness at the trial of Zulu and others.

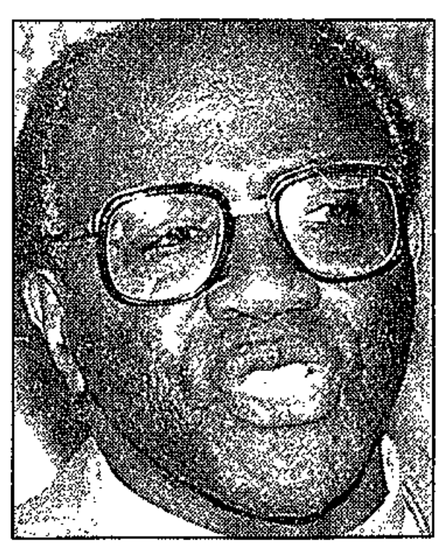
It was a remarkable about-face for Zulu, who last week told the *Mail and Guardian* in the presence of three senior PAC members Mogoba had not sold him out.

The PAC leadership says Mogoba was given the go-ahead to give evidence by party leadership after Zulu revealed under torture that he had hidden at Mogoba's house several months before his arrest.

Zulu's new claims were slammed by his lawyer during the trial, Dikgang Moseneke, and PAC Central Committee chairman Johnson Mlambo, who this weekend said the PAC leadership agreed that Mogoba, a man of the cloth, could not lie in court. Mlambo said Zulu had stayed with Mogoba in mid-1985 and was arrested many months later. He said Mgoba had a proud history in the liberation struggle and continued to enjoy the confidence of PAC members.

There can be little doubt that confusion over Mogoba's role in the trial lay at the basis of the row over his inclusion in the committee. Given the PAC's divisions in the Eastern Cape, this has provided grist for what is likely to be another series of spats between the Makwetu grouping and the PAC leadership – with the party paying the cost in terms of its image.

– **CHIARA CARTER**



AT THE CENTRE OF ROW ... *PAC president Stanley Mogoba.*

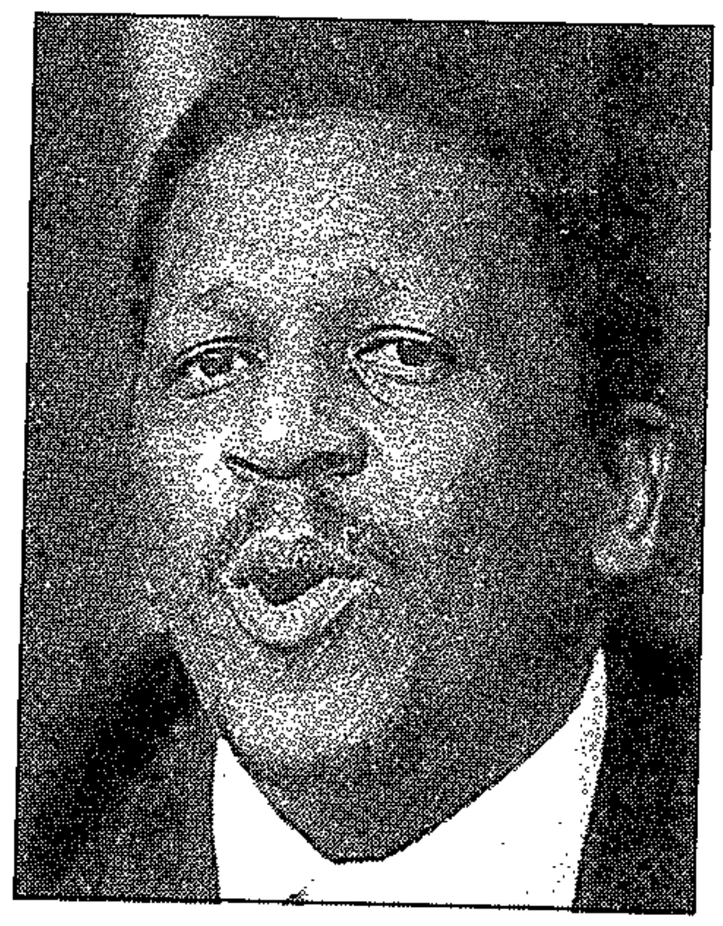
26/10/97

304A

Patricia de Lille



LISTED . . . *Minister of Defence, Joe Modise.*



LISTED . . . *Mpumalanga Premier, Mathews Phosa.*



LISTED . . . *Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Penuell Maduna.*

's little list . . .

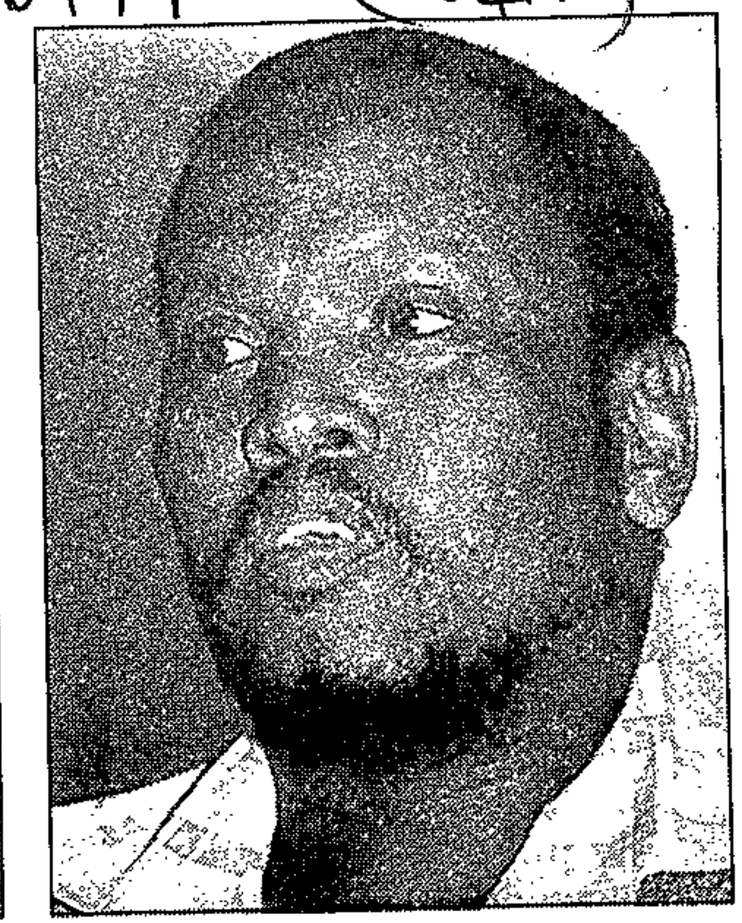
CP 26/10/97 (30A)



LISTED . . . *Deputy Minister of Environment, Peter Mokaba.*



LISTED . . . *Public Enterprises Minister, Stella Sigcau.*



LISTED . . . *Eastern Cape Premier, Arnold Stofile.*

Surprise turn in race for ANC post

AYESHA ISMAIL

(304A)

ST(CM)26/10/97

JOSTLING for the leadership of the ANC in the Western Cape has begun — with several surprise names tipped as contenders.

Names already on the lips of ANC members are SA ambassador to the US Franklin Sonn, Economics MEC Chris Nissen, MP Tony Yengeni and present leader Justice Minister Dullah Omar.

But the surprise name being bandied about as a possible next Western Cape premier — if the ANC is able to wrest control away from the Hernus Kriel's NP — is Finance Minister Trevor Manuel.

Coloured business people aligned to the ANC are believed to favour Sonn, who is due back in SA next year after a four-year stint in Washington.

Some political commentators say the ANC's only hope of winning the 1999 elections in the Western Cape is by having a coloured leader who other coloured people feel is genuinely sympathetic towards them.

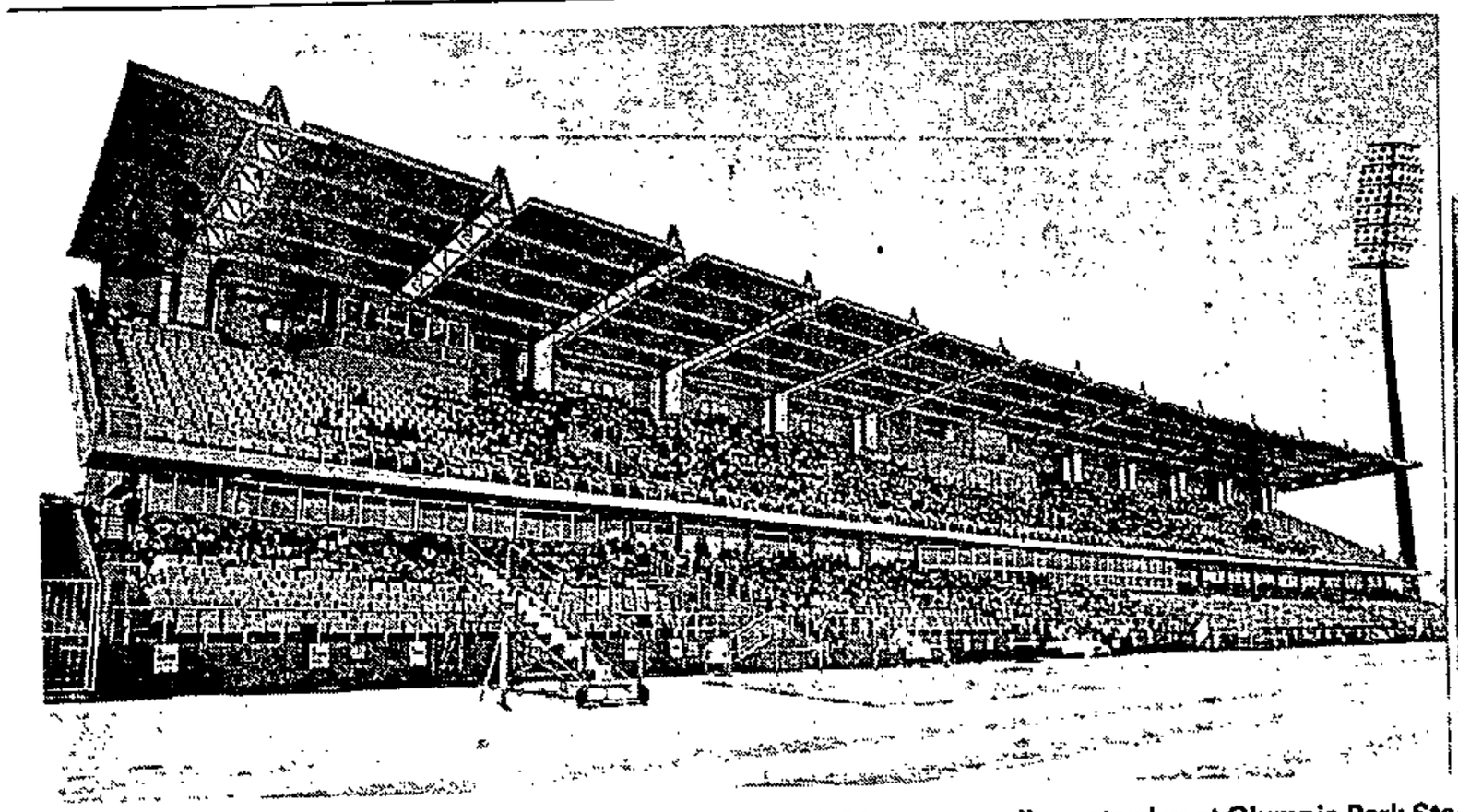
In spite of having had three coloured leaders so far, the ANC has failed to win majority support among coloured people.

UWC historian and political analyst Trevor Oosterwyk said: "It is good that the leadership question is being discussed now. The candidates mentioned are known in the community and have support. But there are more fundamental issues on how to win the coloured support."

He believes that the redistribution of resources and addressing coloured fears need to be looked at seriously by the ANC.

Coloureds feel they are being marginalised by the ANC-led government because of certain "privileges" they received "through no fault of theirs" during the apartheid era, he says.

ANC spokesman Brent Simons denied names of possible candidates to lead the ANC election fight were being discussed at regional level.





Nearly 1 000 supporters turned out for a United Democratic Movement rally yesterday at Olympia Park Stadium in Rustenburg, North West, at which joint leaders Roelf Meyer, left, and Bantu Holomisa criticised the African National Congress for some of its policies and slow implementation.

Photos: ROBERT BOTHA

Jo'burg couple held for R1m life policies scam

Taryn Lamberti

A BRIXTON couple will face charges of murder, fraud and conspiracy to commit fraud in the Johannesburg High Court next year for allegedly faking the husband's death, claiming more than R1m in life insurance policies, with the wife as sole beneficiary.

In the Johannesburg Regional Court last week, Zaharina and James Downey received indictments from the attorney-general's office detailing the charges they will face in August next year.

It is alleged James Downey hired a car on January 27 this year. He then stabbed an unidentified man in Auckland Park and put him into the hired car before setting it alight.

Zaharina Downey later allegedly identified a body in the mortuary as that of her dead husband. She fraudulently received R1m from Liberty Life as well as another R14 000 from Sanlam in insurance on her husband's life. The Downeys then moved to Cape Town where James Downey "accepted a new identity". They are being held in custody.

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Hundreds of Zimbabwean "shoppers" who crossed for the day were forced to sleep in the bush overnight. Fire crews from Messina and Pietersburg, assisted by experts flown in from Pretoria, supervised reloading of the gas to another tanker. Some motorists criticised the authorities for not warning southbound travellers that the border was closed.

The accident caused the first total shut-down at the border since Vice-President Joshua Nkomo's "development trust", which enjoys a tax-free monopoly, erected a toll bridge two years ago.

UDM says multiparty democracy bill is 'discriminatory'

BD 27/10/97 (304A)

Josey Ballenger

THE United Democratic Movement (UDM) yesterday attacked the multiparty democracy bill — and the manner in which it was recently approved by a parliamentary committee — for being discriminatory.

At a UDM rally in Rustenberg attended by hundreds of mostly young black male supporters, joint leader Roelf Meyer said the multiparty democracy bill — which proposes a government fund for political parties be divided up proportionately by parties' representation in Parliament — was discriminatory because it provided only for parties already represented.

The bill aimed to regulate state funding for parties, but Meyer said "the effect will be to keep the playing field as uneven as possible against extraparliament parties and especially against fresh entrants into the field.... This can be interpreted as a deliberate political attempt to block the (UDM) movement's attempts to gain representation in Parliament."

Meyer said that, despite the UDM's request to Parliament's constitutional affairs committee to make an oral presentation on the subject, the committee gave the new party only one day's notice to appear before its October 17 meeting and vote. The party was not able to make a presentation at such "short" notice.

As the UDM has done in the past, joint leader Bantu Holomisa also criticised the African National Congress' affirmative action policy as benefiting only those who were formerly in exile and said its economic policies were "not bridging the gap between the haves and the have-nots". Existing policies did not address unemployment, and the government had not recovered from massive retrenchments in the civil service. He also said the transformation of the armed forces had not been well-handled and that former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers were now turning to crime.

At a media briefing after the rally, Holomisa attacked government's handling of privatisation. "For three years government has been talking about the issue and if this process is to continue in the way it is doing at present, we are going to mortgage the country by 1999," he said.

Holomisa called for an independent commission of inquiry into violence on the mines, which should exclude government because the National Union of Mineworkers as a government ally should "already be represented".

The commission's terms of references should be to look at the circumstances surrounding the violence and how best to manage the situation.

In another development at the rally, Mouthpiece Workers' Union's president Kaizer Mpiyakhe pledged the union's support for the new political party for the first time publicly, although it had been suspected following its backing of Holomisa's National Consultative Forum before he formed the UDM with Meyer last month.

However, UDM spokesman Izak Retief said the party did "not want at this point in time to form official ties but accepts its (the union's) support". He said the membership process made provision only for individuals to join the UDM, and it did not yet want to form a Cosatu-ANC type alliance.

The Northwest UDM rally was the third in a string of nationwide attempts to garner support and came on the heels of two visits to the area by President Nelson Mandela to quell violence between Mouthpiece and the National Union of Mineworkers at Anglo American Platinum Mines.

ICKS

Mbeki upbeat on US-SA ties and the future of the binational commission

(304A)
Star 31/8/97

SA must attract foreign investment to benefit from skills and technology transfers



In a wide-ranging, exclusive interview on the US-South Africa Binational Commission (BNC), Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told The Star's Washington correspondent, ***Rich Mkhondo,*** *that he would propose that Parliament becomes more involved in the workings of the BNC.*

Mkhondo: "Why get Parliament involved in the binational commission (BNC)?"

Mbeki: "This might help to educate people. The committees deal with lots of detailed business and other matters that are important. For example, the BNC's science and technology committee is dealing with the drought and El-Nino effect to find ways in which we can mediate the impact of drought or pollution in the African townships such as Soweto.

"There is joint research that is being done in terms of smokeless coal so that if indeed the process of electrification is unable to reach all areas as quickly as we would want it to, at least we can be able to reduce the degree of pollution by using smokeless coal. That research is going on between ourselves and the US in the context of the BNC.

"There is also some research into the use of goat skin. This is important for peasant communities. There are many

> **"I object to an attitude that sees SA in the position of a beggar"**

goats in the rural areas. The commercial value of goats has not been very high, but I am sure once we have researched the use of goat skin – for example for production of shoes and leather goods of one kind or another – this will have an important effect on the rural economies.

"It will be important that Parliament discuss how we can [illegible]

Mbeki: "Maybe what we need is a bit of education about international affairs. I object to this sort of persistent South African attitude which places us in a position of beggars. You visit Germany, France, the United Kingdom, US, Japan or some place and South Africans ask you: How many dollars or yen have you brought back?

"One does not conduct foreign relations to bring back dollars and yen. The central question is: what is the role of South Africa in the creation of this new world order? For an example, there are important discussions about the restructuring of the United Nations. This is the matter that is being debated by nations of the world. South Africa is very involved in that discussion, and it is an important discussion. It affects people's lives, such as peacekeeping, prevention of conflict, who decides, who doesn't.

"For example, what do you do in a situation where Somalis kill each other and the UN pulls out? In answering this question, you are actually saying that there are some people who are placed within positions of power who take these decisions regardless of what you and I think. We are saying we need to change that.

"Our foreign minister might very well have to travel to India to discuss that. Are we supposed, with the Telkom-SBC Communications-Malaysia Telekom's partnership, the foreign companies are bringing experts in many fields.

"The reality of the matter is that South Africa may not have people with certain skills. That is why foreign firms bring their own people. These people will leave. Part of their challenge is to contribute to human resource development in South Africa to enable South African companies to compete internationally. This process is benefiting South Africans.

"Also, these companies bring significant capital into the country. This results in many jobs for our people. Also the ventures result in the modernisation and international competitiveness of South African firms."

Mkhondo: "Is there any difference between the US-South Africa BNC and the ones with other countries?"

Mbeki: "We are establishing a

> **"BNC is proof that the US values its ties with South Africa"**

BNC with Germany in September. The matter of its actual structure is still under discussion. The committee we have with France is more restricted largely to economic questions. So BNCs with other countries will vary from country to country. We have a similar BNC with India, except that by agreement between the two countries, the Indian one takes place at ministerial level. That does not

Aids and so on.

"For example, Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma has just agreed to increase the level of co-operation with the US in the fight against tuberculosis because of the re-emergence of tuberculosis as a major communicable disease in the world. When everybody was thinking that the scourge had been overcome, it is re-emerging. So the major co-operation between ourselves and the US to combat this is an achievement itself within the framework of the BNC. One can go on with all kinds of frameworks and elements like that.

"Another example: throughout the crisis in the former Zaire, we were in contact with the US as well as other countries. We used the broad contacts which exist in the BNC to explain our position and for the US to explain its position on what must be done. With this kind of co-operation we were able to move in the same direction.

"We have resolved many things using the BNC as a vehicle. Regarding our differing perceptions on intellectual property rights, we explain our position and the US explains its position. We have agreed that the best place to resolve our differences is within the World Trade Organisation.

"There has been also been some discussion within the BNC on what the US can do for the economic recovery of the African continent. Before the US drafted its legislation on trade initiatives with the African continent, the minister of trade and industry interacted with his American counterpart. The last time we were here, I had a discussion with Vice-President Al Gore about the legislation. I also spoke to the Treasury Secretary, Robert Rubin, to make sure that their legislation addresses real African concerns, that they are



ucts into the US markets. There is a whole variety of BNC matters which parliamentarians can discuss to make contribution to the committees.

"Again, Parliament will have to decide how to handle this. We may have to restructure how Parliament functions, because you see, South Africa has very active foreign relations, not just with the US, but with many other countries and regional bodies such as the European Union."

Mkhondo: "People are wondering what the BNC has actually achieved?"

pose[illegible] has he brought back?

"This is part of South Africa's contribution in the formation of this new world order.

"In our relationship with the US, we listen to each other and see whether we can influence each other to arrive at positions that are just and represent equality among the nations of the world. I think this is important.

"The conduct of foreign relations is not like a football match whose results are determined by the team that scored the most goals or the question of which team brought the cup

"We, of course, attach importance to our relationship with the US, given the place and importance of the US in world politics and the world economy and so on."

Mkhondo: "Are US firms not in South Africa just to make a quick buck, particularly because they bring their own experts although they do employ South Africans ?

Mbeki: "Part of the necessity of firms investing in South Africa is to bring the latest technology, management and best possible expertise. For ex-

future. So BNCs with other countries depend on the need."

Mkhondo: "How do you see the future of the US-South Africa BNC?"

Mbeki: "There are many things that are discussed in the context of the BNC. Foreign relations as handled by the Department of Foreign Affairs, trade relations affecting all sorts of things such as movement of goods, investment, protection of investment, encouragement of trade, intellectual property rights, health, co-operation in the fight against

economy of the United States, but that they address real African problems of development, of access to the US markets for our products.

"There is also significant interaction within the BNC's business development committee, which looks at a whole variety of matters, including access of South African products to the US markets. It looks at US investment into South Africa and it looks into the question of the formation of partnerships between the US and the South African people.

"Also, the BNC enables a



Relationship builder ... Deputy President Thabo Mbeki wants lasting ties with the US.

speedy resolution of problems when they emerge.

"It enables disputes to be handled in a non-acrimonious and non-confrontational manner, because both countries understand they need to build a long-lasting relationship of co-operation. Both do not want that co-operation threatened simply because a dispute has arisen around one or two questions when there is agreement

over thousands of issues.

"So I am saying the BNC enables a non-acrimonious and non-confrontational resolution of disputes when they arise. The way the Armscor case was resolved was because we could deal with it across the spectrum, with the involvement of the Justice Department, the US State Department and the intervention of the Vice-President Gore and President Bill Clinton, we resolved that relatively smoothly. Also, the misunderstanding over the purported sale of arms to Syria was also resolved within the BNC framework.

"With the BNC, it is possible to solve almost anything and strengthen our relations with the US on all fronts, including business and trade development for the benefit of our people."

Reaching out to rural SA with satellite technology

By Rich Mkhondo
Washington

Sooner or later, a six-year-old in the far-flung areas of South Africa will be able to surf the Internet as easily as a six-year-old in Sandton.

This is the bold prediction of Mark Headbush, president of Vula Communications. He spoke at an investment conference in Washington this week.

Vula is in partnership with American firm, Mobile Communications Holdings Inc (MCHI).

Headbush said in an interview his organisation would deliver on its promises to construct and operate low-cost satellite-based mobile telecommunications services to the people of sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa. "We are committed to closing the gap between the haves and have-nots in the telecommunication field," Headbush said.

He was among more than 150 businessmen, cabinet ministers, technical experts and government bureaucrats accompanying Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to the fifth summit of the US-South Africa Binational Commission (BNC).

The summit, co-chaired by Mbeki and his US counterpart Al Gore, ended yesterday. Since 1994, the BNC has served as an institutional forum in which both governments guide and educate each other on policies and aspects helpful to their countries' relations, particularly business and private sector development. Through MCHI, Vula is a member of the BNC's business development committee.

"We have made a commitment to the Federal Communications Commission that with the licence we have been granted with our American partners, we are committed to utilise our 100% franchise in Africa to provide telecommunications services to the

said. He believed that, with the acquisition of the licence, Vula (which is backed by black trade unions and civic organisations) would become the premier telecommunications company in Africa.

It will assume a 12% equity interest in Ellipso and will have exclusive rights to distribute Ellipso services in sub-Saharan Africa.

MCHI said once the Ellipso system was operational in the year 2000, it would bring reliable, low-cost telephone services – as low as 12c per minute – to rural people throughout southern Africa and the world.

The Ellipso project will launch a constellation of 17 small satellites into innovative, highly inclined and equatorial elliptical orbits to provide the lowest-cost and most cost-efficient communications network of any of its anticipated competitors.

With most of the financing in place for its $910-million (around R4-billion) Ellipso system, MCHI is progressing toward an expected launch date in 2000 and initial service later that same year. MCHI pioneered the "Big LEO" proceedings at the FCC in November 1990 with its unique low-earth elliptical orbiting satellites that would transmit and receive signals in the 1-Gigahertz frequency band.

MCHI has assembled a formidable team of internationally recognised leaders in the fields of aerospace, telecommunications, information technology and risk management that will design, build, launch, test and operate Ellipso worldwide.

The Ellipso project includes participation of several major multinational companies, including Lockheed Martin Management & Data Systems, Harris Corporation and Israel Aircraft Industries, as well as shareholders Aon Risk Services, Spectrum Network Services of Australia and Vula. – Star For-

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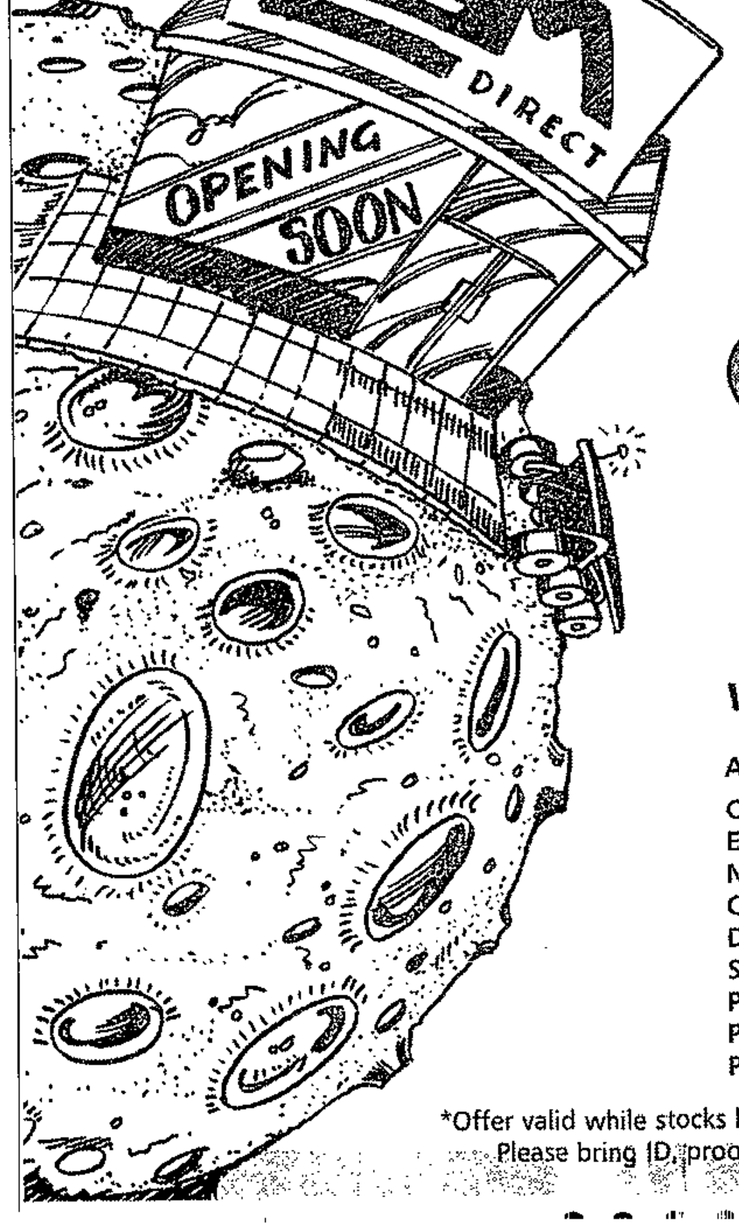

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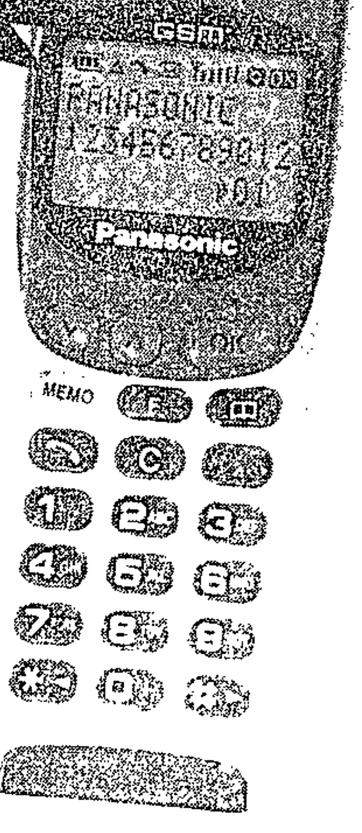

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lawed African National Congress, as ed. – Sapa

Zuma set for No 2 job

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

(304A) (ARG 27/10/97)

Johannesburg – African National Congress national chairman Jacob Zuma looks set to succeed Thabo Mbeki as the organisation's deputy president after his nomination by two key provinces at the weekend.

The nomination of Mr Zuma by Gauteng and the Western Cape follows similar backing from the ANC Youth League and KwaZulu Natal. The Eastern Cape is expected to follow suit soon.

North West and Mpumalanga, which have nominated Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa as their candidate, are expected to announce revised nomination lists soon, with Mr Zuma as their man for the deputy presidency.

As expected, Mr Mbeki was nominated for the presidency of the ANC.

Mr Zuma's only opponent in the race for the deputy presidency is likely to be ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

The 400 delegates at the organisation's Gauteng provincial general council became the first ANC structure to nominate National Council of Provinces chairman Patrick "Terror" Lekota for a position among the top six leaders of the ANC.

The council proposed Mr Lekota as national chairman. Mr Phosa has been nominated for this position by the ANC Youth League.

CAPE TIMES
★ MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1997

APPEAL TO MANDELA

SA can't afford to move Parliament — chamber

CT 27/10/97 (304A)

THE CAPE Chamber of Commerce and Industry strongly supports keeping Parliament in Cape Town, citing long-term consequences if it were to move. **DIANE CASSERE** reports.

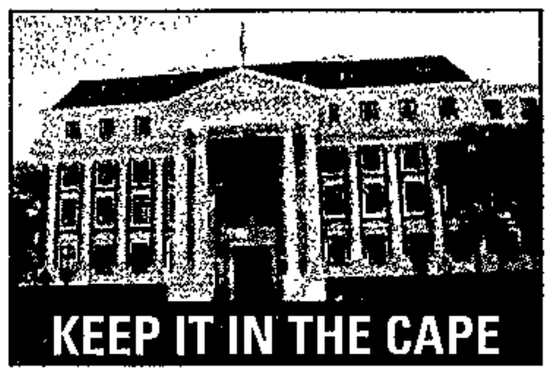
SOUTH AFRICA is politically too new and economically too weak to move Parliament from Cape Town, said the president of the Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr Ali Gierdien.

In a strongly worded statement issued yesterday, Gierdien said the chamber had met the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP) and had given its support to efforts to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

"The matter has also been discussed at the chamber's executive council, which unanimously resolved to write to President Nelson Mandela stating that the chamber and the business community are unequivocally behind the decision of Parliament's Constitutional Assembly to keep Parliament in Cape Town," said Gierdien.

"Accepting that the government of the day, the ANC, enjoys a powerful national support base, it cannot be overlooked that South Africa is a new democracy . . . Parliament is a highly emotive subject that could become extremely divisive.

"South Africa, having achieved what has been termed a political miracle, needs to embrace her new nationhood and not allow any avoidable obstacle like moving Parliament away from Cape Town, to disturb this process."



KEEP IT IN THE CAPE

Gierdien said that economic considerations were just as powerful: "Labouring under a national debt of over R130 billion, which consumes more than 22 cents in every taxed rand collected, government surely cannot afford the hundreds of millions — some argue billions — that it would cost to build a new Parliament elsewhere."

Gierdien said Parliament in Cape Town had been extensively modernised and was tailor-made to meet the needs of legislators.

The inconvenience of travel which largely affected MPs from Gauteng was alleviated through cellphones, faxes, electronic conference links and the Internet.

"If Parliament is moved away from Cape Town, the MPs will soon demand being accommodated in a style they were accustomed to in Cape Town," said Gierdien.

"This will balloon any budget into the billions. Examples in Australia, Brazil and Germany bear testimony to the cost of moving parliament.

"The Constitutional Assembly weighed all the facts and decided to keep Parliament in Cape Town. Unless there is irrefutable evidence to the contrary, this decision should not be changed."

Mr Chris Nissen, ANC MEC for Economic Affairs and the RDP, welcomed the statement from the Chamber of Commerce: "Moving Parliament is not simply a matter of transferring economic benefits from the Western Cape to Gauteng. The nation's entire economy will sustain a net loss.

"In this era of reconciliation Parliament keeps Cape Town linked to the rest of South Africa. The divisiveness brought by the loss of Parliament for the Western Cape and the consequent stimulation of provincial grievances will only serve to undermine the crucial task of national unity and reconciliation.

"If Parliament were to move it would detract from the government's commitment to building a national consensus," said Nissen.

Mr Gerald Morkel, chairman of CAP, said he welcomed the chamber's stand on the issue and its consistent backing of the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament.

He called on the rest of the business community to become more active in their support for keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

NP's Cape leadership re-elected unopposed

(304A)

David Greybe

BD 28/10/97

CAPE TOWN — The leadership of the National Party (NP) in the Western Cape was re-elected unopposed yesterday at the party's provincial congress.

Provincial leader and premier Hernus Kriel was re-elected, as were the three NP vice-chairmen: police services MEC Gerald Morkel, provincial affairs MEC Peter Marais and MP Marietha Badenhorst.

NP provincial spokesman Jan Kruger said the elections "symbolised the trust that party members have in the NP leadership in the Western Cape, especially the great leadership of Kriel".

Kriel announced at the congress that his government would hold a provincial referendum next year on whether SA should reinstate the death penalty.

Meanwhile, NP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said at a public meeting last night the time had come for a new "social contract" based on three premises:

☐ The balancing of minority interests with those of the majority. He said the African National Congress (ANC) government was undermining minorities with its discriminatory way of applying affirmative action;

☐ The need for a growing economy that created jobs. While government's growth, employment and redistribution strategy was a good economic plan, the ANC was not implementing it;

☐ Good governance. Van Schalkwyk said an example of the lack of good governance under the ANC was its soft approach to crime.

Parliament to probe De Lille's conduct

FT CT 28/10/97 (304A)

AN AD HOC committee of Parliament is to investigate the conduct of Pan-Africanist Congress MP Ms Patricia de Lille in making serious allegations without substantiation against members of the House.

The ANC majority in the National Assembly carried the vote in favour of the probe, which the opposition opposed.

Last Wednesday De Lille branded as apartheid spies seven senior African National Congress members.

Among them were three cabinet ministers.

At the time, Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala ordered De Lille to withdraw the word spies, which she did.

Yesterday Ginwala said she had found in the unrevised Hansard two further remarks by De Lille to be unparliamentary.

She ordered De Lille to withdraw "agents who received blood money to betray the genuine struggle of the African people", and "people who betrayed the soul of our nation".

De Lille complied.

All opposition parties opposed the ANC motion calling for the committee to be appointed because De Lille had withdrawn her statement and there was nothing to investigate.

They also contended her remarks were covered by parliamentary privilege, and her right to freedom of speech was being questioned.

However, ANC deputy chief whip Ms Naledi Pandor said De Lille's unsubstantiated allegations seriously undermined the dignity of the House.

"While she has withdrawn aspects of her remarks, these accusations are now in the public domain," she said. "(Its) wide (media) coverage made a mockery of the concept of parliamentary privilege."

The House was not the appropriate place to debate allegations of that nature, Pandor added.

The motion was carried by 175 votes to 81, with three abstentions.

In Edinburgh yesterday, President Nelson Mandela said he did not have evidence that members of his cabinet or other senior ANC leaders had been spies for the apartheid security forces.



ORDERS: Speaker Frene Ginwala sought retractions.



'POLITICKING': Nelson Mandela rejected De Lille's claims.

Speaking at the last day of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting, he accused De Lille of politicking in making the claim, because she was unwilling to repeat it outside Parliament where she was not protected by privilege.

"It's unnecessary for me to respond to that. It is quite clear that it was just politicking from a politician," Mandela said.

De Lille had named in the National Assembly seven senior figures in the ANC out of a list of 12. She had refused to identified the remaining five.

De Lille claimed the list was in the possession of Mandela and of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

De Lille named Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr Penuell Maduna, Public Enterprises Minister Ms Stella Sigcau, Deputy Intelligence Minister Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Deputy Environment Minister Mr Peter Mokaba, Mpumalanga premier Mr Mathews Phosa, and Eastern Cape premier Mr Makhenkesi Stofile, as being on the list.

Mandela, at a briefing for South African journalists in Edinburgh, repeated that the only list of alleged spies he had received contained four names.

The list was provided by two apartheid-era generals, who had warned him that if the ANC went ahead with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, they would disclose the names of ANC spies.

Mandela said he had given a deadline for the list to be provided and was given four names.

Two people on the list had died, and one was a junior officer in the SA National Defence Force.

"The fourth name we had never heard of," Mandela said.

He asked: "If this was the response of the police and military at the highest level, what is the basis for this rumour?"

Mandela also said he was not in possession of any other list.

On claims that he had asked Phosa, one of those named, not to contest the deputy presidency of the ANC, Mandela said: "He himself rejected the view that I asked him to step down." — Sapa

Freedom Front causes chaos in Parliament

BD 29/10/97 (304A)

Jacob Dlamini

CAPE TOWN — The National Assembly was temporarily thrown into disarray yesterday when more than 20 Freedom Front supporters sitting in the public gallery launched into a rowdy rendition of Die Stem and Sarie Marais, disrupting proceedings and forcing Speaker Frene Ginwala to suspend the sitting for about 30 minutes.

The protesters scuffled with police and some deliberately bumped Tourism Minister Pallo Jordan on the steps of parliament as they left the public gallery after having been ejected by Ginwala.

The protesters, members of the Freedom Front youth wing and believed to be university students, had come to Parliament to protest against the Higher Education Bill.

The bill was eventually passed when the sitting resumed later in the day, by 219 to 47 votes.

The bill is intended to transform tertiary education through the establishment of a Council on Higher Education to advise the minister on tertiary education.

It will give the minister a say over the language policies of universities and powers to withhold government funding to those institutions that refuse to comply with measures designed to improve access for black students.

But the protesters claimed the bill attacked the autonomy of universities and undermined the right of Afrikaans-medium institutions to teach in their language of choice.

The protest sparked a furious debate in Parliament, with MPs calling for improved security and accusing the Freedom Front of bringing Parliament into disrepute.

ANC chief whip Max Sisulu called on Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen to publicly condemn his supporters. Democratic Party chief whip Douglas Gibson said the protesters should face criminal action and called on parliament to take appropriate steps to protect its sanctity.

Gibson said the demonstrators had damaged Afrikaans and done their cause no favour.

However, Viljoen failed to condemn his supporters and instead said they had made an important point about Afrikaans, an issue about which they felt very strongly.

Survey provides shock for Government

ARG 29/10/97 (304A)

Durban – South Africans are becoming more dissatisfied with the performance of the Government and are entering a more realistic phase after the euphoria generated by the April 1994 election, according to a new survey issued here.

These are some of the findings of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey on public attitudes to national issues.

One of the researchers who conducted the survey, Vincent Maphai, said South Africans appeared to be moving towards a more realistic attitude to the Government after the euphoria caused by the holding of the first democratic election in 1994.

But Dr Maphai said this trend was unlikely to manifest itself in markedly different voting patterns in the 1999 election. He predicted that ANC support would stabilise at around 55% , with the NP receiving about 12%. He was unable to assess accurately the prospects of the newly formed United Democratic Movement in the longer term.

Parliametary employee 'signed in' protesters

(304A)

Jacob Dlamini BD 30/10/97

CAPE TOWN — Speaker Frene Ginwala announced yesterday that a parliamentary employee assigned to the Freedom Front had been suspended pending an investigation into his role in Tuesday's rowdy demonstration in the public gallery by front supporters.

Ginwala said a preliminary inquiry had revealed that the employee had signed the forms allowing the demonstrators access to the National Assembly.

The assembly was disrupted when students from Free State and Stellenbosch universities protesting against the higher education bill broke into song.

According to Ginwala, one of the protesters was carrying a firearm which was temporarily confiscated by parliament's security staff.

The employee's suspension would come into immediate effect and he would also be barred from parliament's precincts. Ginwala said a thorough investigation into the man's conduct would be instituted and possible disciplinary action taken against him.

Ginwala said the gallery would remain open to the public but Parliament would not allow its members to be intimidated and its proceedings disrupted.

She conceded people in the public gallery had previouslydisrupted proceedings but that this had not occurred while she was in the speaker's chair.

The announcement was rejected by front chief whip Joseph Chiole who accused Ginwala of overreacting. Chiole said the employee, whom he described as a loyal and hardworking front, had been doing his job when he signed the protesters in.

SA citizens held in raids found in deportation centres

BD 30/10/97 (256)

Taryn Lamberti

AN INVESTIGATION by the SA Human Rights Commission has discovered a number of SA citizens being held in the Lindela repatriation centre in Randfontein on the West Rand, waiting to be deported to Mozambique and Swaziland.

The commission's findings had been forwarded to the home affairs department, commission media director John Mojapelo said yesterday.

Freddy Mukanjane Maluleke, from Bushbuckridge in the Northern Province, was in possession of a valid identity document when he was arrested by police in Alexandra and taken to Lindela, Mojapelo said.

He was waiting to be deported to Mozambique even though he claimed he had never been to that country and did not know anyone there.

Lukas Skhosana from Soshanguve near Pretoria said he was arrested in Johannesburg while seeking employment. He is married with three children and is a former employee of the Pretoria city council.

Three SA youths from Nelspruit, Mpumalanga, were also waiting to be deported to Mozambique.

Sapa reports the large majority of those at Lindela were illegal immigrants, according to commissioner Jody Kollapen.

Kollapen said the commission was concerned that there were insufficient mechanisms in place to ensure those who were not illegal were properly safeguarded.

This also raised questions as to the criteria and methods followed by the department and police in arresting alleged illegal immigrants.

Juveniles and adults were held in the same facility and shared the same cells, which was a violation of the constitution which required children to be detained separately from those over 18 years. No soap or towels were provided for detainees, Kollapen said.

The commission was told these could be bought on the premises, but Kollapen maintains the right to accommodation should include the right to physical hygiene and provision of the basic necessities to exercise the right.

A department spokesman could not be reached for comment.

New scheme to save for old-age medical cover

(300) BD 31/10/97

Business Day Reporter

MEDICAL fund administrator Medscheme next week launches its version of how best to save for the rainy day when you — or your former employee — are old and ill.

There is still little comfort for pensioners who fork out anywhere up to 40% of their pension on medical cover and still find themselves running out of cover by midyear.

Medscheme is not alone in trying to deal with how to plan for paying for the health costs of old age, which account for 60% of a lifetime's health bills.

Its plan — an umbrella of four dedicated pension and provident funds through which employers and employees can build up nest eggs for postretirement medical costs — at least means employers and employees save for medical costs during their working lives.

Many employer bodies are backing off, specifying to new employees that while legislation might force them to keep retirees on the company medical aid, the company will not help pay premiums.

A number have bought themselves out of the problem, giving employees a one-off salary increase and changing terms of employment, says Medscheme group financial director Anton Roux.

Medscheme has designed a computer model into which you can feed age, sex and current contributions to work out future medical aid liability.

Break-even is around age 48, says Roux. If you have not put money aside by then, you need to pay double medical aid contributions for the rest of your life.

For tax reasons the prefunding issue is well recognised by parastatals. Eskom set aside R454m this year and the SA Broadcasting Corporation R200m.

Companies with parents listed in London and New York also act because they are required by US and UK accounting practices to show the estimated cost of future care of their pensioners on the balance sheet.

In SA, showing future medical costs as a liability is only a recommended accounting practice, but companies are beginning to take note. Roux says the new product, called Elite, is a savings scheme which meets the Katz commission recommendation that pensioner medical expense liabilities be funded through retirement funds, and is approved by all relevant industry bodies.

D&E Administrators is encouraging employers to prefund pensioners with a lump sum of R150 000 to R250 000 a member, amortised over 10 years. "We're asking them to take the hit now, rather than later, but it's an ugly amount," says senior manager actuarial services Johan Human.

There are no rules on how future pensioners should build up their financial bandages for old age, he says. It depends on the type of scheme and employment policies.

Prefunding does little to help current pensioners, who were around in the 1970s when contributions totalled 2% of gross payroll and fund managers offered members half-price premiums when they reached 65. With hyper inflation in the sector (average contributions shot from R61,45 in 1989, to R430,54 in 1993) and greying members, such generosity now borders on financial suicide.

Most medical aids have phased out the discounts in the past three years, raising pensioner contribution rates by between 12% and 20% a year.

Even if pensioners pay standard contribution rates their costs are three times those of an average active member, says Human.

Most traditional medical aids also have far more than the number of pensioners (5%) which analysts deem to be comfortably sustainable by cross-subsidisation.

Fund managers believe most pensioners are over the hump of huge premium hikes, providing their previous employer does not cease to exist or change the basis on which contributions are calculated.

Row on democracy bill changes

Mbeki law may spark Constitutional Court fight

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT
ARG 31/10/97

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's draft Open Democracy Bill is set for a barrage of criticism, and possibly a Constitutional Court challenge, for scrapping provisions for public access to government meetings.

The latest version of the bill is being closely studied by civil liberties lobby groups worried by the implications of a wide range of important changes to the bill since it last saw the light of day last year.

The draft legislation has also been of deep concern to the multi-million rand advertising and direct marketing industry because of its provisions protecting private individuals from information about them being used without their consent. This could have dire implications for sellers and operators of mailing lists.

The far-reaching changes to the bill are worrying the Freedom of Expression Institute. Institute information officer Raashied Galant said the changes had been made without reasons being given.

Particularly worrying was the omission of a clause in the previous version of the bill which allowed public access to important government meetings and set strict guidelines for closing such meetings.

"Access to government meetings is an important part of participatory democracy," said Mr Galant.

In representations on the bill to Mr Mbeki's office, critics are expected to highlight the fact that the provisions of the bill narrow the constitutional rights of "everyone ... to any information held by the state and any information held by another person and that is required for the exercise or protection of any rights".

Liquidation day for bid company

Cops target club Rambos

ANC to crack down on ministers, MPs

Jacob Dlamini

CAPE TOWN — Government ministers and African National Congress MPs who failed to attend sittings regularly could be dismissed from Parliament, ANC chief whip Max Sisulu said yesterday.

Announcing a series of reforms intended to improve the ANC's performance in Parliament, Sisulu said it would become compulsory for ministers to attend question time. The reforms would compel committees to draw up comprehensive budget plans for overseas trips.

The wide-ranging measures, contained in Sisulu's annual report and unveiled during the ANC's weekly parliamentary caucus meeting yesterday, are aimed at transforming the organisation into a professional outfit by imposing stringent guidelines to control the conduct of its MPs.

MPs will be required to attend all committee meetings and ministers will be barred from scheduling appointments which would prevent them from attending sittings in the National Assembly. Apologies and absence will not be accepted.

Ministers on official overseas trips will be exempted.

In an attempt to impose financial accountability, committees will be asked for detailed annual budgets. Delegations for foreign trips will be limited to eight, and those involved will have to submit a report on their return.

Sisulu said ministers and MPs who defied the guidelines would be subject to disciplinary action ranging from dismissal from committees or Parliament to loss of leave and travel privileges, demotion, fines and censure.

Dissenting MPs could find their career paths blocked or be reported to the president and the deputy president.

The reforms come in the wake of concern by opposition parties over the ministers who failed to attend interpellations. There have also been instances where committees failed to vote on legislation because of poor attendance.

Sisulu said his role would be upgraded to that of political strategist, allowing him to be a link between the executive and the ANC in Parliament.

The ANC will also set up a press office, introduce regular media and political briefings for MPs and devise a simplified procedure for planning debates and scheduling legislation.

BD 31/10/97 (304A)

MAIL & GUARDIAN
October 31 to November 6 1997

Slabbert offered mantle of Afrikaner leader

M+G 31/10-6/11/97 (304A)

Gustav Thiel

A new messiah has emerged in the faltering attempt to launch an umbrella movement to protect the rights of the Afrikaner community: former Progressive Federal Party MP Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

A leading instigator of the initiative, Nasionale Pers non-executive chair Ton Vosloo, said this week that leading Afrikaners "simply do not have the time or energy to devote to the cause and this means that nothing is really happening with our efforts".

But a meeting between Vosloo and Slabbert recently in Cape Town confirmed the fact that the Naspers chair, regarded by many in the Afrikaner establishment as the leading voice of his people since the National Party relinquished power in 1994, sees the former politician, political consultant and businessman, as the saviour of the Afrikaner.

Vosloo said this week that he had talks with Slabbert and that he regards him as one of the more important figures who will ensure the future of the new organisation, which will attempt to co-ordinate the disparate actions of the existing 200 organisations servicing Afrikaans speakers.

In December 1996, Afrikaner leaders gathered at Stellenbosch to discuss the possibility of an umbrella body, provisionally called the Raad van Afrikaners (Council of Afrikaners). At this meeting, Slabbert expressed concern about the formation of the body. "I don't want to damage the initiative, but I have reservations," he said. "Who are Afrikaners? I haven't worked that out yet. We come from different worlds."

At the meeting, a decision was taken to reconvene in June 1997 where a steering committee was formed consisting of Vosloo, University of Cape Town political scientist Herman Giliomee and Sanlam chair Marinus Daling. The committee has the backing of writer Breyten Breytenbach, former ambassador to Denmark Conrad Sidego and banker Christo Wiese.

Vosloo said their efforts have been stalled "for the simple reason that logistically it is very difficult to get all these high-powered businessmen together". He added that people like Daling and Wiese do not regard the activities of Afrikaner cultural organisations as of primary importance. "They believe we should rectify the situation by following sound business principles."

A highly placed source in Nasionale Pers said Vosloo privately believes Slabbert is the only person with enough credibility within the broader South African community who can lead the council. Slabbert was in Senegal this week and did not want to comment on the issue. But the source says he is now positive about the organisation.

Giliomee, who jetted out to Belgium this week to research a model on which the council could be based, said he was aware that Slabbert could play a crucial role in the organisation.

Vosloo is meeting several other role-players in Cape Town. Although he did not want to specify who they were, he added that a report of the meeting would be handed to Slabbert. "In the meantime we can do well to follow the advice of General Jan Smuts when he said, 'Just let things develop'," Vosloo said.



Slabbert: 'Who are the Afrikaners?'

'Mandela has files on spies'

(304A)

MtG 31/10-6/11/97

Bantu Holomisa challenges Nelson Mandela's assertions in Edinburgh this week that he has no list of ANC spies. **Wally Mbhele** *reports*

President Nelson Mandela has on more than one occasion reprimanded executive members of the African National Congress, saying he has their files and knows who among them are spies.

This dramatic allegation was made by Bantu Holomisa this week. He was a member of the ANC's national executive committee at the time he claims Mandela made the remarks.

Holomisa's allegation contradicts Mandela's assertions in Edinburgh this week that he has no list of spies. Mandela said he believes the Pan Africanist Congress's claims that several high-profile ANC officials spied for apartheid is mere politicking.

Adding a new twist to the debate, Holomisa challenged all the ANC officials named in Parliament by PAC MP Patricia de Lille to subject themselves to a lie-detector test if they wanted to prove their innocence.

Among others, De Lille named Minister of Public Enterprises Stella Sigcau, Minister of Minerals and Energy Penuell Maduna, Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs Peter Mokaba, Deputy Minister of Intelligence Services Joe Nhlanhla and Minister of Defence Joe Modise. The ANC has denied De Lille's claims and has challenged her to repeat the allegations outside Parliament.

"I challenge the ANC to deny that Mandela has never told them about his knowledge that some national executive committee members were apartheid agents," said Holomisa.

Entering the fray, Holomisa revealed that an angry Mandela told a stunned executive committee meeting held in Bellville, Cape Town, in January 1996 "they should not forget that he now has access to their files.

"He reminded us that we shouldn't talk too much because he knows some of us were working for the state," Holomisa said. "He could not just have said that. It means Madiba knows."

Holomisa claims Mandela had repeated the statement about having access to the files more than once at the meeting.

He says although he has previously challenged the ANC on Mandela's statements, the party has never denied that Mandela had made the threat. "Now, the onus is on all those who have been accused of spying to clear their names. If Maduna and others want to come clean beyond any reasonable doubt, the onus is on them to subject themselves to a lie-detector test," he said.

Holomisa added that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission could not investigate the spy claims as it had already set a precedent when it refused his request to investigate whether the former Natal Midlands strongman, Sifiso Nkabinde, was a spy.

Nkabinde, who is now facing several charges of murder, was expelled from the ANC on claims that he was a spy. He later joined Holomisa's new political movement.

So far, Nkabinde has been the only leader the ANC has expelled from its ranks on accusations of spying for the previous government.

ANC representative Ronnie Mamoepa denied Holomisa's allegations, saying Mandela "has spoken the last word on the matter. There is nothing for us to add as the president has rested his case in respect of recent allegations against senior ANC members."

Mamoepa has previously challenged the PAC to produce its sources, and has warned the allegations are "libellous".

De Lille's catalogue of alleged spies has caused ripples in political circles since rumours started circulating that Mandela and his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, are in possession of a list of all senior ANC officials who were on the payroll of the previous National Party government.

It also followed a series of sensational rumours "insinuating" that the ANC's rejection of PAC leader Stanley Mogoba as a member of the parliamentary standing committee on intelligence was based on suspicions that the former Methodist cleric was an apartheid spy.

Former Vlakplaas hit-squad operative Joe Mamasela has also previously alleged that he knows of at least five serving Cabinet ministers who were on the payroll of the security police.

Frederick Chiluba: Declared a seven-day state of Emergency in Zambia

His son, Wezi Kaunda, said he expected

'Pay as you go' for ANC MPs

M+G 31/10-6/11/97 (304A)

Marion Edmunds

South Africa's jet-setting MPs may find their frequent flights cancelled if they do not work harder in Parliament.

African National Congress chief whip Max Sisulu is to crack his whip with a new vehemence, after introducing strict disciplinary measures for slack ANC MPs in caucus this week.

Sisulu says they could be fined up to R500 for failing to attend committee meetings, they might lose their leave or travel privileges, or they could be reported to President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, or their provincial leadership.

The latter two penalties are particularly worrisome for MPs or National Council of Provinces delegates, many of whom are campaigning for support for national executive committee positions at the ANC conference, or a place on party lists for the next elections.

The disciplinary measures, contained in Sisulu's first annual report to his caucus, asserts his personal authority as the ANC's political leader and manager in Parliament. The professional tone, urgency and substance of the report contrasts sharply with the laidback manner of the former chief whip, Reverend Makhenkesi Stofile, who left a shambolic Parliament last year to take up the premiership of the Eastern Cape.

Sisulu lays down ground rules for the ANC's attendance and participation in the legislative processes, establishing his office as the party's node centre in Parliament.



Cracking the whip: Max Sisulu is keeping ANC MPs in line. PHOTO: RODGER BOSCH

"Parliament and committees have found themselves in the embarrassing position of being unable to vote on legislation because there have not been enough members in attendance. This is not only inefficient, it also makes a mockery of democracy," says his report.

Parliament currently abounds with examples of committees that lack quorums and cannot proceed, or that cancel meetings at the last minute because parliamentarians have conflicting commitments.

Sisulu says ANC parliamentarians will be confined to two committees each to make it possible for them to concentrate on their portfolios. Each committee will have a whip to maintain quorums. National Assembly debates will be shortened, and timetables co-ordinated a year in advance.

"We are now much better prepared before we walk into the debating chamber and we are much more effective as a result," he says in his report.

If successful, these measures — many of which he is already starting to implement — will have a major impact on Parliament, which hosts up to 15 committee meetings a day and is swamped by 37 Bills to pass before the end of the session in November.

Sisulu is assisted in his drive to transform the ANC's parliamentary performance by two consultants from the British Labour Party, who have been working with him for almost a year. Their salaries are paid by the Westminster Foundation; their brief is to help build multi-party democracy.

Sisulu said he cannot share the men, Mike Elrick and Steve Hardwick, with opposition parties.

"We are prepared to work with other political parties but right now we do not have the capacity to do without them. We need them," he says.

Chiluba acts after failed Zambian coup

M+G 31/10-6/11/97(360)



Frederick Chiluba: Declared a seven-day State of Emergency in Zambia

Anthony Kunda

Zambian opposition parties knew hours after this week's failed coup that President Frederick Chiluba would use it as an excuse to declare a State of Emergency.

They also feared their leaders would be arrested when Chiluba said on Tuesday this week: "We will announce measures to ensure that our security forces go about their work without much hindrance. The law will take its course."

Some of their fears were borne out on Wednesday when Chiluba declared a seven-day State of Emergency. The Zambian Cabinet gave security forces sweeping arrest and search powers. The decision will be reviewed in Parliament next week.

One rebel soldier died when Zambian troops flushed them out of the state radio station on Tuesday and 22 have been arrested.

The attempted coup was condemned by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, but he added: "We don't recognise [Chiluba's] government."

His son, Wezi Kaunda, said he expected Chiluba's government to declare a State of Emergency and arrest opposition leaders as scapegoats. "We know from information available to us that I am on the list of the people to be arrested, and Dr Kaunda as well."

However, Kaunda had imposed a State of Emergency throughout his 27-year rule, and one of Chiluba's first decisions as president was to remove the government's sweeping powers to search and detain without trial

Opposition parties have stressed the need for dialogue following the failed coup, saying there was discontent in Zambia that needed to be addressed.

Chiluba emerged from the coup attempt stronger and more confident than after last year's election, with the political, religious, civic, business and human-rights fraternities condemning the attempt to unseat him.

Although he profusely thanked the army, police and air force for crushing the short-lived coup, Chiluba — who is unabashedly a born-again Christian — said the country was rescued from the manacles of military rule by Jesus Christ himself.

"The Lord is keeping His hand over our nation," he declared with pentecostal fervour. "The Lord Jesus is in full control; be not afraid. There shall be no power greater than that of our Lord Jesus for He who is inside us is greater than those against us."

Opposition political parties have also condemned the failed coup. Zambia Democratic Congress vice-president Andrew Banda said a coup "would not have been the best way of resolving our political differences".

Other opposition leaders, while condemning the attempt, said it was a lesson to Chiluba's government to be more accommodating of dissenting views.

Dr Ludwig Sondashi, an opposition MP for the National Party, said: "This calls for all political players to be level-headed so that we can have dialogue for all. No one wants coups. Unless this is done, it is unlikely that in this country things like this will stop."

Aka Lewanika, president of Agenda for Zambia, said: "These things will continue until there is a new Constitution agreed by all the stakeholders."

Government media set-up

6r (267) (304A) ARG 1/11/97

Communications task team proposals are well on track

Hidden from the public eye, transformation has been speeded up within government communication departments.

Most of its media departments are being streamlined to bring it in line with recommendations by the task team on communications (Comtask).

Commissioned last year by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to investigate the role of the media and its relationship with government, Comtask released a heavyweight report outlining its members' impressions and recommendations - some of which are finally being implemented.

Susan De Villiers, a member of the committee set up to implement Comtask recommendations, said this week the implementation phase was well on track.

Advertisements will be issued this weekend to highlight several high-powered positions available within state media departments.

In line with Comtask proposals, government is becoming leaner and is setting up a central communications department – Government Communication and Information System(GCIS).

"This system is in a move to get government to take communciations

JACQUIE GOLDING-DUFFY



NATIONAL MEDIA EDITOR

seriously and several top jobs are being advertised," says De Villiers, adding that a six-week period will be allowed for response to the advertisements.

Also, the GCIS, she says, simply puts the responsiblity for informing the public squarely where it belongs - with the people who must account for what they do on a daily basis and who, among others, have an obligation to explain the policies and programmes they introduce.

The posts due to be advertised include:

• A chief executive officer who will be the head of government communications.

• A deputy who will be responsible for the communications service agency which will be a scaled down version of the South African Communication Service (Sacs).

• Head of media liaison, who will be largely responsible for the co-ordination of information and facilitate the flowing of media material for reporters, ensuring a more evenness of information from both ministries and departments.

• Provincial and local media liaison, who will be responsible for the flow of information from national to provincial to local level and back again.

• A media officer, who will be a member of the GCIS and who will be responsible for research and strategy, reporting directly to the chief executive.

Based in the deputy president's office with direct reports to Minister Essop Pahad, it is hoped that the new structure will be up and running by the new year. The GCIS will focus on the co-ordination of messages and information from government.

While ministries will retain their own media components, regular meetings will be held in an attempt to eliminate duplications now commonplace in government.

De Villiers says Sacs staff have been told that they may apply for positions in the new structure: "It's not a matter of Sacs closing. Government is interested in transformation rather than shutting down structures.

streamlined

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Tensions tarnish SA-Ke

ARG 1/11/97

Dar es Salaam – Despite official denials, relations between Kenya and South Africa are less than amiable and could be headed for open hostility, according to worried diplomats in Kenya's capital, Nairobi.

"Tensions have been building up for years," said Dr Moustafa Hassouna, a lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Relations at the University of Nairobi.

"It's a miracle there has not been a verbal war."

But both Kenyan foreign affairs officials and Grifiths Memela, the South African High Commissioner in Nairobi, said bilateral ties were excellent.

Speculation that relations between the two African giants may have hit rock bottom was fuelled by an incident on October 19 when President Nelson Mandela – on his way to Egypt – failed to disembark at Nairobi airport during a 45-minute refuelling stop.

Since then, commentators have suggested that all may not be well between two of Africa's most advanced nations.

Kenyan foreign minister Stephen Musyoka was at the airport, a red carpet rolled out and the necessary security precautions taken.

An official travelling with Mr Mandela disembarked long enough to tell embarrassed Kenyan officials on the runway that the president was asleep.

'Kenya considered the ANC a nuisance and independence demands far-fetched'

The incident was quickly dismissed by officials as of little significance, but nonetheless added to a growing list of incidents in recent years that point to strained relations between the two countries.

Last year, Mr Mandela disembarked from his plane in Nairobi on a brief stopover to Kuwait and found no Kenyan official to welcome him.

Informed sources in Nairobi said that Pretoria was incensed by that incident, even though a Kenyan cabinet minister who arrived well after Mr Mandela had made his way to the VIP pavilion apologised.

But tensions reportedly peaked when Mr Mandela stepped in to directly mediate in the Zairean conflict following Kenyan president, Daniel arap Moi's failed attempt to reconcile the late president Mobutu Sese Seko and the then rebel leader, Laurent Kabila.

To the chagrin of the Kenyan leader, Mr Mandela held negotiations

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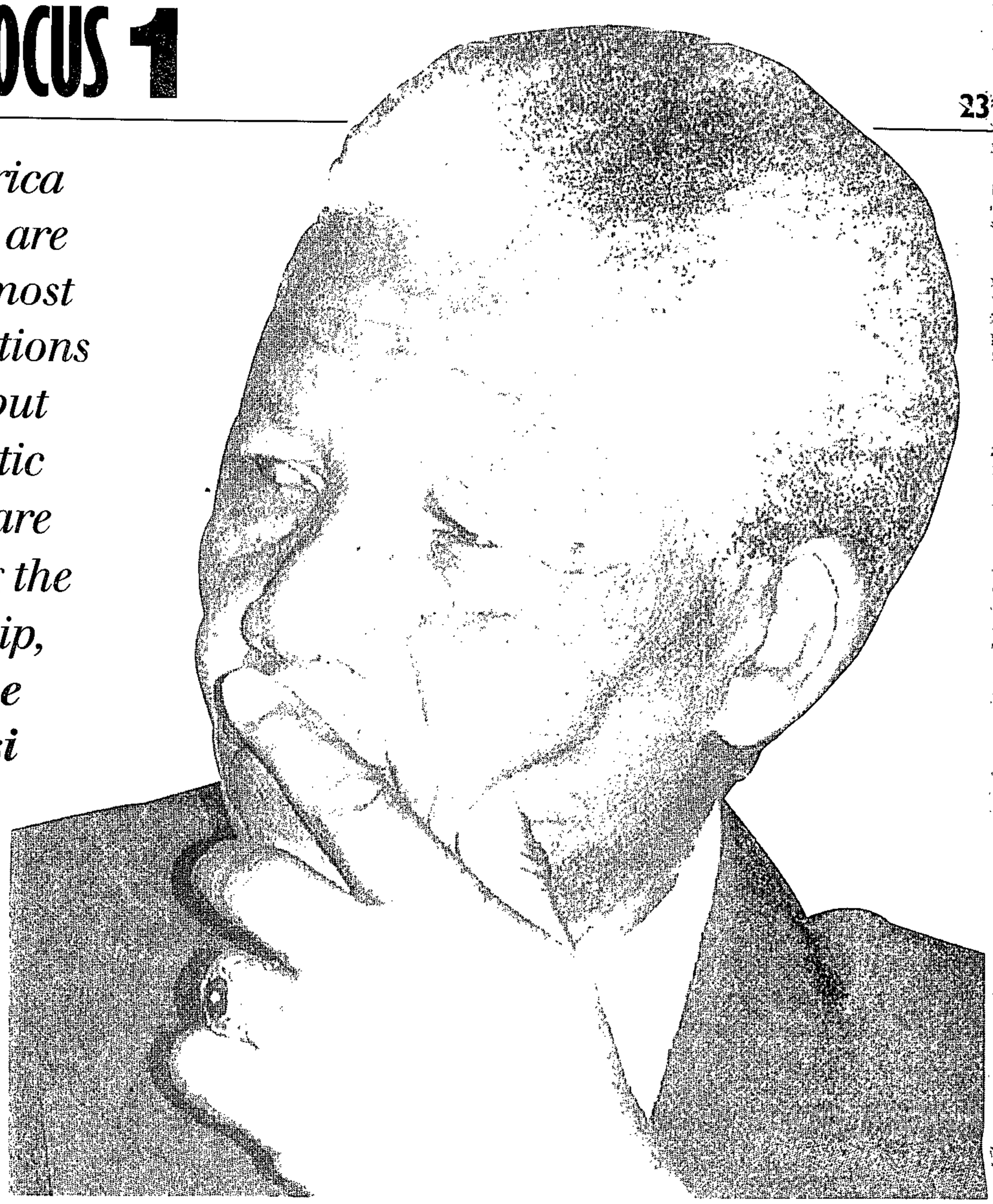

ya veneer of friendship

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It runs strongly in favour of Pretoria. Kenya has publicly – and often – complained about South Africa's protectionist trade policies.

Unable to penetrate the South African market, Kenya is now pressing for urgent talks to correct the situation.

Political observers said the problems between Kenya and present South African leaders had its roots during the war for liberation.

One analyst said Kenya was less than enthusiastic about the African National Congress's armed struggle. "Kenya concluded that apartheid was insurmountable.

"It, therefore, considered the ANC a nuisance and its demands for independence far-fetched."

'The tensions are bound to continue to the detriment of the entire continent'

While most African countries enforced a United Nations embargo, the analyst said, Kenya was trading secretly with the apartheid regime.

In 1993, when Mr Moi stopped over in Pretoria on his way to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, he infuriated the ANC leadership by choosing to meet with FW de Klerk ahead of a scheduled meeting with Mr Mandela.

Angered, Mr Mandela cancelled the meeting.

Since becoming president, it has not escaped the attention of observers and diplomats years later that Mr Mandela has shown little interest in making a state visit to Kenya.

Mr Mandela's first visit to Kenya was in 1990, but was mired in controversy.

He had annoyed Mr Moi when he met with his detractors and called for an end to one-party rule.

The only time Mr Mandela stepped on Kenyan soil after becoming president was when he briefly attended the meeting in Nairobi earlier this year on the situation in Zaire. He spent only a few hours in the Kenyan capital and left before the meeting ended.

"It is a situation pitting two elder statesmen, one with tremendous stature and international recognition and respect and the other struggling with immense domestic problems and dwindling stature in regional diplomacy.

"Unless things are made to look proper at the earliest possible time, tensions are bound to continue to the detriment of the entire continent," said Dr Hassouna. – Independent Foreign Service

ANC takes R1,6m aid meant for all parties

Outrage as British spin doctors plan media strategy

ST 2/11/97 (304A)

CRAIG DOONAN

A BRITISH project worth R1,6-million aimed at training SA parliamentary researchers and assisting MPs is under fire because it has focused exclusively on the ANC.

The project — funded by the British Parliament and British business — has been operating for over a year. Its base is in the parliamentary office of Max Sisulu, the ANC's chief whip, where two British spin doctors are directing ANC media strategy.

This week, the Democratic Party cried foul, claiming the project was supposed to promote South Africa's multi-party democracy by assisting all political groupings.

Britain's Conservative Party, which became aware this week that the project officers were serving only the ANC, demanded an explanation.

In terms of the project proposal, Westminster researchers were to be seconded to the SA National Assembly to "assist in the development of political research skills and the training of research assistants over a period of three years, from May 1996".

The project followed talks between Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, former ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and SA's High Commissioner in London, Mendi Msimang.

In the project proposal it is stated that "four experienced UK researchers with an interest in South Africa should work in the Assembly on two-year contracts, starting at six monthly intervals from May 1996".

"They will provide general assistance to parliamentarians, including drafting appropriate parliamentary questions, speech writing, policy development, media liaison, report writing, developing contacts and developing the political and parliamentary capacity of MPs."

The project's budget is $200 000 (about R1,6-million), funded by the British government, British Aerospace, British Telecom and Powergen.

Despite the project's aims, its officers, Mike Elrick and Steve Hardwick, both former advisers to British politicians, have set up operations in Sisulu's office.

They have been churning out slick, new-look ANC press releases and are believed to have been involved in drafting Sisulu's hard-hitting annual report, *Transformation and Communication*, to the party's caucus this week.

Elrick refused to comment when contacted this week.

Asked to comment, Sisulu said: "It wasn't my understanding that it was a multi-party project when I inherited it. But, I can't comment because I'll have to consult with the gentlemen concerned, my predecessor Arnold Stofile and Mendi Msimang."

Richard Normington, head of the international office of Britain's Conservative Party, said that the project was approved as a multi-party one and not as a party political initiative.

He said he believed the board of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, one of its main sponsors, was not aware that the project was benefiting only one party.

"That is not the basis on which it was originally approved. The project was clearly cross-party in nature. If this is the case it would go against the principles on which the project was approved by the board, which represents all the major political parties. If this is the case, it's a matter of concern and we will take an interest in it to ensure it is put right," he said.

James Selfe of the DP said: "It's completely unacceptable that money aimed at developing Parliament's capacity as a whole should be focused exclusively on the ANC. We are taking this matter up with the Liberal Democrats in Britain, the Westminster Foundation and the British Parliament. We question whether the ANC knew whether they were benefiting from something everyone should have been benefiting from for all this time."

Daryl Swanepoel, the National Party's media director, said his party had already started looking into the issue.

"If it is true, this is another manifestation of corruption under the ANC government. It is clearly in breach of the contract prescribed by the international donor organisations. It comes down to nothing else than unethical behaviour."

Koos van der Merwe, chief whip of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said the revelations were "scandalous".

"I think it's a scandal both for the ANC and its chief whip. I think the UK Parliament owes other parties in South Africa an explanation and an apology.

"We demand a fair share of these services."

The Pan Africanist Congress's Michael Muendane said: "It's absolutely appalling. We are going to take this up in Parliament this week."



HOUSE OF LAWS: A policeman on duty outside Parliament, where security has been found wanting Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

WEATHER AND TIDES

GAUTENG: Partly cloudy and warm with a few thunder showers

F'SATIE
Closing date for F'SATIE applications is 28 November 1997
Contact: Celeste Hafele tel (012) 318

Government gets the thumbs-down

Survey reveals dissatisfaction

ST(CM) 2/11/97 (304A)

AYESHA ISMAIL

DISSATISFACTION with the government's performance is increasing, according to a survey released this week.

The survey by the Human Science Research Council also revealed a great deal of concern with the manner in which the government was dealing with crime.

Of the nine regions, Western Cape and Gauteng residents expressed greatest concern with the level of crime. However, they still looked to the authorities to combat crime, despite their feeling that government efforts were clearly ineffective.

Apart from the Western Cape, most people did not want organisations like Pagad involved in enforcing order.

The main concerns of most South Africans, however, are unemployment and economic hardship.

The number of people satsified with the way South Africa is being governed has dropped from a majority of 64 percent in October 1994 to a minority of 43 percent in February this year.

Only in the Western Cape has there been a slight increase in satisfaction with the government's performance — from 34 to 36 percent measured over a year ending in February.

Support for political parties between February 1996 and June 1997 indicated a consolidation at about 53 percent support for the ANC and 13 percent for the National Party.

The ANC is in the lead in seven provinces, with the smallest margin (15 percent) in the Northern Cape. In KwaZulu-Natal the IFP has a slight lead of 29 percent compared with the ANC's 26 percent. The NP is strongest in the Westen Cape. Greatest support for the DP is in the Western Cape with seven percent. Bantu Holomisa's biggest following is in the Eastern Cape at five percent and Roelf Meyer's in the Western Cape at three percent.

The report found that only in four regions were most people generally happy with the performance of their provincial governments. In the North-West, 60 percent were satisfied with their provincial government. Figures for Western Cape were 58 percent, Northern Cape 53 percent and KwaZulu-Natal 52 percent.

The provincial premiers were also viewed critically by those surveyed. Respondents in the North-West expressed the most satisfaction with their premier (47 percent) while the least satisfied were those in the Eastern Cape (24 percent). Western Cape premier Hernus Kriel was backed by 38 percent of respondents in his province.

Clearing the cobwebs for a better Parliament

CP 2/11/97

(304A)

ANC Chief Whip, MAX SISULU, has pledged to create a more effective parliament. His key reforms include new guidelines to increase the accountability of committees for the money they spend as well as new disciplinary measures to improve the parliamentary attendance of MPs.

When I was appointed Chief Whip of the National Assembly in February this year, I pledged that the drive for transformation in our nation's Parliament and the need for better communications with the media and the public would be my twin goals.

Nine months on, I believe the ANC in parliament has made real progress in both areas and we have begun the long process of sweeping away the cobwebs of the old apartheid Parliament.

As Chief Whip, I have the ultimate political responsibility for the activities of the ANC in Parliament.

It is my job to deliver the legislative programme of our government, according to the timetable set down by the Leader of Government Business and I am responsible for the day to day management of the legislative and political work of the ANC in the National Assembly.

It very quickly became clear when I was appointed that change was needed - the post had become bogged down in administration and smothered by mountains of paperwork, which left no time to deal with the crucial job of political management.

As the majority party, it is the responsibility of the ANC to lead the way forward in terms of professionalism and effectiveness. And that is the lead we have given.

One of my first acts was to refocus the role of the Chief Whip and the focus of my office, to make us the political hub of the ANC's work in Parliament.

I also identified other key areas of reform which would not only contribute to changing the ANC in parliament for the better, but would also mean real change for Parliament as an institution.

Last Thursday, I unveiled those reforms which, put simply, will revolutionise the ANC's work in Parliament, improving the party's effectiveness, improving political management in Parliament and strengthening public accountability.

We will now be taking initiatives to inform ANC MP's on policy media and political business; we will sharpen the political role of party whips and establish a professional party press operation to revolutionise the ANC's approach to the media in Parliament and across the country.

But as trustees of millions of rands of public money, we also have a responsibility to taxpayers to ensure that their money is spent wisely.

Democracy does not come cheaply but on the other hand, the nation's finances should not be squandered unnecessarily.

Part of the motivation for these reforms is to ensure the public get value for money from elected representatives.

That is why we will introduce new guidelines to increase the accountability of commitees for the money they spend.

Existing procedures for spending by committees are cumbersome and inadequate. Our new procedures will mean that the public and the press will be able to see exactly where taxpayers money is being spent by committees.

Every committee will be required to draw up an annual budget which will set out each item of expenditure. So whether it is for a meal, a buffet, refreshments, a newspaper ad, a public hearing or transport, they will be required to give a full breakdown of costs.

At the end of every financial year, committees will be expected to submit detailed financial reports and accounts to Parliament's Business Committee for scrutiny: these will be made public.

The costs of overseas trips in particular will be closely scrutinised. The size of delegations on overseas study tours will be limited to as few members as possible. Sponsorship will be sought and a full report back will be expected and tabled in committee.

A full motivation will have to be prepared to justify the expenditure and a full breakdown of costs provided.

But this new approach approved by 252 members of the ANC parliamentary caucus does not end there.

We are also imposing strict disciplinary measures to improve the parliamentary attendance of MPs.

In the past, Parliament and committees found themselves in the embarrassing position of being unable to vote on legislation because there were not been enough members in attendance. That is unacceptable.

I have therefore introduced for the first time, a set of clear rules on attendance and absence for ANC MPs and strict disciplinary measures for those who flout the rules.

As the Chief Whip I have full authority to hold ANC MPs to account for their actions in parliament and to maintain party discipline. I aim to hold my comrades to that.

An MP committee member is now expected to attend all sittings of that committee. Absence from committees will only be allowed with permission. From now on, ANC MPs will no longer be allowed to simply fail to turn up, nor can they send their apologies. Absence from the National Assembly chamber itself will only be granted if an individual MP has sought specific permission to be absent.

The penalties for failing to observe these new rules will be tough as they should be.

They will range from having to report to me for the absence, to loss of leave and travel privileges, to fines, and in the final resort dismissals from committees and even from Parliament.

We are introducing simple and fair procedures for planning and scheduling legislation and debates.

That means politicians of all parties will be able to use parliamentary time more effectively.

Since 1994, no party has been able to plan effectively for the coming week. Programmes for debates have been haphazard and unreliable and have changed daily. We have on occasion found that we are sitting for just an hour or two on some days, while on others, we have sat well into the evening.

The result has been wasted time that could have been used to deliver vital pieces of legislation.

The new system which I announced on Thursday will enable all parties to plan their time properly around Parliament.

Committee chairs who are sending legislation to the National Assembly are now expected to propose to whips the maximum length of a debate. Once the length of debate is agreed by whips of all parties, the time allocation is read off a table automatically.

As a result, the length of debates and the schedules for debates can be finalised in the week before a debate takes place.

Overall, we are creating a new strategic and professional approach to Parliament which will sharpen the performance of the ANC in Parliament and make the institution of Parliament work better too.

We are working hard to transform the Parliament of the Apartheid years into one which institutes effective working practice and uses its powers to scrutinise the work of government and public bodies effectively.

The reforms I have mentioned and others are an attempt to address that need.

Of course the system is not perfect. We are a young democracy. We have much to learn. And the learning curve is a steep one. But we have come a long way in parliamentary terms and one should not forget that.

Approaching a new millenium, the new South Africa needs a Parliament, not stuck in the past, but one which can rise to the political challenges of the present and the future.

The ANC has now opened the doors and windows and it's time to let the sun shine in.

8000 jobs at risk if Parliament moves

'R3-billion will be lost'

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town will lose 8 000 jobs and R3-billion if Parliament moves.

Philip Black, a professor at the University of Cape Town's School of Economics, said medium to long-term income of more than R3 billion would be lost to Cape Town.

Professor Black, who led a study into the impact of moving Parliament to Midrand, said a "whole new complex" would have to be built, which would bring the Gauteng city more than R500-million in investment.

"Once Parliament is up and running in Midrand, then that annual injection of money will come to Midrand and be lost to Cape Town," he said. This impact on Cape Town would be felt not only by the staff of Parliament, but also by suppliers in sectors ranging from food and beverages to office supplies.

Asked whether there were steps Cape Town could take to compensate for the huge loss of jobs and money, Professor Black said this had not been part of his brief.

Possibly the provincial government could take over part of the complex, and perhaps some could be converted to office space.

He said it made sense to move Parliament to Gauteng or Midrand. If Parliament was moved to Midrand, the Government could build a rapid-rail system to link it to its offices.

"The Midrand development complex is perhaps more suited to putting in place a very prestigious Parliamentary complex, more so than is the case in Pretoria."

Kallie Hanekom, executive director of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament, said taxpayers would be horrified by the catastrophic impact on jobs.

"The pointless exercise of building a palatial new complex in Gauteng would mean only that our already lopsided national economy would tilt even further," he said. The alleged and unproven savings of concentrating all power and economic benefits in Gauteng would be offset by the damage to economic equity and national unity, Mr Hanekom said.



IDENTIFICATION BILL APPROVED: Mangosuthu Buthelezi

New 'secure' ID cards approved

(23B) (304A) CT 5/11/97

CLIVE SAWYER
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

HOME Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will soon be able to order millions of South Africans to apply for new machine-readable identity cards.

The National Assembly yesterday unanimously approved the Identification Bill, which will bring to an end the confusing array of identity documents inherited from the previous dispensation and homelands authorities.

The bill provides for every South African and permanent resident to have an ID number and card, featuring the holder's photograph and thumbprint.

Buthelezi said the new cards would have sufficient security features to protect them from abuse.

The new system will not be used to detect criminals. The police will keep a separate data base.

The bill provides measures to protect the integrity of the population register and will empower the minister to allow restricted access to the population register by insurance companies, banks and other organisations.

Provision has been made to protect the privacy of particulars of people in the population register.

The Democratic Party, while supporting the bill, had misgivings about some aspects.

Ms Dene Smuts said that while her party supported a new population register and the new ID cards and did not oppose fingerprinting, it opposed clauses in the bill which could lead to social control.

These were ministerial discretion to add details to the population register or ID cards, and the power to deploy police or others to demand the production of an ID from anyone who appears to be 16 or older.

"The clause reads like something from the Illegal Aliens Control Act although it carries no punishment," Smuts said.

CAPE TIMES
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1997 ★

ANC 'GRABBED THE WHOLE CAKE'

'Methods were unorthodox'

CT 5/11/97 (304A)

IF THE MONEY was intended for historically disadvantaged parties, why didn't the PAC and Inkatha get some of it? **DONWALD PRESSLY,** Parliamentary Bureau.

A ROWDY debate about British funding for parliamentary researchers used by the ANC ended last night when the Speaker, Dr Frene Ginwala, acknowledged that the methods of the London-based Westminster Foundation were "unorthodox".

Earlier Ginwala told SAfm that the way the funding — which opposition parties say was meant for all the parties in Parliament — had found its way to the ANC was "very odd".

Although the ANC had not received a penny from the British donors, the foundation had paid for two former Labour Party officials assigned to beef up the ANC's media relations and administration.

The opposition argued that the funds were meant for promoting multiparty democracy.

In the snap debate, Ginwala said the foundation's desire to promote democracy should be encouraged. It had said staff would also be assigned to other parties.

Earlier ANC chief whip Mr Max Sisulu accused the DP — which called for the debate — of using the issue for "cheap, party political purposes".

The DP "hates to see us succeed, and it hates to admit that we, the ANC, can run Parliament", he said.

The Westminster Foundation had sent the first two officials paid for under the democracy building project to the ANC because it needed the administrative assistance as a new party in the post-apartheid Parliament.

Sisulu said the DP was "whinging because it regards itself as the sole proprietor of parliamentary skills crafted through decades of privilege in apartheid parliaments".

DP chief whip Mr Douglas Gibson said Parliament as a whole should have been consulted about the funding, as the funds were meant to fund Parliament.

"Such funding needs to be transparent and totally open, and it must be routed through the Speaker and the whips (of all political parties)," he said.

A British Conservative Party spokesperson, Mr Richard Normington, said the backbench all-party committee that oversaw funds to Southern Africa had clearly not been fully informed of the foundation's decision to send Mr Mike Elrick and Mr Steve Hardwick to the ANC.

It is understood the decision to send only the Labour Party officials to South Africa was made by the Westminister Foundation, SA high commissioner in London Mr Mendi Msimang and Labour Party MP Mr Richard Caborn who was also a member of the all-party committee.

Normington, who heads the Tories' international office, agreed that the problem could be corrected if future officials were assigned to other parties in Parliament.

PAC MP Ms Patricia de Lille said she wanted to know whether those who had contributed to the fund — believed to amount to R1,6 million — had received any benefits in return, saying: "There is no such thing as a free pound."

She asked why the PAC and Inkatha Freedom Party had not received any funding if the ANC was justifying its position by claiming to need this support as a historically-disadvantaged party.

Inkatha Freedom Party chief whip Mr Koos van der Merwe said the ANC had grabbed "the whole of the cake" for itself.

'Stand and declare outside interests or face exposure'

ET 7/11/97

(3044)

CHRIS BATEMAN
POLITICAL WRITER

A SCURRY began in Parliament yesterday as MPs and delegates to the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) rushed to fill in forms declaring their outside interests — for fear of being "exposed" in the next session if they failed to do so.

Chairperson of the ad hoc committee on members' interests, Mr Kader Asmal confirmed that "we'll print the names of those who don't fill in returns at the first sitting of next year".

Provinces would soon be asked to follow the same procedure.

He conceded that he'd only filled in his form at 5pm on Wednesday, saying that "it's not only the law of inertia, it's the pressure cooker of work".

First released for publication in March this year, the interests register is designed to prevent MPs and NCOP delegates from abusing their positions and to avoid a conflict of private and public interests.

They are asked to openly declare "in good faith" consultancies and benefits, sponsorships from non-party sources, gifts and hospitality and travel at taxpayers' or outsiders' expense and non-residential land and property.

ANC MP Mr Willie Hofmeyr confessed: "Oh God, I must still do mine," echoing the sentiments of many better-off, and probably far more worried, colleagues.

A confidential part of the register, open to scrutiny by members of the ad hoc committee, asks them to list shares and other financial interests, paid employment outside Parliament, directorships, partnerships and pensions.

'We'll print the names of those who don't fill in returns at the first sitting next year.' — Asmal

Asmal revealed yesterday that legislation formalising "The List" could be in place by April next year — and that public servants, staff on parastatals and perhaps even provinces could be included.

While the current system is being applied under the Rules of Parliament, which excludes the provinces, Asmal said he hoped to convince provinces to "come aboard" at a conference of legislative speakers early in the new year.

"It must be voluntary and acceptable to all parties. We've done wonders in getting up to speed in a mere eight months. All 490 MPs filled it in the first time and now it's up to you journalists and the public to check up on us."

He said the ensuing publicity on what ministers owned had raised public awareness of the role of MPs and "how little wealth they actually have".

Asmal said there had only been one anonymous complaint this year about an MP, adding that his committee was "not there to act as a policeman".

However, if it appeared a probe was necessary, it would be conducted, he said.

Those who contravene the voluntary code could face a reprimand, a fine, a reduction of salary or allowances, suspension of parliamentary privileges or even the right to take their seat in Parliament — provided any fine or reduction of salary does not exceed the value of a month's salary. No suspension from Parliament may exceed 15 days at a time.

Transkei haunts Stella

(304A) M+G 7-13/11/97

Stella Sigcau faces damning allegations about her activities in the former homeland during the final years of apartheid. **Wally Mbhele** *and* **Craig Bishop** *report*

The ghost of the former Transkei came back to haunt Stella Sigcau this week as she faced fresh attacks concerning her activities under the previous government.

Minister of Public Enterprises, Sigcau has been fingered as a key player in the failed coup launched in 1990 by the apartheid government against the former homeland's military ruler, Bantu Holomisa.

Her role in the alleged financial irregularities of George Matanzima's Transkei government is also to be investigated by the crack corruption unit headed by Judge Willem Heath.

Sigcau failed to comment before the *Mail & Guardian* went to press. However, the attacks come at a dangerous time for Sigcau. Questions have already been raised about her ministry's performance, and whether it is actually needed.

She remains the only African National Congress Cabinet minister associated with the politics of the former homelands to have survived marginalisation by the ANC.

Sigcau was also one of several ANC ministers named by Pan Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille late last month as an alleged apartheid spy.

Holomisa told the *M&G* this week that Sigcau personally approached the then foreign affairs minister Pik Botha in 1989 to request help from the army in unseating Holomisa.

Holomisa had deposed Sigcau, his predecessor, two years earlier, and ousted Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party government.

The South Africa government initiated a failed coup in 1990, planned by military intelligence and the police hit squad based at Vlakplaas. "Stella's manoeuvres culminated in Pretoria taking a decision to support military training and the supplying of weapons to topple us," Holomisa claims.

Holomisa says Sigcau accompanied Matanzima and his brother KD Matanzima on the trip to Pretoria. "Stella took along some chiefs and former Cabinet ministers of hers to see Pik Botha and others in Pretoria."

Some of Matanzima's cohorts were arrested when they returned to Transkei, but Sigcau had remained in Pretoria and turned to Botha for help.

"Pik personally phoned me to say he understands that people who went to see him have been arrested," Holomisa says. "I said to him that our investigation shows that the meeting was discussing the question of military assistance. Pik confirmed it. He said: 'Yes general, but we advised them to go and talk to you.' Pik would have this information in his files."

Holomisa told of how Botha pleaded with him not to detain Stella because she was afraid of going back to Umtata. However, according to Holomisa, all the detainees were released after 24 hours when the subject of the meeting had been confirmed.

Botha this week dismissed Holomisa's allegations. "Stella was a very effective and efficient prime minister. She was very much against apartheid. I think she was doing a nice job."

Botha said the only time he met Sigcau was when she was still a prime minister. "She complained about how the Matanzimas had messed things up."

Holomisa says the South African government did not immediately respond to Sigcau's delegation. Pretoria's patience snapped when Holomisa refused to hand back power to civilian rule following a meeting he had with the then president FW de Klerk and Botha in Umtata in January 1990.

"De Klerk was not pleased that we wanted to have the referendum to test the feelings of the people about whether they still wanted to remain an independent state. I said he must go and jump into the lake," Holomisa claims.

The abortive coup followed in November 1990. Vlakplaas supplied arms for the coup, which was led by former Transkei head of military intelligence Craig Duli, who was killed. Holomisa has asked the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate who was behind the coup.

Holomisa, now joint leader of the United Democratic Movement, has been involved in a running battle with the ANC ever since he was kicked out of the party in 1996.

His sacking followed the allegations before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, subsequently proven true, that Sigcau had accepted R50 000 from George Matanzima — part of the R2-million bribe gambling magnate Sol Kerzner paid Matanzima to secure gambling rights in the homeland.

The payment, which Sigcau has since confirmed, is one of several areas Heath's special investigation unit is likely to target as it focuses its attention on Sigcau.

Heath, who is also investigating alleged financial irregularities by Holomisa, says there is "definite scope" to investigate Sigcau.

He has so far held fire only because of the mountain of work currently facing his cash-strapped team.

Heath declines to be drawn on the allegations against Sigcau which he is targeting, but adds that a string of high-profile politicians are "in for a few surprises" over the next few months.

Sigcau has also managed to upset many of her ministry and department officials, with several complaining about the role she plays in recruiting external advisers and other appointments within the department and in the parastatals that her ministry oversees.



Under investigation: Minister of Public Enterprises Stella Sigcau.
PHOTO: RODGER BOSCH

Opposition parties unite behind De Lille

M+G 7-13/11/97 (304A)

Marion Edmunds

The parliamentary session ended in acrimony this week as opposition parties rallied around Pan Africanist Congress firebrand Patricia de Lille.

She has become embroiled in a fight with the party after accusing some of its top officials of spying for the apartheid government.

The National Party's Jacko Maree yesterday walked out of the ad-hoc multi-party committee set up to investigate De Lille's statements, and proposed that Parliament scrap the committee, claiming the ANC has already prejudged the case against De Lille.

The Inkatha Freedom Party walked out of the committee mid-week in sympathy with the PAC and outrage at the ANC's behaviour. The Democratic Party backs the NP's proposals, but says it expects the ANC to press on and the matter to end up in court.

However, the committee will continue to meet, with representatives from the ANC and PAC only.

"It's a kangaroo court, and the whole process is a demonstration of ANC muscle and unequal justice," says the DP's representative on the committeee, Douglas Gibson.

"There is no precedent either in British parliamentary history or in South African history, before or since democracy, for a committee such as this to proceed with disciplinary hearings when the member concerned has withdrawn the remarks." Gibson has refused to attend further committee meetings.

The special committee was set up after De Lille's allegations in the National Assembly two weeks ago that several high-profile ANC office-bearers, including some Cabinet ministers, had been spies.

Opposition parties believe the ANC prejudged the inquiry, because it had drawn up a resolution to suspend De Lille from Parliament for two weeks as punishment for her outburst before discussions in the committee had actually started or De Lille had been given the opportunity to put her case. ANC committee chair Dirk du Toit denies this. "Everyone is entitled to do their own preparation but that does not mean a pre-judgement," he says.

"I have not seen the document that they are speaking about and only if they come and show it to me could I identify anything. I don't know what they have stolen from where because everything I have worked on in my file is just preparatory material," he adds.

The row over De Lille has further united opposition parties against what is perceived to be ANC high-handedness, and weak leadership in Parliament.

The dissatisfaction stretches beyond procedural disputes to the way in which the ANC majority handles controversial legislation in committees, Parliamentary planning, and the ANC's monopoly of research funds for Parliament.

"One of the interesting developments during this session of Parliament has been the amount of cross-party co-operation among opposition parties," Gibson says.

"We certainly do not see eye-to-eye on every issue, but on many occasions the whole opposition has been united in indignation at the increasing tendency of the ANC to ride roughshod over all its opponents."

Maree adds: "The parties are coming closer because there is a concern that there is a lack of leadership in Parliament generally and it is affecting Parliament negatively and reflecting badly on us as well."



Bad girl: Patricia de Lille faces disciplinary action

De Lille is known to have sought advice from opposition parties during her battle with the ANC.

VERY VOCAL . . .



WORK-HORSE . . . *Committee chairperson Phathekile Holomisa.*

FREQUENT SPEAKER. . .



TIRELESS . . . *Mike Muendane is involved in many Parliamentary committees.*

DEAFENING QUIET . . .



NO SHRINKING VIOLET . . . *Yet Winnie-Madikizela-Mandela is saying little.*

Not a squeak from some MPs

Some do little more than collect their salary cheque each month



With Ali Mpahi
Business Editor

WINNIE Madikizela-Mandela is nobody's idea of a shy wallflower, yet she has maintained a

the report, no fewer than 15 other backbenchers have maintained a vow of silence and a further 15 are certainly not earning their annual salary packa e of R

posed a single question or delivered a speech and belong to only one committee each;

☐ Nokwethemba Biyela, Nomsa

geni, Patricia de Lille, Johnny de Lange and Rapu Molekane – to name but a few – are work-horses by anyone's standards. Their efforts are often matched by MPs across party lines who put in long hours, on often tedious matters.

The members of the smaller parties have to carry heavier loads than members of the ANC, which can afford to spread the work among its members.

This means MPs like the DP's Mike

32 and Patricia de Lille (PAC) with 23.

However, the ACDP's speeches have not been distinguished by a great deal of forethought.

The award for the most persistent quizzer goes to the IFP's Farouk Cassim who has asked no fewer than 150 questions since he arrived in Parliament.

Cassim is followed by five DP MPs with Hendrik Smit (NP) and Geoff Doidge (ANC) bringing up the

De Lille, former PAC MP Richard Sizani and Green as well as many ANC MPs, shows this is not the only explanation.

The DP report points out that large parties like the ANC provide a comfortable shelter for a handful of members who are nothing more than dead wood.

ANC Chief whip Max Sisulu recently announced a series of measures to improve attendance in Parliament, with strict penalties

...an two years.

According to a report compiled by the Democratic Party, Madikizela-Mandela has never posed a question in Parliament and has not made a speech since she lost her post as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in 1995.

Whether Madikizela-Mandela has chosen to keep her mouth shut or has not been given the opportunity by her party to speak her mind is a matter of speculation.

However, she is by no means the only "voiceless" MP. According to

...ghosts that haunt the corridors of Parliament" are from the ANC, which by virtue of its size can spread the load of committees and speeches so that individual MPs do not have to take on the heavy burdens which their counterparts in smaller parties do.

The ANC ghosts identified by the DP are:

☐ Mewayizeni Zulu, who has never said a word and does not even belong, on a full-time basis, to a committee;

☐ Prince Madikizela and Vhambelani Ramabulana, who have never

...e not said a word since they arrived in Parliament more than a year ago; and,

☐ Members with but one speech to their names are: Sipho Gcabashe, Archie Gumede, Muzivukile Ndlovu, Nomzansi Nyembe, Lizzy Abrahams, Nomancube Bam, Maggie Maunye and Ratshivhanda Ndou.

The IFP ghost is Lalitha Singh who has not said a word since she arrived in Parliament in 1994.

A further 10 ANC MPs are termed "terminal patients" by the DP because they are so inconspicuous they might as well not be around. Also in this category are three IFP

...zwe Luthu... well as Esme... Steenkamp from...

Much of the w... takes place in ... proposed legisla... ters are examin...

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This is in sh... load carried by ... in the majority ... opposition part...

Committee ch... Blade Nzimand... Phathekile Hol...

...Eric Lucas – as ...Chait and Pieter ...the NP.

...rk in Parliament ...committees, where ...on and other mat...

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...o contrast to the ...eir counterparts ...rty as well as the ...

...persons such as ...ravin Gordhan, ...isa, Tony Yer...

Mike Muendane resemble octopuses with tentacles in multiple committees.

They also end up having to make more speeches than members in the bigger parties

According to the DP report, the tiny ACDP has an average number of speeches per member of 28, the DP 15 and the PAC 13. This is as opposed to an average of three speeches for each ANC MP and four for MPs from the NP and IFP.

Those whose voices were heard most often in speeches since 1994 are: Louis Green (ACDP) with 34 speeches, Douglas Gibson (DP) with

...he ANC argues with some justification that unlike the DP, its members do not have a long tradition of participating in Parliament and therefore need help in gaining the confidence and skills to contribute to the legislative process.

ANC Deputy Cheif Whip Naledi Pandor said: "Many of our MPs need to be empowered. They need to be given the confidence to speak, to make a major contribution to committee work and debates. Three years is a short time for the ANC to master the complexities of Parliamentary performance and procedure."

However, the star roles played by

Said Pandor: "It has been the ANC Chief Whip who has come forward with a raft of genuine proposals to improve accountability, attendance, discpline and performance in the National Assembly. I have not yet seen any positive proposals from the DP."

Sisulu's "wielding the big stick" along with efforts to improve Parliamentary skills should go a long way towards improving performance.

But doubtless some vigorous "ghost busting" will be required for those MPs who persist in doing little more than collecting their salary cheques each month.

ANC is hell-bent on taking De Lille to court

By CHIARA CARTER

THE FURORE over the allegations made by Patricia de Lille concerning "spies in high places in the ANC" is well on the way to ending up in court.

The ANC is hell-bent on pursuing an investigation into De Lille's conduct but opposition parties are united in objecting to the nature of the inquiry.

The ANC, which has been accused by opposition groups of proceeding with unseemly haste, blundered its way through this week's ad hoc committee hearings in the face of vehement criticism from opposition parties who said the committee resembled a 'kangaroo court'.

This weekend, PAC secretary, Mike Muendane, said the "ball was in the ANC's court" but if the ad hoc committee continued to operate in an unjust and unconstitutional manner, the issue would be challenged in court.

The IFP and NP walked out of the committee earlier this week, saying the matter had been prejudged by the ANC, not least because a motion had been drawn up anticipating De Lille being found guilty.

The DP, ACDP and PAC are still participating in the committee but say that this is so that they are in a position to guard their rights and give evidence in the event of a court case.

They charged that the committee was close to a charade.

☐ The committee was established to look at De Lille's conduct after she asked whether three cabinet ministers and several provincial premiers and deputy ministers were on a list of alleged spies.

She withdrew the remark, made under parliamentary privilege, as well as several other associated comments at the request of the Speaker but the ANC pushed for further investigation.

The committee, which saw fiery debate this week, was unable to complete its work by Thursday's deadline and will now meet again later this month.

De Lille said she would not testify unless the charges were clearly spelt out and she was told what evidence had been gathered against her, who would be witnesses and what sanction was intended.

De Lille said the proceedings resembled a disciplinary hearing and she was entitled to natural and administrative justice.

The ANC as an interested party should not be part of the body which judged the matter, instead a neutral group should examine the matter.

Instead she had already been found "guilty and sentenced".

Mike Ellis said the speed with which the matter was being handled contrasted sharply with the year it took to get an apology from deputy minister Aziz Pahad, for a serious allegation he made against Ellis and with the handling of a comment made by Mineral and Energy Affairs minister Penuell Maduna, that he would reveal all about the DP's Kobus Jordaan.

An ad hoc committee set up to inquire into the matter was closed after Maduna apologised.

The State Law Adviser this week told the committee that the allegations needed to be spelt out and that there was no precedent for taking action against an MP after he/she had withdrawn a remark.

He said a decision by the rules committee, that serious allegations against members needed to take the form of a substantive motion with prior notice given to party whips, was not a rule of Parliament.



UNDER FIRE... PAC MP Patricia de Lille's outburst is being investigated by a special Parliamentary committee.

Illustrious girls' school threatened with sad closure

By CHRIS HLONGWA

WITH ONLY a few weeks to go before the icon of successful black women closes for good, former "girls" have swung into action to save Inanda Seminary.

A crisis management committee has been formed and many famous, former students of the 128-year-old school are being approached to support the "Save Inanda Seminary campaign".

The women luminaries include Free State Premier Matsepe-Casaburri, veteran author Ellen Khuzwayo and two daughters of the late Chief Albert Luthuli.

"There are several meetings being held around the country," said former student and committee member Glenrose Nzimande (nee Khuzwayo).

Each former student is expected to donate not less than R100 a month to the newly formed fund.

In the red for years, with a current debt of half a million rands, the school has trudged along amid dwindling enrolment, ruined colonial buildings and diminished overseas support.

The governing council recently decided to close the historical private boarding school in November.

It has recently taken in day scholars in its fight for survival.

According to committe members Florence Madlala (nee Mkhize) and Nzimande, "the school which produced great women in the fields of commerce, law, engineering, science, politics and art" has at present about 700s students from Grade 8 – 12, and 200 students doing secretarial courses.

At last weekend's meeting in Durban the committee pledged to "donate from our own estates, no matter how small" every month.

It has called all concerned "old girls", parents and members of the community to "rescue Inanda Seminary from closure".

They have appealed for donations that may be deposited into the Inanda Seminary Trust Account at Standard Bank, account number 055475701; branch: Briadene; type of account: current account (which will be converted into a savings account).

Signatories are members of the Crisis Management Committee.

In a statement, the committee said: "Our benefactors will be given constant feedback by means of reports." Regular meetings will be scheduled for the committee "to evaluate how we achieve our objectives".

For more information Madlala can be contacted at (031) 42-3941, or Nzimande at (031) 304-7918.

☐ It is understood that a private company has also pledged financial support in the wake of the reports on the school's plight.

SA should consider closing missions — Evans

PRETORIA — SA may have to close some foreign missions, Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans told the presidential review commission at the weekend.

The commission said in Pretoria yesterday Evans had said his department would have to review the country's 100 foreign missions. This might result in the closure of some.

Evans told the commission the department was experiencing problems in recruiting properly qualified and experienced staff for policy planning. SA was evolving a foreign policy which made a planning unit essential.

Asked about the ratio of black and white foreign affairs staff, Evans said: "The department is so sensitive to the issue of representivity that it no longer lists staff according to race."

Although there was room for improvement in this regard, progress had been made.

Evans said at least 12 missions were headed by blacks, and two by white women.

More than 90% of staff appointed since 1994 had been black.

Deputy Finance Minister Gill Marcus, who also appeared before the commission, said billions of rands were lost annually through tax evasion and poor border and customs control.

She denied that her department was focusing on black business in its drive to curtail tax evasion. — Sapa.

BD 11/11/97 (304A)

CAPE ARGUS, **TUESDAY**, NOVEMBE

Future of Parliament could hinge on Tutu snub

ASHLEY SMITH AND JERMAINE CRAIG

Has the resolution of the Tutu affair come too late to redeem Cape Town's image less than two weeks before the ANC executive votes on the future of Parliament?

This was the question asked across the political spectrum last night after the city council voted in favour of conferring the freedom of the city on Desmond Tutu.

Adding fuel to the fire were comments by executive committee chairwoman Nomaindia Mfeketo who said the Tutu debacle and similar incidents could sketch a picture of a racist and uncaring Mother City to upcountry members of the ANC, to the detriment of the city's chances of keeping Parliament.

The vote was unanimous last night after two attempts to honour the Nobel Peace laureate failed when a two thirds majority of 50 votes was not reached.

After yesterday's "yes" vote, representatives of diverse political parties expressed their concern that the issue would have a detrimental affect on the city's chances of keeping Parliament. Midrand in Gauteng is challenging to host Parliament.

Mrs Mfeketo said the Tutu debacle and similar incidents could make black politicians from other provinces feel unwelcome in the city.

A spokesman for Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel lashed out at the ANC saying that if a "little thing" like that determined whether Parliament stayed in the city, the powers-that-be had already made up their minds.

Hennie Bester of the Democratic Party said there were "much bigger issues" at stake than swinging public mood in favour or out of favour of Cape Town in the bid to keep Parliament.

Kevin Kevaney of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament said the Tutu affair was the first test of the unity that existed among all parties in the province about keeping Parliament.

He said resolving the issue had gone a long way towards "clearing the decks" for Cape Town to strive to hold on to Parliament.

Nzo announces new SA envoys

(304A)

By Rafiq Rohan

SPORTING supremo Krish Mackerdhuj is busy brushing up on his Japanese after yesterday's announcement by the Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo that he has been appointed South African Ambassador to Tokyo.

In addition, Nzo announced that Professor Richard van der Ross had been appointed Ambassador to Spain.

Mackerdhuj has long been associated with the African National Congress while Van der Ross has been active in Democratic Party circles.

Secretary 11/11/97

Van der Ross is a former rector of the University of the Western Cape and has been been involved in education for many years. He represents the DP in the Western Cape Legislature.

On his appointment, Van der Ross praised President Nelson Mandela for seeing fit to appoint him to the position, thereby acknowledging that he could be of service to his country.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Van der Ross is the chairman of the Cape Utility Homes and the Foundation for Social Development. He is also a member of several other organisations providing shelter and care for the aged. He has retired from active work but has indicated he would retire for good after his stint as ambassador.

A much younger 58-year-old Mackerdhuj has been involved with the ANC since his younger days. In later years he was actively involved in helping isolate apartheid South Africa in international sporting arenas. He is currently the president of the United Cricket Board of South Africa and also serves on other sports councils.

SECOND BOOST FOR STATUS QUO

Idasa survey shows strong support for city

ET 13/11/97 304A

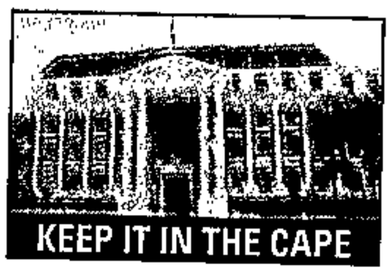
RESULTS OF a survey just released show powerful support from urban areas for retaining Parliament in Cape Town. Political Writer **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

THE Mother City's claim to retain her historical hold on Parliament received a second boost in as many days yesterday, with the results of a survey showing that the majority of South Africans have consistently favoured Cape Town over the past three years.

The Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa) survey's findings also show powerful urban support for retaining the status quo — from the Eastern Cape (70% in favour of Cape Town) and Durban (59% in favour) while Capetonians polled 83% in favour.

In Pretoria's own home province, Gauteng, 44% of respondents believed Parliament should remain in Cape Town compared with only 26% who wanted it moved north to the Jacaranda city.

The first boost for Cape Town came on Tuesday, when it emerged that the ANC's parliamentary caucus had acquired unexpected "clout". Vociferous voices were raised — many in favour of retaining Cape Town and several urging the issue to be shelved until after the 1999 elections.



KEEP IT IN THE CAPE

These two developments come on the eve of the ANC national executive committee's (NEC) final meeting of the year, at which the 80 members consider a special party committee's final report on the future location of Parliament. The ANC made it clear early this year that it wanted a decision on the matter before the year's end.

This weekend the NEC is expected to make a watershed decision that will almost certainly swing the final outcome next year, when the ANC-dominated Parliament puts the seal on its future seat.

The latest Idasa statistics show that since 1994 national support for the Mother City has grown from 50% to 54% (peaking at 69% in 1995), while Pretoria-backers have dwindled from 23% in 1994 to 17% (plummeting to 14% in 1995).

Top ANC sources said the NEC, and not the Mafikeng tri-annual conference next month, would be the arbiter in the ongoing and so-far in-house ANC process.

The NEC's decision would be the watershed in a subsequent six-month finalisation procedure, which eventually ends in Parliament.

The ANC's Western Cape executive earlier this year set up a highly active lobby group aimed at putting the issue on the backburner, and top national sources said they had been "pretty effective just recently".

Another statistic the NEC will have to consider this weekend is that among black African urban respondents, Cape Town enjoys 70% support in the Eastern Cape, 55% in Durban and 89% in the Western Cape.

Yesterday whispers in the corridors of Parliament among rank-and-file ANC MPs were that it was becoming increasingly likely that their exco would do an about-turn, and postpone any "potentially divisive" decision until after the 1999 elections.

CAPE TIMES
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER :

Debate could be lengthy, divisive

CT 12/11/97 (304A)

DIANE CASSERE

MOVING Parliament from Cape Town is not simply a decision that can be made by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) when it meets on Friday. It will need an Act of Parliament and a lengthy, complicated process that could divide the country.

If Parliament is to be moved to Pretoria, it will not be a simple matter of the government's executive making a decision to do so: the entire nation will be involved.

In addition, the siting of Parliament will have to be discussed at the ANC's national conference in December, as well as by the NEC.

The lengthy process will also involve public hearings at provincial level which will further delay the outcome. The steps are:

Parliamentary committee: The first hurdle will be to make it through the parliamentary committee process. A bill will have to be submitted to the appropriate portfolio committee, which is constitutionally required to allow public access to its sittings. These public hearings could take months.

National Assembly: The special arrangement in the Constitution for changing the seat of Parliament does not need the normal simple parliamentary majority but requires the support of 201 members, being 50% plus one of all members, which is 100 more than most parliamentary bills need to be passed. This debate could open deep wounds in the ANC.

Provincial legislature: There is once again a special mechanism for this bill. It would have to be debated in every provincial legislature in the country and in many provinces public hearings will be called for. The Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP) has already indicated it will lobby at strategic provincial hearings.

It is not certain that all ANC-led provinces will support their party line. The provincial legislatures send delegates to the National Council of Provinces and, as has been shown in other issues this year, could instruct their delegations to vote against the bill.

National Council of Provinces: For the Council of Provinces to pass this bill, they will need five of the nine provinces to vote for it. Should the bill be rejected, it would go through a complicated dispute resolution process and if no compromise can be reached, it would be sent back to Parliament, where two-thirds of all members (267) would have to support the bill.

12, 1997 ★

NE

PARLIAMENT SITE VOTE MAY BE DEFERRED

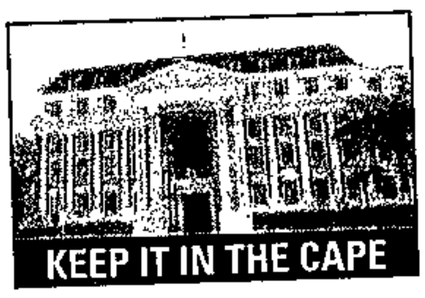
ANC caucus could swing final decision

CT 12/11/97 (304A)

THE MOVING of Parliament was so divisive that it was unlikely that the ANC's Mafikeng conference would decide on the issue, a source said. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

A WATERSHED decision on the future seat of Parliament is expected this weekend when the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) meets in Johannesburg for the last time this year, top ANC sources said yesterday.

With a three-member ANC committee due to table its final report on Parliament's future location at the meeting, indications yesterday were that leaving the decision to a vote at the ANC's triannual conference at Mafikeng next month was becoming "increasingly unlikely".



KEEP IT IN THE CAPE

Instead, the sources said, the party's parliamentary caucus had acquired unexpected "clout" with vociferous voices raised at last week's meeting — many in favour of retaining Cape Town, and several urging the issue to be shelved until after the 1999 elections.

The ANC caucus, and not the Mafikeng conference, would swing the final decision, they said.

The ANC's Western Cape executive earlier this year set up a lobby group aimed at putting the issue on the back-burner — a move to buy time for Cape Town — and top national sources said they had been "pretty effective just recently".

However, the argument that moving Parliament to Pretoria would cost the ANC the 1999 elections in the Western Cape, which is now NP-ruled, was "overrated".

One ANC source, explaining why Mafikeng was "highly unlikely" to decide on the matter next month, said the issue was so divisive it could "derail the conference".

"Can you imagine 3 000 mainly uninformed delegates queueing to vote and debating this? There are far more important priorities we need to deal with than debating spending nearly R1 billion moving Parliament," he said.

By contrast, he said, the party's parliamentary caucus was far better informed on the controversy and could make more considered input.

"Consulting the caucus is also politically wise and could avoid divisions," he added.

The NEC, the ANC's highest policy-making body besides its triannual conference, decided early this year that the matter should be finalised by year-end.

A committee comprising Deputy Speaker Ms Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe and Labour Minister Mr Tito Mboweni was set up to probe the matter.

It submitted an initial and controversial report to the NEC in July — which internal critics slammed for its "pro-Pretoria bias".

The report was referred to the party's national working committee for revision ahead of this weekend's NEC meeting.

President Nelson Mandela earlier this year told the National Council of Provinces that South Africa could not afford more than one capital — and gagged public lobbying by ANC MPs.

He has avoided showing any preference for Parliament's location, although speculation has grown that Cape Town will no longer be the country's legislative capital.

Civil servants have been told not to buy property in Cape Town until a decision has been made and the president's communications staff have moved to Pretoria, accompanying Mandela to Cape Town on an ad hoc basis.

Yesterday, ANC sources said the Pretoria lobby, which has spent several million rands on an aggressive bid, had "abandoned" the financial argument that creating a single capital in Pretoria was more cost-effective.

Instead, they were now focusing on the argument that Pretoria as the parliamentary seat would "enhance and improve governance".

They said it was unlikely the NEC would break past practice and vote to reach their decision this weekend. Instead, the 80-member body would aim for consensus.

Parliament, in which the ANC has a majority, will vote on its future seat early next year.

Report on venue for Parliament ready

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — A three-member African National Congress (ANC) committee has finalised its report on Parliament's future location and will table it at a meeting of the party's national executive committee in Johannesburg this weekend, committee member Baleka Kgositsile said yesterday.

The committee would also discuss how to release the report and the exact steps to be taken in the light of the public interest about the matter. The committee decided early this year the matter should be finalised by year-end.

A committee comprising Kgositsile, Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe and Labour Minister Tito Mboweni was set up to investigate the matter.

It submitted an initial report to the national executive in July, which was referred to the party's national working committee for processing ahead of this weekend's meeting.

President Nelson Mandela earlier this year told the National Council of Provinces that SA could not afford more than one capital. Speculation is rife that Cape Town will no longer be the country's legislative capital.

Public servants have been told not to buy property in Cape Town until a decision is made. — Sapa.

BD 12/11/97

Keep Parliament in Cape, says majority

(304A) ART 12/11/97

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

An analysis of public opinion surveys due today, by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), is expected to show continued support for keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

Indications are that black people in most cities, including a share of those surveyed in Gauteng, favour Cape Town.

In a study by the independent company Research Surveys in September, about 55 percent of residents of major metropolitan areas believed Parliament should remain in Cape Town. Seventeen percent felt it should move to Pretoria, six percent mentioned Midrand and four percent Bloemfontein.

Among Cape Town residents only, 83 percent were in favour of retaining Parliament. Seventy-four percent of whites and 89 percent of black people interviewed in Cape Town wanted Parliament to stay.

Meanwhile, there are indications that pro-Cape Town MPs in the ANC caucus are pushing for a deferment of the ANC decision on the future seat of Parliament until after the national and provincial elections scheduled for 1999.

A national executive committee subcommittee is to report this weekend on its revised report on the issue.

Decision expected this weekend on location of Parliament

(8049) Star 12/11/97

The ANC's national executive committee will make a decision this weekend on where parliament should be located. The meeting will be the current NEC's last before a new one is elected at ANC's national conference in Mafikeng next month.

"It is the most important meeting for the current NEC, which should make final decisions on various outstanding Government and party-related issues. After the national conference next month, some people will no longer be serving in the NEC," ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said.

National Assembly deputy speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, who serves on a three-member committee on parliament's future location said one of the issues the NEC was expected to address involved their report on relocating parliament. The other committee members are Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe and Labour Minister Tito Mboweni.

The NEC announced earlier this year that a decision on relocating parliament would be taken before the end of the year.
– Political Staff

All the reasons why Parliament should not go

(3044A) CT 13/11/97

DIANE CASSERE

AS the ANC's national executive committee debates the issue of moving Parliament north at its caucus in the city on Friday, members need to consider the reasons why it should stay in the Mother City, say prominent members of the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP).

Western Cape Police MEC Mr Gerald Morkel, the chairman of CAP, and CAP executive director Mr Kallie Hanekom said they estimated that more than 10 000 jobs would be lost as a result of such a move.

They list as the most important reasons why Parliament should stay:

- It is the historical and traditional capital.
- The global trend is towards decentralising government.
- It reduces political and economic over-concentration in the PWV area — Gauteng already dominates the economy, providing 43% of the GDP.
- The move will cost taxpayers billions of rands for an entirely new parliamentary complex.
- Electronic communication already links the legislative and administrative capitals.
- The move would do enormous damage to the economy of the Western Cape.
- More than 10 000 jobs would be lost.
- Parliament contributes to the development of another economic pole in South Africa.
- It is in keeping with political unity and the spirit of reconciliation.
- It brings political tourism — world leaders and foreign royalty visit the city.
- It makes for a better spread of government expenditure
- A move would hark back to Pretoria's "old regime" culture
- The majority of MPs prefer Cape Town.

CAPE TIMES
★ THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1997

Emotional debate expected on move

CT 13/11/97 (304A)

JOVIAL RANTAO
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

A FIERCE and emotional debate is expected tomorrow when the ANC's national executive committee meets to take a decision on, among others, the future seat of Parliament.

The NEC, which meets in Johannesburg, will consider a report from a sub-committee established to advise it on a suitable location for Parliament.

Irrespective of what the sub-committee — including Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe and Deputy Speaker in the National Assembly Ms Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile — recommends, strong debate is expected as the issue has divided the ANC membership and leadership.

The NEC's decision is expected to be tabled at the ANC's national conference, at Mafikeng next month.

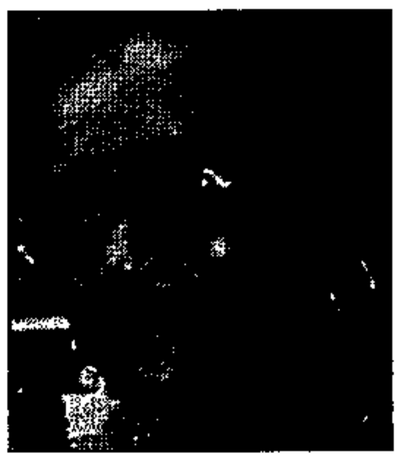
Once the decision has been made, it would be taken to the ANC, then to the constitutional affairs committee and then to the National Assembly, where the ANC would require a two-thirds majority for a decision to relocate.

While some ANC leaders, including President Nelson Mandela, are in favour of a merger of the administrative and legislative capitals, a new argument to keep Parliament in Cape Town has emerged.

Senior ANC officials, some of whom were initially in favour of Parliament's relocation to Gauteng to enhance governance, have said there was serious concern among the organisation's top leadership that if Parliament was moved, Cape Town would gradually become an unofficial *volkstaat*.

ANC leaders fear that moving Parliament would send a message that the organisation had given up on the people of the Western Cape, which would leave ANC members in the province, particularly blacks, feeling betrayed.

Other ANC officials have said that moving Parliament would ensure that the National Party remains dominant in the province.



PART OF PROBE: Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile

The ANC's pro-Cape lobby is expected to come against strong opposition from colleagues who want Parliament in Gauteng.

Those who want Parliament in Gauteng have argued that having two capitals has resulted in disruption to their family and working lives. They complain of the high cost of having two homes. Others argue that Cape Town is not central and has remained a racist enclave.

Pro-Gauteng ANC members have dismissed the results of a survey conducted by the Cape Town-based Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa), as yet another ploy by communities in the Mother City to retain the national legislative assembly.

The survey found that 89% of blacks and 74% of whites in Cape Town wanted to keep Parliament.

MANY VOICES STILL UNHEARD

South Africa not yet governed by the people

CT 13/11/99 (304A)

MOST PEOPLE have not woken up to the radical change in the way government in South Africa is being run, says a researcher in democracy. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

THE people have yet to govern in South Africa. Put simply, overworked MPs — scuttling between a handful of Parliament's 47 law-shaping committees, Parliament and meeting constituency commitments — are unable to give meaning to participatory democracy.

And the voices of semi-literate and illiterate shack-dwellers and their day-to-day survival issues are not being fully heard because they don't know how to make an impact on the powerful committees or they cannot gain access to their busy MPs.

Mr Campbell Lyons, a researcher at the Khululekani Institute for Democracy, says portfolio committees have so far seen the bulk of input from "the intelligefitsia", in a specialised language environment which has yet to see a single grassroots community input.

The Constitution designates portfolio committees — thrown open for public participation and increased from 10 to 26 since the April 27, 1994 elections — as "the ideal vehicle" for Parliament to fulfil its role in providing for representative and participatory democracy, accountability, transparency and public involvement.

A primary committee role is defined as "to facilitate public involvement in the legislative and other processes of the Assembly".

So to make input you need to be either "representative" or bring expertise.

Lyons — whose non-governmental-organisation is the only local body actively encouraging public participation in shaping the laws people are expected to live by — believes most people have yet to wake up to the radical change in the way government is now run.

"A new phase of the struggle is just beginning — we want to get people to start moving away from the idea of miracles and start doing the hard work that democracy entails," he says.

Started by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki with USAid and Swedish funding in 1995 as a means of bringing government closer to the people, Khululekani got a programme off the ground just three months ago to get communities involved in the legislative process.

"People just don't know how a bill becomes law or even realise that they can impact on the process — even in the leafy suburbs," Lyons says.

Instead, the wider public perception remains that they vote a party or MP to power or take part in the odd rare referendum (last held in 1993) — and then leave it to the politicians to decide their fate.

Yet destiny is within their grasp — and the politicians are not entirely to blame this time.

"There is still some confusion as to what a constituency office is supposed to do — some politicians work hard and others don't. Transition takes time and we're trying to telescope into a couple of years what it took hundreds of years to get into place in Europe," Lyons says.

South African history has left people with a passive mindset — and the new system demands a lot more of its public representatives.

"MPs are supposed to be a reasonable example of how an ordinary citizen would vote in Parliament on a particular issue and also be a messenger for and a voice from the community," he adds.

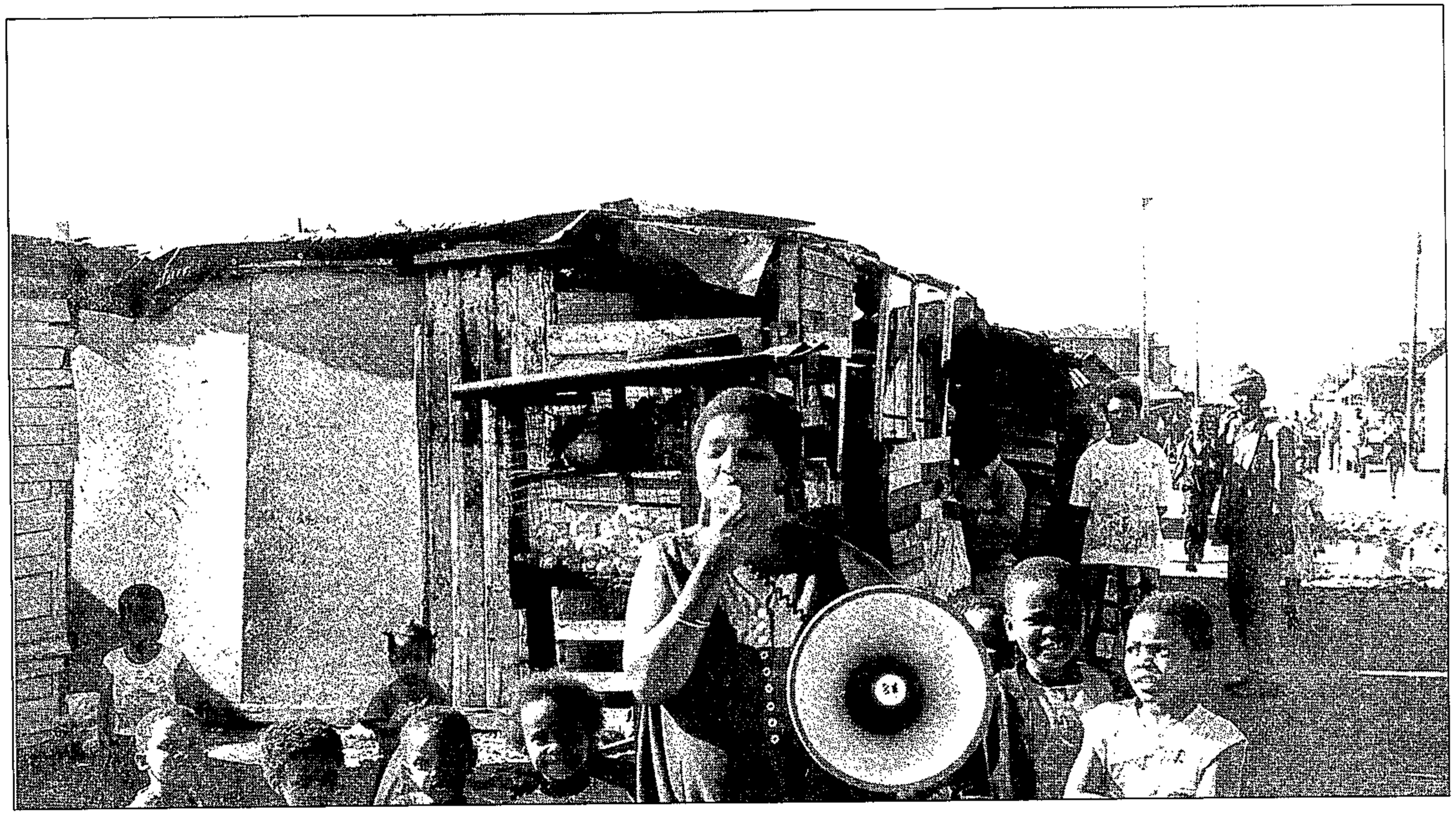
Yet the reality is, for example, that last week alone the Justice Committee had 13 items of legislation to process and committees have a total of 32 bills on their plates.

Lyons' team of three researchers, a financial manager and administrator, cruise the townships with a bakkie and loud-hailer announcing educational and planning meetings at various halls.

Researcher Ms Elizabeth Yolanda Mjuza makes doubly sure that she's politically correct, instructing the driver to cruise extra slowly past the Sanco-dominated streets — so there can be no comebacks that they weren't hailed. It's Langa politics, she explains.

And people come. In spite of 5am starts to their working days and early bedtimes, they get to the evening meetings and take part enthusiastically.

Lyons says he pulls together civics, street committees and RDP forums and creates a single forum around, in Langa for example, health. When Parliament re-opens they'll be ready to make history — a local community with its act together making input to a portfolio committee.



LETTING LANGA BE HEARD: Khululekani Institute for Democracy worker Elizabeth Yolanda Mjuza urges Langa residents to attend an evening workshop planning a first input to the parliamentary portfolio committee on health. ***PICTURE: CHRIS BATEMAN***

State and party often become dangerously blurred

(304A) BD 13/11/97

SA's foreign policy needs to become far more focused and systematic in the post-Mandela era, writes Greg Mills

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's trip to Libya is likely to go down in the record books as one that the great statesman got away with. But will it leave his successor, lacking his predecessor's icon-like status, a difficult inheritance?

More important, how will Vice-President Thabo Mbeki, presuming his election, be able to craft a foreign policy that can use effectively SA's status in Africa to uplift the continent and, with it, itself? How will he be able to confront the constraints all states operate under and create, with the benefit of hindsight, an African renaissance?

But before one looks at what Mbeki could do, it is important to assess the legacy Mandela leaves behind. For the most part his has been a role of great statesmanship, his overseas forays being used to shopfront the message of the new SA, of reconciliation, forgiveness and hope for the future. Yet it is not altogether a positive legacy.

Hence the doubts about the effectiveness of Pretoria's Africa policy and a lack of support in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and in the wider subcontinent that probably stem from sensitivities over SA's regional superpower status.

After all, Mandela's Africa policy has not altogether been blessed with success. His attempts to effect democracy in Nigeria and reconciliation in Angola; to persuade Zambian President Frederick Chiluba to allow his predecessor Kenneth Kaunda to take part in this year's elections; and to nudge Swazi King Mswati III into introducing democratic reforms speedily, must all be counted more as failures than successes.

More difficult, however, would appear to be SA's ability to mesh its oft-declared foreign policy cornerstone of democracy and human rights with its African and wider international relations. How can one, after all, tie in links with some southeast Asian and African nations to a philosophical commitment to be a standard bearer of human rights — something that the new SA is well placed to do, given the break with its apartheid past?

This moral conundrum was not lost on some observers of Mandela's visit to Col Muammar Gaddafi's Libya.

The US journal The New Republic, deemed to be an inside-the-beltway publication that often writes what official Washington is thinking, ran an editorial in a recent edition lambasting the president's visit. "The defence that he offered of his visit to Tripoli," ran the story, "went beyond anything that reasonable people, who can appreciate the realities of moral conflict, can accept." Asking "Is it really impossible for Mandela to grasp that he was helped in his good fight by a man who was helping others in their evil fights?", the article castigates the president's attempts to affect policy over the Lockerbie bombers as "a sham" and the Mandela-Gaddafi conjunction as "revolting".

Yet there is no doubt, too, that SA, with its mix of first and third worlds, can — some would say must — assume an independent and creative foreign policy stance, acting as a conductor of sentiment between the north and the south, between conventional wisdom and new thinking in international relations. To do this, however, SA will have to recognise key constraints in international affairs which impinge upon the ability of states to interact freely.

The first of these is simply that foreign policy relates principally to the domestic setting of the projecting nation. It is important to recognise one's limitations, and to act accordingly. SA is a small country whose share of total global economic output is less than one half of one percent. Less tangibly, the domestic political values and actions and systems find a mirror in the foreign domain in terms of the weight and clout of states on key issues. Thus SA is better placed to preach on human rights issues than Afghanistan.

Second, related to the above, the prevailing international order imposes basic limitations on the autonomy of state behaviour. The markets, far from being nebulous, concentrate attention on governments at every turn and can penalise harshly, something the Malaysians and Thais have learnt recently to their cost. Globalisation and its older sibling, regionalism, have moved the world closer together, politically as well as economically.

Globalisation means that states cannot, as Mandela did over Libya, do as they damn well please without costs.

Third, there is an expanding variety of tools available to the foreign policy practitioner, and these have to be carefully selected according to the moment. To paraphrase the famous British historian AJP Taylor: the foreign policy of a country is made by a few experts and a few rather less expert politicians.

But as we move from quill pen to satellite, in a world of increasing numbers of non-state actors such as international organisations (the UN is the most obvious example), businesses, elements of civil society and labour organisations, international diplomacy should no longer be confined to sovereigns, ministers and professional diplomats.

Fourth, it is important to recognise that on certain issues, the interests of some states are heavily outweighed by others. Despite the virtual end of geography as a consequence of the proliferation and development of communications technologies, there are still such things as areas and issues of interest.

An understanding of these limitations on the ability to manoeuvre freely on the global terrain is critical to the successful development and implementation of SA's foreign policy. This is particularly so in an era where the advantage of Mandelamania will be absent from the world stage.

What does this mean in practice?

- Government needs to establish key foreign policy priorities and a clear and systematic process of achieving these. The Mandela administration's foreign policy has at times been ad hoc to the point of damaging SA's reputation, especially over the president's foreign travel schedule. In this, the distinction between state and party has become dangerously blurred;
- The type and the scale of SA's foreign policy efforts should be directed so as to make a crucial difference to the outcome of a particular issue. This means picking and choosing the issues and moment carefully;
- Related to this, assessment is required as to whether the area or issue of involvement is of direct interest to SA's strategic political, security and economic interests. This must involve a wider appreciation of the interests of other powers; and
- A full and continuing assessment has to made of all diplomatic tools at the state's disposal, remembering that the manner in which diplomacy is conducted may to a large extent determine the course of action.

This means that SA foreign policy, particularly in Africa where the need for closer business-government co-ordination is paramount, has to become the sum of rather than competing interests.

Mills is the national director of the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg.

SA people want Parliament to stay in Cape Town — survey

BD 13/11/97 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — A substantial majority of people in urban SA wants Parliament to stay in Cape Town, an Institute for a Democratic SA (Idasa) survey revealed only days before the African National Congress (ANC) is to discuss the possibility of relocating the national legislature.

The ANC's national executive committee — the party's second most powerful decision-making body after its national conference, which has been highly divided on the issue of the site of Parliament — will receive a further report from the three-person committee set up to make recommendations this weekend.

There are signs that instead of the national executive committee making a recommendation to the party's conference next month, it will instead refer the matter to the ANC's parliamentary caucus for a decision.

Meanwhile, Idasa's survey results show 54% of black and white South Africans support Cape Town as the site for Parliament, while only 17% opt for Pretoria.

The survey also reported that among blacks polled 50% wanted Cape Town and 20% Pretoria, while the corresponding figures for whites were 65% and 10%.

Idasa executive director Wilmot James said that the results of the survey had been "shared" with political parties. He said that it was "absolutely vital" that the ANC took public opinion on board in making the decision of where Parliament should be. "It is a matter of vital historical and symbolic significance and what the SA public thinks is crucial."

The survey polled 2 000 people in the five major metropolitan areas. Coloureds and Indians were not polled.

Even in Gauteng, 44% favoured Cape Town over the 26% who wanted a move to Pretoria. Only in Bloemfontein was Cape Town not the majority choice — they favour their home town.

Idasa's Bob Matiss said the apparently sharp dip in support for Cape Town from 69% in 1995 to 54% now could be explained by the way in which the questions were framed. He said in any event the support apparently lost to Cape Town was not reflected as a gain for Pretoria but rather as an increased undecided group.

Sapa reports the president's office said yesterday its decision to relocate staff to Pretoria was based on cutting costs and had nothing to do with Parliament's future location.

President Nelson Mandela's top communications staff have relocated to Pretoria and now accompany the president to Cape Town only on an ad hoc basis.

Presidential aide Parks Mankahlana said the president's office had decided last year "to use every opening available to cut down costs". It had been decided that those officials who could carry out their duties from Pretoria should do so, cutting down on monthly sessional allowance costs.

CRISIS 1

Tutu pleads for Parliament

(304A)

JERMAINE CRAIG
STAFF REPORTER

ARG 13/11/97

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Cape Town's newest freeman, has made an impassioned plea to "those who are making the decision" to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

"I hope you are hearing me. Keep Parliament in Cape Town," he said today during an address on the issue in Cape Town's mayoral parlour.

His plea comes on the heels of a warning that the removal of Parliament could spell the collapse of the Cape Town CBD.

He said South Africa had to be aware of its sense of history and that people around the world had become used to thinking of Cape Town as the seat of Parliament.

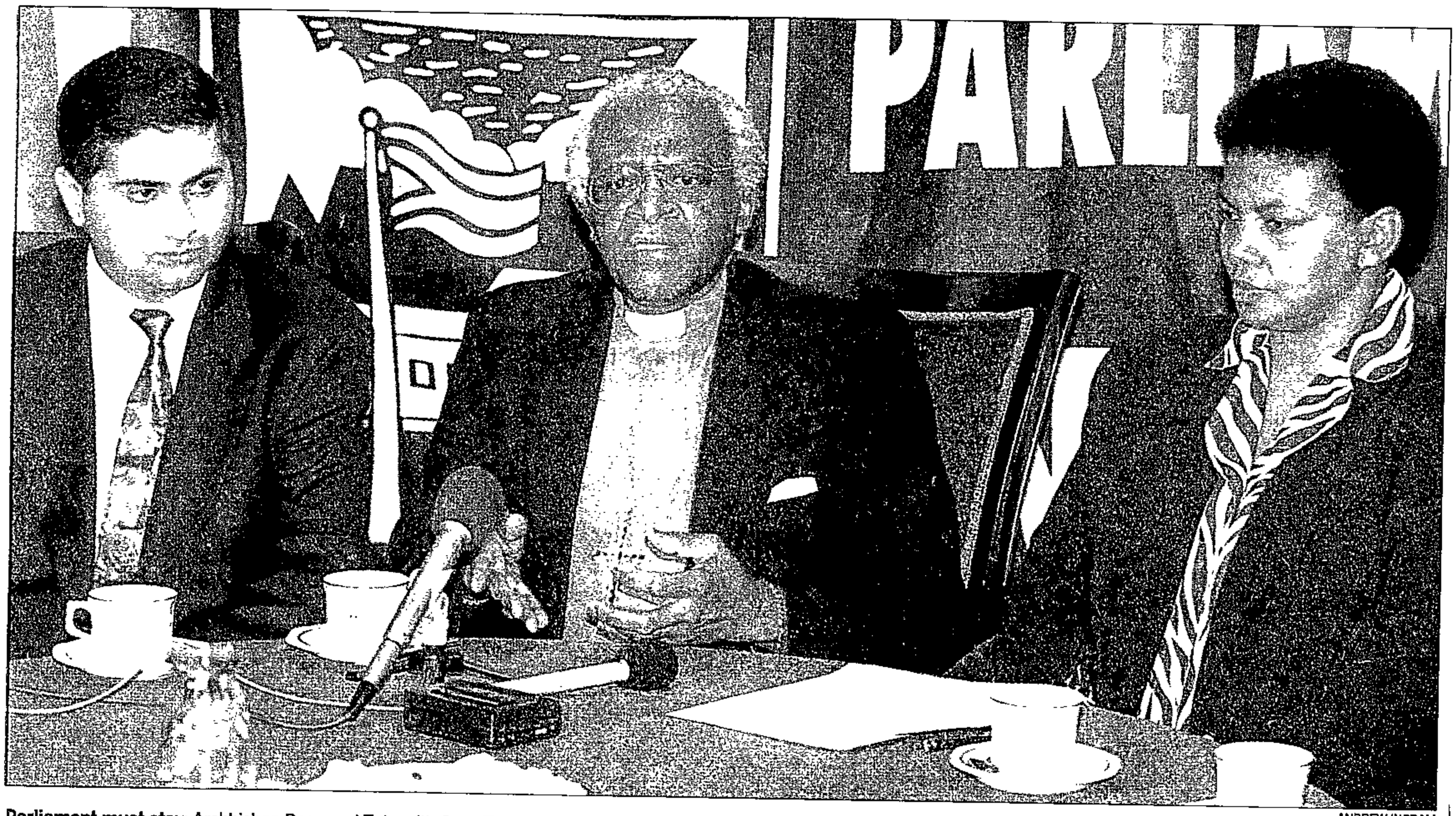
'It will be a disaster if Parliament moves'

See Michael Morris's Inside Story on page 10

"Many people in the world know the Mother City of South Africa is Cape Town and somehow there is a mystique about the tradition of having the Mother City as the city where the laws of this country have been made. We have to think very carefully before we destroy a tradition."

He said he was a Sowetan, and that people often asked him why he supported Cape Town's campaign instead of trying to take

To page 3



ANDREW INGRAM

Parliament must stay: Archbishop Desmond Tutu with Cape Town municipality chairperson Nomaindia Mfeketo, right, and deputy chairperson Saleem Mowzer at today's news briefing

Tutu plea for Parliament after CBD warning

(304A) ARG 13/11/97

From page 1

Parliament to his home province.

But he felt that under the new dispensation people needed to share resources. Gauteng, with 43% of the gross national product, should allow Cape Town to hold on to Parliament, which the Mother City sorely needed.

"I believe we, as a newly democratic society, must show the world that we do in fact care about one another and are not selfish."

Removing Parliament could lead to the collapse of the central business district on a scale equal to central Johannesburg's demise and place a growing rates burden on the rest of the city, writes **Michael Morris.**

Dumping thousands of square metres of lower-grade office space on the market, in a precinct which is not in high demand for offices "could lead to an economic wobble in the CBD which may well be uncontrollable", warns former deputy mayor Llewellyn van Wyk, who is an architect and chairman of the Cape Town Heritage Trust.

His warning follows research indicating Cape Town would lose at least 8 000 jobs immediately if Parliament was moved. Philip Black, of UCT's school of economics, said medium- to long-term income of R3-billion would be lost.

Pillay to be co-ordination head

BD 13/11/97 (3044)

Greta Steyn

FINANCIAL and Fiscal Commission director Pundy Pillay is to leave the commission at the beginning of next year to set up a special unit in Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office to look after the co-ordination and implementation of government policies.

Pillay confirmed yesterday that he was to head up the unit, which would focus on issues, such as job creation, that cut across a number of government departments.

"The unit will do many of the things that the reconstruction and development programme (RDP) office did, but with a lower profile and without transgressing on departments' terrain."

Pillay said one of the unit's tasks would be to keep the deputy president informed on "whether policy is actually feasible". At the moment, policy white papers were being approved as a matter of routine, without adequate checks to make sure that they would be financially viable.

The unit would also collect statistics and act as an information source as part of "trying to pull the threads (of government) together". Pillay declined to say exactly what the size of the unit would be, but said it would be small.

When the RDP office closed at the end of March last year, it was decided that Mbeki would take over its co-ordination functions while the finance department inherited its budgetary reprioritisation.

The RDP Fund, which was used as a means to reprioritise spending, no longer exists. However, the finance department is looking at setting up a reserve by cutting back on all departmental and provincial budgets. The reserve would be allocated by the cabinet, rather than through the normal budgeting procedure.

→ cont.

'Disaster' if Parliam

(304A)

13/11/97

Cape Town stands to lose millions

INSIDE STORY



Removing Parliament from Cape Town could trigger the terminal decline of the central city. Special Writer **MICHAEL MORRIS** reports

In the years after the District Six thousands were pushed out of the city, and the scar grew over with grass, the delusion that a sound outcome would somehow devolve from South Africa's political settlement may have seemed plausible.

Yet – quite apart from the apparently intractable debate on what is to be done with the contested swathe of prime city land – the legacy of the removal of the people of District Six is as enduring as it is pernicious.

There was a time when the east city served, and was served by, a substantial community that, within years, was gone.

The result, says architect, chairman of the Cape Town Heritage Trust and former deputy mayor Llewellyn van Wyk, is still evident.

"The removal of District Six undermined the economic viability of the east city to the extent that 20 years later it is still struggling to come to terms with the consequences."

Now, he says, imagine taking Parliament away from the same Cinderella sector of a central city area.

"I fear a second removal, this time involving office workers and ancillary services, could just be the death knell of the east city.

"But this time, the effect will spill over into the CBD as a whole because the combination of District Six and Parliament going is too large an impact to contain in one quarter of the city.

"The urban blight which followed the removal of District Six will spread to the entire CBD just as the disinvestment of property developers from Johannesburg collapsed its CBD.

"Johannesburg is still struggling some two decades later to overcome the economic devastation that followed, despite numerous attempts to tackle the problem."

Putting Parliament somewhere else, he says, "is not just about the relocation of the legislature: it is about the disinvestment of an entire sector of the economic life of the city".

Mr Van Wyk points out that Parliament "brings with it a massive requirement for ancillary service space in the form of office accommodation and government garage facilities, as well as many thousands of people who require access to the full gambit of service facilities".

One of the main consequences of taking Parliament away would be to "leave behind many thousands of square metres of empty office space in a precinct which is not in high demand for office accommodation".

"The quality of the space left vacant is at best lower B grade with little or no access to parking.

"The take-up rate of office space in the CBD is not sufficient to absorb the dumping of thousands of square metres of undesirable space into the market in one fell swoop.

"The service facilities which currently occupy ground floor retail space will also become vacant with a dramatic impact on the quality of the urban environment. Apart from the urban blight so created, many thousands of jobs will be destroyed.

"It will become almost impossible to reactivate these economic activities once they have been dislocated: the experience which followed the District Six removal bears testimony to this.

"These impacts are all measurable, particularly in the light of the past experiences of our own cities, let alone those of international cities. The impacts are tangible and real."

Couple this with metropolitan planni… cing the daily influx into the city by creati… for economic activi… homes on the Cape Fl… that any future use fo… tary buildings is hea… by their design, and tion-worthy status – potentially devastati…

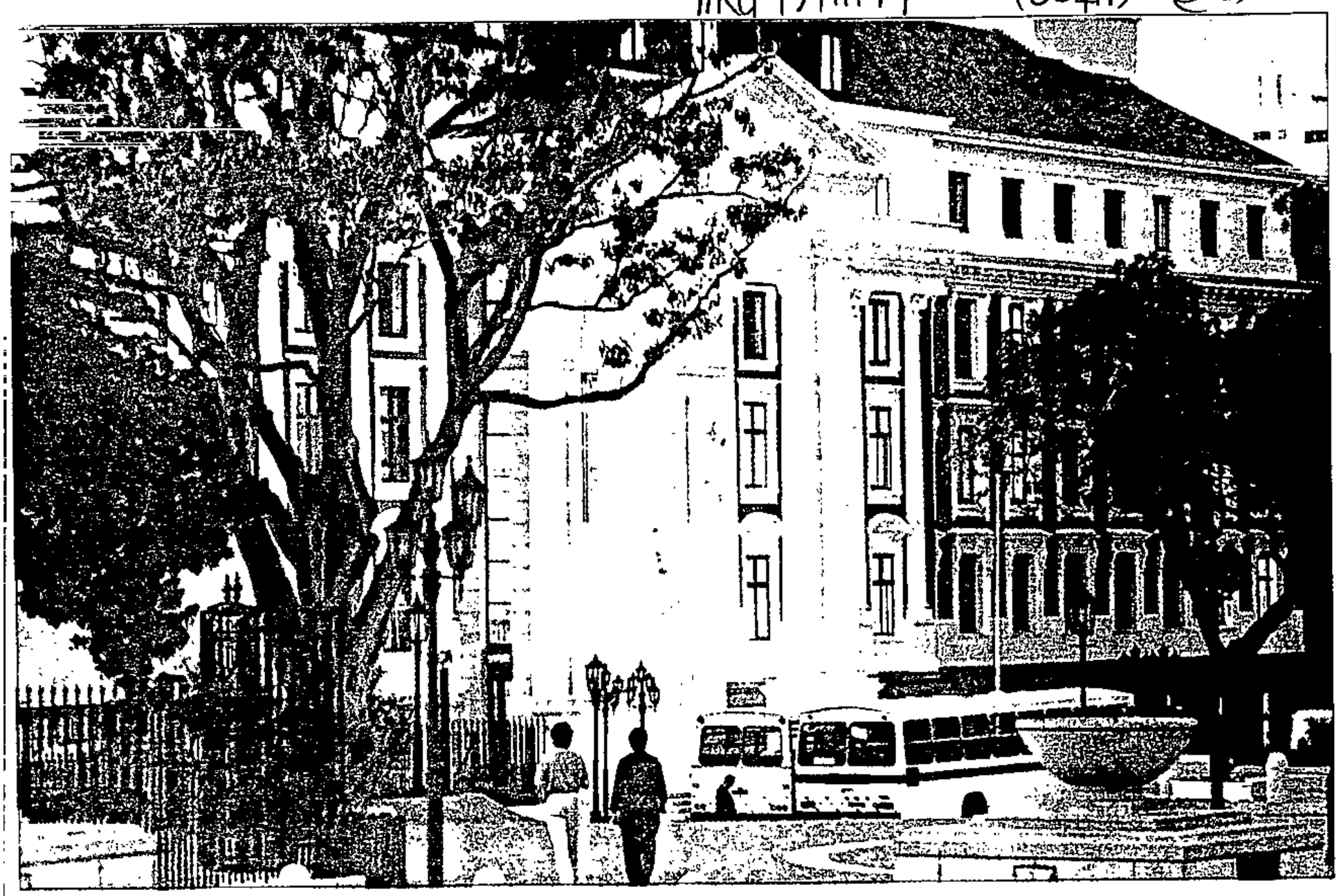
"These factors com… Wyk warns, "will pla… burden on the CB…



Parliament by night: moving it could sound the death knell of the east…

Parliament were to move

ARG 13/11/97 (304A)



Parliament by night: moving it could sound the death knell of the eastern part of the city, says architect and chairman of the Heritage Trust Llewellyn van Wyk

urban environment. Apart from the urban blight so created, many thousands of jobs will be destroyed.

"It will become almost impossible to reactivate these economic activities once they have been dislocated: the experience which followed the District Six removal bears testimony to this.

"These impacts are all measurable, particularly in the light of the past experiences of our own cities, let alone those of international cities. The impacts are tangible and real."

Couple this with the (desirable) metropolitan planning goal of reducing the daily influx of commuters into the city by creating opportunities for economic activity nearer their homes on the Cape Flats – and the fact that any future use for the parliamentary buildings is heavily constrained by their design, and their conservation-worthy status – and you have a potentially devastating impact.

"These factors combined," Mr Van Wyk warns, "will place such a heavy burden on the CBD that many investors and tenants will relocate to new sub-urban areas and this pattern will finally lead to the collapse of the CBD in a similar way to that of Johannesburg."

He acknowledges that while several key projects in the east city – a new shopping complex in Roeland Street, the redevelopment of the central Post Office site among them – could contribute to a regeneration of the area, they could not compensate for the loss of Parliament.

"When you start pulling out the government property and dropping it on the market, no amount of individual buildings will stop that wave."

In fact, the consequences extend beyond the city centre.

"The most substantial portion of the rates base of Cape Town is the CBD. If you pull the plug on it, you are taking away one of the city's major sources of income.

"And the likelihood is that businesses moving out will not simply move to Claremont, which would still fall within the city, but to Constantia, or Bellville, or Century City.

"The city, however, would sti have to clean the streets and servic the area. There is a huge capit investment in the CBD, which th city is still paying.

"CBDs are the golden egg municipal treasuries. If the valu drops, you are looking at a financi disaster."

But there is an alternative.

Mr Van Wyk sees it as a "wonde ful opportunity to transform the ea city, bury the effects of the removal District Six and create an urban env ronment which could be the reside tial phoenix of the CBD": the creatic of a pleasant, dynamic parliamentar precinct.

"A properly developed and ma aged precinct with residential qua ters, shops and restaurants, hote and schools all centred on the Ga dens could become the 'alternati legacy of the Parliament debate."

On the other hand, the central ci location of Parliament could turned into a desirable alternative.

"The parliamentary precinct fortunate in being one of the mo beautiful precincts of the CBD, loc ed as it is in proximity to the publ Gardens and having access to many of the national museums ar galleries, good restaurants, schoo crèche facilities, and shopping."

Mr Van Wyk notes that the Go ernment owns much of the land, a could use it to good effect in creati an attractive accommodation pr cinct.

"That residential mixed-use qua ty could be extended beyond Roelar Street towards Spin Street, and if th were to happen, one would be talki about a totally different kind of cit Inner-city living really could wo well and life for parliamentaria would be transformed."

As African National Congre MPs prepare for their year-end co gress at which the Parliament que tion is expected to be a promine concern, Mr Van Wyk believes th are faced with a simple challenge: "opportunity to destroy, or to create

For Cape Town's sake, he says, pray they choose wisely".

CAPE TIMES
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997

No rush to find Parliament a home

CT 14/11/97 (304A)

IN CAPE TOWN the great question is whether Parliament should remain or take its business elsewhere. **ZUBEIDA JAFFER** thinks the decision can and should wait.

"MUMMY, is there an airport in Pretoria?" asks my 11-year-old daughter, pulling her hair into a pony-tail.

"No, Ruschka," I say.

"Then Parliament cannot move there, mummy."

If only it was so simple. Often the simplicity of a child is what is needed to understand the solution to an adult problem, but not in the vexed case of where the democratic South Africa's Parliament should be located. This debate calls for wisdom, experience and vision — not least because the decision will affect future generations.

It is somewhat surprising that the ANC has framed this vital discussion in a way which appears to go against tried and tested traditions within the organisation. Much of the present debate has been reduced to a tug-o'-war between two cities. In an approach reminiscent of the recent Olympic-bid style, the nation is being called on to choose between Cape Town and Pretoria — or Midrand as a long-shot outsider.

A special three-person committee set up by the ANC has made a strong case for moving Parliament to Pretoria. Lobbyists at different ends of the country have frantically added up vast sums to "prove" government can save money either by moving or staying.

But this matter is not about the suitability of any one city. This requires a profound discussion about what firstly, is in the interests of building the fledgling nation, and then, eventually, ensuring that the country as a whole remains firmly linked to the African continent in every sense, including psychological.

Many plausible arguments have been put forward by those who support the move to Pretoria. It will save the government millions in travelling costs. It will improve the efficiency of government. It will solve the very real personal and family stresses which weigh heavily on cabinet ministers and senior civil servants.

Minister of Transport, Mac Maharaj, by far the most vociferous supporter of moving Parliament to Pretoria, is tired of having his family life disrupted. Who can blame the man when he has given a major part of his adult life to bringing greater freedom to all South Africans?

The move would merge the administrative and legislative capitals, streamlining governance. These are all points which deserve serious consideration by Capetonians. Leaving territorial loyalties aside, it must be said that if the benefits are unarguable, Capetonians should be called on to look beyond self-interest, to national interest.

At this early stage in the development of a young democracy, firm political decisions are needed to put the needs of the country centre-stage, above the needs of any one province. Unfortunately, though, many of the reasons advanced by the pro-move proponents do not show such high-mindedness. The national interest flows both ways. Inconvenience needs to be weighed against the implications of disrupting a system which links the south of the country firmly to the north. The interests of Pretoria property barons cannot be a determining factor in this debate; neither can it be assumed that such a move will necessarily result magically in government efficiency.

In today's world, greater efficiency no longer rests in physical togetherness. With the advent of sophisticated communication technology, the world trend is towards working from the point at which you find yourself. Efficiency is enhanced through improved management backed up by advanced technology and improved communication. The key reasons for moving or staying need to be interrogated at a more profound level: the overall political needs of the country.

Parliament at present anchors the Western Cape to the rest of the country and to the continent. Lift the anchor and the Western Cape could drift off, standing apart from the energising drive to accomplish an African renaissance. South Africa and Africa will be poorly served if the southernmost tip of Africa fails to be fully integrated into the continent — that is the nub of the matter.

It makes little political sense for the ANC to go to its Mafikeng Congress in December to decide such a weighty matter on an emotionally charged conference floor. It is almost inevitable that grandstanding and passion will outweigh sober consideration of costs and benefits. The ANC, as the governing party, needs to provide for all South Africans as many unifying causes around which the nation can grow.

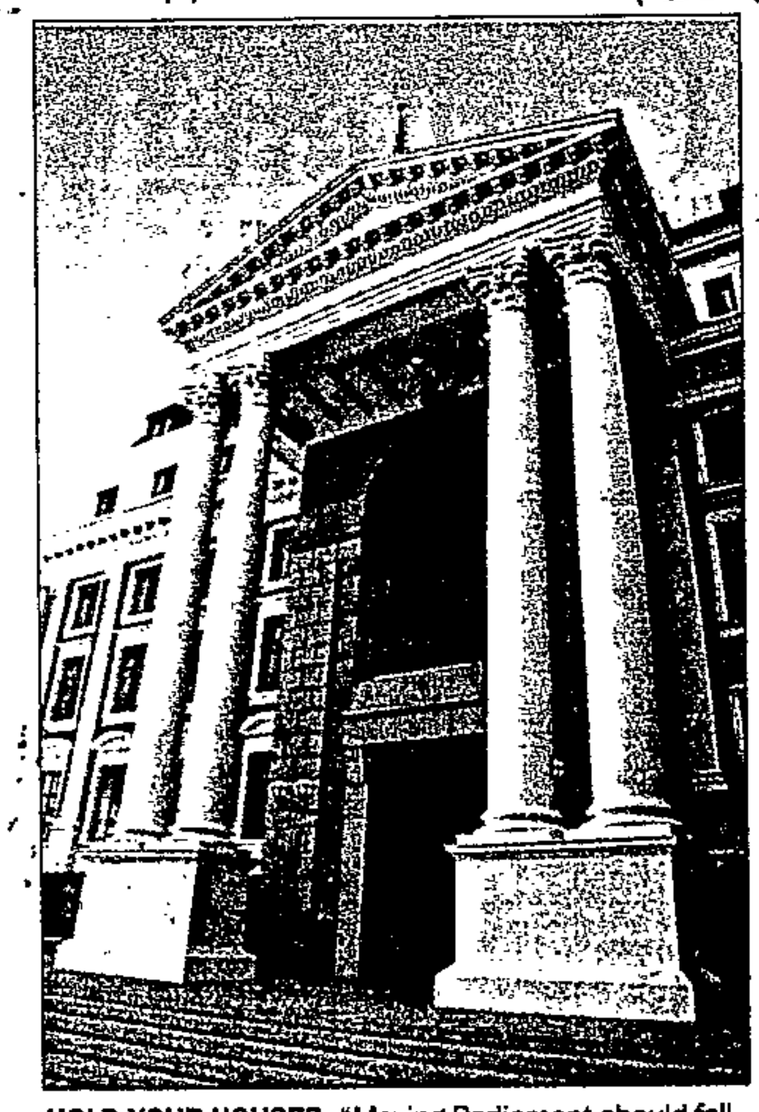
It is the history of wise decisions not always resulting in immediate gratification that has won for the organisation its central role in building democracy in this country. Political stability has been hard-won. Let us hope that when the ANC's national executive committee meets this weekend to discuss the best procedure in reaching a decision about the future location of Parliament, it will not assume that the enormous gains cannot be rolled back through hasty decisions.

This is not a decision that must be taken precipitously. Perhaps it could be revisited five years from now when, if all economic indicators are to be believed, the country will be in a better financial situation.

Five years from now, Members of Parliament will have further fine-tuned the parliamentary system. Some resources would have to go into solving the very real difficulties faced by Minister Mac Maharaj, other cabinet ministers and senior civil servants, but the investment would be small compared to the relocation costs now on the table.

The vast reserves of energy that will be needed to organise the move and resettlement of 10 000 people will not be expended at this crucial moment when there is so much else to be done. The national executive committee should provide the leadership to the organisation's members which stresses that a carefully considered political decision is what is required, not a narrow economic one based only on short-term "balance sheets".

This is a conundrum with implications for the future of South Africa. It requires not the simplicity and spontaneity of a child, but the wisdom and patience of true, national leaders.



HOLD YOUR HOUSES: "Moving Parliament should fall way down the list of priorities in rebuilding our fledgling democracy."

❑ *Zubeida Jaffer is the Independent Newspapers Group Parliamentary Editor.*

CAPE TIMES
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997 ★

FIERCE DEBATE LIKELY TODAY

ANC has re-think on move to Gauteng

CT 14/11/97 (304A)

IF A MOVE to defer an ANC decision this weekend on the siting of Parliament fails, the Gauteng lobby is expected to win. **JOVIAL RANTAO,** Parliamentary Bureau, reports.

THE ANC has had a major rethink on moving Parliament from Cape Town to Gauteng.

For the past few months the debate has been dominated by the idea of siting Parliament in Gauteng, but the new thinking is that the move should be postponed indefinitely, leaving Cape Town as the legislative capital.

ANC insiders said the move to defer the decision was based on political implications the organisation had to consider. This new thinking and opposing views will be fiercely debated during the ANC's national executive committee meeting starting in Johannesburg today.

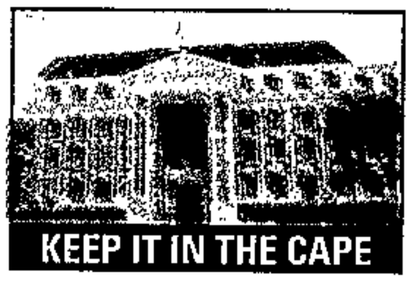
Reasons advanced for the new thinking was that Western Cape ANC leaders had warned that any decision to take Parliament away would unite communities in the province against the ANC. Top ANC officials were also concerned about the location of the legislative capital becoming an election issue.

The organisation was also worried that the NEC, which has a tradition of reaching decisions by consensus, would not agree on an issue that has divided the ANC. There were fears that failure to achieve consensus would overshadow the historic occasion of President Nelson Mandela's last NEC meeting.

Mandela will step down at the ANC national conference in Mafikeng next month and is expected to be replaced by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Mbeki, who is also favoured to take over the presidency of the country when Mandela steps down in 1999, has not pronounced himself on the location of Parliament while Mandela's preference for Pretoria as the single capital is known.

If the move to defer the decision fails and the matter is put to vote, the Gauteng lobby is expected to win. An NEC member said the committee came close to voting on the matter during the last meeting and Gauteng was going to win. "We did not vote because members wanted some questions to be answered. The plight of the Western Cape is understood but they cannot hold the country to ransom," the member said.


KEEP IT IN THE CAPE

ANC members have been barred from making statements on the issue and these spoke on condition on anonymity.

Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe, convener of the NEC subcommittee on the location of Parliament, will report back to the NEC. NEC sources said he would not table any recommendations but instead would submit "pros and cons" to start NEC discussions on the matter. Besides the financial assessment studies conducted over the past eight months, political implications on the issue would be considered.

If the NEC — the ANC's highest decision-making body between conferences — decides that Parliament should be moved, the decision would be referred to the cabinet and then to Parliament.

The sub-committee's last report said it would make better economic sense to move Parliament to Gauteng.

The Keep Parliament in the Cape lobby has argued that a move would be a blow to the province's economy, cost the city at least 3 000 jobs and lead to a political and economic over-concentration in Gauteng, which already dominates the economy, providing 43% of the GDP.

Serious concern has also been expressed that if Parliament were to be moved, Cape Town would gradually become an unofficial *Volkstaat*. ANC ministers known to support the Cape lobby include Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar and Water Affairs Minister Mr Kader Asmal.

Those wanting Parliament in Gauteng argue that a single and easily accessible capital would enhance government efficiency and lead to long-term economic savings. They say the two capitals are a source of disruptions to family and working life, and complain of the high cost of maintaining two houses. Other arguments are that Cape Town is not central and has remained a racist enclave.

ANC officials keen on Gauteng include MP Ms Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini and Provincial and Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Valli Moosa.

● See Page 8

Parliament site decision is no easy task

BD 14/11/97 (304A)

On the agenda at this weekend's ANC national executive meeting is the future siting of Parliament. Political correspondent **Wyndham Hartley** reports how a decision could be taken



While President Mandela has said he did not have a preference on the site of Parliament, his remarks were interpreted as meaning Parliament would be moving to Pretoria.

THE expression "it is like snorkelling in mud" just about sums it up.

In August, President Nelson Mandela, after instructing ANC members not to get embroiled in the increasingly strident public debate over the future site of Parliament, told the National Council of Provinces that he favoured a single capital for the country.

While he stressed that he did not have a preference, and that it could be Cape Town, Bloemfontein or any other city, his remarks were widely interpreted as meaning that Parliament would indeed be moving to Pretoria.

His remarks, and the fact that there is a very powerful lobby in SA politics for a move north, have led to the belief that the decision has already been made and that little can be done about it.

The question, however, remains as to what process will be followed in getting the constitution changed so that the move can be made legal. Any process, of course, would be bedevilled by the frequently given undertaking that public opinion would be canvassed and taken into account in making the decision.

The assumed path for the decision has been that, once the national executive committee (NEC) has decided, it would make a recommendation to the party's national conference where the matter would be debated and an ANC position finally arrived upon. This would then be fed into the system as an amendment to the Constitution which would then follow parliamentary procedure into law with 50% plus one of the 400 members of the National Assembly required to ratify the change.

Obviously, if Cape Town got the nod, this would not happen as the Constitution records Cape Town as the seat of Parliament and no amendment would then be necessary.

But this path has now become blurred. For example, in terms of the Constitution, all legislation affecting the provinces have to be referred to the National Council of Provinces and through it to the nine provinces.

In all nine it would have to be debated and a provincial position produced. Normally, for constitutional amendments, six of the nine provinces would have to support the change, but a special clause in the Constitution reduces this to five. If the National Assembly approves with 50% plus one but the council of provinces fails to get five votes for the change, then the whole matter becomes still more complicated.

A mediation committee will have to be established and if it cannot resolve the matter, then two thirds of the National Assembly will have to approve before it can become law. Phew.

The political ramifications are as complex, if not more so. For example, the ANC in the Western Cape is pretty much in favour of Cape Town and, it is understood, has been beavering away in ANC circles trying to buy time for the Mother City — apparently with some success.

These party members of course realise that mounting a serious electoral challenge to the National Party in the province will be set back many, many years if Parliament goes to Pretoria.

There are also those in the ANC from outside the Western Cape who fear that moving Parliament will effectively turn the province into a "volkstaat".

Countering this are those who suggest that the Western Cape is effectively a racist enclave and the national legislature does not belong there.

This would leave all their supporters in the province, black, coloured and white, up a gumpole.

Some powerful allies of the ANC, not in the tripartite alliance, have also expressed a preference for Parliament staying where it is. For example, the SA National Civics' Organisation (Sanco) favours the status quo. Its support in local government elections was vital to the ANC last time out. It is a relationship the party would not want to squander.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) has also expressed itself in favour of Cape Town. Its influence in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape successfully helped deliver a huge majority for the ANC in 1994.

With that province about to become contested by Bantu Holomisa's United Democratic Movement, mobilising Contralesa's support might be important to the ANC in the 1999 election. While, frankly, an ANC electoral loss in the Eastern Cape is impossible, a highly divisive battle would be unwelcome for the ruling party. This is quite possible in the light of the Idasa survey showing that an overwhelming number of urban Xhosa speakers want Cape Town to remain as the seat of Parliament.

These complications could partly explain recent rumours that the ANC's parliamentary caucus will make the key decision — rather than the national conference. There will be a number of conference delegates who have loyalties and ties to Sanco or Contralesa. The caucus of MPs, who could lose their jobs, will be easier to manage.

It is understood that a pro-Pretoria bias in a first report to the ANC national executive committee precipitated such ferocious debate that the committee was asked to prepare another report.

This reworked report will be on the table at this weekend's NEC meeting. The 80 members of the NEC could again shelve the matter — remembering that it attempts to reach consensus decisions rather than voting on divisive issues. What will happen then is anybody's guess.

Of course, the NEC could decide that, in the face of surveys of public opinion showing Cape Town as the majority of people's choice, the status quo should remain. But do not hold your breath.

New hope for Parliament

ANC divisions may spell 2-year reprieve

ARG 14/11/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town could get a two-year reprieve on the future location of Parliament.

There was growing confidence today that the national executive of the African National Congress, which is due to make a decision this weekend, will fail to reach consensus.

And since the executive's decisions are usually by consensus, the chances are strong that the matter will be deferred until at least after the 1999 election.

ANC members in the Western Cape have been pushing strongly for a deferment of the issue until after 1999, in spite of the ANC's earlier statement that it wanted to resolve the issue this year.

The ANC's national executive includes members strongly in favour of keeping Parliament in Cape Town, and there is every indication that they will stick to their guns this weekend.

Pro-Cape Town lobbyists are hoping that the NEC will opt at least for a much more thorough decision-making process. This would be in line with several statements by President Mandela that he wished for wide-ranging public involvement in the decision.

The strong and vocal stance in favour of Cape Town by some ANC MPs in last week's parliamentary caucus meeting, which drew little response from opposing lobbyists, has added to the optimism of pro-Cape Town lobbyists.

A further cause for optimism is that the issue of where to move Parliament has been muddied by the contest between Pretoria and Midrand, which has left even the powerful Gauteng bloc divided.

If a decision is made by the executive this weekend it will be discussed at next month's ANC national conference in Mafikeng, where it was originally planned that the final decision would be approved.

As the executive prepared for its meeting, influential figures added their voices to the pro-Cape Town lobby.

Yesterday former Archbishop Desmond Tutu addressed himself directly to the executive when he said: "I hope you are hearing me. Keep Parliament in Cape Town."

He argued that the country needed to share resources and that Gauteng, with 43% of the gross national product, should let Cape Town retain Parliament.

Ken Andrew's Inside Story, page 12
Cape Points, page 13

INSIDE STORY



The debate on the future site of Parliament has been unimaginative and the issue calls for more creative thinking, says **KEN ANDREW**, Democratic Party MP

The debate around the future site of Parliament has so far assumed that there are only two alternatives: leave Parliament in Cape Town or move it to Gauteng (whether the move is to Pretoria or to Midrand makes little difference).

There is much to be gained from considering more imaginative approaches to the issue.

There are substantial costs attached to both the common options: the financial implications of maintaining the status quo, on the one hand, versus the harm done to democracy, on the other.

The problems with taking Parliament away from Cape Town have been thoroughly aired, but they bear repeating:

■ Various polls have shown that most South Africans would prefer Parliament to stay where it is. Moving it would harm the precarious sense of national unity which we are battling to establish.

■ Our economy is already lopsided, with a disproportionate concentration of wealth and activity in Gauteng. Our Government should be trying to counter this; not exacerbate the imbalances.

■ The Western Cape and Gauteng are the



Taking the oath: MPs being sworn in under the new South African constitution. This ceremony could stay in Cape Town if the Government accepts that moving Parliament or sticking to the staus quo are not th

provinces in the country. All the others depend on the central government for funds. If the Western Cape were to lose Parliament, the economic damage might turn the province into one more revenue-dependent area.

- The costs of relocating are likely to be much higher than they have been estimated.

In every country where a capital has moved the costs have risen over many years to, in some cases, billions over the original budgets.

- Parliament and Members of Parliament have only recently settled into a productive routine after the disruption of the political change in 1994 and the resulting influx of new MPs, new staff and new ways of operating.

To disrupt Parliament again, with all the associated relocation and retraining of staff, will set its work back for many years at a time when we desperately need efficient government and service delivery.

- There is a constant danger of the executive dominating or even dictating to Parliament. This danger would be substantially increased if Parliament were to move to Pretoria.

But moving or accepting the status quo are not the only options.

Before making any decisions, the Government owes it to the people of South Africa to think far more deeply and creatively about how to improve the way things work now.

There is a case to be made that instead of further centralisation, we need more radical decentralisation; that the functions of government should be dispersed; not concentrated.

This is not an outlandish proposal. The trend of both governments and corporations around the world is to decentralise and to unbundle their operations.

The introduction of flexitime, the increased use of contracting and new communication technologies have changed our notions of work, which is increasingly not location-bound.

The barriers of distance are melting: stockbrokers relocate to country villages. American firms have whole accounts departments in India, business people commute from jobs in Gauteng to homes in the Cape.

Instead of bucking the trend by opting for greater central control, our Government should seriously consider leaving Parliament in Cape Town and unbundling much of the Pretoria-based bureaucracy, distributing departments among provincial capitals throughout the country.

If properly done, this would not damage efficiency – indeed, it might even enhance it – and it would promote democracy.

It is fallacious to argue that effective communication between ministers and their departments, or between the Government and the electorate, requires geographical proximity.

Most government employees – teachers, police, magistrates, prison warders, forestry workers – are not based in Pretoria, but scattered throughout the country.

Directors-general and ministers should thus spend a great deal of time travelling around their various sites of operation anyway.

Effective management is not management by remote control – the chief executives of most major South African companies spend on average only half their time in their home cities.

Moving Parliament closer to the executive headquarters in Pretoria would not cut travel costs significantly, if at all.

Even the assumption that ministers and directors-general should be constantly available to each other bears re-examination.

Efficient and service-oriented government will increasingly require that DGs be given greater autonomy to carry out their administrative functions while ministers pursue their political roles.

The Government's reform plans for the public sector announced in June this year, in line with the Democratic Party's own proposals, focus on much greater departmental autonomy coupled with greater accountability.

A decentralised public service which empowers its senior managers is likely to be more flexible, more dynamic and deliver a better service than the current centralised bureaucracy, characterised by poor service, inefficiency, complacency and corruption.

The benefits of decentralisation will be enhanced by efficient and creative use of modern communications technology – something the Government has hardly even begun to explore.

There is, for example, no network of computers in Parliament; few MPs, ministers or departmental employees use e-mail; and Government Gazettes and other documents printed in Pretoria often take several days to reach Cape Town, where electronic versions could be available immediately.

Our Government has a responsibility at least to investigate the enormous savings which might be generated by fixing these problems before making any decisions about the future site of Parliament or any other arm of government.

Parliament itself can also be made more efficient by revising its programme – a process which has already begun – to reduce the number of sessions and thus the travel involved for MPs (who will have to travel to and from their constituencies wherever Parliament is based).

Life can be made more comfortable for MPs travelling to Cape Town by making better use of the Fernwood property and by swopping one or two of the parliamentary villages for MPs from out of town for more easily accessible accommodation near the city centre.

But efficiency is not the only consideration. The promotion of national unity is equally important and it will certainly not be achieved by further concentrating economic and political power in Gauteng.

The smaller and poorer provinces would benefit immeasurably from the economic injection of hosting a couple of government departments, but they would gain more: a feeling of national involvement and significance which will do more than any centrally sponsored feel-good campaign to promote national unity.

Time to unbundle

Improve way things work now –

bureaucracy

then decide on Parliament

4A) ARG 14/11/97



Star 14/11/97

Govt must weigh up this vital move

30419

National interest comes first whether Parliament goes or stays, writes Zubeida Jaffer

"Mummy, is there an airport in Pretoria?" asks my 11-year-old daughter, pulling her hair into a ponytail.

"No, Ruschka," I say.

"Then Parliament cannot move there, mummy."

If only it was so simple. Often the simplicity of a child is what is needed to understand the solution to an adult problem, but not in the vexed case of where the democratic South African Parliament should be located. This debate calls for wisdom, experience and vision – not least because the decision will affect future generations.

It is somewhat surprising that the ANC has framed this vital discussion in a way which appears to go against tried and tested traditions within the organisation. Much of the present debate has been reduced to a tug-of-war between two cities. In an approach reminiscent of the recent Olympic-bid style, the nation is being called upon to choose between Cape Town and Pretoria – or Midrand as a long-shot outsider.

A special three-person committee set up by the ANC has made a strong case for moving Parliament to Pretoria.

Lobbyists at different ends of the country have frantically added up vast sums to "prove" how the Government can save money either by moving or staying. But this matter is not about the suitability of any one city. This requires a profound discussion about what is in the interests of building our fledgling nation, firstly, and then eventually ensuring that the country as a whole remains firmly linked to the African continent in every sense.

Many plausible arguments have been put forward by those who support the move to Pretoria: it will save the Government millions in travelling costs. It will improve the efficiency of government.

It will solve the very real personal and family stresses which weigh heavily on cabinet ministers and senior civil servants. Minister of Transport Mac Maharaj, by far the most vociferous supporter of moving Parliament to Pretoria, is tired of having his family life disrupted. Who can blame the man when he has given a major part of his adult life to bringing greater freedom to all South Africans?

The move would merge the administrative and legislative capitals, streamlining governance. These are all points which deserve serious consideration by Capetonians. Leaving territorial loyalties aside, it must be said that if the benefits are unarguable, Capetonians should be called upon to look beyond self-interest, to national interest.

Unfortunately, though, many of the reasons advanced by the pro-move proponents do not show such high-mindedness. The national interest flows both ways. Inconvenience needs to be weighed against the implications of disrupting a system which links the south of the country firmly to the north. Neither can the interests of Pretoria property barons be a determining factor in this debate. Nor can it be assumed that such a move will necessarily result magically in government efficiency.

In today's world, greater efficiency no longer rests in physical togetherness. It is enhanced through improved management backed up by advanced technology and improved communication.

The key reasons for moving or staying need to be interrogated at a more profound level: the overall political needs of the country.

At present, Parliament anchors the Western Cape to the rest of the country and to the continent. Lift the anchor and the Western Cape could drift off, standing apart from the energising drive to accomplish an African renaissance.

South Africa and Africa will be poorly served if the southernmost tip of Africa fails to be fully integrated into the continent.

It makes little political sense for the ANC to go to its Mafikeng congress in December to decide such a weighty matter on an emotionally charged conference floor.

Some resources would have to go into solving the very real difficulties faced by Maharaj, other cabinet ministers and senior civil servants, but the investment would be small compared to the relocation costs now on the table.

It requires not the simplicity and spontaneity of a child, but the wisdom and patience of true national leaders.

■ *Zubeida Jaffer is group parliamentary editor for Independent Newspapers.*

ANC rethinks moving Parliament

Star 14/11/97 (3044)

By Jovial Rantao
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – The ANC has had a major rethink on moving Parliament from the Western Cape to Gauteng.

While the debate on the location has, for the past few months, been dominated by a pro-Gauteng relocation, the new thinking is that the relocation should be postponed indefinitely, leaving Cape Town as the legislative capital.

ANC insiders told The Star that the move to defer the decision was based on political implications which the organisation had to consider. This change will cause debate during the ANC's national executive committee meetings, starting in Johannesburg today.

Reasons advanced for the new thinking are that Western Cape ANC leaders warned that any decision to take Parliament away would unite the province against the ANC.

Top officials were also concerned about the location of the legislative capital becoming an election issue.

The organisation was worried that the NEC, which has a tradition of reaching decisions by consensus, would not achieve agreement.

There were fears that failure to achieve consensus would overshadow the historic last NEC meeting with President Mandela.

Mandela will step down as head of the party at the ANC national conference in Mafikeng next month and is expected to be replaced by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

If attempts to delay the vote fail, Gauteng is expected to win.

An NEC member told The Star the committee came close to voting on the matter during the last meeting. "Gauteng was going to win. We did not vote because members wanted some questions to be answered. The plight of the Western Cape is understood but they cannot hold the country to ransom," the member said.

NEC sources said Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe would not table recommendations but would submit "pros and cons" to kickstart discussion.

▶ Vital move
Page 16

Pretoria gearing up on the sly for Parliament move

ARG 15/11/97 (304A)

ANDREA WEISS

A large chunk of central Pretoria has been quietly prepared to accommodate Parliament, long before any decision on a proposed move from Cape Town is taken.

A Saturday Argus investigation has revealed that much of the spadework for a quick and relatively inexpensive relocation of Parliament from the Mother City to Pretoria has been done.

Latest reports are that Cape Town could get a two-year reprieve if the African National Congress' National Executive Committee (NEC) fails to reach consensus on the move at a meeting to be held in Johannesburg this weekend.

But Saturday Argus found that many government buildings around Pretoria's Church Square are virtually empty of tenants and costly renovations are underway on a building that could be used for parliamentary purposes.

Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe's press secretary said the Minister would not comment on "anything which has any bearing on Parliament".

The investigation was based on a document produced by the Department of Public Works in 1994 naming several buildings as being possibilities for accommodating a new parliamentary precinct in the heart of down town Pretoria.

Now, three years down the line, it would appear that these buildings are even more ripe for the picking.

Most of the buildings are part of the central property register, under the control of the Public Works Department.Mr Radebe is a member of the three-member sub-committee appointed by the ANC to report on the relocation of Parliament.

A figure being touted for the upgrading of Church Square is between R164-million and R200-million.

Estimates for a completely new parliamentary complex hover between R1-billion and R2,5-billion.

The document – produced by Mr Radebe, deputy speaker Baleka Kgositsile and Labour Minister Tito Mboweni – is under wraps, but speculation is that it will expand on earlier proposals which focused on Church Square.

Some commentators suggest that property owners and the Department of Public Works have been hanging back on leases until the parliamentary decision is made. How much longer they will be able to do this depends on the outcome of this weekend's deliberations.

Among the buildings which have been earmarked are:

■ The former Transvaal Provincial Administration building, emptied when the Gauteng administration relocated to Johannesburg. These buildings, including the Old Poynton building, have only 40% occupancy, mostly by municipal officials temporarily displaced by the Munitoria fire. The building has about 50 000m² of office space.

The Department of Public Works has concluded an agreement with Gauteng provincial administration to

To page 2

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Pretoria gets ready for Parliament move

ARG 15/11/97 (304B)

From page 1

take over the old TPA building for refurbishment, ostensibly to house the Departments of Justice and Foreign Affairs. A possible parliamentary use for these buildings would be as ministerial offices.

■ The former Supreme Court building, known as the Palace of Justice, is currently undergoing a R42-million renovation. Public works officials say the building will be returned to the Department of Justice, but the courts have already relocated to a new building. Proponents of a parliamentary move suggest that the courtrooms within the Palace of Justice would be perfect for parliamentary committee meetings.

■ The old Raadsaal, currently being used by the Pretoria Metropolitan Council, has been suggested as a "tailor-made" meeting place for the Council of Provinces.

■ The former Capitol Theatre, which has been used as a parking garage, has a domed roof and a grand chamber that could seat 500 people. An agreement has been made between Gauteng public works and the Pretoria council for the use of the building.

■ In addition, the Reserve Bank owns three buildings on the square, two of which are empty of tenants. The bank aims to refurbish the buildings as offices encompassing about 12 000m² of space.

Willem Punt, chairman of the Pretoria Civic Trust, estimated that a new parliamentary complex would cost around R2,5-billion, whereas a revamp of Church Square would be a fraction of the cost. He says the option would be "dirt cheap" and would give a tremendously needed injection of life into Pretoria's central business district.

The Palace of Justice would be "excellent" for parliamentary committee meetings, while the the old Raadsaal was "tailor made" for the Council of Provinces, he said.

On the leasing front, Mr Punt suggested that everything was "in limbo" awaiting the outcome of a decision about Parliament.

"If a decision is taken now, then the move could take place within the next 18 months. I would expect that the first session of Parliament in 1999 would be in Pretoria."

Kallie Hanekom of the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament, which supports Cape Town, maintains that the move to Pretoria was planned at the Codesa negotiations before 1994.

Marching to Pretoria ...?

(3048) Star 15/11/97

A *Saturday Star* investigation has revealed that a large chunk of central Pretoria is being quietly prepared to accommodate parliament. Much of the spadework for a quick and "inexpensive" relocation of parliament has already been done.

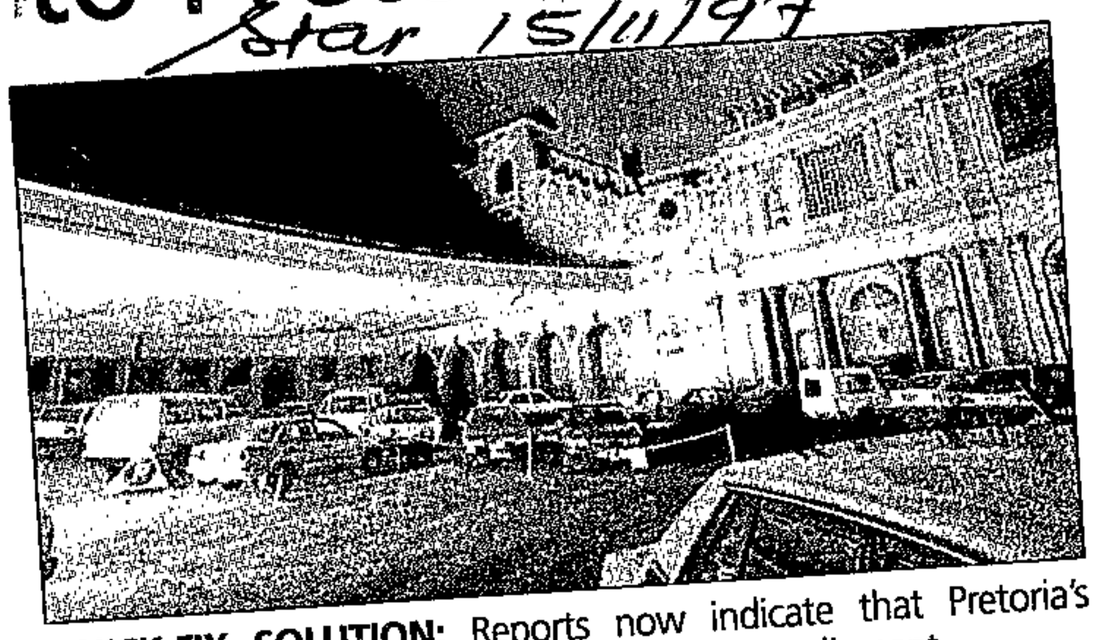
Work on some buildings has started in spite of reports that Cape Town could get a two-year reprieve if the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) fails to reach consensus on the move in Johannesburg this weekend.

Many government buildings around Pretoria's Church Square are virtually empty of tenants, and costly renovations are already under way on a building which could be used for parliamentary purposes.

Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe's press secretary said the minister would not comment on "anything which has any bearing on parliament".

Radebe is a member of the three-member subcommittee appointed to report on the relocation of Parliament.

The investigation was based on a 1994 Department of Public Works document naming several buildings as being possibilities for accommodating a new parliamentary precinct. Now, three years down the line, it would appear these buildings are even riper for the picking.



QUICK-FIX SOLUTION: Reports now indicate that Pretoria's Church Square is the favoured site for a new parliament

Most of the buildings are part of the Central Property Register, under the control of the Public Works Department.

A figure being mentioned for the Pretoria upgrading is between R164-million and R200-million. Estimates for a completely new complex hover between R1-billion and R2,5-billion.

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Willem Punt, chairman of the Pretoria Civic Trust, estimates that a new parliamentary complex would cost around R2,5-billion, whereas a revamp of Church Square would be a fraction of the cost – "dirt cheap".

Kallie Hanekom of the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament, which supports keeping parliament in Cape Town, maintains the move to Pretoria was planned at the Codesa negotiations before 1994 and that the Church Square option is still very much on the cards.

CP 16/11/97

New job for ANC MPs

(3044)

By JIMMY SEEPE

SENIOR ANC members of parliament are to be recalled in the new year to head the organisation's election team which will be mooted at its December conference in Mafikeng..

The names and ranks of those who will be recalled to lead the election team have not been finalised.

But City Press has learned that names have already been bandied around within the organisation's policy-making body – the National Executive Committee.

A report on the performance of each of the MPs and ministers in government and parliament's standing committees has also been finalised and tabled in the organisation.

The report will guide the organisation on who is likely to be deployed to the election team.

It is understood that individuals with a good public profile and national appeal will be selected.

However, the team's composition will only be made final in the new year after the election of a new secretary-general and five other leading figures to head the organisation's operations.

It is still not clear if the members will be required to work full-time and be replaced by new members.

The ANC also plans to start with a series of "People's Forums" in the new year – similar to those which were employed in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

But unlike the pre-1994 people's forums, which gathered the views of the public on what they expected from an ANC-led government, next year's forums could be different, ANC members said.

Next year's forums will be aimed at detailing some of the ANC achievements and shortcomings since it came to power.

According to insiders, the strategy is to start informing the general public about important achievements the ANC has made.

"There is a general mood that the organisation is not communicating its achievements in government well," said one.

"It allowed opposition parties to moan about failures without it (the ANC) taking the challenge back to the National Party and the Democratic Party, for instance."

In recent years opposition parties have criticised the ANC for failing to live up to its 1994 election promises.

The parties have also tried to argue that South Africa has become the worst country, in terms of safety, to live in since the ANC came to power.

CAP gains as NEC (304A) stalls decision on Parliament

CT 7/11/97

CHRIS BATEMAN

LOBBYISTS for keeping Parliament in Cape Town have gained breathing space with the African National Congress national executive committee's choosing to postpone its decision.

The NEC also decided at the weekend that the findings of the ANC investigation would be made public.

It said in a statement that an extended working committee would meet "within weeks" to decide how " a matter of such national importance ... (can) be dealt with in a rational manner through open and honest public debate".

The debate about moving Parliament has been dominated by controversy over the special cabinet subcommittee's keeping its discussions and findings secret.

The committee — Deputy Speaker Ms Baleka Mbete Kgotsisile, Minister of Labour Mr Tito Mboweni and Minister of Public Works Mr Jeff Radebe — is to table its final report on the merits of Parliament's remaining in Cape Town or moving to Gauteng when the extended working committee meets.

A spokesman for Cape Town's Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP), Mr Kallie Hanekom, said he believed the NEC had postponed its decision because of the public outcry, the ANC parliamentary caucus' wanting to be included in the debate and the potential for division in the ANC.

CAP's surveyors and auditors would need time to study the report in detail.

"Our campaign must continue with growing strength," Hanekom said.

The ANC's approach had been opposed by political parties, business organisations and such prominent personalities as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Eastern Cape premier the Rev Arnold Stofile and ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki.

"We've won the first test — now we have to strengthen our team," Hanekom said.

If the NEC is to decide about Parliament, the decision is likely to be taken by the new members elected at the conference in Mafikeng in mid-December. The decision would be disclosed in the new year.

Top ANC sources said the question was so divisive it was unlikely to be scheduled for discussion in Mafikeng.

The ANC had said it wanted a decision to be reached by the end of the year. Its turnaround comes hard on the heels of a national survey by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa that found solid support for keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

The NEC meeting had been dominated by a farewell to President Nelson Mandela, for whom it was the last, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Momoepa said.

The NEC had discussed proposals that would go before the national conference, among them several amendments to the ANC's draft strategy, he said.

'Corruption in govt out of control

(304A)

CT 17/11/97

PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

A WAR of words has broken out between the ANC and the National Party over corruption in government.

The NP claims corruption in government is out of control, with an estimated R5,5 billion to R6,5bn in funds being misappropriated in the period July to October.

The party believes much more could be involved, as it has included only prominent cases in its study.

NP media director Mr Daryl Swanepoel said Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape had incurred the highest losses as a result of corruption.

In Gauteng four new cases were reported involving R448 million, most of it paid to consultants.

Corruption cases in the NP database include container fraud and bribery among officials at South Africa's ports and borders amounting to annual revenue losses of between R2bn and R3bn.

In its initial response, the ANC said the seeds of corruption had been sown by the NP government.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC-led government had set up mechanisms to expose and root out the legacy of corruption "spawned and nurtured under NP rule" that would in the long run "undermine the moral and social fibre of our democratic society".

"We remain convinced that institutions the government has put into place are not only equal to the challenges but have begun making serious inroads into all forms of corruption," Mamoepa said.

PIC: ANTONIO MUCHAVE

'Huge corruption in govt'

(304A) Sowetan 17/11/97

By Ido Lekota
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress-led Government continues to be plagued by corruption amounting to billions of rands, according to a recent update of the National Party corruption barometer.

According to the report, corruption in Government institutions during the period from July to October 1997, amounted to more than R5,5 billion.

National Party MP Mr Daryl Swanepoel said yesterday that the report was an update of the one released in July showing that cases of corruption in the public sector amounted to R20 million.

According to the updated report, 56 new dossiers on corruption have since been opened.

In the four-month period, Gauteng province was the leader of the pack, with four cases in which consultants were paid a whopping R448 million unlawfully. Eastern Cape came second, with cases of corruption amounting to R64 million, of which R30 million resulted from paralysed administration. Mpumalanga and North West were also hit by cases of corruption amounting to R36 million and R39 million respectively.

However, according to the report, it was the poverty-stricken Northern Province that suffered the highest loss, amounting to R2,2 billion a year related to unauthorised spending. KwaZulu-Natal also has its fair share of the losses in the form of welfare and pension scams estimated at R1,1 billion a year.

According to the report, major state losses came in the form of fraud and bribery among port and border officials estimated at between R2 billion and R3 billion, theft of medicines from health institutions amounting to R1,6 billion annually.

Asked why the new report did not include cases from the Western Cape (which is an NP governed province), Swanepoel said in the four-month period between July and October they "could not pick up any cases of corruption in the province".

NWC to decide on seat of Govt

(304A)
17/11/97
Sowetan

6By Pamela Dube

CAPETONIANS still have to wait a few weeks before they know whether their city will remain the seat of Parliament. The African National Congress national executive committee could not finalise the matter this weekend.

Instead of pronouncing on whether Parliament should move to Pretoria or remain in Cape Town, the weekend NEC meeting, chaired for the last time by retiring ANC President Nelson Mandela, referred the matter back to the three-member sub-committee of the national working committee for further investigation.

The committee comprises Deputy Speaker Mrs Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, Labour Minister Tito Mboweni and Works Minister Jeff Radebe.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the NEC felt the matter was of national importance and should thus be handled "in a rational manner through open and honest debate among the public".

But first the report would be tabled at a special extended National Working Committee meeting in the coming weeks, Mamoepa said.

Apart from the historical considerations, the Cape Town campaigners insist that if Parliament is moved, the city would lose billions of rands in business and revenue and about 8 000 jobs would be lost immediately.

Their Gauteng counterparts argue that with Parliament in either Pretoria or Midrand, the Government would cut down on costs.

The NWC sub-committee is expected to balance all these facts before the ANC can commit itself to a position – to be finalised at the Mafikeng national conference next month.

'No deadline on Parliament move'

(3044)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

ARG 18/11/97

Pretoria – There is no deadline for a decision to be taken on the location of Parliament following the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) decision that the matter should first be subjected to public debate.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday that the party's extended national working committee had to work out deadlines.

Mr Mamoepa said the matter of the location of Parliament would not be on the agenda of the ANC's national conference in Mafikeng next month.

Asked whether the public process could include a referendum, Mr Mamoepa said it would be for the working committee to decide.

Doors need to be thrown open on SA's foreign policy

The Indonesian president's state visit to SA has again raised the issue of human rights and foreign policy. Political correspondent **Wyndham Hartley** investigates

BD 21/11/97 (304A)

MORE than 20 years ago, Indonesia invaded the small, southeast Asian island of East Timor. Estimates of the number of Timorese killed during the illegal occupation of the former Portuguese colony vary between 200 000 and more than 300 000.

Portuguese professor Antonio de Magalhaes estimates 308 000 people died at the hands of the Indonesians, making the genocide in East Timor the worst in history — outstripping the more publicised cases of Nazi Germany and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. His figures suggest more than 40% of the population has died in the 20 years since the invasion.

Even with a reasonable margin for error, the figures are astonishing. The slaughter by the Khmer Rouge accounted for about 2-million people or 28% of the population. The genocide in Rwanda in 1994 saw between 800 000 to 1-million people die. This was about 10% of the population. The population in East Timor in 1995 was less than it was after the Second World War when 65 000 East Timorese died during the Japanese occupation.

The fate of these people was apparently decided in terms of geopolitical forces in Washington and Moscow. President Mohamed Suharto, who has governed Indonesia for more than 30 years, reportedly met US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and US President Gerald Ford the day before the invasion of East Timor. Mountains of information on the Internet suggest that in the mid-70s the concern was that East Timor would become an independent communist island state; that it would be Southeast Asia's Cuba — astride strategically important sea routes. Kissinger said at the launch of his book, Diplomacy, in 1995 that the US had not wanted to alienate Suharto as the stability of the region after the collapse of Vietnam was a US concern.

East Timor and its people simply did not matter to the west. Consider that Australia has legally recognised Indonesia as the authority in East Timor in spite of at least two United Nations resolutions condemning the invasion and occupation of the island. Of interest, it seems, were the potential markets in Indonesia and oil reserves in the Timor sea. The people did not matter.

Now Suharto is in SA and, according to Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, trade relations between SA and Indonesia and East Timor top the agenda for discussions with President Nelson Mandela.

The state visit is a reciprocal one, following Mandela's visit to Indonesia in July. During that visit, Mandela made some progress on the East Timor issue, requesting and being granted an interview with the imprisoned Timorese Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) leader Xanana Gusmao. At the same time, he gave an undertaking to Suharto that SA would be prepared to sell weapons to Indonesia "for defensive purposes". (It is worth remembering that Kissinger was unhappy about publicity surrounding the invasion of East Timor as the Indonesians were using US weapons.)

A brutally pragmatic foreign policy now would insist that selling weapons to Indonesia and developing an improved trade relationship are more important than finding a solution to the East Timor problem. This, simply because it would benefit South Africans more than achieving a free East Timor would. But, having set human rights as a fundamental pillar of foreign policy, such obvious pragmatism could be harmful to SA's image. This is particularly so in the light of recent SA history where countries the world over were encouraged to assist in overthrowing apartheid.

Thus, East Timor cannot be ignored in any SA relationship with Indonesia. This was demonstrated yesterday in protests by the African National Congress's alliance partner, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, urging Suharto to release political prisoners, allow trade union activity and negotiate a settlement in East Timor.

Mandela got into trouble with the Americans by visiting Muammar Gaddafi in Libya. Astonishingly, the US felt it could chastise Mandela for that visit while it was rolling out the red carpet for People's Republic of China leader Jiang Zemin in Washington in spite of the continued imprisonment of prodemocracy activists in China. This indicates the schizophrenia which characterises foreign policy generally and that of the US in particular.

This schizophrenia is creeping into SA foreign policy, and is clearly visible in the country's relationship with Indonesia. If human rights was the primary issue, a relationship would not be possible. If pragmatism was the issue, then yesterday's 21-gun salute for Suharto was entirely appropriate.

When SA's foreign policy is challenged on the basis that it is promoting relationships with abusers of human rights, the response is that such engagement is the most constructive way of doing business. This sounds like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in reference to apartheid SA. If human rights are no longer a fundamental pillar of foreign policy, South Africans should be told.

Perhaps the time is right for a white paper process on foreign policy during which civil society can express itself.

Political funding bill gets the nod

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARG 21/11/97

New legislation on public funding of political parties will stop powerful financial interests setting up political parties to serve their interests, says Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Valli Moosa.

The Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Bill was approved by the National Council of Provinces yesterday after its approval by the National Assembly.

The bill provides for taxpayer funding for the operational expenses, but not electoral costs, of parties represented in Parliament or provincial legislatures or both.

It sets limits on uses of the money, outlawing uses such as payment of representatives.

The only test of eligibility of a party to get funding would be "whether there were people in the country who voted for and supported that party".

Parties' policies would not be relevant to whether they received funds, Mr Moosa said.

R5,5-billion corruption in 3 months, claim Nats

(304A)

PIETER MALAN

ARG 22/11/97

Government corruption totalling more than R5,5-billion has been exposed during the past three months, the National Party has claimed.

In the latest update to their Corruption Barometer, the NP said that 56 new cases of Government corruption were unearthed since the NP's last report in August.

This included corruption cases going as far back as April 1994.

Among the cases highlighted in the 200-page report are:

■ Fraud in the Denel retirement fund.

■ R1,6-billion in medicine theft – up to half of all state medicine in Gauteng is stolen before it is dispensed, the NP report said.

■ Cases of nepotism, including non-compliance to state tender procedures.

■ More than R240-million in credit card fraud.

■ Unauthorised expenses that run into millions in some provinces.

■ A director of a Government department in the Free State who went overseas for three months without authorisation.

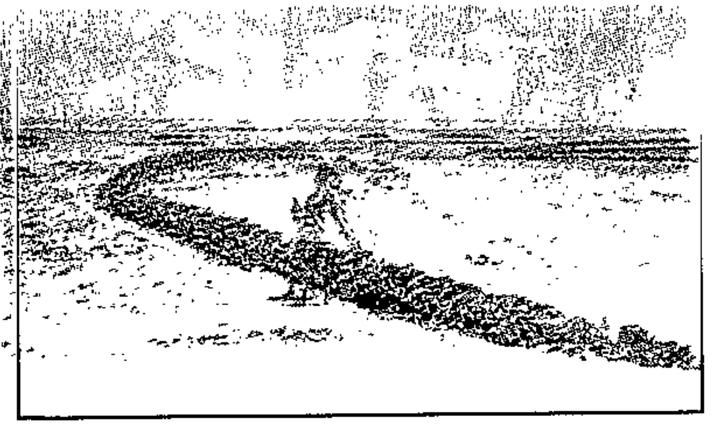
The party said the information for the report came from newspaper clippings, reports of the auditor-general, court cases and commissions of inquiry into individual cases of corruption.

The party notes that too many cases of corruption are investigated by internal commissions of inquiry whose reports are never made public.

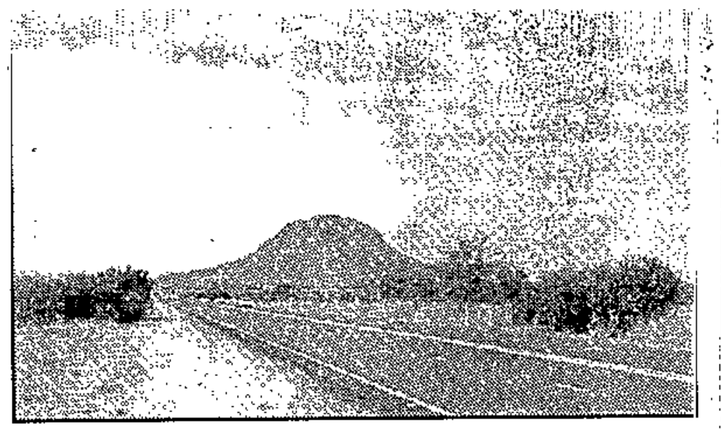
"We fear that the Government is trying to hide the facts by appointing these internal commissions whose findings they are not obliged to make public," said NP spokesman Darryl Swanepoel.

The report singles out the Eastern Cape and Northern Province as the two worst provinces.

And the report noted that these provinces were near to institutional collapse.



ROCKS OF AGES: Strandloper fish traps in the Western Cape will become national monuments



HOLY SITE: Modimolle mountain near Nylstroom is said to be a dwelling place for ancestral spirits

Stuck with apartheid's monuments

'Offensive sites should serve as reminders of our turbulent past'

ST 23/11/97 (304A)

BOBBY JORDAN

FORMER Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd's holiday house at Betty's Bay in the Cape is at the centre of a political storm over "apartheid" national monuments.

The dispute over the house is exacerbated by the fact that Verwoerd's family still fly the *Vierkleur* flag there during holidays. The flag is the symbol of the old Boer republics and is symbolic of right-wing Afrikaner movements. Now the National Monuments Council appears headed for a political showdown with the ANC and PAC over the former prime minister's house and hundreds of other racist monuments.

At a landmark meeting of the council in Cape Town this week, delegates decided against "undeclaring" certain monuments which were proclaimed during the apartheid era, but are considered highly offensive by the majority of South Africans.

The decision has raised a few eyebrows among senior members of the ANC and the PAC, who say monuments should foster national reconciliation.

The Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Lionel Mtshali, said that, while he does not favour the deproclamation of national monuments, he would like to see legislation to "redress previous imbalances".

However, senior officials of the National Monuments Council say the council "cannot rewrite history" by "undeclaring" monuments and that offensive monuments should rather serve as reminders of South Africa's turbulent past.

One of the contentious monuments is a gravestone in Pilgrim's Rest in Mpumalanga, which reads: "Sacred to the memory of Fred J Sanders, killed in a skirmish with the kaffirs on 27th August, 1878, at the age of 24."

The inscription has prompted written complaints from local residents.

"People are feeling bad about having to support a monument which is offending them," said local ANC representative Rolson Moropa.

He has submitted a written complaint to the National Monuments Council calling for the inscription to be removed.

"It's not just us having a problem with the word 'kaffir'. The issue is also about the fact that the history of the black man

That's easier said than done, according to Professor John Milton, chairman of the council, who said the declaration of national monuments was still restricted by legislation — and was weighted firmly in favour of colonial history.

For instance, the names of early Dutch settlers scrawled on a cave wall near Clanwilliam was deemed "historically significant", whereas caves decorated centuries earlier with Khoi and San rock art do not make the grade.

However, a new Heritage Bill, expected to pass through Parliament during the next sitting, would redress past imbalances, Milton said. The council had already drawn up a list of new national monuments that emphasised a "shift in emphasis".

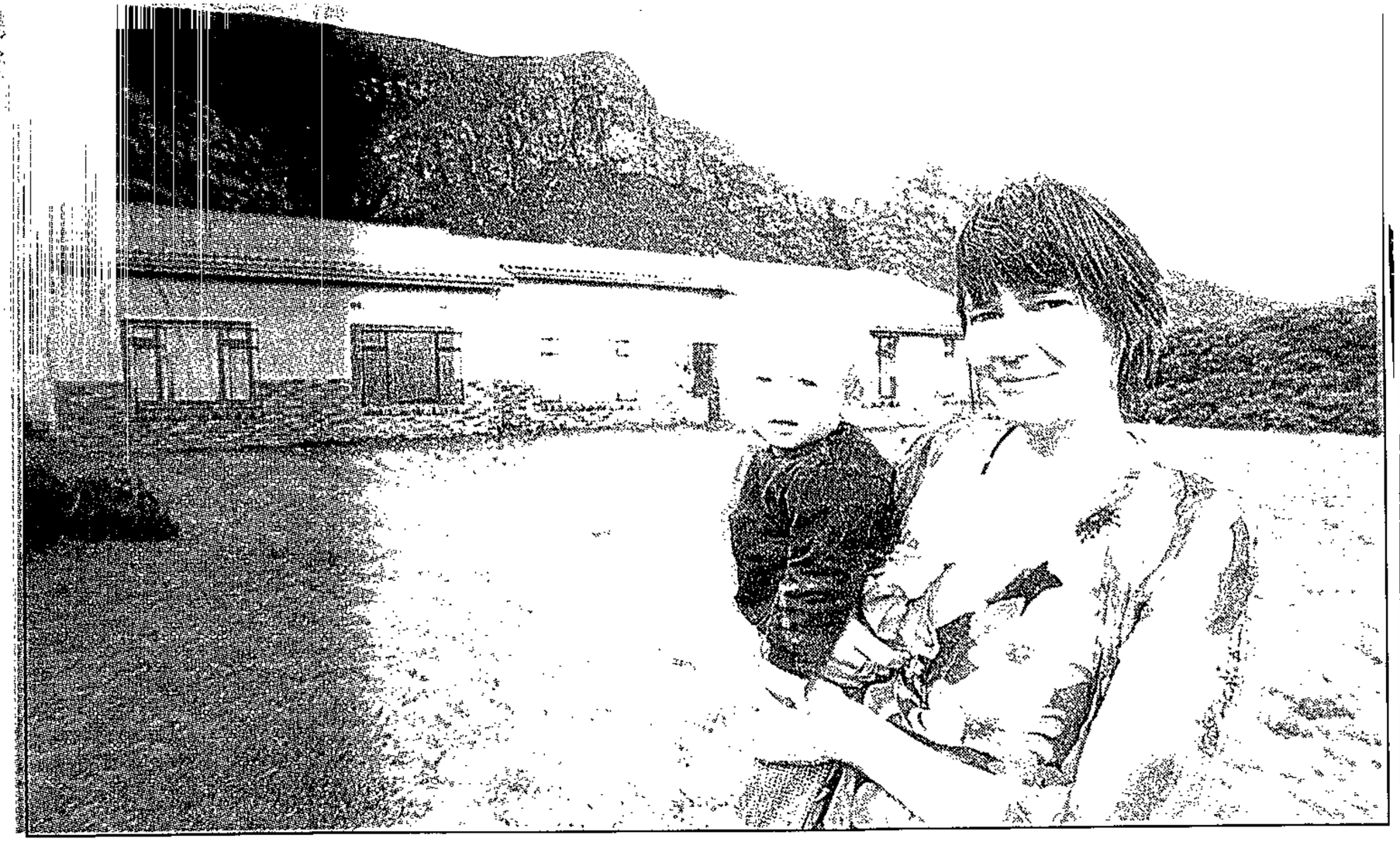
The list includes sites such as the Modimolle mountain near Nylstroom in Northern Province, believed to be a dwelling place for ancestral spirits; the Robben Island embarkation building at the Cape Town Waterfront; and the cemetery where Steve Biko was buried in 1977 in King William's Town.

Despite the declaration of new monuments, all the old monuments would remain, Milton said.

"We've decided that we can't rewrite history and undeclare things. Offensive words such as 'kaffir' are part of our history and it's our job to put them in the proper historical context. It was something we looked at very carefully."

Verwoerd's holiday cottage was a case in point: "Today, we would never consider that to be something we would declare a national monument, but we still can't undeclare it."

Dr Graham Dominy, director of arts and culture in Mpumalanga, said of the Pilgrim's Rest gravestone: "We can't blot out our history — that would be a terrible mistake. At the same time some



APARTHEID HIDEAWAY: Artist Michelle van Dyk and her son live next door to Hendrik Verwoerd's holiday home in Betty's Bay in the Cape. Verwoerd's relatives hoist the 'Vierkleur' at the house when they stay there on holidays Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

Coming clean on the funding game

Germans can give a few tips on how to subsidise political parties

ARG 24/11/97 (304A)

INSIDE STORY



Controversy has plagued the South African Parliament's decision to finance the operations of political parties, but such a system can work well, writes **TYRONE SEALE** of the Independent Foreign Service in London

Last week, the South African Parliament approved the funding of political parties with taxpayers' money. While some may regard this as Masakhane gone mad, it's not such an extra-terrestrial idea.

Check with any German taxpayer and they'll you they're (relatively) happy to dig into their pockets every year to try and keep politics clean.

In terms of legislation amended three years ago, German political parties annually receive subsidies according to their "degree of establishment in society", which is measured by the number of votes they obtain, on the one hand, and the total amount of subscriptions and donations they receive.

If a party receives public funds, these funds must not exceed the party's own income, comprised mainly of donations and subscriptions.

An upper limit ensures that the parties are not funded mainly by the state and self-funding takes precedence.

The total, national amount of public subsidies calculated for all the parties must not exceed an absolute upper limit of the equivalent today of about R700-million a year.

In principle, the receipt of donations and subscriptions to the parties are promoted by the tax deductibility of donations for the donor.

However, a federal constitutional court recently said donations by corporations would no longer be tax deductible, in order to prevent corporations covertly channelling funds on behalf of individual, private donors who do not have to pay tax on donations of up to R40 000, as in the case of married people who donate together.

So, while the parties fill their coffers from private and public sources, what's in it for the voter-cum-taxpayer?

In Germany, the benefit is that parties have to draw up accounts on their assets as well as on the origin and expenditure of their funds.

'Some want to see that all donations of over R4 000 should be declared by donors and recipient parties'

Over the past five years, the limit at which large donations have to be made public has been lowered from about R120 000 to R60 000, while membership subscriptions and donations from individuals up to about R36 000 have to be listed separately in order to make it possible to calculate the amount of public subsidies to which a party is entitled for a particular donation.

Built into this legal obligation to disclose details of donations is the assumption that such disclosures will ultimately identify and expose those who might be using their chequebooks to buy political influence.

Unless they have something dire to hide, you would expect politicians to welcome a system where, in return for accountability, they are able to draw on subsidies from an electorate whose financial contributions more often than not heighten their interest in the political system.

Still, the Germans, and a few other democracies, represent a minority in worldwide terms, as parties who are too embarrassed to shake piggybanks under people's noses outside shopping centres rely almost exclusively on undisclosed contributions to tide them over.

In Britain, the issue of party funding has established itself firmly at the top of the political agenda in recent days, as the Labour Party defends its acceptance, at the beginning of the year, of a £1-million (about R8,3-million) donation from Formula One motor racing supremo Bernie Ecclestone.

The donation might have gone unmentioned had the government not decided two weeks ago to exempt Formula One racing in Britain from a ban on tobacco advertising and sponsorship in sport.

But, after voluntarily consulting Sir Patrick Neill, who heads the Committee on Standards in Public Life, Labour has decided to give back the money.

There is a supplementary problem, though: the party has already spent the money. The party is desperately broke after winning the election and it has no clue how to raise the money it now owes Ecclestone, who says he has no use for it.

'It is assumed such disclosures will expose those trying to buy political influence'

All of this has left Prime Minister Tony Blair in a spin. At the weekend, he specifically went on television to explain that while his party had at no stage acted unethically, and that while the Formula One exemption had nothing to do with Ecclestone's recent storming of No 10 Downing Street to debate the exemption, he regretted the drip-drab manner in which the government released information about the affair.

The upshot so far is that the Neill Committee is being pressed to investigate all manner of possible funding options in order for the government to prepare legislation in this regard.

This is a matter to which the Labour Party has devoted considerable thought.

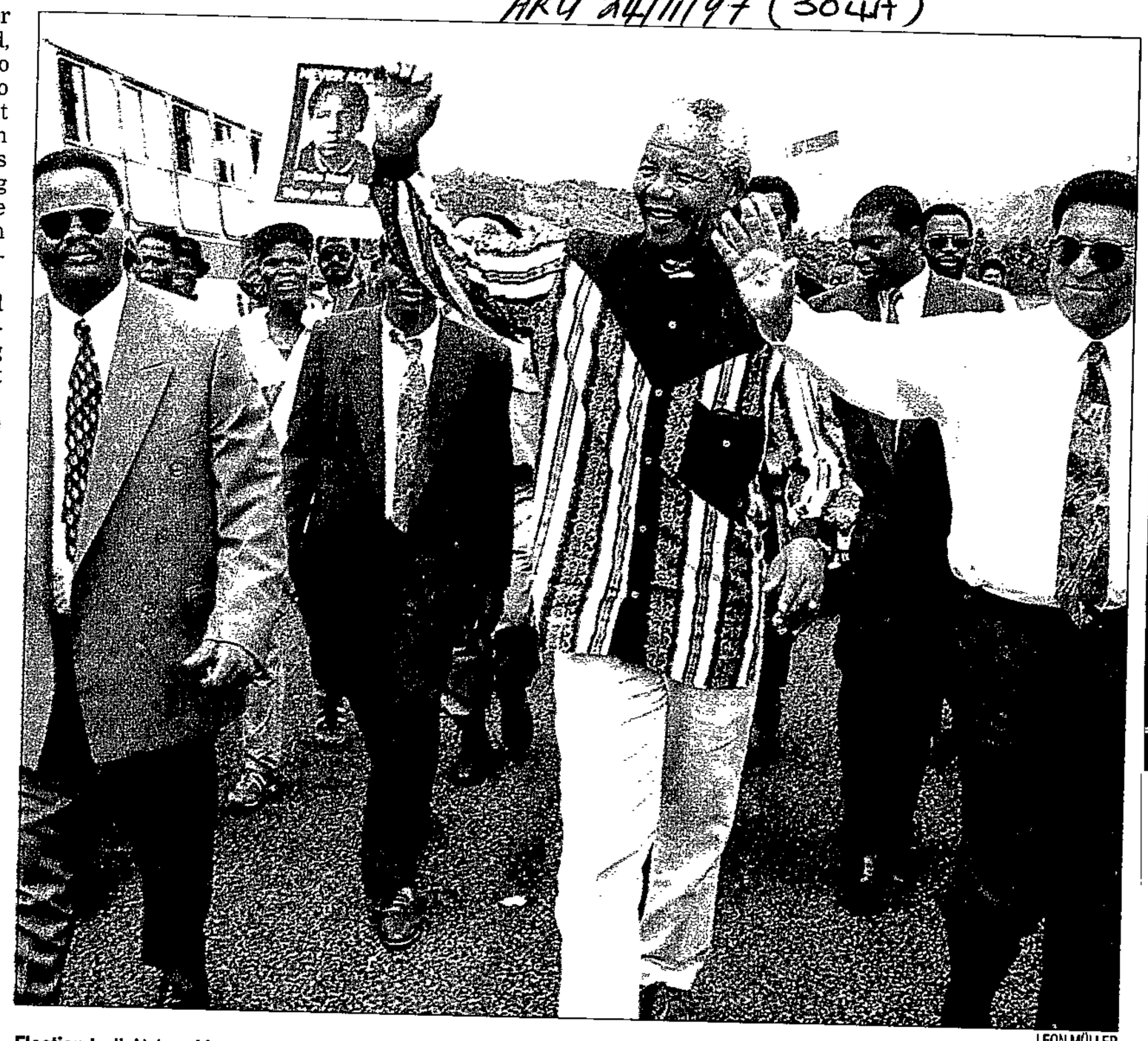
Among Labour's own ranks are activists who believe the legislation that will be formulated in the new year should apply to all parties represented in the House of Commons, which threatens to explore in particular how Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, is able to fight its battles.

Some Labour members also want to see that all donations of over £500 (about R4 000), should be declared separately, and under legal obligation, by both donors and the recipient parties.

Furthermore, this information should be available for public scrutiny.

Some even want donations to be printed legibly on products and on all communications bearing the donor's name.

If taken up, this suggestion means that in future, a can of baked beans could tell you a lot more than just the recommended daily allowance of fibre.



Election trail: Nelson Mandela hits the road during the 1994 poll with Dr Allan Boesak, right, as a companion

LEON MÜLLER

Squeaky-clean Liberal Democrats treasurer Lord Razzall says the Ecclestone affair has "blown a huge hole in Britain's current system of political party funding".

He believes the Neill Committee must not only bring forward proposals to prevent allegations that corporate donors are buying influence, he must also propose a stable alternative system for the funding of political parties.

"Such a system inevitably will involve an element of state funding of political parties. If these issues are not addressed immediately the process of democracy in this country will be left crippled," he says.

It is an argument that will be brought to a head in this country and is due to begin in South Africa soon.

North-West backs Zuma for deputy

KwaZulu ANC leader wins 76 votes to Winnie's six

AALT 24/11/97 (304A)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT AND SAPA

Pretoria – The African National Congress in the North-West Province has backed KwaZulu Natal leader Jacob Zuma's nomination for the party's deputy-presidency.

Delegates at the organisation's provincial general council meeting in Rustenburg yesterday were reported torn between Mr Zuma and Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

North-West chairman Popo Molefe denied any division within the organisation, but sources said the provincial women's league and the Potchefstroom region had lobbied strongly for Mrs Madikizela-Mandela. However, Mr Zuma's nomination was approved by 76 votes to six for Mrs Madikizela-Mandela.

But delegates said the mood suggested some delegates would "follow their conscience" when voting at next month's national conference.

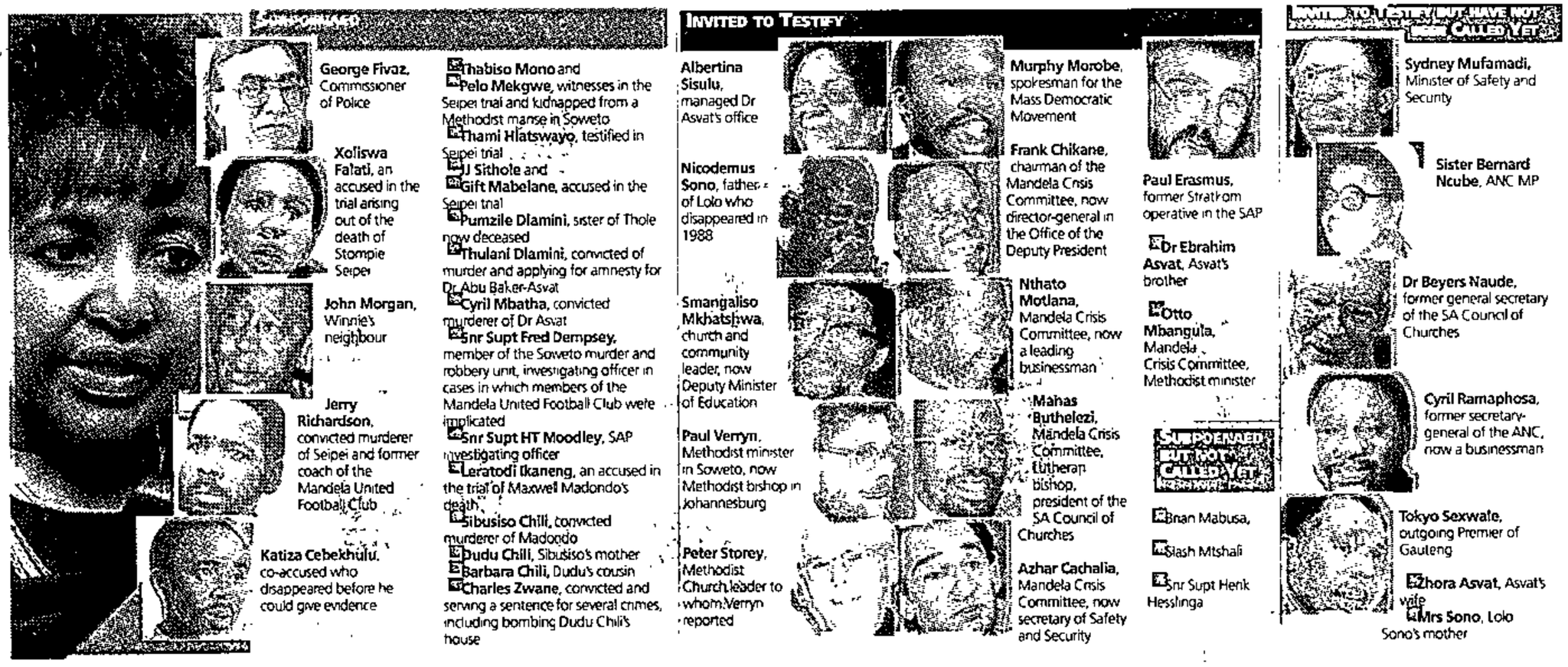
The Women's League in the province – which was also reported to be divided – had vowed to stand its ground and maintain its support for Mrs Madikizela-Mandela.

But Mr Zuma's support seemed to have grown – with eight provinces, excluding Mpumalanga, already having indicated their support.

Sources said that all ANC provinces were, at least officially, supporting Thabo Mbeki for the ANC presidency when Nelson Mandela steps down, with Mr Zuma as his deputy, Kgalema Motlanthe, currently the secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers, as secretary-general, MP Mavivi Manzini-Myakayaka as his deputy and high Commissioner in London Mendi Msimang as treasurer-general.

KwaZulu Natal nominated Sport Minister Steve Tshwete for the national chairmanship, while the North-West nominated former Free State premier Patrick Lekota.

But sources said Mr Tshwete's nomination was more of a trade-off with the Eastern Cape for securing Mr Zuma's nomination.



Crossing the Rubicon of Riversdale

CT&I 25/11/97 (304A)

ROGER FRIEDMAN

THE Kaffirkuils River running through Riversdale is at the centre of a political storm, with the African National Congress-controlled town council fiercely opposing a proposal by the National Party-led District Council that it be renamed the Swartkuils.

Mayor Mr Chris Taute said the word "kaffir" had painful racist connotations and it was cynical to suggest these would disappear with a new name. It would be merely a perpetual reminder of colonial and apartheid oppression.

The town council had consulted experts in the region's Khoi history, including Mr Hercules Wessels of Hermanus who came up with the name Goukou. In researching the name of the river, Wessels found a description in the journal of explorer Izak Schrijver, who recorded that he had set up camp in January 1689 at Goukou's kraal on the banks of the Groote Palmiet Revier, later renamed the Kaffirkuils.

"We had Hessequa kraals everywhere in view," Schrijver wrote.

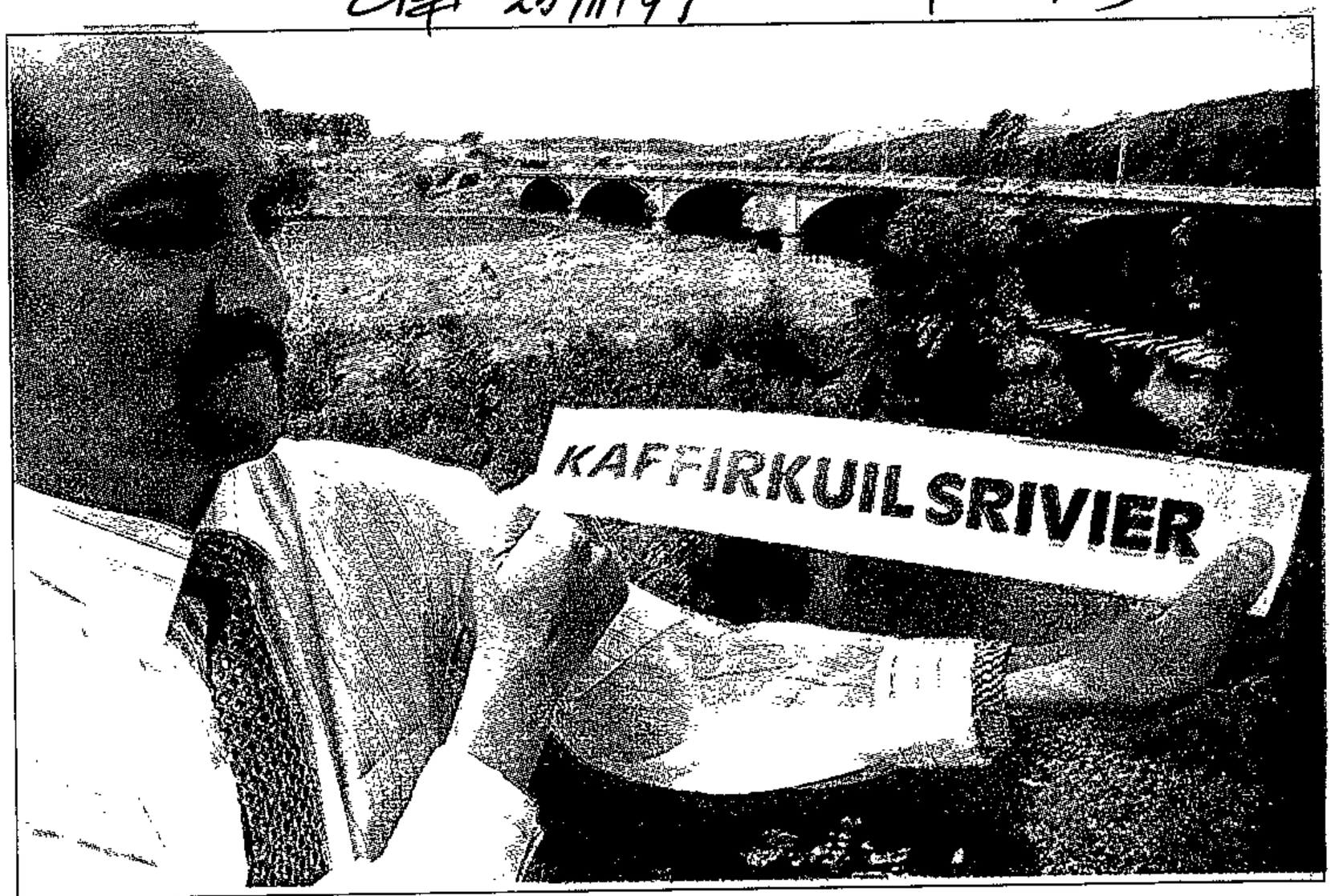
He referred to Goukou, the chief of the Hessequas, as De Oude Heer (the old gentleman). According to entries in the "Dagregister" at the Castle, Goukou twice visited Governor Simon van der Stel.

The Riversdale Town Council voted six to two in favour of naming the river Goukou. Trouble is, it does not have the authority to rename rivers.

The river also runs through the NP-controlled district and the farms of those who fall under the NP-controlled Riversdale Transitional Representatives Council before flowing into the sea at Stilbaai, where the NP also has a majority. These bodies all favour the name Swartkuils. Not that the decision is theirs to take, either.

Taute said the town council had approached the Department of Water Affairs and the Department of Arts and Culture, each of which had suggested it was the other that had the authority to rename rivers.

Meanwhile, the Kaffirkuilsrivier signboards outside Riversdale have been stolen and the river, to all appearances, is nameless.



NAME-DROPPING: Mayor of Riversdale Chris Taute at the river with the name the townsfolk consider offensive. The Riversdale Town Council wants the river, the Kaffirkuils, to be renamed the Goukou, after a 17th-century Khoi leader. ***PICTURE: BENNY GOOL***

Law students may have to serve community

BD 25/11/97

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress (ANC) was strongly in favour of law students being forced to do some form of community service for a year when they graduated, chief ANC justice spokesman Johnny de Lange said yesterday.

A large number could serve in legal aid clinics, while others could serve as prosecutors or judges' clerks, he said.

De Lange, who is also chairman of the National Assembly's justice portfolio committee, said he was speaking as an ANC member and not as committee chairman. The issue had not yet come before his committee.

He pointed out that the idea had already been mooted by Constitutional Court president Judge Arthur Chaskalson and Justice Minister Dullah Omar, among others. He said the implementation of community service for law graduates could take some time.

The issue was more complicated than the service being introduced for newly qualified doctors by Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma. It could have an effect on other aspects of the legal profession, such as the two-year period during which young lawyers had to do articles.

The legal profession would have to have time to investigate this, as well as other implications, and the legislation would have to be passed by Parliament.

De Lange said Parliament had recently passed legislation enabling law students to obtain an LLB degree in four years instead of the current five. At the top of his committee's legal programme for next year would be the processing of legislation providing for a single national prosecuting authority as stipulated by the constitution, he said. — Sapa.

on the proceedings.

Govt looking at arm

Bonile Ngqiyaza

GOVERNMENT was considering stringent arms control measures which would increase penalties for negligence and loss of firearms among other things, SA Police Service (SAPS) legal services director Ric de Caris said yesterday.

At a Ceasefire Campaign and Gun Free SA-organised public seminar on arms control and disarmament in southern Africa, De Caris said government hoped to control the proliferation of firearms with a carrot-and-stick

WHERE GOOD FRIENDS MEET

O'Hagan's

IRISH PUB AND GRILL

O'Hagan's Investment Holdings Limited

(Registration number 93/01719/06)

("O'Hagan's")

Announcement regarding a capital injection into the underlying subsidiary developing the Mabaleng Sports Taverns concept

HSBC Simpson McKie (Pty) Limited and Deloitte & Touche Corporate Finance (Pty) Limited are authorised to announce that O'Hagan's has concluded an agreement with Sanlam Asset Management whereby the Sanlam Development Fund will subscribe for 18% of the enlarged share capital of Lexshell 81 (Pty) Limited, a wholly owned subsidiary of

DP to try to unveil the secrets of party funding by foreigners

BD 25/11/97

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party (DP) will attempt to use a private members' bill in Parliament next year to force transparency in foreign funding for SA political parties following President Nelson Mandela's public expression of gratitude to Indonesian President Mohamed Suharto for funding which allowed the ANC to win the 1994 election.

DP executive director James Selfe said yesterday secrecy surrounding foreign funding for domestic political parties raised the possibility that it was being used by foreign governments to influence SA policy decisions.

Without a law forcing transparency the voting public had no way of knowing to what extent their parties were bankrolled by foreign interests.

"Early in 1998 the DP will introduce a private members' bill to regulate foreign funding of local political parties and to make it transparent. The bill will seek also to ban parties from receiving funding from other governments. If this is not done the suspicion that SA's foreign policy is for sale to the highest bidder can never be laid to rest," Selfe said.

He said that the award of the Order of Good Hope by Mandela to Suharto last weekend "is tainted by just such suspicions, especially after Mandela acknowledged the Indonesian contribution to the 1994 election campaign".

On numerous occasions parliamentary questions, mainly from the DP, asking government whether money was raised for the ANC during numerous of Mandela's visits abroad have been answered that party finances, in the absence of legislation forcing transparency, were confidential.

To date the ANC majority in Parliament has not allowed a single private members' bill from opposition parties to proceed into law.

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Wyndham Hartley BD 25/11/97 (304A)

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Criticism for lack of replies

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — Government was criticised yesterday for its poor record in replying to parliamentary questions.

The fact that 294 questions had yet to be replied to, many of them dating back to March, was a shocking indictment of government, the Freedom Front said.

Freedom Front chief whip Joseph Chiole said: "The African National Congress government must understand that this record is totally unacceptable and should be urgently addressed."

It appeared ministers were not taking parliamentary questions seriously because of misplaced arrogance, or because their departments were not in a position to supply information.

The latter could be attributed to government's affirmative action policy, which could lead to state departments falling to pieces, Chiole said.

"If such incompetence is allowed to continue, then SA will inevitably become just another African state." — Sapa.

25/11/97

Mum's the word from six of the ANC's MPs

Linda Ensor

BD 26/11/97 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Six African National Congress (ANC) backbench MPs had not made a speech or asked a question in Parliament since their election in 1994, the Democratic Party (DP) said yesterday.

The nonperformers were Mcwayizeni Zulu, Prince Madikizela, Vhambelani Rambulana, Nokwethemba Biyela, Nomsa Mtsweni and Tendamudsimu Ratshitanga.

A seventh ANC backbench MP, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, had also not given any speeches or asked any questions since she was sacked as deputy arts, science, culture and technology minister in 1995.

A further eight ANC MPs — who each took home an annual salary package of R221 861 — had made only one speech each in four years and asked no questions. The "nonperformer of all time" was Zulu "whose sole function in Parliament is to serve as an alternate member of a single portfolio committee", the DP said.

In its annual review of its activities in Parliament released yesterday the DP noted that MPs from smaller parties had to work much harder than their counterparts in larger parties because they had fewer members who had to cover the same number of debates and committee meetings.

This was clearly shown by the fact that in 1996 the two African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) MPs were the most frequent speakers (with an average of 28 speeches each), while the DP's average was 15, the Pan African Congress's 13, Freedom Front's 12, Inkatha Freedom Party's four, National Party's four and the ANC's three.

"Speaking time in Parliament is allocated to parties in proportion to their size, so the larger the party, the more speaking time it has. Therefore the lack of time is not a valid excuse in explaining this nonperformance," the review said.

Three DP MPs — Douglas Gibson, Ken Andrew and Mike Ellis — were among the nine top speech-makers in the period from the 1994 election until August 28, with ACDP leader Louis Green taking the top position with 34 speeches. Six DP MPs were among the top 10 questioners for the period 1994 to 1996, asking 663 of the 929 questions asked of cabinet members. The IFP's Farouk Cassim asked the most questions — 150.

Asking questions, though, had become a numbers game with the NP which flooded the question papers of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces this year with 2 029 questions (57%) compared with the DP's 947 (27%) and the IFP's 7%. The DP said the process had become bogged down by a large number of questions of dubious quality.

It claimed the honour of being the most effective opposition in Parliament, citing its opposition to bad government and impractical policies and its proposal of realistic alternatives as measures of its success.

"The highlights of the year have included our opposition to damaging health and education legislation, our stand on the scandals involving the IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority), Motheo Construction and the deputy speaker's driver's licence, our continued exposure of the ruling party's growing inability to distinguish itself from the state and the several policy documents we have produced," DP chief whip Gibson said.

The review also noted that the DP had made good use of the option to table private members' bills proposing a fund for victims of violent crime and a proposed constitutional amendment to enshrine the right of victims.

The DP formulated alternative policies on the economy, on the waste of money involved in the plethora of commissions and the morality of SA's armaments exports.

DP parliamentary manager Ryan Coetzee said the DP's parliamentary team had been restructured so that it could proactively produce more in-depth policy documents and reports on specialised subjects next year, including one on race relations in January.

Law on sodomy 'unconstitutional'

BD 26/11/97

Taryn Lamberti

THE National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality and the SA Human Rights Commission yesterday asked the Johannesburg High Court to declare as unconstitutional the criminalisation of same-sex activity between consenting adult males.

The coalition claimed in court papers that the common law of sodomy and unnatural sexual acts and the Sexual Offences Act, which criminalised same-sex activity between consenting adults, was not in line with the constitution.

The respondents in the matter, Justice Minister Dullah Omar and Safety and Security Minister Sidney Mufamadi, have not opposed the application, but the coalition's application must be approved by the High Court before it can be referred to the Constitutional Court.

Representing the coalition yesterday, senior advocate Gilbert Marcus said the inclusion of sodomy as a schedule one offence in the Criminal Procedure Act and the schedule to the Security Officers Act had a "severely negative effect" on his clients' lives.

Marcus said the inclusion of sodomy in the Criminal Procedure Act as a schedule one offence meant a peace officer without a warrant could arrest a person he reasonably suspected of having committed sodomy. The act gave the peace officer power to pursue the person if he resisted arrest and to use "force" if necessary, which demonstrated the "malicious consequences of the criminalisation of sodomy", Marcus said.

He said the law forced gay people to hide their sexual orientation and relegated them to life as "second-class citizens". He said in terms of the constitution gay people were entitled to be treated in a manner which did not impair their dignity.

The case continues before Judge JA Heher today.

ANC suspension of De Lille slated by opposition parties

304A

Wyndham Hartley

BD 06/11/97

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress (ANC) yesterday used its parliamentary muscle to force through the suspension of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) MP Patricia de Lille for alleging that senior ANC members were apartheid spies.

The vote came amid opposition charges that Parliament was being turned into a kangaroo court and that it was an ominous day for freedom of speech. De Lille vowed that she would use the courts to protect her constitutional rights to natural justice.

De Lille is the first MP to be punished for remarks in the house regardless of her subsequent withdrawal. The ANC justified the ruling on grounds of the seriousness of her allegations.

The National Assembly ruled that De Lille should be punished for having named senior members of the ANC as apartheid spies in an assembly debate last month. It approved the recommendation made by the ad hoc committee set up to investigate her conduct that she should apologise in writing to those named as spies and also be suspended for 15 parliamentary working days.

Earlier in the day, a marathon session of the committee rejected a suggestion from Douglas Gibson of the Democratic Party (DP) that De Lille simply apologise after her earlier withdrawal of her remarks.

All opposition parties in the debate on the report of the committee opposed the sanctions against de Lille.

Douglas Gibson (DP) said the ANC had to be careful about setting a precedent. When Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna's attack on the auditor-general came up for debate next year, the DP would insist that he be treated like De Lille.

Gibson said he would be happy to see the matter end in the Constitutional Court. He said the committee hearings had been a "farce" and a "kangaroo court", with the chairman arriving at the first meeting with a finding and a sentence already worked out.

PAC MP Mike Muendane said the decision flowed from majoritarian arrogance. The entire proceedings had failed the test of natural justice since the ANC as the aggrieved party had, through its parliamentary majority, also been judge and executioner.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Front rejected the committee's report.

The ANC stand-in chairman of the ad hoc committee, Moses Chikane, told the National Assembly De Lille had been given a severe sentence because she had been given a severe sentence because she had shown no remorse and had questioned the committee's legality.

CAPE ARGUS,

PAC to contest De Lille ruling

'Justice not observed'

(304A)

ARG 26/11/97

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Pan Africanist Congress is poised to challenge in the Constitutional Court the temporary suspension from Parliament of Patricia de Lille.

The party is taking legal advice on its options, Ms De Lille said.

Yesterday she became the first MP since 1994 to be suspended for abuse of parliamentary privilege.

The National Assembly voted 183 to 87 to suspend Ms De Lille for 15 parliamentary working days, which in effect will be at the start of next year, Parliament having adjourned for the year yesterday.

Ms De Lille told a media briefing that the PAC had expected nothing other than the verdict.

"The ANC was hell-bent on showing me that they will deal with me and they did. I will also show them that I am hell-bent on dealing with them."

Ms De Lille said justice had not been respected or observed in the committee. "The ANC was the accuser, judge and executioner of its own case, using its majority to determine the outcome."

Opposition parties spoke out against the move during a fiery debate in the assembly, with Democratic Party MP Doug Gibson at one stage being ordered to withdraw a claim that the special committee which recommended her suspension was "a kangaroo court".

Ms De Lille was found by an ANC-dominated special committee to have abused parliamentary privilege by making unsubstantiated allegations that several ANC ministers and senior members had spied for the apartheid regime.

The committee, with minority parties dissenting and the Inkatha Freedom Party boycotting proceedings, also directed that she apologise in writing to the House and to the people she alleged were spies.

De Lille guilty as charged

(304A) Censured MP says she will fight decision in court

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

AFTER protracted and heated argument in Parliament yesterday, the Pan Africanist Congress's Mrs Patricia de Lille was handed down the most severe punishment meted out to an MP under the new dispensation.

A parliamentary ad hoc committee, appointed to inquire into De Lille's "spy" accusations against several African National Congress leaders, voted that De Lille be suspended from Parliament for 15 parliamentary working days. Also, she was to write apologies to the people she had accused of being spies.

One of the recommendations – later withdrawn – was that she also be stripped of her responsible position as chairperson of the transport portfolio committee.

However, De Lille said that she would be challenging the decision in court and that it could end up in the Constitutional Court because "Parliament has violated my constitutional rights".

Her censure emanates from claims she made in the National Assembly that senior ANC officials had been apartheid spies.

Among those she named in October were Defence Minister Joe Modise, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau, Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla, Deputy Environmental Affairs Minister Peter Mokaba, Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa and Eastern Cape Premier Makhenkesi Stofile.

Before the verdict was passed on her De Lille, who was present at all times during the debate, said she had been denied access to "natural justice". She argued that the majority party, the ANC, had imposed its will on the proceedings and that the principles of justice had been sacrificed.

"The PAC expected nothing different than the verdict that has been delivered by the revengeful and vindictive tyranny of the ANC majority," De Lille said after the decision.

At the end of discussions in the committee it came down to two options. Firstly that she apologise for her conduct – supported by the Democratic Party, National Party, African Christian Democratic Party, and extraordinarily by the PAC itself – or that she tendered a written apology and at the same time be suspended.

ANC committee member Ms Lindiwe Sisulu supported the motion of censure, saying the spy allegations were serious, irresponsible and had very strong similarities to tactics of the old apartheid order.

She said she was also concerned that De Lille had shown no remorse after causing such "damage" to high-ranking members of government.

At a press conference afterwards De Lille said that, while she did not regret making the allegations in Parliament, she would not repeat them outside Parliament.

CAPE TIMES
★ FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1997

ISSUE OF SINGLE CAPITAL RAISED

Mandela 'warns' on Parliament

CT 28/11/97

(304A)

AFTER RECEIVING the freedom of the city yesterday, President Nelson Mandela said he trusted its citizens would resolve the issue of a single capital in a spirit of national unity. **CLAUDIA CAVANAGH** reports.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela chose an unexpected platform yesterday from which to relaunch the debate regarding the future location of Parliament.

Earlier this year, he slapped a gag order on ANC MPs and ministers to stop them from commenting publicly on the seat of Parliament until the finalisation of the matter at the party's conference in Mafikeng next month.



FREEDOM: Nelson Mandela

But having just received Cape Town's highest civic honour, the freedom of the city, he issued what could be interpreted as an early warning to Capetonians to brace themselves for some bad news.

He said he knew "the people of Cape Town will help South Africa grapple with the complex and difficult, but urgent question of how to meet the country's need for a single capital".

"As our country united around the Olympic Bid, as we are succeeding in developing provincial growth and development strategies that complement rather than compete with each other, so too shall we find a way of resolving this matter in a spirit of national unity."

Although always at pains not to prejudge the issue, comments he made in August were interpreted by observers as meaning that the days of Parliament staying in Cape Town were numbered.

He told a sitting of the National Council of Provinces in Parliament that South Africa should have a single capital.

At yesterday's ceremony, he also warned criminals and gangsters that they would lose in the war against crime.

"There is a long and complicated history of gang-related crime in the Capé, but with increased community support the police are bringing the situation under complete control."

It may take time, but the criminals will be brought to justice, he warned.

PAC MP asks De Lille to apologise

(304A)

Sowetan 28/11/97

However, party strife is manifested by no communication on the 'spies' issue

ONE of the Pan Africanist Congress' five MPs yesterday challenged his colleague Patricia de Lille to apologise if she was not prepared to repeat outside Parliament her claims that some Cabinet ministers had been spies for the apartheid government.

The MP, Malcolm Dyani, also said the PAC had no need to "waste money it does not have" on a Constitutional Court appeal against De Lille's 15-day suspension from Parliament.

De Lille this week became the first MP since the 1994 election to be suspended from the National Assembly for breaching parliamentary privilege, even though she has withdrawn her claims.

A special parliamentary committee has also recommended that she apologise.

De Lille intends to challenge the decisions in the Constitutional Court.

In a statement issued from his office in Parliament, Dyani said if De Lille had concrete information on spies, she was morally obliged to "help the nation know the vile blood suckers".

"If on the day she made the allegations against respected leaders she was merely joking, she must just say so and apologise; her apology will help everyone and will also help the image of the PAC."

Dyani told *Sapa* that he had not discussed his statement with either De Lille or party leader Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

PAC general secretary Mr Michael Muendane said the party would ask Dyani why he had issued the statement. – *Sapa.*



Steeped in tradition

(30A)

A democratic South Africa still needs the services and wisdom of traditional leaders. Chief Patekile Holomisa outlines why it is necessary to preserve this institution...



Sowetan 28/11/97

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa is grateful for the opportunity to express its views on the formulation of policy and a system for a successful and effective rural local government in the context of the newly-acquired democracy.

Any discussion of the role of traditional leaders in a nonracial democratic context has to be preceded by an examination of the institution in its pure classical context. Afterwards it should be easy to identify its strengths and weaknesses and effect improvements.

As traditional leaders we unapologetically maintain that the institution's manner of operation gives more expression to the democratic will of the people than does the newly-acquired Western forms of multiparty democracy.

It is on the basis of this assertion that we question the wisdom of the introduction of party politics in local government in general and in rural local governance in particular.

Bearing in mind local and cultural variations, the institution is made up of several levels of leadership ranging from the king or queen, tribal head (chief) and clan head (headman) to the head of a locality (village headman or sub-headman).

The sub-headman is responsible for his small territory and community, which is made up mostly of members of the same family or clan. He takes administrative, judicial and developmental decisions in consultation with the heads of homesteads in his area of rule.

In turn the sub-headmen constitute the council of headman for the overall administration of the affairs of all the people living in his territory. The headman's territory and community are made up of the combined areas and people under the leadership of the sub-headmen.

Tribal leader

A combination of the territories and people under various headmen constitute the land and tribe of the tribal leader. He rules his area and people in council, that is, with the assistance of his councillors.

His council is made up of all the headmen in his area, his senior uncles and other recognised royal relatives, as well as men known for their leadership qualities, patriotism and knowledge of the history, customs and culture of the tribe.

The king is the highest authority. He rules over all the territories and tribes of the tribal heads who owe loyalty and allegiance to him. His council is made up of all the tribal chiefs, senior members of his family as well as other statesmen or patriots.

Except for the king, the traditional leader of each rank is the link between the people under his rule and the leader of the higher rank. He is the conduit for the views, wishes and aspirations of his people and is required to reciprocate by conveying the responses of his senior.

He is the eyes, ears and voice of both parties. Each council, therefore, of whatever level, provides the forum where matters of the community are attended to. There is not a single portion of the land of the community which is not fully represented.

Both the king and the tribal head are hereditary leaders. It is the custom of each kingdom or tribe which determines the manner of succession. Strict compliance with details of the relevant custom is what confers legitimacy on the incumbent.

The popular wish is subject to what custom demands. In cases where the rightful heir is found to be lacking in leadership qualities, this shortcoming is compensated by the fact that the leader is always advised and assisted by his councillors.

Hereditary leaders

In most tribes, headmen have grown to be hereditary leaders themselves. In other areas they are appointed by the king or tribal head in consultation with the community, and yet in others they are subject to popular election.

People's assemblies – where all adult members of the kingdom, tribe or clan gather to discuss the affairs of the relevant territory – are the highest decision-making forums.

Each member of the tribe is free to express his views even if such views contradict those of the leader and/or his council. It is at this forum where the decisions of the leadership are reviewed, revised, rejected or amended.

Tribal or traditional authorities, which are constituted at the level of the tribal head or the king, are modelled along the lines of the classical constitution as outlined above.

Traditional leaders of the lower rank as well as other aforementioned community leaders are the tribal/traditional authority members, whose head is the tribal head or king.

We recognise that apartheid governments established traditional authorities not necessarily for purposes of giving recognition to African forms of government, but to maintain control over the African majority and facilitate their policies of white racial supremacy.

That is why authentic traditional leaders who openly opposed apartheid were subjected to various forms of victimisation to the extent that some of them were deposed and substituted with pliant impostors, while others were promoted from junior ranks to senior positions in recognition of their cooperation with the apartheid regime.

Such interference by the apartheid state notwithstanding, the majority of traditional authorities are constituted in accordance with custom and tradition.

It is on the basis of our understanding of the true African system of governance that we maintain resolutely that traditional authorities should constitute the core of primary local government in rural areas.

In recognition of the need for democratic representation of many of our people through political or civic bodies, we propose that communities should be allowed to elect other leaders of their own choice.

While the elected representatives may even be in the majority, the head of the traditional authority must be the tribal head or king, which ever the case may be.

A rural local government council should be established for purposes of coordinating the development needs of traditional authority at a magisterial district level.

Elected leaders

The council should be composed of all heads of traditional authorities of the magisterial district plus representatives democratically and directly elected by communities in those areas.

For purposes of such a rural local council, each traditional authority should be regarded as a ward and be represented by the tribal head and two elected councillors.

In order to enhance efficiency, cut costs and reduce bureaucracy, such district councils should deal with the relevant provincial or state department.

In other words transitional rural or representative councils and district councils as presently constituted should be done away with. Democratic traditional authorities should feed into district councils, which will in turn constitute the link with other spheres of government.

(This is an edited version of an address by Contralesa president Chief Patekile Holomisa to a workshop on the Local Government Green Paper in Johannesburg this week.)

throughout the country. The unit has been compared to the "Untouchables" — the US prohibition unit that jailed legendary gangster Al Capone in 1931.

Wilson acknowledges that education costs, servicing of debt interest and bureaucratic inertia were serious drains on funds throughout government.

"There is no link to the Heath unit getting too big for its boots," she says. "We are committed to funding Judge Heath, and the Minister has taken the allegations in a serious light. Six-and-a-half percent of GDP goes into the education sector. Over 95% of this is soaked up by bureaucratic costs, such as the payments of salaries, with very little transformation in the classrooms."

Wilson said this makes foreign investment an attractive proposition for a cash-strapped government, but denies that foreign multinational scissors are being used to cut development red tape.

Financial constraints have delayed Judge Heath from investigating Public Services Minister Stella Sigcau, who has been publicly accused of accepting R50 000 of a R2m bribe allegedly paid by hotel magnate Sol Kerzner to former Transkei Prime Minister George Matanzima to secure gambling rights in the former homeland.

"From what I have read, it appears there is something to investigate," says the judge. "But we are handicapped by a lack of funds. If I hadn't been so swamped with work, I would have taken the initiative by now to commence an investigation into her."

The Sigcau affair is just the tip of an iceberg, he says. He is demanding another 50 investigators and four lawyers to cope with the backlog of cases.

"There are more pressing priorities, such as corruption in a large number of departments where there is a 'magnificent loss of money'," he says. "It is so easy to be corrupt with the complete lack of control in government departments."

The Heath Special Investigation Unit is also preparing to investigate the alleged transfer of State funds out of the country.

"We have decided in principle to investigate that," he says. "We know exactly who to contact in Switzerland to get access to bank accounts, but I can't mention names at this stage."

Despite the constraints, Judge Heath is optimistic about the future.

"I have conditioned myself to be positive," he says, "otherwise what I face would run me down. I am never loath to step on toes. That is what creates confidence as far as the public is concerned. If it was not for that then the whole principle of independence would have been sabotaged."

Craig Bishop

JOE THLOLOE

THE BODY POLITIC

Lester Venter's nightmare



Most people who write about the future these days don't try to predict it but prefer to give scenarios.

It may frustrate the reader who wants cut and dried answers, but it makes sense because no-one can reliably predict the future.

Those who try to be prophets, like Lester Venter — whose book *When Mandela Goes* I've just finished reading — end up putting their nightmares on paper. Up to page 285 I joined him as he tossed and turned his way through his dream.

Venter starts with this premise: "Forests have given themselves up to the newspapers, periodicals, academic papers and boardroom briefing documents that contain analyses and forecasts of the SA economy.

"The trouble is that they are usually 'if ... then' arguments. If the gold price goes up, then the economy will be saved; if labour problems are solved then manufacturing will become more competitive. What we really want to know is what likelihood there is of the if factors happening."

He then does what old prophets, including Karl Marx, did: he plots a graph of what he perceives to be happening around him and how it got there, and then draws a line into the future. And that future is a nightmare.

He argues as follows:

- Government is not delivering on its election promises and there is disillusionment among ANC supporters. This is likely to grow;
- There is growing dissent within the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance. The alliance will dissolve;
- Populists within the ANC and others exploit the disillusionment to form a workers' party to the left of the ANC and this ousts President Thabo Mbeki and his government in 2004; and
- The population continues to rise faster than the economy can cope.

For Venter these are the ingredients for a second revolution in SA. It is not easy to accuse him of willing the failure of a black-led government because he tries to argue as an impartial analyst.

However, when one looks closely at his arguments, one sees huge omissions that expose the usual liberal blind spot: Venter doesn't give enough weight to the present phase of the liberation struggle. He fails to acknowledge that President Nelson Mandela took over from a morally bankrupt government and that the first responsibility of the new government was to prepare for another form of government, based on equality and justice for all.

The Constitution, Constitutional Court, Labour Relations Act, Independent Broadcasting Authority and other bricks have been a veritable revolution.

Unless you were at the receiving end before, you cannot understand the miracle of having a policeman call you Sir.

Mandela can be proud of what he has achieved in just three years. The new government has done extremely well.

We are now part of the family of nations and we face the same problems as the rest of the world. Yes, the whole world is in the grip of a revolution comparable to the Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century. We see the same losses of jobs, the same abject poverty around tiny islands of wealth.

Venter should have gone back to understand the forces that transformed that world into the prosperous 20th Century. He would have seen that the lines he extends from SA's past and present to the future will not necessarily hold. He would understand that the nightmare haunts him because he chooses it to.

Which brings me to the pertinent question that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki once asked: Where are the black intellectual inputs into the debate about SA's future? We sit and complain about white liberals defining our struggle and yet contribute nothing ourselves.

I spoke recently to a senior ANC member who was complaining that the policy documents that are to be debated at the organisation's conference in December were drawn up by white members who knew nothing about black aspirations.

What documents would you have prepared and why haven't you prepared any, I asked him.

We descended into the world of excuses. ■

(304A)

PARLIAMENT'S LOCATION

FM 21/11/97

Pretoria seems a safe bet

The decision is already made, says Pretoria executive council head

The first signs that parliament could be heading for Pretoria crossed the desks of the city's planners in mid-1997.

First came rumours of a favourable financial impact study. Then requests flocked in for plans of the intended Church Square parliamentary precinct. Not long after, news drifted in that parliamentarians and senior civil servants were buying houses in Pretoria and nearby Centurion.

"We put two and two together, and by observing patterns, particularly over the past couple of months, we saw strong indications of the nature of that decision," says Pretoria City Council executive director for development and planning Mike Yates.

A more definite indication came a fortnight ago, when a property developer confided to an *FM* reporter that Pretoria city planners had told an associate "they had to get cracking" on preparations for a parliament in Pretoria. There was "parliamentary corridor gossip" that a "deal has been done — the move will take place in 1999."

"It's just a question of time before the ANC's decision about a relocation and the location itself will be announced; it will be Pretoria," asserts Peter Maluleka, chairman of both the Pretoria metropolitan executive committee and Pretoria Capital Initiative.

He interprets the ANC's apparent equivocation as an attempt "to deal sensitively" with the Western Cape's concerns about losing parliament. Nonetheless, he expects the ANC soon to open up the subject for public debate. A process to facilitate such debate was announced last Saturday during the ANC's weekend National Executive Committee meeting. The executive said a report would soon be tabled by an "extended" National Working Committee. Maluleka and Yates say the issue is not about which city will win or lose, or about filling empty buildings. "It's about the country needing fiscal discipline, as President Nelson Mandela has called for; more effective government and a more accessible parliament," Maluleka says.

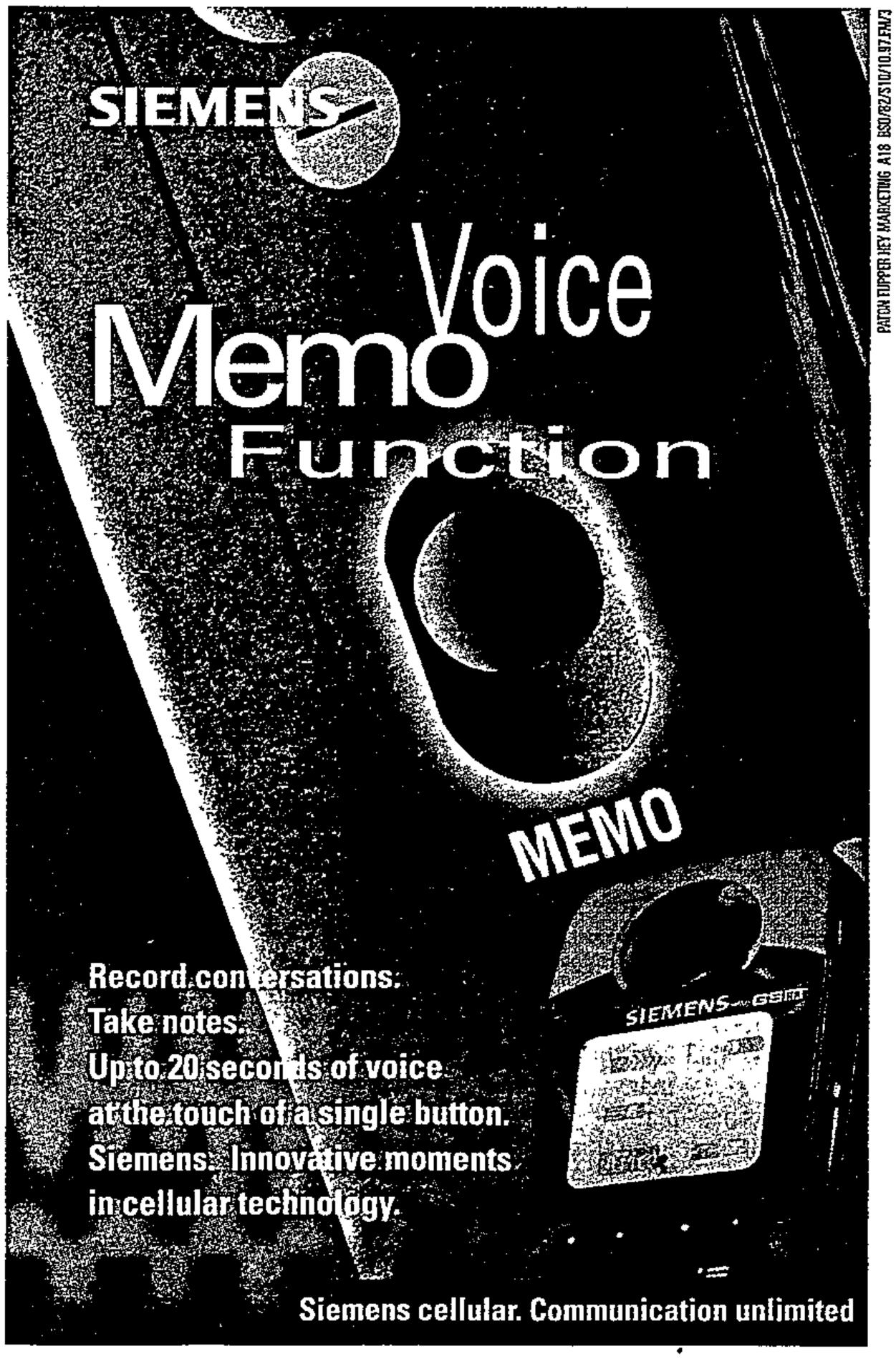
According to Yates, everyone's favourite site in Pretoria is the Church Square parliamentary precinct, which is also the "most economic." This will cost about R160m compared to the three other options in Pretoria, all upwards of R450m. The Union Buildings are situated 4,5 km further east on Church Street, allowing for an appropriate processional route. Also on Church Street are many government department head offices, embassies and high commissions.

Property analyst Erwin Rode estimates national government occupies about 30 000 m² of older office space in Cape Town either next to or close to parliament. Foreign embassies occupy another 10 000 m² of newer space. He believes it will take about two years to fill the gap once parliament leaves, but this should not be too difficult if the space is upgraded. Demand for prime office space in Cape Town far outstrips supply and there is already a well-established trend to revamp older buildings to meet this demand.

He points out, however, that because government and foreign embassies already have offices in Pretoria, they will not need as much space in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, Cape Town is about to announce a conference centre site on its foreshore, thus dispelling the consistent suggestion that the historic parliamentary buildings be converted for this use. Whoever wins the city casino licence will have to contribute R135m towards the new conference centre.

Alison Goldberg



Educators plan national schools body

BD 1/12/97

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — A new national organisation of school governing bodies would be launched by next year to counter existing organisations which represented a minority of "privileged" schools, National University education policy unit director Jenni Karlsson said yesterday.

The decision was taken at a two-day workshop in Durban attended by representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), the SA Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu), the Congress of SA Students (Cosas), parents, policy analysts and researchers.

Karlsson was elected to the steering committee, which would lead the formation of the organisation.

The organisation would co-ordinate the efforts of governing bodies, raise their grievances with the authorities, collaborate with government to foster a culture of learning and teaching and promote quality education in public schools.

In an apparent reference to the Federation of SA Schools Governing Bodies — formed at the time of model C schools — Karlsson said these organisations "purport to speak for all governing bodies" when they represented a "minority of the more privileged schools".

A new organisation was therefore essential, Karlsson said.

Cosatu veers from 'Mbeki cabal' candidates

Reneé Grawitzky

BD 1/12/97

A LIST of nominations for the top six positions in the African National Congress (ANC) drawn up by the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) supports the national consensus candidates for the top three positions, but differs for the other three.

The list, approved by Cosatu's central executive committee, is not an official Cosatu list but rather a register of names of people the federation would support at the December conference.

Cosatu would not oppose the nomination of Thabo Mbeki for the presidency, Jacob Zuma for deputy presidency and Kgalema Motlanthe for general secretary.

However, Cosatu proposed Gender Commission head Thenjiwe Mthintso for the deputy secretary-general position instead of ANC MP Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini, who has been punted by other ANC structures.

Cosatu would support the nomination of Pravin Gordhan and North West premier Popo Molefe for the treasurer position and National Council of Provinces chairman Patrick Lekota for the chairman's post in the place of Sports Minister Steve Tshwete.

A union source said this list, being circulated within a number of regions, was gaining popular support. He said people were looking for candidates who were not part of the "Mbeki cabal".

Farouk Chothia reports that Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma was yesterday chosen as the ANC Women's League KwaZulu-Natal chairman, apparently landing a blow to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's bid for ANC deputy presidency.

League national secretary Bathebile Dlamini, believed to be an ally of Madikizela-Mandela, said the decision was reached through consensus at the league's KwaZulu-Natal conference yesterday.

Zuma, known to be a staunch opponent of Madikizela-Mandela, said no discussions had taken place at the conference on whom the KwaZulu-Natal wing of the league should back for the deputy presidency.

Zuma played down their differences yesterday. She said she had a "good" personal relationship with Madikizela-Mandela.

An ANC source said that with Zuma having control of the entire region, the process of cutting Madikizela-Mandela's support was bound to gain momentum.

DP's defeat of NP has impressed observers

BD 1/12/97

Kevin O'Grady

(304A)

ANOTHER Democratic Party (DP) by-election victory over the National Party (NP) in a predominantly white ward last week showed the DP was eroding NP support and was becoming the new party of choice for white voters, observers said.

The DP stole the former NP seat in Roodepoort's ward five with 1 049 votes to NP candidate Hardus de Beer's 724 in a victory that followed similar achievements recently in Boksburg and Witbank.

The two-month-old United Democratic Movement (UDM) came third with 372 votes — more than the African National Congress (110) and Freedom Front (202) combined.

While the NP played down its loss to the DP, analysts said the victory, on top of the earlier successes, was an indication that the NP was failing to hold on to its traditional support base and that voters were increasingly viewing the DP as more likely to be effective in opposition to the ANC.

The UDM's showing in its first by-election showed it had the ability to attract votes and its real test would come when it challenged seats in wards which were not predominantly white.

DP federal council leader Douglas Gibson said the victory, in a ward in which the NP's support shrunk from 60% in the previous election to 29%, showed the party had a chance of becoming the official opposition after the 1999 general election.

UDM spokesman Izak Retief said the party's aim in taking part in the by-election was to "register a significant blip on the political radar screen and start testing our election machinery on the ground".

It was encouraging that the party had gained some support and further by-elections would be contested, Retief said.

Gold

Continued from Page 1

ness would retard economic growth and hurt SA's balance of trade. The mining industry was likely to shed more jobs and affect associated service industries. Nedcor chief economist Dennis Dykes said almost half SA's gold production could be threatened if the price stayed below $300 and the rand failed to weaken materially for a sustained period. Another economist said the effect of the lower gold price would be reduced by price hedging.

Reuter reports Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals said on Friday the falling gold price would have a "marginal" effect on the balance of payments, because of the declining importance of gold exports. The impact on SA's economy would also be limited, given that gold contributed about 3,5% of GDP. However, a lower gold price would contribute to "some decline in our optimism for next year".

Dykes said it was "unrealistic to expect the gold price to go screaming up next year, so we have to look at at least R2bn off the current account". Using a fairly negative scenario, he expected exports to be down R3bn-R5bn.

Sanlam Asset Management economist Jonathan Stewart said SA's export position did not look good for next year, given the pressure on commodity prices generally and gold specifically. "Gold is 18% of export revenue, so if the price declines the trade account is significantly injured."

Sanlam research suggested a sustained drop of $10 in the gold price would lead to losses of R700m in export revenue over the year, or about 0,1% of GDP. The need to finance the wider current account deficit could mean tighter monetary policy in an attempt to control imports, Stewart said.

By the middle of next year economists expect more clarity on the attitudes of central banks to holding gold reserves. There was general agreement the gold price could move up after a few years, as gold sales from central banks become absorbed into the world economy, real demand continued to rise and given a possible fall in production of the yellow metal.

Kidney patient

Continued from Page 1

had brought into sharp focus the dichotomy in which a changing society found itself — particularly problems of trying to distribute scarce resources on the one hand and satisfying the designs of the constitution on the other.

He said the case had put him and his colleagues "in the very painful situation" in which medical practitioners

There were thousands who needed dialysis treatment, but only 60 machines were available.

When looking at the issue broadly, Soobramoney's death highlighted the need to place emphasis on primary health care and to prevent diseases so that people did not reach the stage where they needed "expensive and unaffordable" health care, Zuma said.

National Party (NP) KwaZulu-Natal MP Soobramoney Naicker said the Constitutional Court gave Soobramoney the death sentence at a time

Parliament sets tough new secrecy rules to plug leaks

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

New joint rules of Parliament ban the publishing without official permission of confidential documents or evidence put to joint committees.

The rules, adopted by Parliament at the close of its 1997 session with the support of all parties, will govern the proceedings of joint sittings of the two Houses and those of joint committees such as finance and defence.

The provision against unauthorised publication or disclosure of closed-doors proceedings or documents represents a tough line against leaks.

According to the rules now approved, all documents and recordings officially before a joint committee are open to the public, including the media.

But some will not be allowed to be divulged or published without the permission of the committee, or the speaker of the National Assembly and the chair of the National Council of Provinces, or by resolutions of both Houses.

Those to be restricted are:

■ Proceedings of or evidence before a committee while the public was excluded because the committee was "considering a matter which is of such a nature that the exclusion of the public is reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society"

ARG 2/12/97

■ Any report or summary of such proceedings.

■ Any document or recording accepted by the committee as being confidential.

■ Any document or recording submitted to members of the committee as confidential by order of the chair of the committee.

The last two rules will apply only to documents or recordings which contain private information prejudicial to a particular person, or are protected under parliamentary privilege, or are confidential in terms of legislation.

They will also apply to documents or recordings subject to a media embargo.

A sweeping clause also makes the last two rules applicable where documents or recordings are of such a nature that their being confidential is "reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society".

An African National Congress spokesman said: "There is nothing sinister about this."

In the past three and a half years since committees were opened to the public and media, meetings had been held behind closed doors only in the most exceptional circumstances and then only on such issues as national intelligence.

"The ANC is committed to open, accountable and transparent government. That has not changed with the publication of the new joint rules," the spokesman said.

All parties recognised there were extremely sensitive matters, such as staff salaries and national intelligence matters, which could not be made public.

Douglas Gibson, chief whip of the Democratic Party and a member of the sub-committee which drafted the new joint rules, said that it would not make sense for a committee to meet behind closed doors if its proceedings were to be known by the media immediately afterwards.

Taiwan, SA disagree on ties

(304n)

Kevin O'Grady BD 2/12/97

DISAGREEMENT on the form of future Taiwanese representation in SA was the main cause of delays in negotiations on the nature of future relations between the countries, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said yesterday.

However, Nzo said he was confident agreement would be reached by the end of the month, when existing Taiwanese diplomatic relations fell away and were replaced with full diplomatic relations with China.

Nzo said Taiwan had wanted to retain its flag, symbols and the name of its country at whatever premises were occupied by Taiwanese representatives in SA and had insisted on maintaining its consuls.

These demands could not be granted as they would have been "a perpetuation of the current status". Consuls could be operated in SA only by countries with which SA had diplomatic relations, Nzo said.

Addressing a news briefing on his ministry's achievements in three years of African National Congress governance, Nzo said SA had moved from being a "pariah state and outlaw nation to a respected world citizen which ... has shown it can make a contribution which far outweighs its geographical size and economic stature".

SA had played an important role in brokering an arrangement by which the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty could be extended in 1995 and was also active in seeking solutions to regional conflicts in the former Zaire, Sudan, Nigeria, East Timor and the Middle East.

In the face of budget constraints, which had seen the foreign affairs budget shrink from 0,87% of the national budget in 1994 to 0,7%, SA had almost doubled its diplomatic ties by signing 85 agreements for diplomatic recognition.

Tide is turning, says Mufamadi on crime rate

Jacqui Pile

ALTHOUGH SA's crime rate was still unacceptably high, the tide had begun to turn, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said in his quarterly report on crime released yesterday.

Mufamadi said crime was decreasing in nine out of 20 categories, and was stabilising in nine. The most significant improvements were in regard to murder, arson and robbery with aggravating circumstances.

However, rape appeared to be increasing after stabilising during the first six months of the year. Mufamadi said this might be attributed to an increase in the reporting of rape as a result of the renewed emphasis on crimes against women and children as a national priority.

Mufamadi said that according to Interpol, SA had the highest number of reported rapes in the world and ranked fourth in the world with regard to murder.

Mufamadi said car hijackings had increased 0,8% and hijacking of trucks 12,9%.

Mufamadi said that the current crime wave could be brought under control with the right policies and resources, allowing the country to work on the longer-term causes of crime.

He said the police had forged strong working relationships with the justice, correctional services, welfare and home affairs departments and the revenue service in an attempt to bring down crime.

League to propose party strategy

Jacob Dlamini

THE African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) is to propose new rules for the selection of candidates for Parliament and provincial legislatures in a bid to develop a proper deployment strategy for the ANC ahead of the 1999 elections.

The guidelines are intended to prevent a repeat of the near collapse which threatened the ANC following the mass exodus of senior leaders from the party to government after the 1994 elections.

ANCYL president Malusi Gigaba said the present deployment strategy was fraught with difficulties. The new strategy, which was still to be developed, would ensure that there was a fair and adequate spread of influential ANC members in key institutions in the public and private sectors, he said.

The decision to develop the strategy was adopted at a meeting of the ANCYL's national executive committee at the weekend.

The organisation again called for the lowering of the voting age to 16 and nominated 10 activists to stand for election to the ANC national executive committee.

Among those nominated are presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's economics adviser Vusi Mavimbela, ANC parliamentary caucus chairman Thabang Makwetla and MP Nat Kekana.

The ANCYL also resolved that it would be premature for the ANC to embrace either socialism or capitalism. However, the league said it unreservedly supported government's strategy of growth, employment and redistribution.

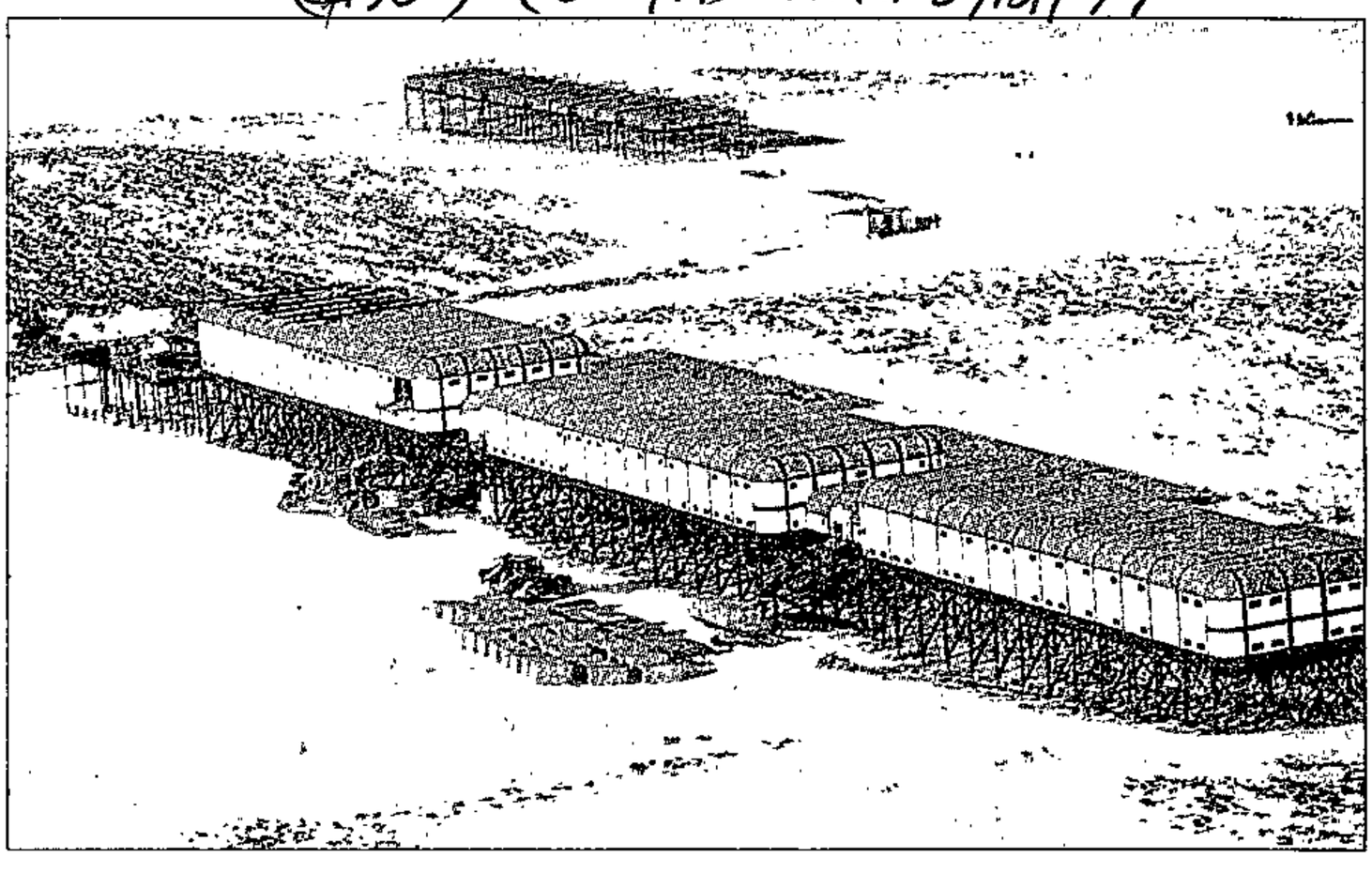
Consultants cash in on Government

Departments pay out R900-million (~~R900~~) (304A) ARG 3/12/97

INSIDE STORY



The Government has spent more than R900-million on consultants in less than four years – among them a research specialist to investigate and organise 'documents of historical concern' to help in the writing of former president F W de Klerk's memoirs. Political Correspondent **CLIVE SAWYER** reports from Parliament



Deep south: the Government paid for advice on South Africa's Antarctic base and programme

More than R900-million has been spent on consultants by ministries and departments since May 1994.

The details, disclosed by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, are:

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
The office of President Mandela spent R3,2-million on consultants, including a legal adviser, administrative consultant, communications consultant and public relations consultant.

Other consultants to the president's office were those advising on remuneration and pensions for office-bearers and traditional leaders.

Mr Mandela's office paid a research specialist to investigate and organise "documents of historical concern" to help in the writing of former president F W de Klerk's memoirs.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
Mr Mbeki's own department spent R2,8-million between April 1995 and August 1997 on consultants who reviewed government communication policies at national, provincial and local level and reviewed ownership and control of South Africa's media.

LABOUR MINISTRY
Minister Tito Mboweni spent about R1,8-million on consultants between February 1995 and October last year.

Estimates were that the department had spent R4,9-million since 1994 on consultants for the department, R27,4-million a year for the Compensation Fund and R856 639 a year for the Unemployment Insurance Fund. The consultants had co-ordinated the drafting of the Labour Relations Act and advised on labour market policy.

WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY
Minister Kader Asmal did not use any consultants, but the department spent R285,6-million on consultants on issues ranging from water quality management to the water law review.

PUBLIC ENTERPRISES
Minister Stella Sigcau said the Government as a whole had used HSBC Investment Bank to help in restructuring matters, spending R12,9-million.

SA POLICE SERVICE
The SAPS spent about R18-million on consultants assigned to the office of Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, as well as on other matters.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT
The department said it had spent R3,3-million on several matters including the white paper on rural development strategy, advice on local government councillors' allowances and pensions, the Masakhane campaign and the white paper devoted to local government.

CORRECTIONAL SERVICES MINISTRY
Minister Sipo Mzimela used no consultants, but the department spent R44-million on consultants on training and development, information technology, social work services, legal services, logistics and communications.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Minister Alfred Nzo said the department used Washington DC law firm C R International to advise on various issues involving the United States, including trade and investments and the Binational Commission. He said it was not possible to obtain the cost involved in the short time allowed.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY
Minister Alec Erwin said his department had spent R26,3-million on consultants since 1994.

The consultants had worked on issues including the re-evaluation of regional industrial development, the motor industry development programme, gambling and lotteries, and compilation of a step-by-step guide to exporting for small, medium and micro-enterprises.

DEFENCE
Minister Joe Modise said the South African National Defence force had allocated R6-million towards the costs of two teams of foreign military advisers, each from Britain.

These teams were helping with the integration process and the development of the defence secretariat.

PUBLIC WORKS
The department s spent R294-million on consultants who helped in the design and administration of construction projects.

POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS
Minister Jay Naidoo said he had spent no money on consultants.

However, the Department of Communications paid about R11-million on issues ranging from the cellular telephone industry to an investigation of the telecommunications industry.

MINERALS AND ENERGY
Minister Penuell Maduna said his department had spent R3,1-million on consultants on the development of systems, investigations of mining accidents and formulating policies and legislation.

FINANCE
The department spent R5,1-million on consultants, including several retired officials who trained their successors.

HOUSING
Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele and her predecessor, Joe Slovo, paid R32-million for various consultants on policy development, the maintenance of the debtor system and management of RDP projects.

ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS AND TOURISM
The department paid R4,2-million for services, including advice on the SA National Antarctic Programme, the development of a departmental communication strategy and advice on the Sea Point aquarium and the new Sea Fisheries headquarters.

EDUCATION
The department paid about R16-million for consultants on training, development of the schools register of needs and support for the independent examination board.

TRANSPORT
The department spent R90-million on consultants on a wide range of issues from road safety to economic empowerment of small bus operators.

HOME AFFAIRS
The department spent R930 983 on consultants, including obtaining advice on the development of a new computerised identification document.

ARTS, CULTURE, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
The department paid R14,9-million to consultants, including R4-million to a public relations agency for a multilingualism campaign.

WELFARE
The department spent R1,2-million on consultants who worked on the white paper on social welfare and other items.

HEALTH
Minister Nkosazana Zuma made use of no consultants, but the Health Department used several, spending R9,9-million on issues from a new Food Bill, using traditional healers in the struggle against HIV-Aids, development of the female condom, reviewing the amendment of health legislation and preparing the health status report.

JUSTICE
Minister Dullah Omar and his department used several consultants, together spending about R5,6-million on former officials to help with the transition and other matters.

PUBLIC SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATION
Minister Zola Skweyiya's department spent R975 387 for negotiations in the public service bargaining council, a probe into the foreign service and the restructuring of the public service, and to develop a job evaluation and grading system.

FIGURE: ROBERT BOTHA | calls for "barrier-free" access guidelines.

People more concerned about jobs than global problems

BD 4/12/97

Jacob Dlamini

SOUTH Africans were more concerned about unemployment, housing shortages and crime than they were about global problems such as illegal immigrants, a Markinor survey has found.

The survey, commissioned by the Johannesburg-based foreign policy think-tank Foundation for Global Dialogue, found that South Africans generally showed scant concern for international issues.

The survey was based on a national sample of 3 500 people, distributed across sex, age, race, education, working status and income. It was spread proportionally across provinces and metropolitan and rural areas. In areas where respondents showed any regard for international issues, the focus tended to be on human security matters such as poverty, drug trafficking and global unemployment.

Respondents wanted SA's foreign policy to be guided by the promotion of democracy, human rights and the combating of drug trafficking. However, they believed participation in the global economy was more important than co-operation with regional and other developing countries.

The foundation said the response suggested that South Africans preferred the maximisation of trade relations with Africa, Europe and North America.

There were marked responses to questions about SA's relations with countries such as Cuba.

About 35% of respondents agreed that SA should be a reliable ally and partner of Cuba, while 29% expressed uncertainty and 19% disagreed completely.

Those who supported relations with Cuba tended to be supporters of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, while those who disagreed came from the Democratic Party and the Freedom Front.

Sibiya resigns over Shaw's appointment

BD 4/12/97

Linda Ensor

MINERAL and energy deputy director-general Gordon Sibiya said his resignation from the Central Energy Fund (CEF) board — tendered to Mineral and Energy Minister Penuell Maduna — was motivated by his objection to Don Mkhwanazi's appointment of Emanuel Shaw as his personal adviser.

Shaw was appointed without board approval and without following normal tender procedures.

Sibiya also disagreed with Mkhwanazi that restructuring state assets was a day-to-day issue for management — Shaw's brief was to advise on this issue — as this was the responsibility of the state, and the sectoral task team of which Sibiya was chairman.

"Somewhere along the line there will be a collision between the CEF and the department on the restructuring of state assets and I don't want to be part of this."

Sibiya's stand was supported yesterday by the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union which said any corruption and lack of transparency must be attacked. The union demanded that Shaw and Mkhwanazi be removed and that appropriate action be taken after an investigation.

Acting mineral and energy director-general Dick Bakker noted the team appointed to probe Shaw's appointment would sit for three days from December 17. Mkhwanazi and the CEF staff and board would be called to give evidence, but Bakker said the inquiry would not involve Maduna himself.

The team would have to determine whether tendering procedures were followed in appointing Shaw; whether the powers of the chairman included the power to conclude contracts; and why Shaw was selected.

Bakker said the CEF board's term of office expired at the end of the month. As there would be no time to make new appointments before then, he had advised Maduna to extend their term of office until the end of March. A departmental replacement for Sibiya would also have to be found.

Comment: Page 15

Govt confirms UK post for Carolus

ECT 4/12/97 (304A)

THE acting secretary-general of the African National Congress, Ms Cheryl Carolus, is to be South Africa's next High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo confirmed officially yesterday.

He said Britain's Queen Elizabeth II had accepted Carolus, 39, as replacement for outgoing High Commissioner Mr Mendi Msimang, who is tipped to be chosen ANC treasurer this month.



ENVOY: Cheryl Carolus

Carolus will assume her post early next year.

She began her working career in 1979 as a secondary school teacher.

In 1985 she became national co-ordinator of the United Democratic Front and in 1991 a full-time member of the ANC's national executive.

She was elected deputy secretary-general of the organisation in 1994, and acting secretary-general earlier this year after Mr Cyril Ramaphosa left political life for the business world.

Although Carolus was unavailable for comment yesterday, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa welcomed the announcement, saying it was an expression of the confidence that President Nelson Mandela and his government had in the abilities of women.

The ANC believed Carolus was more than capable of meeting the challenge of promoting abroad the image of South Africa and its democratic values. — Sapa

Parliament, EU disagree on aid criteria

BD 5/12/97 (304A) 244

CAPE TOWN — Parliament and the European Union (EU) were in dispute over criteria laid down for EU aid to the institution, National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala said in a statement yesterday.

The EU was refusing to include affirmative action in the evaluation criteria for the supply of computer equipment to MPs, and was also disputing whether the National Assembly required the type of equipment it had requested, it said.

Ginwala had raised the matter at the highest level with the EU, but had received no response.

A meeting of Parliament's programme steering committee, scheduled for today, has been postponed to Monday. Ginwala had informed Parliament's budget committee yesterday that there were serious problems with the EU over the parliamentary support programme. — Sapa.

Row brews over EU aid package for MPs

CT(BR) 5/12/97 (304A) (297)

LYNDA LOXTON
PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — A row is brewing between parliament and the European Union (EU) over affirmative action tenders and whether or not MPs should have laptop computers, even though these would cost up to three times more than ordinary desktop computers, officials said yesterday.

Frene Ginwala, the speaker of the national assembly, told parliament's budget committee there were "serious problems" with the EU's R85 million programme for support services for members of parliament.

She said the EU was, despite earlier reassurances to the contrary, now refusing to include affirmative action as part of the evaluation criteria used to consider tenders for the supply of computer equipment for members of parliament.

"They are also disputing whether the national assembly requires the particular type of equipment it has requested," she said.

The 400 members of the national assembly want laptops rather than desktop computers because they would be able to take them home and to their constituencies to do work when parliament was not in session.



PROBLEMS *Parliamentary speaker Frene Ginwala*

A computer expert agreed that this made sense, but said laptops cost about three times as much as ordinary computers. Also, because the aim was to enable MPs to network with each other and other legislatures, expensive docking stations would also be needed, which would further raise costs. He said the computer bill could shoot up to about R9 million compared with the R3 million for ordinary computers.

He was also sceptical about the affirmative action element of the row and whether there were any black firms that could meet the order, whatever it was, without having to form a consortium, which could also complicate things.

Rusty swans out with gold nest egg

MTG 5-11/12/97 (304A)

Gustav Thiel

The Director General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans, leaves the department he has served for 30 years at the end of the month with a retirement package rumoured to be worth R10-million.

He would not disclose how many millions he would get in his golden handshake, except to say it was "very satisfactory". He says he is leaving the department transformed and "almost perfect".

Evans "volunteered" to retire in March this year. The department officially insists that his race had nothing to do with his retirement, but Evans believes his departure will complete the transformation process that he helped initiate.

A retired foreign affairs official told the *Mail & Guardian* this week that the position of director general was "very high-profile and needed a person of colour".

Evans's five-year contract as head of his department — the standard length of an appointment of any government department head — officially expired at the end of September. Evans and department representative Pieter Swanepoel say he was asked to stay on because of administrative difficulties in the process of finding a replacement.

Foreign affairs sources described this assertion as "absolute rubbish", saying the problem was the political manoeuvring of possible candidates and "backstabbing" by them.

Swanepoel says a ministerial panel has now been appointed to compile a shortlist of candidates from a list of applicants for the position. Applications closed at the end of November. Evans says he has no preferred replacement and Swanepoel says the department is bound to keep the names of candidates confidential.

A senior official working at the European directorate said this week Evans's replacement would come from among four candidates — Jackie Selebi, South Africa's consul general at the United Nations in Geneva; Tutu Mazibuko, the deputy director general for Asia; Tebogo Mafole, the deputy director general for America and Europe; and Barbara Masekela, South Africa's ambassador to France.

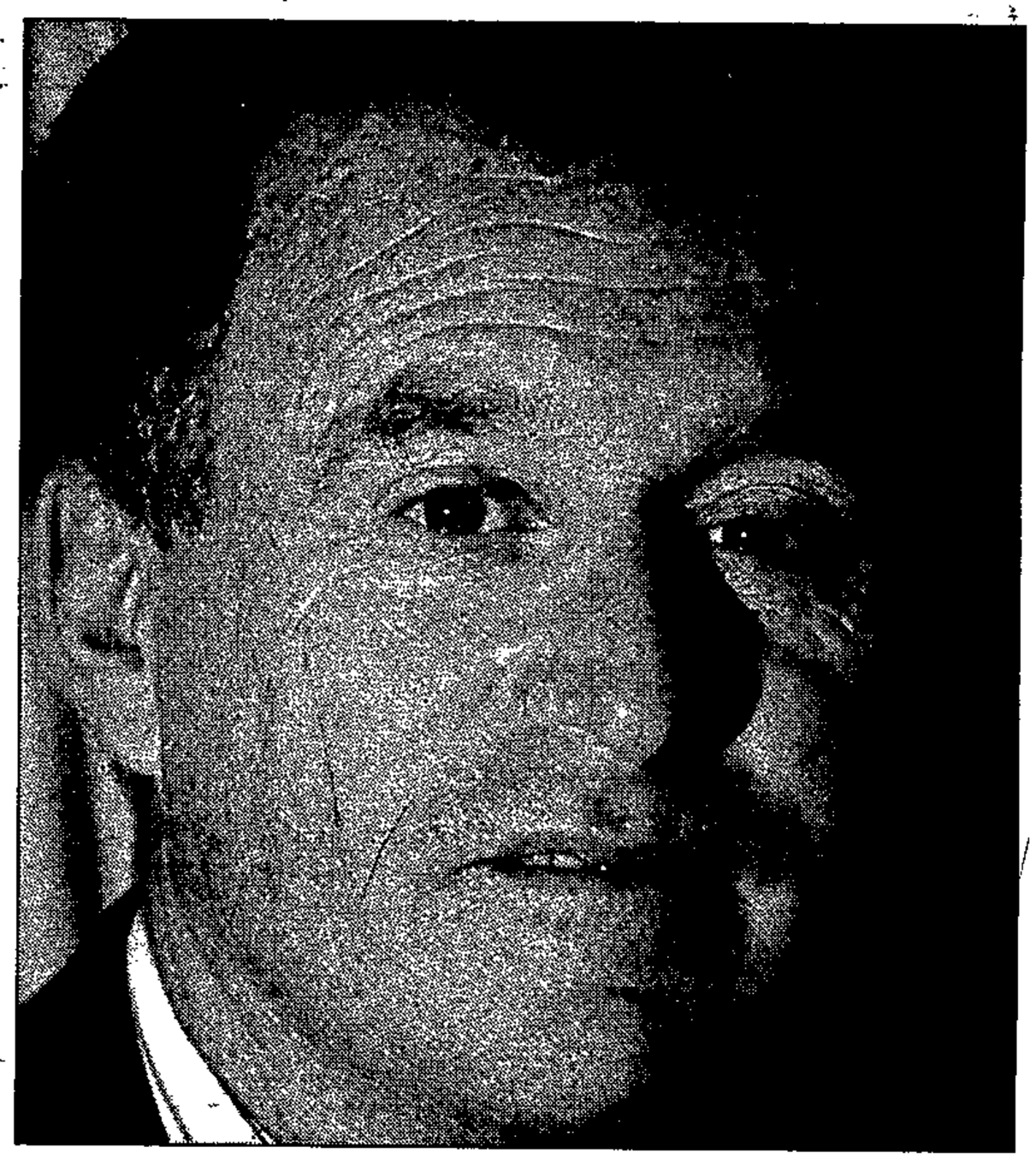
Evans said this week that the exact nature of his retirement package was "not for public consumption" and was determined by a standard formula used by the Public Service Commission, which also said it was not at liberty to disclose Evans's package. Swanepoel said foreign affairs would also not be releasing information about Evans's package.

Several sources at foreign affairs say that Evans could be in line for a pay-off worth "at least R10-million". This amount was confirmed by a retired official who left the department under similar circumstances to Evans. Evans did say that he was satisfied with his package, but that it was not excessive. He denied having negotiated his package.

Both Evans and Swanepoel did admit, however, that the commission had a certain amount of flexibility in awarding retirement packages, which were based on the level of experience of the person involved.

Niel van Heerden, the last director general before Evans, said that when he left, he was awarded nothing more than a standard pension, but "that position might have changed".

Evans insisted that there was nothing untoward in either his leaving the department or the money that he would be getting for doing so. "I leave a happy man, content that I can use my experience and networks to my own advantage, but I do not know exactly what I will be doing now". He added that he would be willing to work as a consultant in any government department in future, but Swanepoel said his services would not be required by foreign affairs.



Take the money and run: Rusty Evans retires. PHOTO: RODGER BOSCH

Evans said he leaves behind the "best transformed department in the country. We have met all our targets and I am proud of what we have achieved". Other foreign affairs officials insist that the transformation process has not gone so smoothly and that the cracks will only start showing when Evans leaves.

One insisted that "the incorporation of officials of the old homelands have brought people into the system who do not have a clue about the diplomatic service.

"It has also led to a lot of backstabbing that projects a very negative image overseas. It is all very well to transform, but not at the cost of efficiency. If Evans says otherwise, it is because he is just unbelievably glad to get out with his mon-

R900-million spent on govt consultants to aid transition

(304A)

While some departments have spent millions on getting expensive outside help, Steve Tshwete and the sports ministry have hired no consultants

Star 3/12/97

By Clive Sawyer
Independent Parliamentary Bureau

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has told Parliament the Government has spent about R900-million on consultants since May 1994.

In most cases, consultants were hired because of a perception that the bureaucracy inherited from the previous government did not have the skills to tackle transformation-related issues which cabinet ministers and their departments have had to deal with.

President Nelson Mandela's office spent R3,2-million on a legal adviser and three consultants dealing with administrative, public relations and communications affairs.

Other consultants in Mandela's office gave advice on remuneration and pensions for office bearers and traditional leaders. His office also paid a research specialist to investigate and organise "documents of historical concern" to help in the writing of former president FW de Klerk's memoirs.

Mbeki's department spent R2,8-million between April 1995 and August this year on consultants to review existing government communications policy at all levels and review ownership and control of South Africa's media and interpret how these affected government communications.

Labour Minister Tito Mboweni spent about R1,8-million on consultants between February 1995 and October last year. Exact figures for consultants employed by the Department of Labour could not be determined because these were employed on an hourly, daily or monthly basis.

Estimates were that the Labour Department spent R4,9-million since 1994 on consultants for the department, R27,4-million a year for the Compensation Fund, and R856 639 a year for the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Some of this funding came from overseas donors. The consultants to the Labour Ministry co-ordinated the drafting of the Labour Relations Act and advised on labour market policy and human resources development.



Big bucks ... Mbeki says the spending was necessary.

Other ministries and departments and their consultancy fees include:

■ The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry spent R285,6-million on consultants on issues ranging from water quality management to the water law review.

■ Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau said the Government used HSBC Investment Bank to assist in the restructuring of state assets, spending R12,9-million.

■ The South African Police Service spent about R18-million on consultants;

■ The Department of Constitutional Development spent R3,3-million on a white paper on rural development strategy, advice on local government councillors' allowances and pensions, the Masakhane campaign and the white paper on local government.

■ The Correctional Services Department spent R44-million.

■ Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo employed AX Nkomo as a special adviser, paying him R316 800 between August 1995 and June 1996.

■ Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin said his department spent R26,3-million on consultants since 1994.

■ Defence Minister Joe Modise said the defence force spent R6-million on two teams of foreign advisers from the UK, which assisted with integration and development of the defence secretariat.

■ The Department of Public Works spent R294-million on consultants who assisted in the design and administration of construction projects.

■ Posts and Telecommunications Minister Jay Naidoo said the Department of Communications paid about R11-million on issues ranging from the cellular phone industry to an investigation into the telecommunications industry.

■ Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna said his department spent R3,1-million on consultants.

■ The Department of Finance spent R5,1-million, including several retired officials who trained their successors;

■ Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele and her predecessor Joe Slovo paid R32-million.

■ The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism spent R4,2-million on advice.

■ The Education Department paid about R16-million.

■ The Transport Department spent R90-million on consultants on issues from road safety to economic empowerment of small bus operators.

■ Home Affairs spent R930 983 on its consultants;

■ The Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology paid R14,9-million, including R4-million to a public relations agency for a multi-lingualism campaign, R299 603 on a two-day conference on cultural tourism and R211 040 for a foreign investigation into certain trust funds established by the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal;

■ The Department of Welfare spent R1,2-million on consultants who worked on the white paper on social welfare, and on items including economic research and policy and legislation for the not-for-profit sector.

■ The Health Department used several consultants, spending R9,9-million on a new Food Bill, using traditional healers in the struggle against HIV-Aids, development and planning of the female condom, reviewing the amendment of health legislation, and preparing the health status report.

■ Justice Minister Dullah Omar and his department spent R5,6-million on former officials to assist with the transition and other matters.

■ Public Service and Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya's department spent R975 387 on advice for negotiations in the public service bargaining council, a probe into the foreign service dispensation and the restructuring of the public service, and to develop a job evaluation and grading system.

■ Sports Minister Steve Tshwete used no consultants.



MANDELAS UNITED: Zinzi Mandela lends support to her mother, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, during the TRC hearing held over the past fortnight

›PHOTOGRAPH: GARY BERNARD

'Ghost of Parliament' makes no speeches, asks no questions

By GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is regarded by many of her colleagues as a "ghost MP" who does little work in Parliament.

She has been a rare sight at portfolio committee meetings in Parliament, a fellow ANC MP disclosed. "Once or twice this year she attended a defence committee meeting and we were surprised. But the debate was around the security officers bill and there appeared to be some self-interest because she was involved in a security company," said the MP, who asked not to be named.

Official records at Parliament confirm that Madikizela-Mandela, who earns an annual package of R221 861, has attended only three of the nine meetings of the portfolio committee on defence held this year. This is the only portfolio committee on which she serves as a full member, yet no apologies for the missed meetings were received, according to parliamentary records.

The DP published a report recently entitled "The ghosts that haunt the halls of Parliament", and Madikizela-Mandela's name topped the list. She has not made any speeches since she was fired as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology. Neither has she asked any questions in Parliament since 1994, the report claimed.

DP MP Douglas Gibson said he would like to know what Madikizela-Mandela did in Parliament. "Her attendance in the House is sporadic at best. One wonders what contribution she believes she is making in Parliament," he said.

If Madikizela-Mandela takes part in any study groups or party activities, some of her own fellow ANC MPs are not aware of this. While other MPs claim they never see her in Parliament, the records show she has been attending sessions this year.

Out of 63 plenary sittings in the House of the Assembly until September this year, Madikizela-Mandela was absent for 26 days, of which 13 were leave days.

For two days she provided a sickness certificate and she still has to give reasons why she was not present in Parliament for 11 days.

She is a stand-in member of the portfolio committee on safety and security and on request attended one meeting of the committee this year.

The ANC has announced it is to crack down on ministers and MPs who show contempt for discipline by unauthorised absence from committees and the National Assembly. ANC chief whip Max Sisulu has said ministers and MPs guilty of ill discipline would face dismissal from committees or Parliament, fines, blocking of promotion, loss of leave and travel privileges, reseating in the chamber, or censure.

Former British Labour Party adviser Mike Elrick, speaking on behalf of Sisulu, said the ANC chief whip was currently assessing the performances of all party MPs in Parliament but was not prepared to discuss the issue.

Winnie's ghost haunts halls of Parliament (304A)

ARG 6/12/97

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

African National Congress MP Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is regarded by many of her colleagues as a "ghost MP" who does little work in Parliament.

Mrs Madikizela-Mandela has been a rare sight at portfolio committee meetings in Parliament, a fellow ANC MP disclosed.

"Once or twice this year she attended a defence committee meeting and we were surprised. But the debate was around the Security Offices bill and there appeared to be some self-interest in her attendance because she was involved in a security company," said the ANC MP, who asked not to be named.

Official records at Parliament confirm Mrs Madikizela-Mandela, who earns an annual salary package of R221 861, has only attended three of the nine meetings of the portfolio committee on defence held this year. This is the only portfolio committee on which she serves as a full member, yet no apologies for the missed meetings were received, according to parliamentary records.

"Nobody knows what she does, but people don't want to speak out because they fear they will get side-lined," said the ANC MP.

The Democratic Party published a report recently entitled *The Ghosts that haunt the halls of Parliament* and Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's name topped the list.

Mrs Madikizela-Mandela has made no speeches since she was fired as the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. Neither has she asked any questions in Parliament since 1994, the report claimed.

DP MP Douglas Gibson said he would like to know what Mrs Madikizela-Mandela does in Parliament.

> ***'Her attendance is sporadic. She makes no speeches, asks no questions'***

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If Mrs Madikizela-Mandela is taking part in any study groups or party activities, some of her own fellow ANC MPs are certainly not aware of it. While other MPs claim they never see her in Parliament, the records show she has been attending sessions this year.

Out of 63 plenary sittings in the House of the Assembly until September this year, Mrs Madikizela-Mandela was absent for 26 days, of which 13 were leave days. For two days she provided a sick certificate.

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The ANC has announced it is to crack down on ministers and MPs who show contempt for discipline by unauthorised absence from committees and the National Assembly.

ANC Chief Whip Max Sisulu has said ministers and MPs guilty of ill-discipline would face censure and dismissal from committees or Parliament, fines, blocking of promotion, loss of leave and travel privileges or reseating in the chamber.

Former British Labour Party adviser Mike Elrick, speaking on behalf of Mr Sisulu, said Mr Sisulu was currently assessing the performances of all ANC MPs in Parliament but was not prepared to discuss the issue.

"He will not comment on an individual's performance as this is an internal party matter," he said.



DEBBIE YAZBEK

Mama: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela listens to testimony at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings into the activities of the Mandela United Football Club

'Houdini' will be back, say analysts

Johannesburg – The nine-day spectacle of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's appearance before the Truth Commission is unlikely to hamper her political fortunes for more than a few weeks, analysts said yesterday.

"She is the Houdini of South African politics... she'll be back," said Cape Town University political analyst David Welsh.

"She may not become deputy president of the ANC later this month, but don't count her out."

Mrs Madikizela-Mandela denied every allegation – including six of murder– put to her.

'Who knows truth now? Nobody's been telling it . . .'



Traditional leaders 'have role'

Sowetan 10/17/97 (304A)

Systems of traditional leadership and democracy can work in tandem

By Ngoako Ramatlhodi

THE ROLE of traditional leaders in post-apartheid South Africa has become a matter of intense and emotional debate. In recent days the issue was again brought into the public domain.

Chief Patekile Holomisa made a number of interesting proposals of how to marry traditional structures with democratically elected local governments (*Sowetan* November 28).

I do believe, however, that there are far more innovative and accountable models of governance that can be placed on the discussion table.

Historically, traditional leaders were the ultimate rulers in our country. They administered both the criminal justice and civil law systems.

During the period of British colonialism, the institution of traditional leadership was assimilated into administration. The apartheid state retained it but further eroded its powers.

Lasting power

It is thus common cause that, regardless of orientation, all recognised the need to retain this institution in one form or the other. It has proved itself to have lasting power.

This derives from the belief by our people that it is ordained to be part of them. That is why traditional leaders are – with a few notable exceptions – supposed to be born of certain families.

Our Constitution recognises this institution and empowers it to be part of the legislative arrangements. Part of the current debate revolves around the question of how these provisions should be implemented.

Simultaneously, the Constitution also created local government structures in areas historically administered by traditional authorities. This has led to intense conflicts between these two centres of power, often resulting in delays in the implementation of programmes.

We cannot afford to have this tension persisting. We need to find a creative solution that will reinforce good governance and effect a better life for all.

From the outset we should accept two basic facts: one is that the system of traditional leadership cannot be abolished; the other is that democratic local government is here to stay. Any solution should be supported by these two pillars.

Those calling for traditional leadership to be abolished are ignoring the force of tradition and custom still holding sway among our people. Among its enduring features is a belief in supernatural powers of inyangas, which affects even the most urbanised of our people.

The institution should rather be left to wither away when its time comes.

For now, it is part of our reality.

On the other hand, we cannot retreat from implementing the system of democratic local government. We cannot simply "do away" with democratically elected local bodies.

I agree with Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa that we should find a way of marrying these two systems.

The current situation where the traditional leader is an *ex officio* member of a Transitional Local Council has proven to be inadequate.

My view is that the traditional leader should be at the centre of convergence between the old tradition and the new order.

To make the institution relevant we should consider reforming the decision-making structures around such a leader.

An innovative and workable solution might be to make the traditional leader executive head of local government within his or her own area. Elected councillors would then function as the executive authority on all non-traditional matters.

Their decisions will be binding in the same way the decisions of the current *moshate* council are binding on the traditional leaders. The existing traditional councils retain authority on all matters relating to tradition and custom.

In areas where the boundaries of local government cut across those of traditional authorities, the respective leaders can either co-chair the elected councils or rotate the position.

This model will lead to a win-win situation. No one is thrown out and the powers and functions are clearly demarcated.

Democratic structures

The traditional leader will receive real recognition as no institution would be able to marginalise him or her.

The democratic structures will function with greater ease without being dictated to by unelected powers, while the traditional advisory councils retain their powers in relevant areas.

This model functions along the same rules applied in the traditional system.

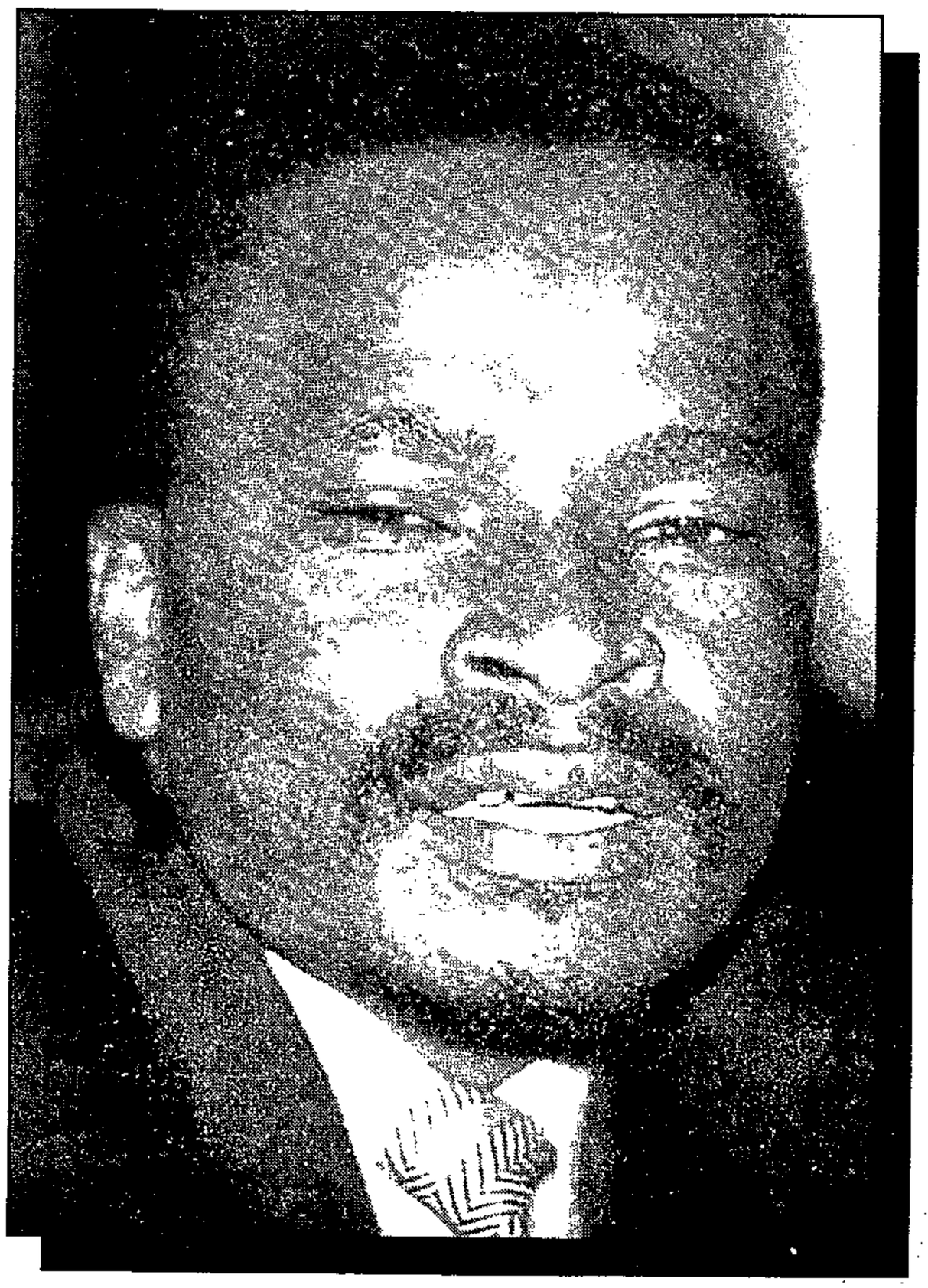
A person born to leadership only exercises his or her powers in council and never acts as an individual.

On civil issues the leader will work with the elected representatives, and on matters of custom with the traditional advisers.

I believe this can be a workable solution for a very complex problem.

(The writer is Premier of Northern Province.)

'This model will lead to a win-win situation. The powers and functions are demarcated'



Premier Ngoako Ramatlhodi feels that the system of traditional leadership cannot be abolished.

Sowetan, 10/12/97

What is SA's role in Africa?

(F (304A)

Reshaping relations on the continent

By Sipho Buthelezi

SOUTH AFRICA continues to reshape its relations with its neighbours in the context of the geo-political and economic realities of the sub-region.

The picture that emerged before 1994 demonstrated that, contrary to popular belief, a post-apartheid South Africa will in all likelihood be a net recipient of aid rather than a more or less benevolent donor.

Indeed, outgoing director-general of Foreign Affairs Rusty Evans cautioned in 1990: "We shall have to guard against creating false expectations or making promises which in the end we cannot keep.

"Our diplomacy must be honest and realistic. South Africa cannot hope to match the West in development assistance – we have neither the manpower nor the capital."

Meanwhile, it is repeatedly pointed out by various observers that the unsatisfactory state of the economy and the efforts at internal reconstruction and development remain a priority of the new democratic Government.

Accordingly, the African National Congress declared in 1992 that the foreign policy this country would be primarily shaped by the nature of its domestic policies and objectives directed at serving the needs and interests of South Africans.

The foreign policy statement of the ANC has asserted that the country's membership of regional organisations such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), would have to be predicted on an agreement by all countries in region. This will ensure a balanced alternative development path in Southern Africa, especially for South Africa faced with the consolidation of power and domestic issues as the main priorities.

The suggestion that the preoccupation with mass demands related to the RDP will most certainly orientate regional policy, despite a presumption by all concerned in favour of sub-regional partnership and cooperation and the creation of an integrated economic bloc which is likely to be predicted on South Africa's terms.

It is in this context that the link between regional integration and national development warrants a brief discussion.

Democracy in South Africa, and the end of destabilisation, have opened up vast possibilities for socio-economic development to this country and the region's 135 million people.

Beneficial trade arrangements

This realisation has motivated South Africa to seek to restructure the country's relations with neighbouring countries. Hence South Africa's accession to SADC at the organisation's summit in 1994 in Botswana.

The SADC Protocol on Trade has been principally motivated by the urgent need to further liberalise intra-regional trade in goods and services on the basis of fair, mutually equitable and beneficial trade arrangements in Southern Africa.

This overriding objective is an important factor which needs to be addressed in relation to the issue of equity in the distribution of the benefits of regional economic integration.

6 Democracy in SA has opened up vast possibilities



Flashback ... Leaders arrive for an SADC meeting in Botswana in 1994.

all SADC operational coordination programmes, without exception, there has been an absence of a specific framework for the regionalisation of economic activities, that is a lack of an intra-regional perspective in planning, design and implementation.

At the conceptual level, it must be clearly recognised that the tempo and mode of integration usually depend on the development strategies and forms of external linkage in each period by the various countries of Southern Africa, and therefore on the characteristics, limitations and opportunities posed by their external context.

In other words, the integration process must be adapted to the national development

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regional development "so that the inclusion of South Africa in these organisations does not impact adversely on the economies of member countries".

South Africa's regional policy was spelt out even more unambiguously in 1994, and has been vigorously pursued on these bases:

- In the long run, sustainable reconstruction and development in South Africa requires sustainable reconstruction and development in Southern Africa as a whole;
- The Government must negotiate with its neighbours to forge an equitable and mutually beneficial programme of increasing cooperation, coordination and integration appropriate to the conditions of the region;
- The current trade pattern between South Africa and the sub-continent is unbalanced – regional imports from South Africa exceed exports by five to one; the Government must develop policies in consultation with our neighbours to ensure more balanced trade;
- South Africa should also encourage the development of joint, mutually beneficial projects to develop Southern Africa's water resources, electricity and energy supply, transport, agricultural and food production; and
- The Government should encourage technical and scientific cooperation with its neighbours to enhance the development of expertise in areas like agricultural research and development, environment monitoring and protection, health and other research.

Closer regional cooperation

Undoubtedly, it can be seen from these policy objectives that an ANC-led administration is committed to closer regional cooperation in trade and resources development, although it is difficult to envisage a regional policy orientation that would not be primarily directed at internal reconstruction.

However, the more fundamental problem with regional economic cooperation relates to the type of programme that will create a balanced and equitable development in the region.

Elsewhere, it has been contended that the traditional dependency relations and economic structures in the sub-continent may be changed in the transitional period, albeit not in a fundamental way.

The structural constraints could impose powerful impediments and obstacles for an economic development, diversification and industrialisation, consideration should be given to capital investments made by SADC countries in the infrastructure of these economics.

Failure to do so will most likely generate conflicts of interest if the restructuring does not take account of the existing imbalances. In the absence of an enlightened political of the participants, corrective mechanisms will have to be introduced to deal with this issue.

Significantly, the protocol is silent on the issues related to SADC capital investments for inter-regional projects. As regional transport is one such sector that would enhance trade facilitation, a more efficient SADC transport system has immense benefits for the South African economy. This benefit is derived from providing transit facilities. Most important, all revenue earned from neighbouring countries is in foreign exchange.

Given South Africa's declining balance of payments and the exodus of foreign capital between 1985 and 1995 – a net outflow of R48 billion – the revenue earned from transport should make a significant contribution to the country's forex earnings as well as in the creation of job opportunities in the economy.

In sum, the SADC protocol reflects considerable efforts that have yielded good progress in instituting a legal regime on trade.

A more workable trade protocol entails the conclusion of an agreement intended to have a lasting character and that limits the unilateral use of certain instruments of economic policy, as well as making it difficult or impossible for national authorities to have recourse to effective autonomous jurisdiction in several key policy areas.

Candidates for such unilateralism could be, for example, the protection of infant industries, import restrictions, quotas for imports, security interests, standards and technical regulations, subsidies and countervailing measures and so on.

Experience elsewhere has shown that the failure to implement operational coordination programmes is a product of the bias of SADC plans towards national projects and the absence of an institutional and legal regime.

The Committee of Trade Ministers will have to have a sufficient mandate to deal with issues under their jurisdiction effectively and decisively. Past experience has shown that in tional economy, and not vice versa.

This presupposes that the integration process also requires a high degree of flexibility in the application of regional commitments and levels of consultation which allow countries to take account of what regional cooperation can offer in achieving their national development goals.

In the final analysis, this exercise also requires regional institutions that can identify projects and programmes susceptible to cooperation and that can promote their implementation, as well as infrastructural facilities that can promote new industrial development and trade creation where much of the scope for profitable investment will arise.

The latter requires the provision of an adequate framework for investment incentives and provision for capital mobility. All these factors can provide the necessary impetus for the emergence of a new set of regional economic relations in the subregion governed not by South African dominance and hegemony, but by collective cooperation and self-reliance – the only guarantor of peace and development in Southern Africa.

(The writer is the head of the department of development studies at Fort Hare. The article is written in his personal capacity.)

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IN BRIEF

Taiwan embassy to remain in SA — but not in name

3047

SA WOULD permit Taiwan's embassy to keep operating in all but name after Pretoria cuts official ties this month in favour of relations with China, Foreign Minister Jason Hu said yesterday.

Hu said he was not "totally satisfied" with the framework decided by SA and Taiwanese diplomats, but said it would be acceptable.

"The structure of our representation there and range of action will not be changed, but there will be an adjustment in official titles used," Hu said.

President Nelson Mandela announced last year SA would cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan by the end of this year.

BD 10/12/97

Meanwhile, foreign affairs spokesman Pieter Swanepoel said yesterday the nature of the scaled-down relationship SA and Taiwan would enter into next year was still under discussion. He reiterated that Taiwan's representation in SA would be short of diplomatic relations.

SA missions face chop

Budget cuts spell recall for many envoys

(304A) ARG 11/12/97

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Department of Foreign Affairs is finalising a report to the Cabinet which will recommend a huge cost-cutting exercise – involving the closure of several missions abroad and the recall of dozens of officials.

The move has been prompted by big cuts in the foreign affairs budget.

Missions targeted for possible closure are understood to include some in Eastern Europe.

Criteria used in deciding whether to recommend closure included whether the missions were justified in terms of the aid and two-way trade their host countries yielded to South Africa.

Another significant criterion was whether the number of South African visitors to the country justified maintaining consular assistance there.

Foreign Affairs sources indicated that no retrenchments were being considered.

But officials were to be recalled from overseas service to fill several vacancies at foreign service headquarters in Pretoria, solving two problems at once.

If the draft recommendations are approved, the resulting vacant posts overseas will not be filled.

The Department of Foreign Affairs employs about 2 000 people at home and abroad. While it has been undergoing a process of transformation, there have been no significant cutbacks in missions or personnel since 1994.

In fact, since the advent of democracy, the number of missions abroad has multiplied hugely with the country's readmission to the world community.

The draft recommendations have been circulated to missions overseas, which had until December 5 to respond.

Top Foreign Affairs management held two full-day meetings to discuss the recommendations, which are to be finalised and presented to the Cabinet as soon as possible.

In another development, Jackie Selebi, South Africa's ambassador to United Nations headquarters in Geneva, is being tipped as the next director-general of Foreign Affairs.

Rusty Evans, the current director-general and an appointee of the previous government, is due to step down at the end of the year after being closely involved in the transformation of the department since 1994.

Forty-seven years old and a former exile, Mr Selebi served in the South African mission in France before going to Geneva.

He was given the post earlier earmarked for former Western Cape African National Congress leader Allan Boesak before Dr Boesak withdrew in the row over donor funds.

Mr Selebi has been prominent for South Africa in the international campaign against landmines.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed a shortlist of candidates had been compiled and was to be forwarded to a Cabinet committee for consideration.

But sources indicated Mr Selebi was regarded as the leading contender.

Elimination of corruption 'should be

(304A,

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The elimination of corruption should be made a government priority, a draft document on good governance being circulated in African National Congress structures to be out before next week's ANC triennial conference says.

The document warns that the growth of corruption which had occurred during SA's transition phase "certainly can be part of a counter-revolutionary agenda".

"Generally", it states, "corruption begins in or has its source in the private sector". Targeting corruption in the private sector was therefore an ANC priority.

The draft policy document will form the basis for discussion by ANC delegates in the conference commission on governance (one of six commissions), whose job it will be to find ways to improve governance.

"Good governance ensures the involvement of civil society and business in the decision making and in the development of society," the document states.

Good governance should ensure the provision of basic services, the management of the allocation of resources through reprioritisation, budget reform and the development of infrastructure.

"Dealing with poverty, crime, violence and AIDS are priorities of good governance," it said.

However, according to the document, the ANC had not implemented its policies to the extent expected before the elections.

"In every aspect of government, we need to accelerate delivery in order to raise living standards, improve the quality of life, and enhance economic growth."

The five-day ANC conference, which takes place in Mafikeng in the North West, starts next Tuesday.

The governance commission will be chaired by Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya, North West premier Popo Molefe, Free State premier Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri and speaker of Parliament Frene Ginwala.

The commission will be divided into three subcommissions which will look into: the public service; local government and the national and provincial legislatures.

Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa is expected to direct the local government subcommission.

The draft policy document describes corruption as the abuse of power for illegitimate and illegal gain or profit, whether it is exercised in the private or public domain.

It says corruption leads to losses in efficiency and opportunity and to raised production costs.

Corruption also adversely affects development and as a consequence, poverty becomes more prevalent.

The document recommends that the elimination of corruption should be high on the ANC's agenda.

It says that mechanisms which "build the link" between the state's intervention in corruption and the ANC's own initiatives and responses should be developed and that legislation and regulations should be introduced "to deter corruption through punitive measures".

The document also recommends that steps should be taken to "review the institutions fighting corruption and to increase their resources and effectiveness, as well as initiating a campaign against corruption, including one in the media".

Other recommendations are to change the perception that the government and elected officials are corrupt by the creation of a culture of leadership, honesty and accountability in the public service, by adopting a code of conduct and ethics for ANC members and by educating ANC branches and members in the various forms of corruption.

Government priority

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, December 11 1997

Writing on the wall for alliterate leaders

BD 15/12/97 (304A)

Janet Parker

ONE-FIFTH of senior decision-makers in SA are alliterate — they can read but choose not to — according to a study by market research group ACNielsen•MRA.

Clive Corder, chairman emeritus of ACNielsen•MRA (formerly Market Research Africa), said 20% of a sample group of SA decision-makers had not read a business report, article or journal at work during the week prior to being interviewed. Nor had they read a book or perused a daily or weekend newspaper or business/consumer magazine during that period.

However, all the respondents had watched television and 93% had listened to the radio.

The Print Media Association, which commissioned the research, said growing alliteracy in SA, coupled with the "chronic decline" of advertising and reader support for print media, had prompted it to intensify a R4m campaign targeting alliterates next year.

Elliot Schwartz, MD of SBBW, the advertising agency responsible for the PMA's Reading Makes You Smarter Campaign, said at a presentation to media owners and editors last week that while affluence and literacy were on the rise, there was no "perceived need to read".

Schwartz said research showed the brain was 20% more active when a person was reading. But brain activity slowed to a state "more vegetative than sleep" when watching television.

Reading developed the capacity to think, connect ideas and use information, resulting in better imagination, creativity and productivity. Readers were also more likely to be successful.

Schwartz said SA was falling behind in competitiveness, as shown by surveys which put it 45th out of 46 countries in a competitiveness report.

The PMA has restructured from a largely administrative body to a marketing organisation housing the Newspaper Press Union, Specialist Press Association, Magazine Publishers' Association and Community Press Association, and administering the Audit Bureau of Circulation.

Six in 10 perceive SA govt as corrupt

(304A) BD 15/12/97

Business Day Reporter

SIX in 10 South Africans believe the country's politicians, provincial government, local government and police force are moderately to extensively corrupt, according to a survey conducted for Business Day.

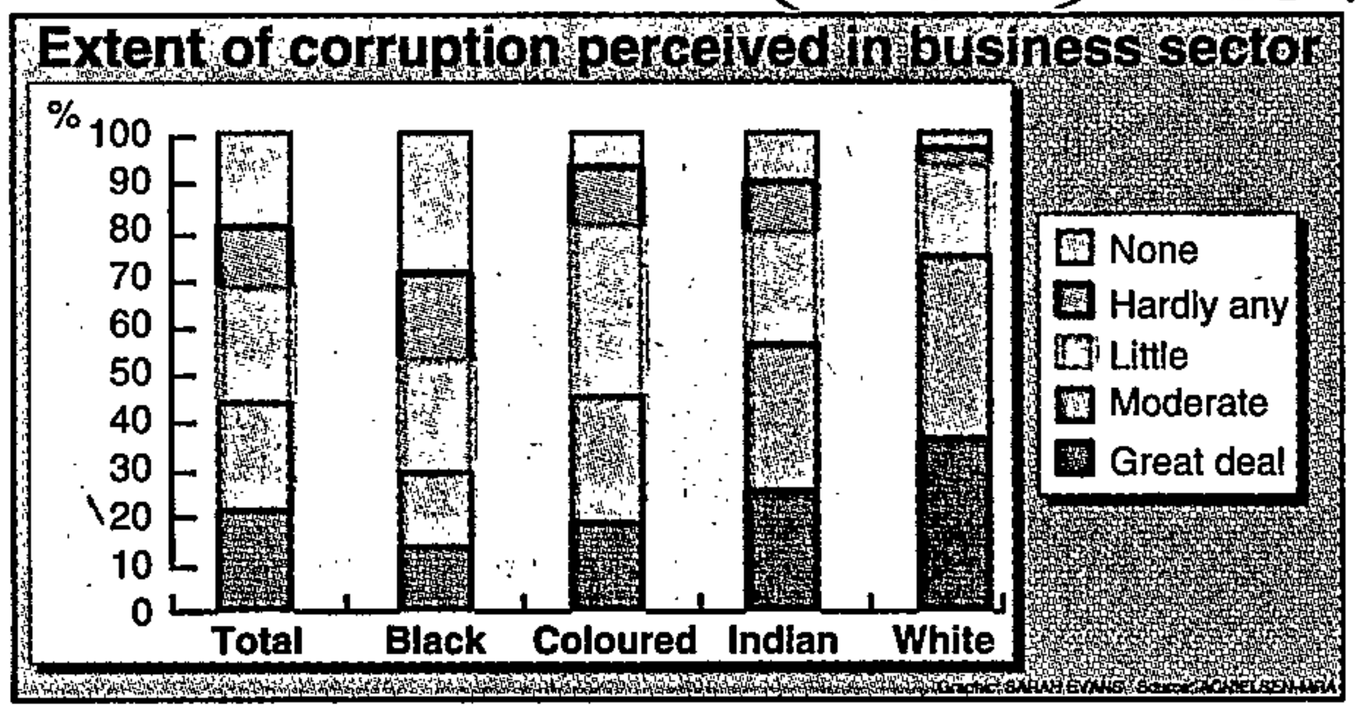
The term "corrupt" was defined as referring to "people who misuse their position to obtain goods, cash or services to which they are not entitled".

Half the respondents believed that shady practices in the four sectors had increased in the past four years of African National Congress (ANC) rule. Three in 10 thought the business sector had become more corrupt since the elections. Only religious organisations and churches were thought to be relatively free of corruption.

These are the findings of a nationwide survey conducted by ACNielsen • Market Research Africa (MRA).

"Although there is a strong public perception of corruption in SA, not many people have actually experienced it," said MRA director Brian Culross. "Only 12% of respondents had experienced at least one act of corruption that affected — or would have affected — them directly. Thirteen percent knew of actual or attempted corruption involving a colleague and 18% of an act that affected, or was meant to affect, someone they knew outside work."

Choosing from a list of six sectors, the majority of respondents — an area-stratified sample of 2 497, representing 92% of all urban adults — thought politicians the most corrupt, very closely followed by people employed in local and provincial government.



Only 8% of respondents thought politicians as a group were "clean", compared to 44% for religious groups and churches. The comparable "clean" figure was 19% for businessmen, 10% for the police and 9% for both local and provincial government.

Although most of those interviewed agreed that corruption was evident, blacks disagreed strongly with other groups as to its extent, being prone to describe it as minimal rather than moderate or great. Politicians, for instance, were regarded as moderately to greatly corrupt by 53% of blacks in contrast to 90% of whites, 84% of Indians and 76% of coloureds.

Seven in 10 whites and Indians, five in 10 coloureds, but slightly under half of blacks thought politicians had become more corrupt in the past four years (56% overall). A further 14% overall said politicians were just as corrupt now as before the 1994 elections.

Moderate to extensive corruption at provincial level was perceived by 88% of whites, 81% of Indians, 68% of coloureds, 49% of blacks.

Within the provinces, 68% of Gauteng respondents and 66% of those in the Western Cape thought government moderately to extensively corrupt. Substantially less was perceived in KwaZulu-Natal (47%) and (45%) in Northern Province/Mpumalanga

In Gauteng, 68% thought there was moderate to extensive corruption at local-government level. In KwaZulu-Natal, however, respondents considered local government the least flawed, with 51% saying there was none or hardly any corruption in this sector.

In the Western Cape, 62% thought local governance corrupt, but moderate (34%) rather than large scale (28%). Again, blacks at 46%, were less convinced than other groups (whites 85%, Indians 79%, coloureds 63%) that corruption existed in local government.

The police force was rated extremely to moderately corrupt by 61% overall: 75% of Indians, 74% of whites and 68% of coloureds, compared to 54% of black respondents. Asked if corruption in the police force was worse under ANC rule, 52% agreed, while 15% thought the situation unchanged.

The biggest disparities between respondents' perceptions concerned corruption in business. Only 29% of blacks, but 72% of whites, thought there was more than a moderate amount of underhand activity in the business sector. An overall 43% believed business people were moderately dishonest (22%) or extensively dishonest (21%). A total of 35% said corruption had increased since 1994 and 20% thought business people as corrupt now as they ever were.

Religious groups and churches were seen as totally corruption free by 44% of respondents. A further 16% thought there was hardly any corruption, while 17% said there might be a little.

Culross said it was possible that increased media coverage of corruption rather than increased corruption itself might have influenced perceptions.

"Although corruption is believed to be pervasive in virtually every sector, people may be more conscious of it now as corruption becomes increasingly difficult to hide from many watchdog groups now in place," he said.

Three tiers of govt too costly – PAC

Sowetan 16/12/97 (304A)

SA 'cannot afford huge bureaucracy'

By Mbulelo Baloyi

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday resolved that the existing three tiers of government should be trimmed to get rid of the country's "bloated bureaucracy".

In his closing address at the party's sixth annual conference at the University of Durban Westville, PAC president Dr Stanley Mogoba said South Africa could not afford the luxury of having nine provincial governments and over 800 local municipalities.

"Nine provinces mean that for each government portfolio there are 10 ministers (nine provincial and one from Government).

"There is just no money to support such expensive bureaucracy. Provincial structures should only play administrative and co-ordinating roles," said Mogoba.

He also called for an amendment to the Constitution with regard to newly-created provinces.

"It is an open secret that almost all provinces whose territory was part of the former bantustans are deteriorating to conditions worse than those during their bantustan status," said Mogoba.

He said the former Transkei was becoming a "ghost district".

The problem of nine provinces went hand in hand with that of the artificial boundaries which had led to strife in some areas and the Government "had been unmoved".

"There is nothing gained by moving the country from four to nine provinces, only poverty and strife for the majority of our people except, of course, the empowerment of a few comrades to Premiers and MECs."

Another alternative

The conference resolved that the state must distribute land under its control and use the land for housing and agriculture to fight poverty. Mogoba said such land should be made available on a lease basis.

"This is a peaceful alternative to land distribution. Another alternative is forced repossession and this is too ghastly to even contemplate, but the resolution of landlessness cannot be compromised in any way," Mogoba said.

The conference also resolved that Government should pursue "essentially expansionary fiscal and monetary policies" in order to increase capital investment and to stimulate demand as opposed to the Growth Employment and Redistribution (Gear) strategy.

"The Gear policy will never take off because it started in reverse and its policies are not sustainable. The Government will move away from these policies."

Mandela's parting shots

Vision of unity – and broadside at crime

(304A) ARG 16/12/1987



Leading players: ANC president-to-be Thabo Mbeki and likely ANC chairman Jacob Zuma register at the Mafikeng conference

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Mafikeng – President Mandela is today expected to use his final report as head of the African National Congress to outline his vision for deepening democracy in South Africa, while lashing out against criminals for undermining the reconstruction effort.

The theme is to be debated intensely by the conference's commission on peace and stability. A discussion document for the commission calls for far greater co-ordination between various elements of society and "more focused application of the capabilities of our security community".

Draft resolutions call for shifting the emphasis of reform of the criminal justice system towards crime prevention.

The conference will be asked to endorse resolutions on the justice portfolio, including the restructuring of the attorneys-general system into a single national prosecuting authority.

Mr Mandela's political assessment of the country is the first substantive item on the agenda of the five-day conference, which is being attended by more than 3 000 delegates.

The theme of African renaissance is also crucial at the conference, where Mr Mandela will pass the baton of ANC leadership to Thabo Mbeki.

The leadership has been at pains to emphasise continuity in spite of the change of office-bearers, and this theme is expected to be taken up by Mr Mandela.

Central to his vision of deepening democracy is expression of national unity at a political level. Symbolic of these efforts is the presence at this year's conference of an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation.

Only 28% of women back Deputy Winnie

As Winnie Madikizela-Mandela made her entrance at the ANC's congress today, a national poll revealed she had the support of about 28% of women in her bid to become second-in-command of the organisation.

The survey was based on interviews with a thousand women of all races according to their proportion in the population, Research Surveys said.

Mrs Madikizela-Mandela is bidding for

could be blocked by a change in ANC rules orchestrated by the hierarchy.

The survey showed black women were roughly split three ways between support, opposition and neutrality on the issue. White women overwhelmingly opposed Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's candidacy.

The 49% who opposed her candidacy rep-

37% of the black women and 1% of the white women.

Support was vocal as Mrs Madikizela-Mandela arrived at the University of the North-West campus in Mafikeng today for the conference to cries of "Viva Winnie!"

She ignored the media frenzy that erupted around her and headed straight into the conference area.

Mr Mandela, the ANC's outgoing president, was first to arrive this morning.

He alighted from his official vehicle dressed in a yellow ANC conference T-shirt and cream pants.

"Who are you voting for president?" he asked journalists scrambling over each other to record his arrival.

"Who are you voting for president?" a

Mandela lambasts 'enemies of change'

BD 17/12/97 (304A)

Stephen Laufer

MAFIKENG — President Nelson Mandela bowed out as the head of the African National Congress (ANC) yesterday with a speech described by the party's chief spokesman, Environment Minister Pallo Jordan, as "frank, robust and unequivocal" in its message that reconciliation could not take place without real transformation in SA.

Mandela said perpetuation of apartheid patterns of ownership and economic control was a recipe for an enormous social and political explosion.

Elected to bring fundamental transformation, the ANC would engage enemies of change on all fronts.

In a six-hour report to the ANC's 50th conference in Mafikeng, Mandela appeared to spare no one except the Inkatha Freedom Party, traditional leaders, and the Freedom Front.

He put whites in general, the private sector, non-governmental organisations, the National Party (NP), Democratic Party (DP), United Democratic Movement (UDM) and the media on notice that they would have to change tack in response to the challenges of making SA a more racially and economically equitable society.

Referring to traditions of sacrifice in the ANC, Mandela told party members to put the common good before their own careers.

Members of the ANC's national executive said the speech had the backing of the party's leadership. It was designed, said one, to give Mandela's presumed successor, Thabo Mbeki, expected to be elected ANC president tomorrow, and his executive the ability to claim continuity with Mandela as they increased the pace of change in coming years.

Jordan said the tensions in SA were expected to heighten as transformation of society and the economy speeded up. "The purpose of the speech is to prevent the attribution of those tensions to the new leadership."

Calling for further deracialisation of the SA economy, Mandela said the owners of capital should accept that business success could no longer be measured simply by reference to profit. Quoting financier George Soros, he said the future of humanity could not be surrendered to a so-called free market with government denied the right to intervene in the ordering of economies.

Mandela's criticism of elements within his own political alliance was equally unsparing, particularly of populists. In an apparent sideswipe at his former wife, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, he said the conference should elect new leaders "uninfluenced by demagogy, selfish promotion, and self-serving media advertising in favour of some of us".

Members should not gamble by putting leaders "unable to handle correctly the complex issues of today's world" at its helm.

He said the process of fundamental change from a divided society had just begun. As a result, the strength of the counter-offensive by those seeking to entrench previous privilege had not yet been tested.

The refusal of the former government to testify to the truth commission on the nature and structure of its security management system



President Nelson Mandela at the African National Congress conference.
Picture: TYRONE ARTHUR

Continued on Page 2

Mandela (364A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 17/12/97

suggested a desire to reactivate it in an effort to turn the clock back.

A "counterrevolutionary network" to destabilise the ANC government was already active in the public administration and other sectors of society. Elements of the campaign would include the use of crime to render the country ungovernable, subversion of the economy and the erosion of local and international confidence in the party's ability to govern.

There were nevertheless loyal and efficient members of the public service who, despite having started under the previous government, acted in the interests of the new SA.

Mandela accused the traditionally white parties of having abandoned the pursuit of an opposition role within the context of a shared national agenda. The NP and DP had chosen instead to "propagate a reactionary, dangerous, and opportunist position" which argued that apartheid was a thing of the past and SA's democracy was stable and normal.

He called UDM co-leaders Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa "former bedfellows as functionaries of the apartheid system and its security forces". These parties presented themselves as elements of a shadow government with no responsibility for the past or present, but with the simple job of discrediting the ruling party.

For the ANC the challenge was to increase support among whites, coloureds, and Indians. Mandela said most members of the minorities still believed the ANC represented the interests of the black majority in SA and not theirs.

MARATHON ATTACK ON OPPONENTS

Mandela's iron-fi

MAFIKENG: "The honeymoon's over," a DP spokesperson commented after the president's blistering five-hour opening address to the ANC's congress here yesterday in which he criticised all the opposition parties except the IFP. Political Writer **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

NELSON Mandela yesterday bowed out as ANC president with a blistering salvo which left few of the party's rivals or critics unscathed.

In an uncharacteristic iron-fisted final speech to the ANC's tri-annual congress, Mandela laid into the media, non-governmental organisations, opposition parties — and even "careerists and opportunists" within the ANC.

In a five-hour speech, the president:

● Described most of the mass media as having "set itself up as a force opposed to the ANC".

● Slammed Mr Bantu Holomisa and Mr Roelf Meyer's United Democratic Movement as "former bedfellows and functionaries of the apartheid system and its security forces".

● Significantly embraced the IFP by singling out observer Mr Lionel Mtshali (Minister of Science, Art, Culture and Technology) for praise, asking him to convey his "good wishes to your and my leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi".



● Disputed the "propaganda" that there had been a rapid escalation in murder and robbery in white areas in Johannesburg and Cape Town since 1994 as "false".

● Claimed motives for the murder of white farmers had been "studiously and systematically suppressed for political reasons", saying just three of 14 Free State killings between January 1 and November 24 this year had been politically motivated.

● Laid into a "counter-revolutionary network" undermining democracy.

Mandela criticised the NP, particularly in the Western Cape, for its "fear-based" racist policies.

Reacting to the lashing dealt to various organisations and parties, a DP spokesperson commented: "The honeymoon is over."

The president's farewell speech to over 3 000 delegates in the Great Hall of Mafikeng University, was made in sweltering heat, and he frequently had to wipe the perspiration from his brow.

He told the congress the National Party was struggling to hold on to its support base among whites, coloureds and Indians, and was using fear as an instrument to "insulate these sections of our population" from our influence. The NP had continued to frighten national minorities against the ANC by threatening them with both a *swart gevaar* and a *rooi gevaar*.

Using fear as a political instrument was practised mostly in the Western Cape where daily "this leadership propagates the entirely false notion that our policies are aimed at promoting the interests of the Africans against those of both the whites and the coloureds," Mandela said.

The Western Cape had argued that the national government was denying it its legitimate share of national revenues "deliberately to worsen the standard of living of both the coloureds and the whites". With the Western Cape's recent decision to exclude the ANC from their government of provincial unity, the NP had taken its deeply held positions "to their logical conclusion".

The DP, as a representative of the same white interests, had elected to join forces with the NP in the Western Cape.

This happened at precisely the moment when the DP was striving at a national level and in the aftermath of its municipal by-election victories against the NP, to "present itself as an opponent" of the NP.

Mandela said the DP and NP had no policy differences but were engaged in a "desperate struggle" to compete with one another in a race which they believed would be won by the party that convinced the white minority that it was the best defender of white privilege.

Where this competition became counter-productive to the objective of maintaining white privilege, they had shown no hesitation in combining efforts — as had happened in the Western Cape.

In reaction, the NP said paranoia had characterised much of Mandela's speech.

NP director Mr Renier Schoeman said to ascribe serious national issues such as crime, corruption and the murder of farmers to propaganda was a serious evasion of responsibility.

"Mr Mandela's attack on the media is equally untrue and is, in fact, disgraceful.

"Given his frequent references and professed commitment to democracy, it is shocking to realise that Mr Mandela fails to understand the important role of the media, not only as a watchdog but as a vital force in civil society."

DP spokesperson Ms Dene Smuts said Mandela's attack on non-governmental organisations was the strongest indication "that the honeymoon is over in South Africa" and fitted in with the ANC's general intolerance of dissent.

Delegates erupted into applause at the end of Mandela's marathon speech when Winnie Madikizela-Mandela purposefully strode across the podium to embrace her former husband.

BINOCULARS

- LEICA
- SWAROVSKI
- SILVER SHADOW
- ZEISS
- ELICAR
- NIKON
- PENTAX
- VIXEN
- MINOLTA

FROM R229

ZOOM SCOPES
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CT 17/12/97 (304A) (~~####~~)

Pros and cons of liberation



ANDRE KOOPMAN
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

THE ANC could count as its strengths that it had properly constituted organisational structures and that the vast majority of them were still functioning, said acting secretary-general Ms Cheryl Carolus in her report to the party's congress yesterday.

Reflecting on the ANC's strengths Carolus said they continued to pursue a political and social objective whose moral and material validity could not be faulted.

The ANC continued to be a broad mass-based movement.

However, she admitted that the organisation fell short in the areas of discipline and communication.

She said that the ANC faced poor discipline because members had not been properly developed.

Carolus also admitted that communication between the various ANC levels had been particularly weak, and parts had often been out of step.

She said there had also been a problem with relations between public representatives and constitutional structures: "This problem has emerged most acutely at a local government level where proper accountability and consultation has in some instances been forced aside by personal differences and bitter power struggles".

The ANC Western Cape received bad grades in Carolus' report. She noted problems with attendance at meetings, and the region was apparently in need of cash.

Her report also said that the national executive committee's provincial committee was not functioning properly. The attendance of NEC members to provincial tasks has nevertheless been fair.

In her report Carolus also spoke about the involvement of former apartheid agents in organised crime.

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TREASURER'S GRIM PICTURE

MAFIKENG OPENS ITS ARMS — PAGE 3

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH — PAGE 11

ebruary 1957 and R. 283 of 2
e Magisterial District of

-BYE: President Nelson Mandela greets the crowds at the ANC's 50th congress ok his leave as president of the ANC in an almost record-breaking speech that s including breaks. ***PICTURE: BENNY GOOL***

Passport delay hits SA travellers

3-month wait forces tourists to pay cancellation fees

ARG 8/12/97

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Durban – Angry travellers have been forced to cancel overseas trips because of delays in issuing passports.

Some travellers have had to pay thousands of rands in cancellation fees because they were unable to take up their bookings on overseas package tours.

"This is a very unhappy situation," said the director of the National Tourism Development Initiative, Jeeva Chetty.

"The delays on passports now exceed three months and some people have paid astronomical cancellation fees on their bookings."

Mr Chetty complained of a lack of concern shown by the Department of Home Affairs.

"When you try to speak to officials of the department about the delays they are rude, arrogant an unapproachable.

"Some of the people in the department don't seem to understand the implications of the delays. They don't seem to care."

Mr Chetty said "bureaucracy and inefficiency" in Home Affairs seemed to exist countrywide.

He said overseas travellers needed to get their passports in good time because of delays in getting visas issued to enter the countries on their itinerary.

"There are very few countries that don't demand visas from South Africans – and getting them often takes about two weeks."

Mr Chetty said this often meant people who got their passports "at the last minute" were still forced to cancel their trips and pay cancellation fees.

He said the fees charged were normally 60% of the tour price if the cancellation was made less than 12 weeks before departure. The fees were 80% if cancellation was made less than eight weeks before departure and 100% in the last month.

"Some people are insured against cancellation, but they often wait two or three months for compensation," said Mr Chetty.

His complaints were put to Graham Young, the acting regional representative in Durban of the Department of Home Affairs, who said there had recently been long delays in the issuing of passports.

"This has been due to our computer maintenance programme," he said.

"But we are now catching up on all aspects of our work."

Mr Young believed the issuing of passports would soon return to normal.

He said applicants would then have to wait six to eight weeks for a passport.

CAPE TIMES
WEDNESDAY, OC

Public needs facts on moving

ET 1/10/97 (304A)

IN THE FINAL article in Idasa's six-part series on the siting of Parliament, **WILMOT JAMES** writes that clarity is urgently needed on the process by which the fate of the seat of the legislature is decided.

MOVING Parliament and integrating the various arms of government involve some fundamental budgetary matters, which should be scrutinised and analysed in depth, but they are issues that go far beyond the banalities of line items.

Let's begin, though, with the banal. We members of the public don't know what the line items are, that is, the cost estimates by category of moving Parliament to Pretoria, or the civil service to Cape Town, or putting the whole caboodle somewhere else.

The figures are under wraps for reasons that are obscure. But the likely reason is either they are not presently in a form to survive public scrutiny, or the ANC needs them first to fine-tune its strategy.

The point has already been made that there are different kinds of costs in moving and putting Parliament somewhere else: direct costs in spending and employment, as well as indirect costs in markets and opportunities lost.

There is another potential loss to Cape Town which involves the employment and spending capacity of the private sector, non-governmental organisations and foreign governments which have an interest in parliamentary affairs.

The scale of this interest has not been quantified, but in the case of Idasa, the organisation I know best, we would be spending R10-million a year less in Cape Town if we were to accompany a parliamentary move.

There would be a major hole in Cape Town's economy if an institution as big as Parliament was moved upcountry. After losing the Olympic bid, the city now faces the prospect of a double whammy.

Although the figures are not known, something similar would apply to bodies such as Sacob, the Institute of Race Relations, the Black Sash and others whose goals are to monitor, lobby and engage in the parliamentary process.

While foreign governments are likely to maintain their interest in Cape Town, they are likely to scale it down to consular status for, largely, visa purposes. Dual residences for ambassadors, maintained by wealthier governments, would come to an end.

The point is that both the direct and indirect losses that would come from moving an institution as big as Parliament would cut a hole in Cape Town's economy much larger than the loss in direct spending by government on the parliamentary infrastructure.

This would come in the aftermath of our failure to win the Olympic bid, Cape Town's beacon for economic growth if not for development. Some politicians thought disengenuously about linkage, win the first and lose Parliament as it were, but now we face the prospect of a double whammy.

Therefore, there are a range of interested parties which would be genuinely and deeply affected by a decision to move Parliament from Cape Town and it would only be fair to all concerned to have their interests and points of view heard.

Presently, the process is sequestered, not public, and access to critical information, such as budgetary estimates, is made almost impossible. Our requests for critical information have been consistently refused.

The question is how and under what circumstances could interested parties have an opportunity to make their input and state their case?

It is only fair to all the institutions involved to give them an opportunity to state their case on the pros and cons of moving Parliament. Leadership is needed to make the process public so that there is a fair decision on its future.

As moving Parliament is permitted through the Constitution by a simple majority vote and NCOP approval, will legislation be presented to activate this?

If so, which state department will draft the laws and which portfolio committee of Parliament will have the obligation of exercising supervisory functions and, I ho holding public hearings on the bill?

In other words, could somebody, pre ably as government and not as represen tives of political parties, take the initiative outlining the political process by which a f decision could be made on the future of P liament?

So far the government has offered tv sets of parameters. On one hand, Preside Mandela has emphasised two points: tl government should be in one place and de sion-making should not be divisive.

On the other han Speaker Frene Ginwal as head of Parliamen argued that th approach to the issu should be a develop ment one and commu nity needs and invest ment spin-offs ought t be considerations in th final calculus.

The president has lef open the option of sitin all of government eithe in Cape Town or Preto ria, while the Speaker's argument could take Parliament to Bloemfontein or some other less developed location.

These are competing parameters which need further questioning — particularly the presumption that government in one place necessarily makes for more efficient government in the age of the Internet and audio-visual telecommunications.

Parliament finally has to decide. It would

'SALARIES H

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THE DEMOCRATIC and budgeting impr ment cannot interf

AN opposition cal tion to be give "independent" whose staff receive to cars and luxury office fallen on deaf ears in th al Congress.

The Democratic P seven leading commiss the Independent Broa ing Authority, Commi on Gender Equality Truth and Reconcili Commission — says are wide disparities i salaries of commissi and that some commi duplicate much of other's work.

The DP, which p itself as a financial w dog in Parliament, be that the annual R33(lion bill to the taxp could be cut by up to if certain commissions

Top of its hatchet Commission, which last year and is to spen

It believes the Con der Equality should be Human Rights Comm the Volkstaat Counci up "an unobtainable'

The cost of all that gravy on the table

ET 11/10/97 (304A) (EEE)

DONWALD PRESSLY

SOME of the commissioners serving on a variety of statutory bodies set up by Parliament since the national election in 1994 are firmly on the gravy train, living a life of luxury with whopping salaries and smart cars.

In addition, many have set themselves up in top-notch offices "with the most expensive equipment", according to research done by the Democratic Party.

South Africa's taxpayers fund well over 40 statutory commissions, boards and other bodies. Since 1995 the seven leading commissions have cost the state more than R286 million. This year alone they will cost nearly R115m. The DP believes that R60-R70m a year can be saved by axing some of them and redirecting the money towards development.

The DP yesterday released a report entitled *The politics of wasteful extravagance, needless duplication and excessive power* — focusing on seven of these bodies — and argued that although some were doing useful work, others certainly were not. At best, some were just duplicating the work of others.

DP national director James Selfe said the Judicial Services Commission, which determines the conditions of employment of judicial staff, and the Katz Commission, which makes recommendations on the tax structure, stand out as examples of those doing useful work. They were not included in the DP probe. These two commissions were composed largely of part-time commissioners.

The DP recommends that:

● The Volkstaat council should be scrapped "as there was not a hope in hell of this achieving its aim (of setting up an Afrikaner homeland)". It has cost R9,9m so far, R2m this financial year alone.

● The Gender Commission should be incorporated into the Human Rights Commission (HRC) "as gender issues are, after all, human rights issues". It has cost R4,1m so far, R 2,1m in this financial year.

● The Youth Commission should be scrapped "and its functions transferred to the Deputy President's office". It has cost R9,5m, of which R6,9m was spent this year.

● The Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Minorities should be scrapped as its work should also be carried out by the HRC. It has not yet been formed.

● The Commission for the Remuneration of Representatives — which recommends pay scales for MPs, provincial MPPs and local government councillors — should standardise the widely divergent pay scales of all commission members "by a process which is open to public scrutiny".

● The Pan South African Language Board must be strengthened and allowed to get on with its task of promoting multilingualism.

The HRC also comes under fire for renting plush offices in Parktown, Johannesburg for more than R118 000 a month. The HRC has also granted its chairperson, who earns R400 000 a year, and other commissioners "back pay" and increases totalling about R1m. Ordinary commissioners earn in the region of R300 000 a year, significantly more than members of parliament who earn R251 649 a year.

HRC chairperson Dr Barney Pityana compared his salary "with the equally unjustifiable salary of the 26-year-old Youth Commission chairperson, Ms Mahlengi Bhengu", who is paid R352 366 a year — and demanded back pay.

Selfe said: "It is ironic that there is no money for an additional printer to alleviate a backlog of about 500 cases in the HRC legal department."

Furthermore the HRC budget is being "siphoned away" by exorbitant salaries while the ideal of the protection of human rights falls by the wayside.

The HRC has cost the taxpayer nearly R19,5m in the last three financial years, but has only dealt with 20 complaints a month. The HRC is severely hampered by the fact that no Registrar of Complaints has yet been appointed, "limiting the ability of the commission's legal department to deal with complaints".

The Gender Commission, which has powers to investigate gender-related issues on its own accord or on receipt of a complaint, will cost the taxpayer R2,1m this year. Its chairperson, Thenjiwe Mtintso, earns R212 400 a year.

The Youth Commission, which must co-ordinate and develop an integrated national youth policy and development plan before the end of 1997, pays four full-time commissioners an annual package of R276 937. Just what the youth commission has done "is a very well-kept state secret", says Selfe.

He says that in spite of its R9,5m budget in the current and last financial year, the Youth Commission "has not yet come up with a single youth development project".

While the DP believes that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has served a useful purpose, "it has unilaterally extended its brief to include sectors which do not fall within its terms of reference" as it approached the end of its lifespan. This particularly applied, the DP said, to its probes into the role played by business, the media and health care officials during apartheid.

The TRC has not proved to be a cheap exercise. In the three financial years up to 1998, R173,5m has been budgeted. This includes R134m provided by the state and the balance from other funding. Chairperson Archbishop Desmond Tutu, receives a package of R292 000 a year — roughly in line with the pay scale of a chairperson of a parliamentary committee.

'All commissions should adopt performance-based budgeting and activity-based costing as guiding principles in their budgeting process to eliminate wasteful expenditure.'

Cars provided to commissioners cost more than R3m. The most expensive is driven by commissioner Dumisa Ntsebeza — a Mercedes Benz E320 costing R263 500. Tutu's is one of the more modest — a Toyota Camry worth R143 000. Commissioner Mary Burton has opted not to make use of her car allowance.

Ordinary commissioners, of which there are 15, earn R286 000 a year. Mercedes-Benzes are favoured by seven of the 17 commissioners— including the vice-chairperson Dr Alex Boraine, who drives a C280 Elegance worth nearly R190 000.

The salary bill for the entire commission in the last financial year ending in March totalled almost R36,7m. All the commissioners cost R4,9m, the national office staff of 49 people R5,1m and the 65 regional staff R17,2m.

The entire commission has cost the taxpayer more than R134, 2m in three years, including the current financial year.

The Independent Broadcasting Authority, which has cost more than R87,3m in three years, pays its chairperson, Selleng Sekha, R411 520 a year — more than a deputy minister's R385 392 a year. Its ordinary commissioners also earn the most of all commissioners: R328 322 a year.

In the auditor-general's report of May this year, the state uncovered various abuses including fraud amounting to R215 000 in December last year, spending R103 742 on refreshments at 16 council meetings — an average of R6 484 a meeting.

Unaccounted credit-card spending amounting to R181 651 and R167 050 was paid for offices that were never occupied. And the DP says the attorney-general's report revealed an astonishing degree of financial mismanagement and abuse of power and privileges. While there had been little evidence so far of similar extravagant expenditure on the part of any of the other commissions, there were no formal controls over expenditure "and the potential for abuse will remain until such controls are in place".

It suggests a public review process to include:

● A business plan to be submitted by each commission to the relevant parliamentary portfolio committee which would conduct public hearings.

● The committee would then make a recommendation to the relevant department regarding the commission's business plan and budget for the next financial year.

● Should there be differences within the committee, minority reports may be submitted to the department and made public.

In this way, the DP argues, the representatives of the taxpayers — the MPS — would be able to assess both the goals and achievements of these statutory bodies "rather than leaving the task to the (relevant) department alone".

The DP also suggests that the public accounts committee and the AG should be given the power to recover unauthorised expenditure from officials in terms of the Exchequer Act, which would have to be amended. It also recommends that all commissions should adopt performance-based budgeting and activity-based costing as guiding principles in their budgeting process "to eliminate wasteful expenditure and to link performance to expenditure".

Misuse of public office should be criminalised in accordance with similar provisions being considered by the Nolan Committee on Standards in Public Life in the United Kingdom.

The use of three-to-five-year performance contracts, a programme which is being phased in to the public service as a whole, "must be expanded to include all commissioners and all commission staff".

❑ *Donwald Pressly is the political correspondent of The Mercury in Durban.*

In their own words ...

Star 31/12/97 (30419)

Our ministers rate themselves for 1997

Cabinet ministers are regularly assessed by political commentators, newspapers and voters. As the year draws to a close, our sister newspaper, the Pretoria News, thought it would be interesting to revisit the successes and failures of our Government ministers during 1997 in a different way. The newspaper asked all 25 national Government ministers to give themselves a report card on their performance this year – and the responses speak for themselves. Of the 25 contacted, four failed to return numerous telephone calls. The ministries of education, safety and security, mineral and energy affairs and public service and administration did not respond at all. Of the 21 ministries which promised to respond, only 11 did so after being given a two-week deadline. The brief to the ministers was simply to list their successes and failures of the year and to include a short assessment of the work they had done. Here are the assessments of those that bothered to respond in their own words:

Tito Mboweni
Labour



Highlights: Parliament passing the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill; Cabinet approving the Skills Development and the Employment Equity Bill.
Lowlights: The long delay in achieving consensus over the Basic Condititions of Employment Bill and strained relations among social partners.
Achievements: Having major policies and legislation ready for finalisation and consolidation during 1998. Major laws are the Labour Relations Act which has already made a difference to workplace relations after only one year, and which we intend fine-tuning during 1998. The Basic Conditions of Employment Bill is near implementation.

Trevor Manuel
Finance

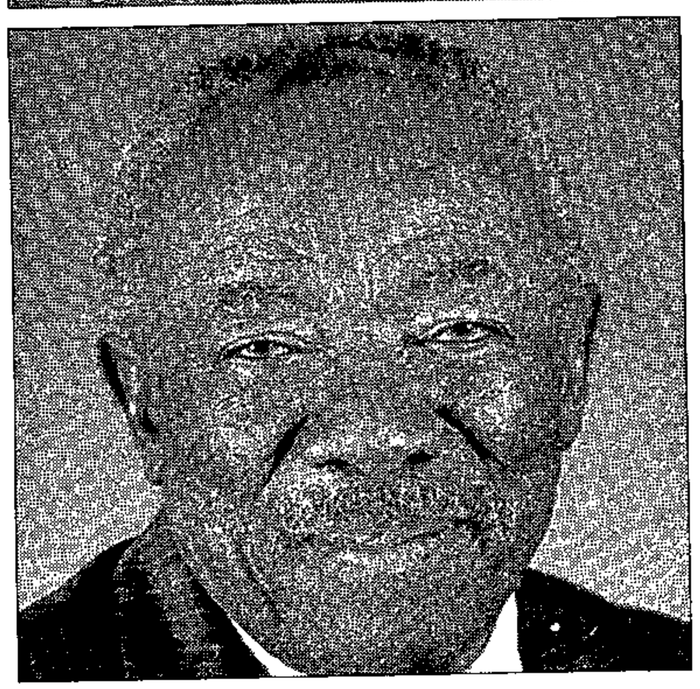


Three major **highlights** included the presentation of the first ANC-led finance ministry Budget. It was one that showed it was possible to bring together social objectives and the norms of sound macro-economic management.

The second was the publication of the medium-term Budget policy. We were able to spell out a vision for social transformation and take forward the theme of sound fiscal management in the long-term. Thirdly, the fact that the South African economy weathered storms that hit emerging market economies so heavily during the year.

Low points: While the economic fundamentals were strong, there remained three worrying features: the failure of the economy to create sufficient jobs, the decline in savings ratio and the falling

Alfred Nzo
Foreign Affairs



Highlights: 1997 has been a year in which we consolidated our diplomatic initiatives. In line with our commitment to conflict resolution through negotiation rather than force, we managed to avoid the conflagration when Mobutu Sese Seko's reign ended; we developed together with the SANDF and the SASS a draft white paper on SA participation in Peace Support Operations and we played a constructive role in the processes leading to treaties banning chemical weapons and particularly in imposing a global ban on landmines.

Low points: I have not had many disappointments this year. The notable exception was the hostage taking of diplomatic staff in Taipei. The other great disappointment is that we may be forced, by budgetary realities, to close some of our missions abroad.

Assessment of the year: Through a process of transformation and rationalisation, we have managed to weld together a team at Foreign Affairs, building on the expertise available in five former foreign affairs departments, the ANC and other liberation movements and attracting the best new blood from civil society. Our representation abroad is well

Kader Asmal
Water Affairs and Forestry



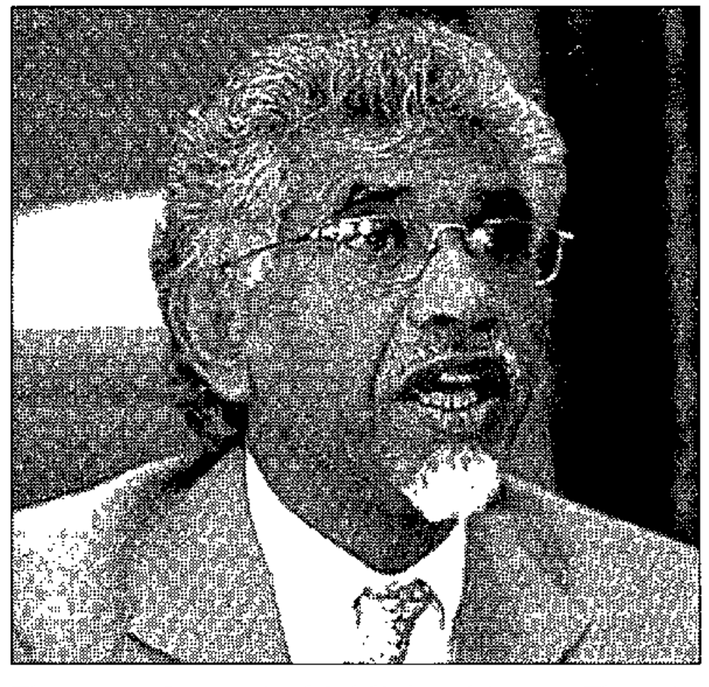
Achievements: 1.5 million people, the majority of whom are poor and resident in rural areas, have already benefited and now have water. Plans to provide water for another 6.5 million people by 1999 are underway.

Some R1-billion worth of water and sanitation services will be delivered to our people; R880-million has already been set aside for 1998 with a view to increasing this allocation in 1999-2000.

The Government has set aside R300-million for an RDP-related poverty relief programme and R150-million of this will be used by the Working for Water programme to create jobs for previously unemployed people to remove water-hungry invasive plants in catchment areas. The programme has already created 9 000 jobs and this injection of funds will allow for the creation of a further 40 000 jobs throughout the country, 55% of which will be for women.

The challenges that lie ahead include the implementation of the Water Services Bill and the improvement of the current rate of delivery, the completion of the National Water Bill and its implementation, the finalisation of the new forestry legislation and the employment of 1 000 more people

Mac Maharaj
Transport



There were four major **highlights** this year. The raising of finance from the private sector through concessioning to embark on three major road projects at a cost of more than R10-billion.

They are the N4 to Maputo, the N3 to Durban and the Platinum Route.

The creation of jobs and opportunities for previously disadvantaged communities through road projects. More than R87,485-million has gone into the creation of small and medium enterprises, and over the period January 1995 to date 8 000 people have been trained.

The progress in creating four agencies to supply services currently provided by the department in more efficient commercially driven operations.

These include the issuing of cross-border permits for goods and passengers, maritime safety, national roads and a civil aviation safety agency.

And, finally, the introduction of interim contracts in the bus industry to create a more competitive environment for the provision of services.

Two **low points:** The renewed flare-up of violence in the taxi industry and the increase in the death toll on

Dullah Omar
Justice



Highlights: Relate to the transformation of the department, law reform, fighting crime, legislation, court management, case management and human resource development.

I would stress the following: tightening of the bail laws, making provision for minimum sentences for serious crime, higher penal jurisdiction for regional courts, making provision for the rights of fathers of children born out of wedlock and extending the lifespan of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Lowlights: The following weaknesses exist and will be addressed next year: problems in the legal aid system, civil adjudication, lengthy delays in court and corruption which impacts on court performance.

THOSE WHO ARE NOT HERE AND WHY

The four ministers who failed to respond at all:

Sibusiso Bengu – Education
Sydney Mufamadi – Safety and Security
Penuell Mpapa Maduna – Mineral and Energy Affairs
Dr Zola Skweyiya – Public Service and Administration

The 10 who said they would respond:

Sipo Mzimela – Correctional Services
Dr Pallo Jordan – Environmental Affairs and Tourism
Dr Nkosazana Zuma – Health
Jay Naidoo – Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting
Mohammed Valli Moosa – Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development
Stella Sigcau – Public Enterprises
Jeff Radebe – Public Works
Steve Tshwete – Sport and Recreation
Alec Erwin – Trade and Industry
Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi – Welfare and Population Development

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GRAHAM HOPKINS
The London & Paris Triumph
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"*****A 5 star hit! Sunday Times

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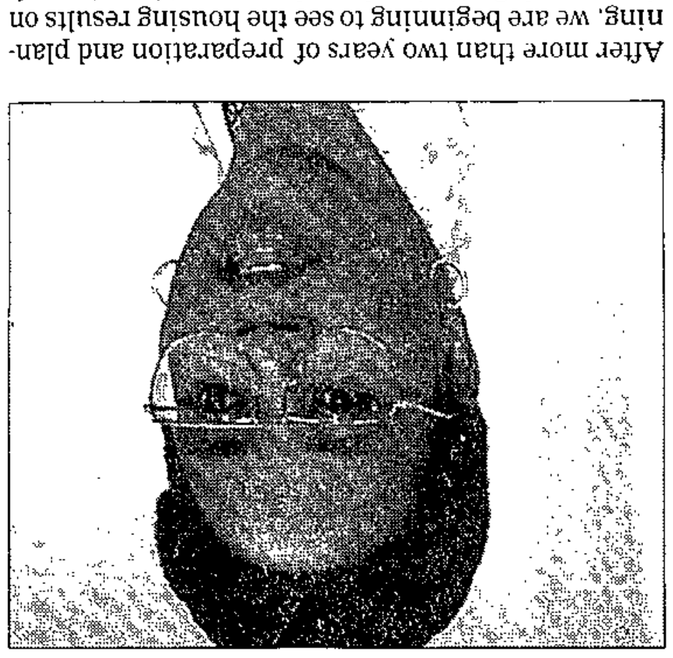
TONIGHT

Another turn of the Oscars wheel



By Jack Mathews

Now that the critics groups in New York, Boston and Los



Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele
Housing

After more than two years of preparation and planning, we are beginning to see the housing results on the ground. Statistics show the current housing policy has taken root and there is an upward trend and the outlook for increased delivery is very positive.

As ministry and department we have achieved the highest levels of housing statistics this country has ever seen, in a very short space of time. This happened because among us there are those who chose to join hands to change the conditions and lives of our people.

Legislation passed or in the process of being passed include the National Housing Bill, the Prevention of Unlawful Occupation of Land Bill, and a draft bill giving statutory recognition to the National Home Builders Registration Council.

As ministry and department we have achieved the highest levels of housing statistics this country has ever seen, in a very short space of time. This happened because among us there are those who chose to join hands to change the conditions and lives of our people.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi
Home Affairs

Highlights: The formulation of a transformation document to guide the process in the department; the finalisation of the green paper on international migration; approval by the Cabinet of the Home Affairs national identification system; SA becoming a member of the International Organisation for Migration and proposed legislation allowing married and divorced women to assume double-barrel surnames on the same basis as a married surname.

Lowlights: A limited budget with which the department has to fulfil its myriad of functions and an increase in both corruption and misconduct cases in the department.

Low points: Of special concern is the increasing number of murders of farmers. I believe there are ways rural communities, black and white, can fight crime in our areas without resorting to vigilantism.

The most important challenge facing the department: building united action in rural areas – action that builds our communities, develops local economies, supports growth and expansion of agriculture and assists new entrants.

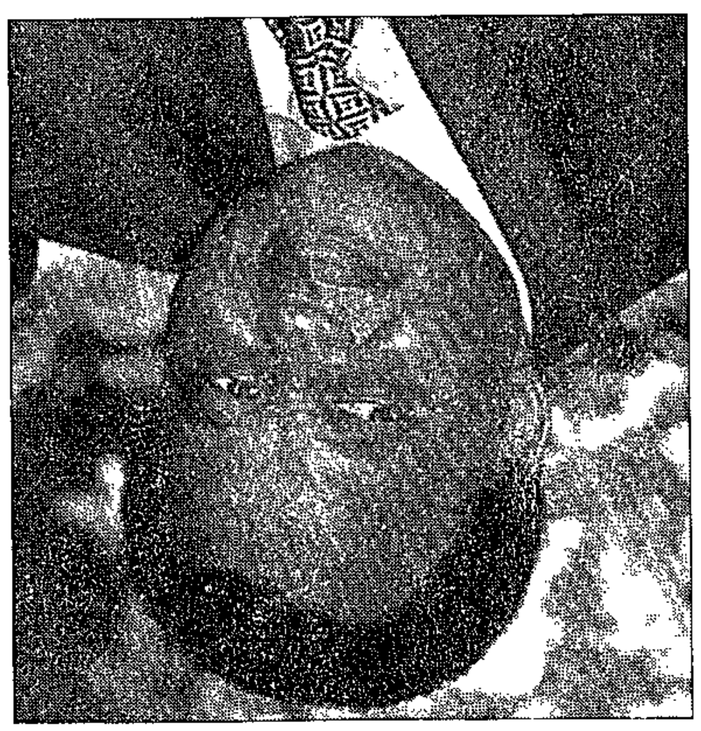


Derek Hanekom
Agriculture and Land Affairs

Highlights: A watershed year for the agricultural sector with the phasing out of control boards towards a new deregulated marketing environment. Agreement has also been reached on the formation of the Wine Industry Trust. The enactment of the Extension of Tenure Security Act is one of the most significant pieces of land reform legislation to be passed in the country.

Low points: Of special concern is the increasing number of murders of farmers. I believe there are ways rural communities, black and white, can fight crime in our areas without resorting to vigilantism.

The most important challenge facing the department: building united action in rural areas – action that builds our communities, develops local economies, supports growth and expansion of agriculture and assists new entrants.

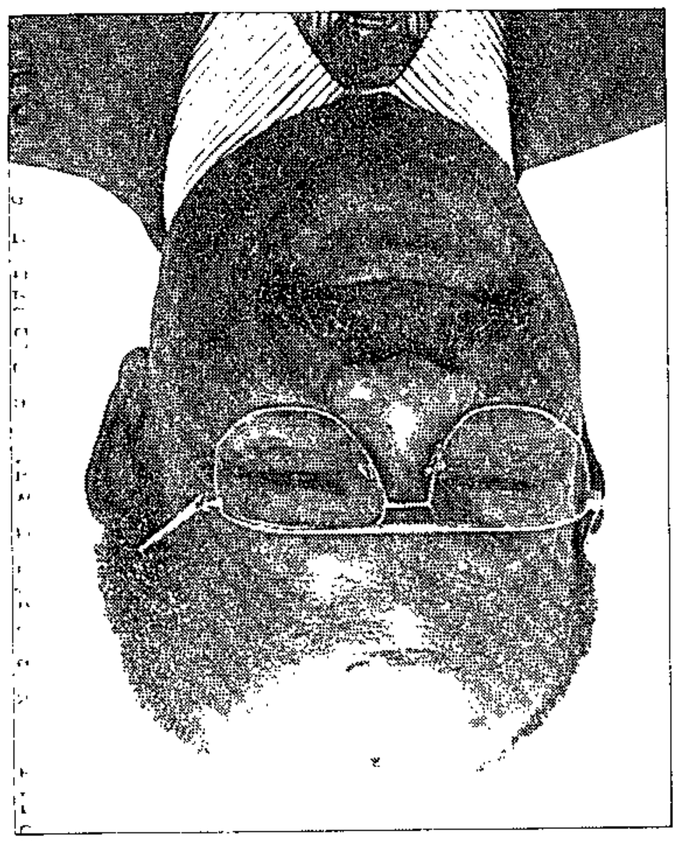


Joe Modise
Defence

Highlights: Integrating the bulk of various armed forces into the new SANDF; building consensus on defence through a widespread consultative process; the clear consolidation of civil control over the military; putting into place affirmative action and equal opportunities programmes and rendering the essential support to the SAPS in the fight against crime.

The ministry, its department and the SANDF led the world by force of example to be the first to destroy our stockpiles of landmines.

Low points: Marked progress towards representativity within the defence force is a great achievement. What might still remain as a great challenge is to re-engineer the officer corps of the SANDF to reflect the country's demographics. At the moment the force is 61% black and 39% white, yet the black officers only represent 22,5%.



Lionel Mtshali
Arts, Culture, Science and Technology

The hard work of the preceding years has now come to fruition. Evidence of that was the four pieces of legislation which passed through Parliament – the National Arts Council Bill, National Film and Video Foundation Bill, National Advisory Council on Innovation Bill and the Legal Deposit Bill.

The year also saw us involved in other equally important projects, also aimed at improving the department's public service delivery. These include: the Robben Island museum, the opening of 43 community art centres, the cultural industries growth strategy, the year of science and technology, and a co-production agreement with Canada.

Taiwan protests at diplomatic switch

(3041A)

China names ambassador

AKG 31/12/97

Pretoria – Taiwan has lodged a strong protest against South Africa's diplomatic switch from the nationalist island republic to mainland China, which takes effect from January 1.

In a statement released in Pretoria, Taiwan also reaffirmed its earlier decision to sever 21 years of official relations with South Africa today.

Taiwan said the South African Government's decision to switch its diplomatic recognition to mainland China and its acceptance of the latter's "totally unfounded 'one China' fallacy" reflected the Government's disregard for the longstanding friendship between Taiwan and South Africa and "the irrefutable fact that China of today is divided and under separate rule".

Taiwan said when the South African Government announced in November 1996 that it planned to extend diplomatic recognition to mainland China before the end of 1997, it had immediately protested against "this unfriendly decision" and had repeatedly reminded the Government that its negotiations with mainland China should not infringe upon Taiwan's rights.

Despite its pleas and warnings, the Government had decided to establish diplomatic ties with mainland China in such a way that it sacrificed diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

The statement said the Taiwanese government viewed with extreme regret the fact that the decision had dealt a severe blow to the national dignity and feelings of its people as well as the traditional friendship between the two countries.

It refuted the "one China" claim, saying since 1949, when communist China was founded on the mainland, there had been two political entities – the Republic of China (Taiwan's official name) and the People's Republic of China (communist China).

These two political entities exercised equal and exclusive jurisdiction over their respective areas, the statement said. "Like it or not, this irrefutable fact has been in existence for almost 50 years. The 'one China' claim will only be true when the two sides of the Taiwan Strait reunify," it said.

Taiwan said mainland China continued to deny Taiwan's "international identity and its rightful place in the community of nations" and had obstructed any form of official relations continuing between South Africa and Taiwan.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen, signed various agreements in Pretoria opening full diplomatic ties between South Africa and China from January 1.

■ From Beijing, the Xinhua news agency said China had named its first ambassador to South Africa.

Mr Qian said Wang Xuexian, director of the Chinese Centre for South African Studies, would be the first ambassador. South Africa approved of the choice, he added. – Sapa-AFP

Vast market opens to SA, page 10

Home Affairs declares a day of rest – but not for you

'Jan 2 is a working day. We'll be on beach'

ARG 31/12/97 (3049)

CAROL CAMPBELL
STAFF REPORTER

The Government department that runs the country, Home Affairs, has declared Friday a *"tweede nuwe jaar"* for staff, but the rest of South Africa will have to work.

The department is responsible for administering the Public Holidays Act and, in spite of beseeching from party-loving people in Cape Town, where *tweede nuwe jaar* is an age-old tradition, officials have remained adamant that January 2 is a normal working day.

But this week director-general Albert Mokoena issued a directive that all offices in his department, except for those at international ports and airports, would be closed on Friday.

Yesterday a spokesman for Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he could not comment – because he was on holiday.

"Phone Pretoria," he said.

Pretoria, or rather Home Affairs spokesman Manase Makwela, said the department's staff traditionally knocked off at 10am on December 31, but this year would work a full day and take January 2 as a holiday instead.

"We believe this will be far more productive than trying to force staff to work the whole day on January 2."

The decision has raised eyebrows in business circles and opposition parties, who say Government staff are paid with taxpayers' money to provide essential services and they should not have the day off.

But yesterday the response to telephone calls to the offices of the South African Chamber of Business and the Western Cape Chamber of Commerce was an invitation to leave a message on an answering machine.

One man who was working, Sean Summers, managing director of Pick 'n Pay, said South Africa already had too many public holidays, which had enormous implications for wage costs.

"You really don't want to know what I think about Home Affairs closing its doors on Friday," he said.

Ster Kinekor chief executive officer Peter Hall was more relaxed about the unofficial holiday.

"It should be a public holiday for everybody. It's crazy to expect people to work on Friday," he said.

COMMENT & ANALYSIS

Globalisation demands a rejig of policy

SA could learn valuable lessons from the way Australia has reorganised its foreign policy structures, writes **Greg Mills**

(304A) BD 31/12/97

SA AND Australia share more than a colonial past and an affection for cricket. Both are grappling with the foreign policy challenges posed by globalisation and the increasing role of trade and investment in foreign policy.

Indeed, in this regard, Australia may offer interesting lessons for SA in three areas: first, in the organisation of its foreign policy bureaucracy, the department of foreign affairs and trade; second, on its foreign affairs white paper; and third, in terms of the direction of its foreign relations.

The Australian department was the result of a merger in 1987 between the trade department and the foreign affairs department. To Stuart Harris, then secretary (SA's director-general equivalent) of foreign affairs, this move was inevitable given that "the logic of mixing economics and trade is today impeccable".

The amalgamation was completed in less than a month. Involving about 1 400 foreign affairs and 800 trade personnel, with the exception of a few specialist trade policy posts such as those at the generalised agreement on tariffs and trade (GATT) in Geneva, all staff were expected to do the same work: foreign affairs professionals would do the work of those in the trade department and vice-versa. Although some old foreign affairs hands felt they did not want to have to flog soap powder, and some trade people did not make good diplomats, there was, in Harris's words, ultimately a "very good crossover".

Among these changes, the trade promotion and export financing side, Austrade, remained a separate authority. Two separate ministers were also maintained, one each for trade and for foreign affairs. The industry portfolio, once part of trade, has shifted to become the industry, science and tourism department.

In an era when much about foreign affairs is, in essence, foreign economic relations, and as SA struggles to do more in the international arena with a shrinking budget, the integration of SA's trade and industry and foreign affairs departments should be seriously entertained.

Australia's experience is not unique: Canada did the same in the 1980s with the creation of its foreign affairs and international trade department.

In August this year, the Australian cabinet approved its first foreign and trade policy white paper, called In the National Interest. Unlike the SA process which has been in progress since the middle of last year, this policy document was drawn up by a team of four professional diplomats in six months. An advisory panel of 17 distinguished personalities met four times to provide guidance and to illustrate that this was not solely a bureaucratic procedure.

The drafting team consulted widely with state and local governments, the media, business, civil society, and academics. This was particularly useful in that it alerted the public to the process and cultivated a friendly constituency for the department.

What sort of direction has the document provided for Australia's foreign policy?

In the past, Australia's former colonial status, its membership of the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development club of developed nations, and its traditionally close economic and political/security relationship with the west (particularly the US and the UK), set it apart from its near-neighbours in south Asia. This position shifted in the 1970s and 1980s along with the growth of Asia's economic muscle.



The Asian economic meltdown has raised questions about Australia's focus on the region. Picture: AP

The white paper argues that the two most profound influences on Australian foreign and trade policy over the next 15 years will be globalisation and the continuing rise of east Asia. It notes that while globalisation offers huge opportunities for internationally competitive economies, it also sets challenges for political and economic management. Here the distinction between domestic economic and foreign policy has become increasingly blurred, increasing competitive pressures in markets and making globally based trade rules and disciplines even more important.

This means that Australia, like SA, will be facing a more competitive global trading and investment environment. As east Asia's economies grow, it is acknowledged that Australia will have to work harder to retain its regional standing.

As the white paper posits: "The national interest does not change with a change of government. The priority accorded to the Asia Pacific, and especially to the countries of east Asia, the forging of close relationships with the US, Japan, Indonesia and China ... are among the important elements of continuity in the government's policy framework. The Asia-Pacific is the region of highest foreign and trade policy priority for the government."

This trend is confirmed by the department's staffing policy. Of the total of 2 362 line-function staff years, 38% are allocated to north, south and southeast Asia. This may be compared with the 26% apportioned to the Americas and Europe division as a whole, and 16% for the south Pacific, Africa and the Middle East.

This emphasis is also borne out by the nature of Australia's trade flows. Three out of four of Australia's export dollars are earned in the markets of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum. Today, more than 60% of Australian exports go to Asia, with those to southeast Asia comprising 20% of the total.

The white paper also highlights the inter-relationship between trade and investment. Australia's investments in north Asia (China, South Korea, Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan) stand at 12% of total investment abroad.

Interestingly, north Asian investment in Australia amounts to 18% of total foreign investment. As trade with Asia continues to grow, the department sees an inevitable simultaneous increase in investment flows, particularly in the services (legal, banking, accounting) sector.

The recent Asian economic meltdown has raised questions about Australia's continued focus on the region. Yet, this forgets that economic links are a necessary but not altogether sufficient factor for closer Asian ties, which are also prompted by issues other than trade.

These factors include the strengthened links through Australia's growing multiculturalism and the size of its Asian community, by academic and educational interchanges, and by an increase in tourism. Closer ties have also been encouraged by a new way of thinking about security; whereas Asia was perceived in the past solely as a threat, today there is a need to embrace it, to improve understanding and reduce tensions.

The rise of China's economic might and the end of the Cold War have also meant that more uniform regional responses have become important to continue to engage Washington and, related to this, to keep Beijing's ambitions in check.

The White Paper acknowledges, too, that while Australia's international reputation is important, it is not a sufficient commitment in itself to certain international issues. Hence, a much lower priority to multilateral matters, and a cutback in the resources devoted to the United Nations.

Now that the white-paper process is complete, the department is looking closely at the effects of information technology and its implications for management systems and the department's role. Its policy planning and research unit — missing from SA's foreign affairs department — will continue to consider how adjustments can be made to enable the department to add value to raw data, given the reduced importance of its information gathering role.

Australia's acknowledgement of the effects of globalisation on its economy, in which national policies are now judged by the international marketplace, carries symbolic lessons as well. As with Australia, this makes reform of the SA economy essential, where economic strength is crucially linked to a more flexible labour market, the strengthening of education, training and research, the development of appropriate infrastructure, and the implementation of effective savings and taxation policies.

□ *Mills is national director of the SA Institute of International Affairs and is currently a visiting fellow in the strategic and defence studies centre at the Australian National University.*

SA breaks down bamboo curtain

BD 31/12/97 (3049)

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — SA officially switched ties from Taipei to Beijing yesterday when a document was signed which recognised "but one China in the world" and accepted that Taiwan was an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China.

The signing of the joint communiqué at the Union Buildings by SA Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and his Chinese counterpart and Vice-Premier Qian Qichen officially ended a 21-year relationship between Taiwan and SA and left Taiwan with only 29 countries with which it has diplomatic ties — a move it strongly denounced.

Nzo emphasised that SA would benefit from China's viable economy and its position on the United Nations Security Council.

"Now SA has added one more ally to that important organ of the international community, which should make it easier for us to play a role in international politics in the interest of world peace and security," Nzo said.

In addition, he said, SA expected a steady growth in trade between the two countries.

Before any agreements were signed, China/SA trade already totalled $1,6bn this year, excluding the $1,4bn trade between SA and Hong Kong.

Qian said China was keen to assist SA with its reconstruction and development programme, especially in the fields of rural housing, education, communication and power supply.

Qian said the leaders of both countries had already accepted invitations from each other for top-level state visits. Details still had to be finalised.

In addition to an embassy in Pretoria, China will open consul-general offices in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

"SA is strong on mining but is currently exporting raw materials. There is room for improvement in SA as far as manufacturing goes and, in this regard, China can play a role," Qian said.

It was "commendable" that President Nelson Mandela said SA would not interfere in China's internal affairs.

The communiqué signed by the two countries yesterday agreed to the development of friendly relations and co-operation on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

Five other documents were signed, including an agreement on the protection of investment, an exchange of notes on the provision of a $250m grant by China to SA and an exchange of notes on the arrangements for overflight rights for SA Airways.

The names of the two new ambassadors to the countries were also announced. They are John Dlamini and Wang Xuexian.

Addressing a banquet in honour of Qian last night, Nzo said it would have been untenable that a situation should continue to exist where one of the leading countries in Africa did not have formal relations with one of the leading countries in Asia.

"SA and China, both developing countries, share many similar ideals and objectives," Nzo said.

China is SA's sixth largest trading partner and SA investments in China exceed R60m while Chinese investment in SA was more than R40m.

[redacted]

This January 1997 cartoon is taken from Zapiro's second book *The Hole Truth.*

Taiwan out, China in

Sowetan 30/12/97

The Chinese foreign minister has arrived in the country to oversee the switching of diplomatic ties from Taiwan to China. (304A)

CHINESE foreign minister Qian Qichen arrived in Cape Town on Sunday for a five-day visit during which he will oversee South Africa's switch of formal ties on New Year's Day from Taiwan to China.

Qian and his delegation were greeted at the airport by his South African counterpart Alfred Nzo before being being whisked off to an official luncheon hosted by Speaker of Parliament Frene Ginwala.

In a written statement handed to journalists on his arrival, Qian said he believed his visit "will lay a foundation for all-round development of the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries in the future".

Beijing, he said, had supported the anti-apartheid struggle and was now ready to help rebuild the South African economy.

The establishment of formal ties "will open up a new and broad vista for the development of our friendly cooperation in various fields and furtherance on a new basis of the traditional friendship between the two peoples".

Qian, who is also China's vice-premier, was scheduled to visit Robben Island yesterday, before sitting down to lunch with President Nelson Mandela at the president's official residence in Cape Town.

Today Qian and Nzo will officially sign the agreement establishing formal ties between the two countries.

South Africa was the last large industrialised country to have official ties with Taiwan – considered to be a rebel province by China – until Mandela announced in November 1996 that Pretoria would switch recognition to Beijing.

Qian and Nzo will also sign a bilateral agreement on investment protection, the foreign ministry said. The Chinese embassy in Pretoria will then be officially opened on January 1.

China is South Africa's sixth biggest trading partner. Two-way trade is expected to reach about R8 billion this year, on top of about R7 billion of exchanges between Pretoria and Hong Kong.

Nzo told journalists at the airport that recognition of Beijing was "an inevitable step".

"China presents a vibrant growing economy and we look forward to a period when both our countries take advantage of this," Nzo said.

He said South Africa had managed to agree "with our Taiwanese friends that our relations, commercial and trade, will remain in place, which for us is of great importance".

Taiwan's economy minister Wang Chih-kang said last week that Pretoria had asked that existing economic ties continue after January 1 without the protection of diplomatic links.

Negotiations for the agreement are expected to get under way next year, largely aimed at protecting the interests of Taiwan's business units in South Africa, Wang said.



China's vice-premier and foreign minister Qian Qichen waves to well-wishers on his arrival at Cape Town International Airport on Sunday. He was met by Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo (second from right). PIC: AFP

The National Party said on Sunday that the announcement that South Africa and Taiwan would merely maintain economic relations proved the Government yielded to pressure from Beijing and the South African Communist Party.

Mandela, in announcing the switching of ties, had promised that the "highest form of relations short of diplomatic relations" would be maintained with Taiwan.

Asked if Pretoria had been influenced by the SACP, Nzo emphatically denied it. "We were influenced by no one," he said.

Taiwan is South Africa's seventh-ranked trading partner. Two-way trade totalled about R8 billion last year.

Qian's visit to South Africa also scored a major victory in his country's efforts to isolate Taiwan.

South Africa has substantially downgraded its ties with Taiwan in order to formalise relations with China.

China refuses to recognise those nations maintaining ties with what it regards as a breakaway province – so Taiwan loses the largest and most influential country of the 30 that maintained relations.

"The Chinese people rejoice at the birth of the new South Africa and stand ready to continue to support the South African people in their effort to build up the nation and develop the economy," Qian said at the airport.

Taiwan and the apartheid-era government maintained close ties as they both became increasingly isolated, and China supported Mandela's African National Congress during the anti-apartheid struggle.

"The Chinese people forged a profound friendship of comrades in arms with the South African people during their protracted and arduous struggle for racial equality," Qian said.

At the airport, Nzo also indicated that in addition to economic gains, South Africa hoped to benefit politically from recognising China.

"China is a member of the (United Nations) Security Council and this means it should make it easier for South Africa to deal with issues without possible hostile reports from China," Nzo told reporters.

The formal diplomacy follows a top-level Chinese trade delegation visit last month. Qian was accompanied by a trade delegation of 30 Chinese businessmen.

Economic ties with Taiwan are also strong, and Taiwan's embassy will continue its present operations after January 1 under the name Taipei Liaison Office, with offices in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

Taiwan considered the new arrangement far short of Mandela's original promise of ties that were just short of official, said director of African affairs Timothy Yang.

"We are not satisfied. The best that can be said is that we were compelled to accept," Yang said.

South Africa's rejection of Taiwan was its worst diplomatic setback since 1992 when South Korea spurned it in favour of China. – – *Sapa-AFP and Sapa-AP.*

[redacted]



LEON MÜLLER

One China: President Mandela greets Chinese vice-premier Qian Qichen at his Cape Town residence Genadendal yesterday

SA, China sign accord on ties

ARG 30/12/97 (3049)

Pretoria – South Africa and China signed an accord today establishing diplomatic relations between them from January 1.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and his visiting counterpart, Qian Qichen, signed the agreement at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

A joint communique said South Africa recognised China's position on Taiwan.

"The government of the Republic of South Africa recognises that there is but one China in the world, the government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the whole of China and recognises China's position that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China," it said.

Mr Mandela said a year ago South Africa would break off ties with Taiwan at the end of 1997 to establish links with Beijing just months after saying such a step would be immoral as Taiwan had been a good friend to the African National Congress. China refuses to have diplomatic relations with countries that recognise Taiwan and has sought to push the island state into diplomatic isolation.

Taiwan and South Africa officially end their diplomatic relations tomorrow, but have reached agreement on maintaining bustling trade ties and other two-way involvement.

Taipei will maintain "liaison offices" around the country. – Reuters

Opposition criticises SA Govt for 'broken promises' to ousted Taiwan

(304A) Star 31/12/97

Cape Town – The National Party yesterday said it welcomed the establishment of diplomatic ties between South Africa and China, but criticised the Government's decision to break off ties with Taiwan.

"Official ties between South Africa and the People's Republic of China will undoubtedly result in enormous advantages, especially in the field of economics, for both countries," NP foreign affairs spokesman Dr Boy Geldenhuys said.

However, the NP was opposed to "the prescription by the People's Republic of China forcing South Africa to break all ties with Taiwan". Taiwan had contributed enormously to the development of South Africa and did not deserve "to be kicked in the teeth".

"The least the South African Government could have done under the circumstances was to retain consular relations with Taiwan," Geldenhuys said.

The Freedom Front yesterday said it condemned the South African Government's "dishonest and opportunistic foreign policy".

"The ANC Government shamelessly broke every promise that was made to Taiwan," FF foreign affairs spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder said.

He said President Nelson Mandela had said "as a consolation", that the highest diplomatic status would be granted to Taiwan. This promise was broken when Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo announced on December 1 that Taiwan could not fly its flag or operate a consulate in South Africa.

Mulder criticised the Government's opportunism in asking Taiwan to maintain economic ties with South Africa, while not accepting any other form of diplomatic relations with the country. – Sapa

Pretoria diplomatic ties to Beijing official

SPCH 31/12/97 (3044)

Taiwan protests over 'one-China policy' as foreign affairs ministers sign communique 'in interest of world peace'

SAPA

South Africa yesterday officially switched diplomatic ties from Taipei to Beijing, saying it recognised one China.

"The government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the whole of China," said a joint communique signed between South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen in Pretoria.

"South Africa ... recognises China's position that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China."

Taiwan lodged a strong protest against the signing of the document, saying 21 years of official relations with South Africa would be severed tomorrow, foreign news agencies reported.

"South Africa has recognised Beijing, ignoring its longstanding friendship with the Republic of China and the fact that the two sides of the Taiwan Strait are separated territories governed by different authorities," foreign ministry spokesman Roy Wu said.

"We strongly protest to Pretoria for accepting communist China's ridiculous 'one China' policy", Wu said in Taipei.

South Africa was the last large, industrialised country to have official ties with Taiwan, which has always been considered a rebel province by China.

President Nelson Mandela announced in November last year that Pretoria would switch recognition from Taipei to Beijing on January 1 1998.

The decision leaves Taiwan with diplomatic connections with only 29 countries.

Asked about what had been seen as an apparent change of attitude by South Africa when it decided to cut all of its diplomatic ties with Taiwan, Nzo said: "I assure you there is no roundabout."

"We shall always appreciate the relations we have had with Taiwan.

"But it was inevitable that South Africa would come to a position of recognising international practice."

The country's relations with China were longstanding, he said.

South Africa expected to benefit from China's hugely viable economy and its important position on the United Nations Security Council.

"Now, South Africa has added one more ally to that important organ of the international community, which should make it easier for us to play our part and role in international politics in the interests of the defence of peace and security," Nzo added.

Asked if China approved of Taiwanese liaison offices staying on in South Africa, Qichen, also his country's vice-premier, said Mandela had made it clear all relations between South Africa and Taiwan would be unofficial and non-governmental.

The communique signed by the two ministers allows for the development of co-operation on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each others' internal affairs and peaceful co-existence.

Nzo and Qichen described the establishment of diplomatic relations as mutually beneficial and in the interest of world peace.

Nzo said the two countries expected a steady growth in bilateral trade, which reached about R7,7-billion this year.

"That is already a very firm beginning and that gives us hope that as time goes on, more avenues will open up for increasing that interaction to the benefit of the peoples of our countries," he said.

South Africa and China would also seek to extend their co-operation on international questions.

"We shall endeavour to contribute as much as possible in international relations in defence of humanity against possible catastrophes, such as nuclear catastrophes," he said.

Qichen said China regarded South Africa as a major roleplayer in Africa.

"The establishment of friendly relations and co-operation between China and South Africa is undoubtedly in the interest of our two peoples and in the interest of world peace," he said.

He added his country was ready to assist South Africa with its reconstruction and development programme, especially in the fields of rural housing, education, power supply and communication.

Turning to criticism on his country's human rights record, Qichen said South Africa would not interfere.

"South Africa does not support using the concept of human rights to interfere in the internal affairs of another country," he said. "This attitude is commendable."

The two ministers also signed five other documents, including an agreement on the protection of investment between the two countries, an exchange of notes on the provision of a R1,2-billion grant by China to South Africa and an exchange of notes on the temporary arrangements for overflight rights to South African Airways.

Nzo and Qian announced the names of the two new ambassadors to take up their places in Pretoria and Beijing next year. They are John Dlamini and Wang Xuexian.

Qichen said China would establish consulate-generals in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

Qichen arrived in the country on Sunday for a five-day official state visit, the first by a mainland Chinese official to South Africa.

The Chinese embassy in Pretoria will be officially opened tomorrow.

■ Presidential aides confirmed that Mandela had accepted an invitation from Qichen to visit Communist China before he stepped down from the presidency in 1999.

Mandela had also extended an invitation to China's Premier Jiang Zemin to visit South Africa. Foreign affairs sources said Deputy President Thabo Mbeki will undertake a visit to the People's Republic of China early in the New Year.

Up to their necks in sleaze ...

Emanuel Shaw II may be the king of sleaze, but South Africa is not without its own homegrown sleazeballs, writes **Mungo Soggot**

(304A) M+G $ 24/12/97 8/1/98



Emanuel Shaw II: 'Your country must be careful of this man'



Don Mkhwanazi: Unusual business practices

While discussing Liberian politician Emanuel Shaw II's spectacularly corrupt track record in the West African country, a Liberian journalist based in Washington told the *Mail & Guardian* last month: "You must watch out. You must be careful of this man."

"Why? Will he sue, will he shoot?"

"No, no," said the journalist. "You misunderstand me. I don't mean you must be careful. I mean your country must be careful."

Six weeks on, it is easy to see what he meant. As the *M&G* exposed last week, Shaw — in his capacity as Liberia's finance minister under the dictator Samuel Doe — set up a new national oil company during 1989 in which he had a 60% stake.

He pumped up the price of fuel, split the profits with his cronies, and then sued the government for $20-million owed to his "national" oil company after fleeing the impoverished country ahead of Doe's gruesome, public execution.

The same man has spent the past six months advising the head of South Africa's Central Energy Fund, Don Mkhwanazi, on the state oil company's restructuring. He has an office at the company's Johannesburg headquarters which is steadily losing experienced staff. Despite an onslaught of evidence about his corrupt past and present — the *M&G* has exposed how Shaw extorted $10 000 from a [illegible]

corruption and cronyism which have dogged the government this year is that the culprits have frequently survived unscathed.

There have been some impressive exceptions, such as the decision on the part of North West Premier Popo Molefe to oust his education MEC after she faced allegations of cronyism and incompetence.

[illegible]

Moodley told the commission of inquiry — appointed by Phosa — that the saga actually boiled down to an elaborate plot on the part of senior government officials and Nedcor to embarrass Mthembi-Mahanyele.

The provincial government paid out R9,2-million of national housing funds before the project was frozen. That money has still to be repaid.

Mpumalanga's reputation as a province prone to sleaze was secured at the beginning of the year when the *M&G* exposed the way the province's parks board had handed over its famous natural assets to a shadowy foreign company and promised not to talk about the deal for 50 years.

The Dolphin Group, headed by Ketan Somaia who was at the centre of a major financial scam in Kenya, was given enormous power over attractions such as the Blyde River Canyon, Bourkes Luck, the Blyde River potholes and Pilgrim's Rest. In exchange, it agreed to bankroll the parks board to the tune of about R12-billion over eight years.

The head of the parks board, Alan Gray, insisted that this financial support would not compromise the parks board when it assessed the impact on the environment of any of the group's schemes.

Somaia at one stage tried to secure Kenyan leader Daniel arap Moi for a reference. The Mpumalanga government eventually dispatched some officials to Kenya to investigate the Dolphin Group. While in Kenya, the Mpumalanga officials failed to meet with the country's attorney general, opposition politicians or the police — but instead concentrated on enjoying the hospitality of several Dolphin lodges.

On their return, one of the officials [illegible]

promising to promote his interests with Minister of Minerals and Energy Penuell Maduna — Shaw is still being paid by the taxpayer.

Bearing in mind Mkhwanazi's ignorance of the South African oil industry — and considering Maduna's reluctance to take any decision on the industry — Shaw presumably has relatively free rein to concoct any scheme he fancies.

Shaw said last week he would sue the *M&G* for R7-million — an exercise he will presumably not pursue at the taxpayers' expense.

The Liberian journalist's warning implied that South Africa is not used to sleaze. Shaw, who is a South African resident, does of course represent a calibre of crook so far unrivalled in South Africa: he is smart, eloquent, cunning, charming and convincing. He was a model of courtesy when contacted by the *M&G* after the newspaper published an article entitled "Oil man's CV of sleaze".

But, if the past 12 months are anything to go by, there is plenty more sleaze and plenty of other people of whom South Africa should be wary.

To begin with, there is no need to search further than Shaw's South African link man, Mkhwanazi, for an example of a South African who — although never implicated in or convicted of any misconduct — has been involved in unusual business practices.

Mkhwanazi gave Shaw and Shaw's son, Emanuel Shaw III, the state job without tendering — a year after his own law firm set up the consultancy named in Shaw's contract with the state oil company. The main listed director of that company, International Advisory Services, is Ethelbert Cooper, a Liberian associate of Shaw's. Cooper, who is working in South Africa illegally, also advises Mkhwanazi on Mkhwanazi's National Empowerment Trust Investment Fund.

It emerged this month that the two most eminent members of this investment fund's executive — Oscar Dhlomo and Gibson Thula — resigned last year after Mkhwanazi spent a sizeable portion of the fund's R5-million start-up cash on himself and on Cooper's remuneration.

One of the defining features of the tales of corruption was that of Louis Botha, the Gauteng housing department official who was hit with a hefty prison sentence for stealing about R8-million from the subsidised housing kitty.

And there have been a few instances in which the government has employed a damage control tactic much favoured by the its predecessor: a commission of inquiry. Mathews Phosa, the premier of the Mpumalanga province, has on at least two occasions appointed an inquiry into shenanigans in his province.

Maduna also immediately ordered an inquiry into Shaw's appointment — in the week after it was exposed in the *M&G*. He has, however, ignored a written memo from his special adviser dated October 19 in which he was advised to suspend Mkhwanazi's board and ditch Shaw.

At the time of going to press, the Department of Minerals and Energy, which conducted the inquiry last week, had yet to release its findings. It is, however, unlikely that Mkhwanazi will be axed for his performance in the Shaw scandal. He has already been cleared by his own board.

However, a head count of the major players in this year's prominent sleaze stories shows that few heads have rolled where they should have — in spite of the insistence on the part of President Nelson Mandela last week that the government is tackling corruption.

A head count of the major players in this year's prominent sleaze stories shows that few heads have rolled where they should have

And, in some cases, such as in that of the Motheo scandal, it is the whistle blowers who have lost their jobs.

One of the best examples has been the Motheo housing scandal, which gave a disturbing glimpse of elements of cronyism in South Africa's mass housing programme. To date there has been no proof of outright corruption, but the scandal has left a bad taste after providing startling insights into the Mpumalanga government's irresponsible handling of housing funds and into the opportunism of some low-cost housing developers and their accomplices.

The Motheo housing deal involved the handing of a R198-million housing contract to an unknown housing company, Motheo, run by a doctor called Thandi Ndlovu — a friend of the Minister of Housing, Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele. The contract, for the construction of 10 500 houses in the middle of nowhere, was given with the unwitting help of a bank, Nedcor, after provincial housing officials rode roughshod over a string of key procedures.



Alan Gray: The Dolphin exposés were the work of 'jealous journalists'

The scheme was masterminded by Kevin Gibb, a senior banker at Nedcor who was fired for, among other things, his involvement in the scheme. Gibb vowed to take on Nedcor in the courts, but recently lost the first round in the Labour Court.

The former director general of the Department of Housing, Billy Cobbett, blew the whistle on the scheme and was swiftly fired by his minister. He told a commission of inquiry into the affair that Gibb had had "an incredibly close relationship" with the minister.

Mthembi-Mahanyele said Cobbett was "incoherent" when he alerted her to the many problems in the scheme. However, official documents from the department show Mthembi-Mahanyele was fully informed by Cobbett when she fired him.

At the heart of the deal was Mpumalanga's provincial housing board, headed by Saths Moodley who was fired by Phosa after the scandal broke. To this day, Moodley, who worked closely with Gibb, insists he resigned. And Mthembi-Mahanyele for several months insisted that Cobbett resigned — until Cobbett proved the contrary by disclosing the value of his payout from the government.

Mpumalanga government will ever subject investors to tender processes or in-depth investigations. If we create the perception that investors will be investigated in this manner, it is doubtful that [we] will attract any investors at all."

Terms of the contract were toned down in the end in favour of the province, but the Dolphin Group is nevertheless still entrenched in Mpumalanga. Gray said recently that the series of exposés about Dolphin had been an attempt by the media to boost circulation and the work of "jealous" journalists.

Mpumalanga also hit the headlines this year for having helped the deputy speaker of the National Assembly, Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, obtain a fake driving licence. The licence was issued by traffic director Henry Brazer on the instructions of Safety and Security MEC Steve Mabona, who was forced to resign.

A commission of inquiry appointed by Phosa found that Mabona last year sent his official vehicle and bodyguards to fetch Mbete-Kgositsile in Johannesburg.

Mbete-Kgositsile says she travelled to Delmas for her driver's test to "save time and not stand in queues". Although she was tested for both licences on that day in Delmas, all documentation for the licences indicated they were issued in Kabokweni, 350km away in the former homeland of KaNgwane.

The commission — which discovered that the province was conducting a roaring trade in fake driving licences — heard from Mpumalanga traffic inspector Roelf Smith that he had received complaints from a junior staff member about the alleged irregular issuing of Mbete-Kgositsile's licence and had launched an investigation. Three days later he was ordered to stop his investigation.

Brazer was suspended by Phosa's commission, but was recently cleared of any "intentional misconduct" by an internal disciplinary inquiry. He has been reinstated as traffic director — despite attempting to hide from the commission the fact that he had issued fake licences.

Mbete-Kgositsile has expressed little concern about the incident. She would probably be far more concerned, however, if she knew that — according to a string of sources — her daughter has been involved in a relationship with none other than Emanuel Shaw II.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
December 24 1997 to January 8 1998

How the Cabinet did in 1997: A

(30LA) MtG 24/12/98/1/98

We evaluate the peformances of South Africa's ministers over the past year



President Nelson Mandela: Preparing the way for his successor

Name: **Nelson Mandela**
Title: **President**
Grade: **B**

Has spent much time this year preparing the country and the world for his successor, Thabo Mbeki. In marked contrast to neighbouring heads of state such as Namibia's Sam Nujoma and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, Mandela shows no determination to hang on to the reins of power, and appears genuinely to relish his impending retirement in the company of Graça Machel and his grandchildren. He retains an admirable commitment to nation-building, reconciliation and political stability, going out of his way, for instance, to assuage the fears of white farmers. His belief in jaw jaw rather than war war led him to give the finger to the world's only remaining superpower and visit Libya. His status as a statesman of international repute has been slightly tarnished by his tendency to shoot from the hip. However, his intemperate attacks on the political opposition and the media and undemocratic slightly paranoid utterances, most notably in his five-hour speech to the African National Congress conference, have lowered his overall rating.

Prognosis: A well-earned retirement and not a moment too soon.

Name: **Thabo Mbeki**
Title: **Deputy President**
Grade: **B**

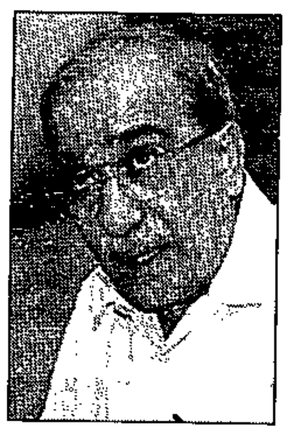
As strategic and canny as he is behind the scenes, Mbeki has not yet emerged as a people's politician. He remains fairly aloof, surrounded by a close circle of officials, ministers, businessmen and old-time comrades. He gets full marks for his grasp of politics inside the ANC, though the country as a whole would like to get to know him better. He has championed a new brand of Africanism which has won favour with a section of the black intelligentsia. For many whites, his earlier, more cuddly image as a pipe-smoking pragmatist has been replaced by an altogether tougher, slightly scary figure. Chances are that both are caricatures and that the real Thabo Mbeki will start to emerge in the year ahead. As the de facto head of government, Mbeki must bear some of the blame for its failure to deliver transformation on the ground. Through some masterful stage-management, however, he emerged from the ANC conference stronger and with the party united behind him — for now, anyway.



Prognosis: He will need all that unity in the tough year ahead, with an election coming up, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) programme still failing to make the grade, impatience for delivery on the ground and some of his least favourite people voted into prominent positions on the ANC's national executive committee (NEC).

Name: **Kader Asmal**
Title: **Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry**
Grade: **B**

Asmal continues to generate favourable publicity from what has traditionally been regarded as a lowly portfolio. His work in water affairs and conservation has been excellent. He works hard to get water to the rural poor and to preserve indigenous vegetation, and has introduced dramatic new water-saving legislation. In recognition of being one minister who really has delivered, he shot up in the ANC's popularity stakes and finished second on the NEC list. He would have got an A but for his handling of the committee regulating arms sales, the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, which has not practised the promised transparency and has been tarnished by a number of questionable arms deals.



Prognosis: No one would dispute that he's worth a new ministry in the new year. Foreign affairs? Justice? Just don't give him defence.

Name: **Sibusiso Bengu**
Title: **Minister of Education**
Grade: **F**

It was a disastrous year for education, an area desperately in need of vision and urgent rescue. The offer of voluntary severance packages had to be halted when it proved an expensive exercise in shedding some of the best teachers, few of whom opted to relocate. The budgets of tertiary institutions were slashed and Bengu lost to Grove Primary in the Cape High Court over his insistence that schools only take teachers from a central list available for redeployment. The introduction of Curriculum 2005 was hampered by the fact that the provinces don't have the cash. Meanwhile, many black schools in the townships and rural areas are overcrowded and barely functioning, levels of teacher commitment are at an all-time low and millions of pupils will not even have school textbooks next year.



Prognosis: Ambassador to Albania has the right ring. It's time to start a "Draft Mamphela Ramphele" campaign.

Name: **Mangosuthu Buthelezi**
Title: **Minister of Home Affairs**
Grade: **C**

Gets kudos for his willingness to support innovative policies on immigration and refugees but then leaves these to civil servants, mostly of the old order, to implement. His Green Paper on migration has been stalled by senior civil servants who are reverting to old habits. Things don't look good: refugees have uncertain status in the country, illegal immigrants are flooding the borders, and Buthelezi does little to counter xenophobia, which is expressed in attacks on street hawkers. He still has too much of a mind on his provincial domain of KwaZulu-Natal and the increasingly fractious Inkatha Freedom Party.



Prognosis: Much of the year will be spent playing footsie-footsie with the ANC over a merger and issuing contradictory statements before he accepts the post of deputy president after the 1999 elections.

Name **Alec Erwin**
Title **Minister of Trade and Industry**
Grade: **B**

The biggest criticism levelled at this quiet and industrious former trade unionist is his inability or unwillingness to delegate — his workload is too heavy. Which means we still haven't sorted out the European Union, or settled on a new competition policy. But as Erwin would say, it's about quality, not quantity. The Maputo corridor initiative has taken off and the Wild Coast is not far behind. More must be done, however, to encourage foreign investment and the export industry.



Prognosis: An A next year if he gets industrial policy right.

Name: **Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi**
Title **Minister of Social Welfare**
Grade **B**

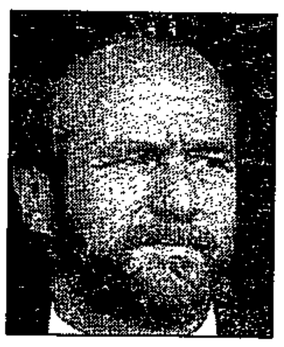
She is good on policy, but slow on delivery. Her big battle during 1997 has been to deliver a new child grant scheme to poor mothers and care givers. She mismanaged the public relations of the scheme and it has been delayed by the resulting political fallout. Fraser-Moleketi has however repaired rifts with the NGO community, taken time to answer criticism of her department's work, spearheaded projects to set up centres for juvenile prisoners and done her best to clear out corruption in welfare. One black mark was her clash with her director-general, Leila Patel, which led to Patel resigning under a cloud.



Prognosis: She's a fast learner who's headed for bigger things.

Name: **Derek Hanekom**
Title: **Minister of Land and Agriculture**
Grade: **B**

Hanekom has had to walk a tightrope between the landless abyss on his left and the volcanic mountain of landed interests on his right. Land reform did, however, begin to take off this year with the restitution of nearly 150 000ha removed under apartheid land laws and the improvement of tenure rights for millions of rural farmworkers. For all that these figures represent a long-awaited



Keeping score

What the marks mean

- — Brilliant. On top of the job, innovative, delivering. Vote yourself a salary increase.
- — Very good. Could do better.
- — Average. Needs quite a lot of brushing up.
- — Mediocre. Not up to scratch.
- — Lousy. One last chance or you're fired.
- — Pathetic, a fail. An appointment as ambassador to Vanuarta or Burkina Faso should be announced shortly.

report card (SONA)

dent in the unequal economic relations between rural landowners and landless people, they are just that — a dent.

Prognosis: An A if he can speed up land restitution and continue to balance the interests of the people who fall under this portfolio.

Name: **Pallo Jordan**
Title: **Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism**
Grade: **B**

He shot up in the ratings when he saved the Brento Blue butterfly from extinction, dropped back again when it was revealed that he was allowing the export of baboons and monkeys to a suspect French outfit for scientific experiments, but again redeemed himself with an innovative tourism plan that would save St Lucia once and for all from dune mining. His biggest fault is his too-low profile for a tourism minister, thrown into sharper relief by the obvious enthusiasm that his deputy, Peter Mokaba, shows for the portfolio (and for Jordan's job). After an apparent walk in the political wilderness, Jordan experienced a comeback towards the end of the year with several key papers for the ANC conference on non-racialism and the economy. His support in the party was illustrated by the fact that he finished third in the NEC elections.



Prognosis: A lot more will be heard of this brilliant if not very PR-conscious minister in the new year. The left needs a theorist of this calibre.

Name: **Penuel Maduna**
Title: **Minister of Minerals and Energy**
Grade: **F**

No significant policy achievements this year. He has made no progress with the deregulation of the fuel industry — his main policy challenge. Instead, he has almost entirely preoccupied himself with a probe into the books of the state's oil trading company, the Strategic Fuel Fund. He blew up at the auditor general, making wild and unsubstantiated claims. He has shown himself to be impetuous and lacking in judgment — witness his refusal to condemn publicly his one-time associate, Emanuel Shaw II.



Prognosis: Ambassadorship to Monrovia would be appropriate.

Name: **Mac Maharaj**
Title: **Minister of Transport**
Grade: **A**

Maharaj presides over what is arguably the most efficient government department in the country, which is headed up by the exceedingly competent Ketso Gordhan. Maharaj has tackled all his pressing poliicy challenges with vigour and imagination. One of his most notable achievements has been the Maputo Corridor development project, which was his and Gordhan's brainchild. One of his only setbacks has been his attempt to revamp the third party state accident insurance system which brought him into conflict with the legal profession. He has apparently succeeded in bringing down levels of violence in the taxi industry. But he has had less success in bringing down road deaths, though he has put the issue on the government's agenda.



Prognosis: As one of the most successful ministers, he needs to be given one of the really tough portfolios to handle — Housing, Safety and Security or Education.

Name: **Trevor Manuel**
Title: **Minister of Finance**
Grade: **A**

The best-laid plans of finance ministers often come to nought and this year has been no exception. Gear — the government's growth, employment and redistribution programme — is in serious danger of unravelling: growth, employment and Budget deficit targets are unlikely to be met this year or next. But it's not his fault — finance ministers have no control over the vagaries of the world's financial markets or the weather. On the plus side, he did well in gaining mastery over a difficult portfolio and establishing personal credibility. His first Budget was well received, as were the first, tentative steps towards full relaxation of exchange controls. His department has been innovative, moving rapidly towards long-term budget planning. And he has learnt to be diplomatic: no more *faux pas* along the lines of calling the markets "amorphous" — which is one thing they have proven themselves not to be in 1997. Indeed, South Africa survived the fall-out fairly unscathed. The investment community believes Manuel is on the right track.



Prognosis: He's going to be pressed to the limit, with markets in turmoil, the economy failing to grow to expectations, El Niño, and pressing demands to meet socio-economic needs.

Name: **Tito Mboweni**
Title: **Minister of Labour**
Grade: **B**

He scores well for productivity, but his overall performance has been mixed. He rushed through the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill without agreement from the social partners — and then announced that sufficient consensus had been reached. And while the legislation is indeed progressive, it will not contribute to job creation. He has managed to please nobody fully; indeed, the social partnership has been severely compromised. The Nedlac process is still on track, despite fierce criticism from his department.



Prognosis: Jobs will be on Mboweni's mind — first, the jobs summit, and then a new job for him, in the private sector, which would be a loss to government.

Name: **Joe Modise**
Title: **Minister of Defence**
Grade: **D**

A very nice guy who doesn't like to work too hard. He headed up a defence review, through which a leaner, meaner South African National Defence Force is being designed. Yet, because of massive budget cuts, very little could be implemented. Instead, the air force has had to stop flying, the army to cease training and soldiers waiting to be demobilised and reintegrated into



To PAGE 8

The words of wisdom, the wit, the bloopers

"Turning around a ship the size of the SAPS is a little bit like making love to an elephant: first of all ... there's very little pleasure in it, there's every likelihood you could get crushed, and I know from my house doctor it takes years to see the result." — Police CEO Meyer Kahn

"The best thing Fivaz can do is go home and start a new business venture. In fact he should have resigned on Sunday if he no longer likes to dance to his boss's mbaqanga music." — Former Mpumalanga Safety and Security MEC Steve Mabona entering the fracas between Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Police Commissioner George Fivaz

"There are criminals within our system who have made it clear that they are not prepared to conform to the norms of a democratic society ... People like murderers, rapists, armed robbers who repeatedly transgress, they are animals. They must never see sunlight again." — Department of Correctional Services commissioner, Khulekani Sithole, suggesting dangerous criminals should be thrown down disused mine shafts

"I am gasping for air. This is a barbaric proposal from a commissioner who is supposed to be a progressive, broadminded person. I hope he realises that when slavery stopped, our prison system started." — Golden Miles Bhudu, president of the SA Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights

"The ANC has never closed its eyes to the possibility of a wider conspiracy to murder [Chris] Hani, and thus undermine the ANC and its allies before the April 1994 election." — The ANC, after reports that some of its members may have been involved in the assassination of the popular Communist Party leader

"What I did to myself was a declaration I wouldn't ever accept reconciliation with her." — Jose Tabada of the Philippines, who cut off his penis after his wife left him

"If I was to be locked up, the truth would be inside with me and the lie outside." — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche after he was handed a six-year sentence for assaulting two former employees

"I will stay cool, calm and elected." — Former British Prime Minister John Major declaring his new year resolution

"We know he has got big ears, too many teeth and problem hair; that he's partial to wearing suits which make his head look too small; that he's religious (or rather we know he says he's religious); but what do we really know about him?" — *Guardian* newspaper cartoonist Steve Bell, about newly elected British Prime Minister Tony Blair

"Politicians belong to a strange category of people, and you never know what they will do to achieve their aims." — Corruption-busting Judge Willem Heath expressing concern about Minister of Finance Trevor Manuel's attitude to the Special Investigation Unit's probe into corruption and maladministration of state assets

"Naturally it is fucking politics ... with the whole fucking country behind him [François Pienaar] ... Now I hear that Mluleki George also wants to fucking resign on Friday. It's kaffirs man, it's the fucking NSC [National Sports Council], the fucking kaffirs." — Former Springbok rugby coach André Markgraaf, on the tape that led to his resignation

"The politicians can relax. I am not interested in 1999 [elections]. Right now there is still a lot to do — I have a lot of work. I do not want to be president yet ... Watch me in 2004." — Mpumalanga's former gravy-train consultant Eugene Nyati revealing his political ambitions

"I've been through worse situations. They cocked their rifles, but I think it was more to threaten than anything else." — Former Bafana Bafana coach Clive Barker, after Congolese soldiers tried to prevent the team from training

"You and I have a duty to remove Mobutu [Sese Seko] and his attendants and rotten system and relegate them to the dustbin of history." — President of the Democratic Republic of Congo Laurent Kabila, following an announcement of his rebel advances in eastern Zaire

"I am happy with the performance of Cuban doctors in South Africa. If I were not, I would not have invited more of them to come here." — Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, after returning from Cuba, where she invited another 80 doctors to South Africa

"Public trust in the media will not bevelop where most of us, serious observers of our society who try to be dispassionate and believe in the freedom of the press, have the impression that a self-righteous media environment is not only out to bash the government, but also condescends towards the public." — Professor Njabulo Ndebele, writing about the Denel arms deal

"I can go into any township, my friend. You must see when I walk in the streets of Johannesburg. Black people wave at me and say, 'Eugene, Eugene.' Wait until I call a meeting in Soweto, you will see the number of supporters I have there.'" — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche talking to *City Press* journalist Charles Mogale

"We feel we have to check whether the SABC is in a coma and whether, in fact, retrenchments would give the SABC a kiss of life." — Zakes Nene, president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa calling for a thorough investigation of the SABC's deficit

"Defamatory statements about me and the National Party have been bandied about for some time now, and I have now reached the point where I am no longer prepared to regard this as part of the normal political process." — Former NP leader FW de Klerk

"It is a shameful scene of general stupidity." — Italian film director France Zeffirelli rebuking the public for idolising Diana after her death

"The problem with Cuba is that we are too near the United States and too far from God." — A Cuban Communist Party central committee member, speaking in Johannesburg in September this year

MAIL & GUARDIAN
December 24 1997 to January 8 1998

How the Cabinet fared in 1997

MTG 24/12/97 - 8/1/98

From PAGE 7

society do nothing but wait. He tends to defend arms industry interests aggressively but even in this field his efforts have borne little fruit. While South African small arms, which hardly boost the national coffers, keep finding their way to the slaughterhouses of Africa, the much-vaunted R7-billion deal with Saudi Arabia remains little more than a desert mirage. He was outshone by his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, who has taken on the workload of a minister with enthusiasm and without the status.

Prognosis: Give Kasrils the job.

Name: **Valli Moosa**
Title: **Minister of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs**
Grade: **B**

Would score an A for accessibility, coolth, spotless suits and the most neatly brushed hair in the Cabinet. As the Cabinet swot, he has beavered away at the unsexy task of restructuring local government, has placated traditional leaders anxious to have their concerns listened to, and has developed the mechanics of the relationship between the national and provincial governments. The ANC leadership was almost faced with a rebellion over a border dispute in Bushbuckridge but Moosa guided the situation out of harm's way.



Prognosis: He faces a tough year dealing with the local government debt crisis which, along with municipal delivery, is still a long way from resolution or improvement.

Name: **Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele**
Title: **Minister of Housing**
Grade: **F**

Her handling of the Motheo saga — in which one of her best friends was illegally awarded a R198-million housing contract — and the sacking of Billy Cobbett as director-general should have resulted in her departure from public office. Apart from a scattering of showcase projects, she has had little impact on the notoriously poor delivery of South Africa's mass housing programme.



Prognosis: How does honorary consul in New Orleans sound?

Name: **Lionel Mtshali**
Title: **Minister of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology**
Grade: **D**

He has not developed his public profile much since he took over, but despite his headmasterly style, the new department appears to be making progress. He has left science and technology well alone, which is probably all for the best.



Prognosis: Don't expect fireworks.

Name: **Sidney Mufamadi**
Title: **Minister of Safety and Security**
Grade: **E**

What can one say when crime remains rampant and the public are baying for a return of the death penalty? After three and a half years of trying, no amount of fiddling the figures can disguise the fact that he has failed. The appointment of Meyer Kahn as CEO of the South African Police Service has not improved the efficiency or effectiveness of the police and must be seen as a ploy to appease the business sector.



Prognosis: This department needs a tough, efficient minister. Mac Maharaj?

Name: **Sipo Mzimela**
Title: **Minister of Correctional Services**
Grade: **E**

If Mufamadi is too soft on crime, Mzimela is too hard on criminals. He has been accused of having little regard for the Constitution or accountability. Mzimela has plans to use abandoned mine shafts, ships and Johannesburg CBD skyscrapers as prisons. The dreaded C-Max top security prison offended human rights activists and was kept secret until a week before it became operational. It still didn't stop dangerous prisoners from leaking out of jail.



Prognosis: If the IFP and ANC don't get married, bridesmaid Mzimela will need a new job.

Name: **Jay Naidoo**
Title: **Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting**
Grade: **C**

He gains points for his sheer workload, incorporating two tough portfolios. Naidoo's big issue this year has been setting a formula for commercialisation of government. His privatisation of Telkom appears to have gone smoothly, but though he has prodded the SABC back into commercial viability, he seems to have forgotten about the concept of a public broadcaster.



Prognosis: Should have an easier year, but could face a showdown with the Independent Broadcasting Authority over the independence of watchdogs.

Name: **Alfred Nzo**
Title: **Minister of Foreign Affairs**
Grade: **C**

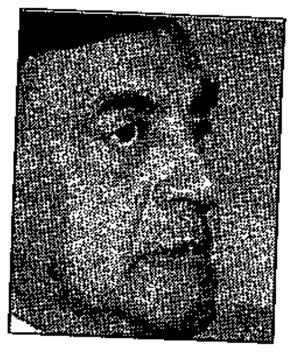
Poor Nzo has never been able to catch up with the jet-setting Mandela, Mbeki and his deputy Aziz Pahad. However, he is competent and friendly in public, and his department has started to fill in the gaps in policy, adopting the worthy goal of international conflict resolution as a key policy plank. He has also strengthened South Africa's position at the United Nations, raising the chances of a permanent seat in the security council. And he played a key role in banning landmines and fighting chemical warfare. For that alone, he can't be all bad.



Prognosis: Unlikely that Mbeki will keep him much longer. His poor showing in the NEC elections means few will mind if he goes.

Name: **Dullah Omar**
Title: **Minister of Justice**
Grade: **C**

Omar has struggled to revive the grossly inefficient criminal justice system, which has suffered a haemorrhaging of experienced staff. His limited budget is nowhere near sufficient to keep his best prosecutors and state attorneys from quitting for the far more lucrative private sector. He has introduced tighter bail laws to counter the blistering crime rate, but it is moot whether these new laws will make any difference. At times his judgment appears impaired, as in his support for Allan Boesak and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, and his inexplicable hardline on scrapping archaic anti-gay legislation. Omar is one of the most press-friendly ministers, unfailingly returning phone calls and dealing with questions in a courteous manner.



Prognosis: His balls are on the line over the ANC's challenge for power in the Western Cape. If he pulls it off and manages to make inroads in improving the criminal justice system, he will be worth an A.

Name: **Jeff Radebe**
Title: **Minister of Public Works**
Grade: **B**

One could be forgiven for asking "Jeff who?" — so low is his profile. The same goes for his department. Just what is it that they do? If you always wanted to know but were afraid to ask: Public Works is a cornerstone of the government's job-creation policy. And Radebe is trying. He released a Green Paper last month on the construction industry, which is seen as a key player in empowering small black business and boosting employment through the promotion of labour-intensive building methods. He can also claim a measure of success in persuading government ministries to award tenders on their job-creating ability.



Prognosis: Will have a much higher profile year at the jobs summit.

Name: **Stella Sigcau**
Title: **Minister of State Enterprise**
Grade: **F**

The minister in charge of fast-tracking the privatisation programme has failed miserably. Sigcau lacks a plan — and it shows. Her popularity is low: she was the only ANC minister not to win a seat on the NEC. The only advantage of her job is that it has its own built-in obsolescence.



Prognosis: No future in politics.

Name: **Zola Skweyiya**
Title: **Minister of Public Service and Administration**
Grade: **C**

Skweyiya earns praise for being forthright about a number of difficult public sector issues, particularly the honesty with which he revealed the disastrous state of provincial public services in his Ncholo reports. Also on the plus side, he introduced a code of conduct for public servants. He has struggled to cut the public service but his voluntary retrenchment packages were a disaster.



Prognosis: He is still struggling with his portfolios. Would be a mistake to promote him.

Name: **Steve Tshwete**
Title: **Minister of Sport and Recreation**
Grade: **E**

Do we really need a minister of sport? Tshwete has done little to distinguish himself this year, save for backing Cape Town's failed Olympics bid and coming off second-best against rugby supremo Louis Luyt. His role as the ANC leadership's hit man against Winnie Madikizela-Mandela further alienated the rank and file and he was thrashed by Patrick Terror Lekota in the race for national chair of the ANC.



Prognosis: Expect him to be in the pound seats for the World Cup soccer in France, but not for much else.

Name: **Nkosazana Zuma**
Title: **Minister of Health**
Grade: **D**

Cabinet's apparent collaboration in the development of the Virodene drug and the circumvention of the drug control system were foolish. Zuma was implicated in the cover-up of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of four patients in the care of a Cuban anaesthetist. Squeezed for cash, hospitals throughout the country are closing or cutting back. She clashed with the pharmaceutical industry over the parallel importation of drugs. Her compulsory community service plan for medical graduates was also unpopular. While she displayed an admirable ability to stand up to big industry players, both measures were exacerbated by her failure to consult. Despite having the most mouth-friendly foot in politics, her basic policy framework remains progressive — cheaper medicine, support for primary health care, and campaigning for safe sex and against tobacco.



Prognosis: The remade Zuma and her department could turn the corner in the new year.

Compiled by the staff of the M&G. Wilmot James of Idasa played a consultative role

And in the provinces ...

Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel gets a D for bedevilling race relations by playing the "swart gevaar" tune to keep his white and brown voters happy. The big question is whether the Western Cape's above-average economic performance is because of him or in spite of him, and whether he can defend the last National Party bastion against the African National Congress.

In Gauteng, Tokyo Sexwale (B) is credited with running a relatively clean and efficient administration, though crime remains a problem. Would have scored full marks had he not mishandled his premature departure from politics. Mankhenkesi Stofile, Eastern Cape premier, has so far failed to turn around the Cinderella of provinces and gets a C, which is appropriate: corruption remains endemic.

In Mpumalanga, corruption scandals overshadowed the good news: a healthy growth rate. Full credit to Premier Mathews Phosa (B) who acted quickly to root out the seemingly endless sleaze. Loses points for his thin skin when it comes to the media.

Northern Province Premier Ngoako Ramathlodi (D) tried to curb rampant bureaucratic overspending but all that emerged was a confusing cabinet reshuffle.

Ivy Matsepe-Cassaburi (C) has yet to prove that she can fill the void left in the Free State by Patrick "Terror" Lekota. Popo Molefe (A) has brought relative stability to the North West, where once rabidly rightwing farmers happily help rebuild the province's rural economy, and he acted swiftly against corruption.

Violence in KwaZulu-Natal diminished, leading to greater economic growth prospects, thanks perhaps in part to Inkatha Premier Ben Ngubane whose pragmatic co-operation with the ANC earns him an A.

Very little of national interest ever happens in the Northern Cape, South Africa's most sparsely populated province. Premier Mannie Dipico (B) can't really take the blame for that.

All the scoops fit to print

It was another year of vigorous reporting at the *Mail & Guardian*, a paper renowned for high-level investigations and intrepid coverage of the inner workings of government. The top 11 of the *M&G*'s major exposés in 1997 are detailed below.

Secret details of parks deal

January 10 to 16 1997. Justin Arenstein

We reveal a secret monopoly deal that will give the Kenyan-based Dolphin Group control over prime Mpumalanga nature reserves for 50 years. The deal was renegotiated and watered down.

This child of four was sold for sex ... The price? R200

March 20 to 26 1997. Stuart Hess

The *M&G* breaks a horrifying tale of a four-year-old rented out for sex by her destitute mother. Her rescuers hand her rapist to the police. He is released, without charge, within a week.

The Mugabe death squads

May 2 to 8 1997. David Beresford

M&G associate editor David Beresford recounts the full details of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's early-1980s Matabeleland death squads as detailed in a long- overdue report compiled by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and barred from publication by Mugabe. When the *M&G* hit the streets of Harare, the paper sold out within hours. Zimbabweans then downloaded the story from the Electronic *Mail & Guardian* and photocopied it for distribution.

Innocence betrayed

May 9 to 15 1997. Stuart Hess and Mungo Soggot

Mamokgethi Malebana's death is a shocking indictment of a justice system gone very wrong. The seven-year-old went missing and was found crying on the bed of a neighbour, Dan Mabote. He was arrested, then allowed out on bail. A day before the case was due to be heard, the girl disappeared.

It took two months for the rest of the press to follow the *M&G*'s story — but they were there when, months later, Mabote led police to Mamokgethi's body, buried in a shallow grave.

Why minister axed her housing boss

May 23 to 29 1997. Justin Arenstein, Stefaans Brümmer, Mungo Soggot and Peta Thornycroft

Billy Cobbett, director general in the Department of Housing, is fired by his minister when he blows the whistle on a suspect deal. In a bizarre network of cronies, bankers and provincial civil servants, an Mpumalanga construction company — Motheo Construction — given a huge government building contract belongs to a friend of Minister of Housing Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele. It is the first venture into the housing field by the friend, a medical doctor. Provincial housing board chief Saths Moodley loses his job, the entire board is suspended by Premier Mathews Phosa and banker Kevin Gibb is fired by Nedcor in disgrace.

KWV in fake French bubbly scam

June 6 to 12 1997. David Beresford and Mungo Soggot

A scam in a bottle: we recount how, during the sanctions era, the country's wine cartel, KWV, tried to flog bogus champagne to buyers who know the real thing in Europe and the United States.

How ANC used tour group to arm cadres

June 13 to 19 1997. Stefaans Brümmer

Seven years after the African National Congress abandoned its armed struggles against apartheid, we take readers on the fascinating smuggling route used by Umkhonto weSizwe. The touring Bedford truck carried more than just hitch-hikers.

Gauteng premiership race

May to September 1997. Wally Mbhele

This inside tale of skulduggery begs the question: did Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale decide to go or was he thwarted by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki? The *M&G*'s political team then turned to coverage of the ensuing race for the premiership of the country's most powerful province. Many hours spent investigating the mood on the ground meant the *M&G* was one of the only newspapers that correctly predicted the victory of Mathole Motshekga.

'Winnie hired me to kill Asvat'

September 5 to 11 1997. Wally Mbhele

One of two men convicted of the murder of Dr Abu Baker Asvat, Thulani Nicholas Dlamini, tells an *M&G* reporter that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela "promised us R20 000 for the murder of Dr Asvat". Mbhele keeps us ahead in the year's most compelling political drama: Madikizela-Mandela at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Fivaz probes Thabo's secret cop unit

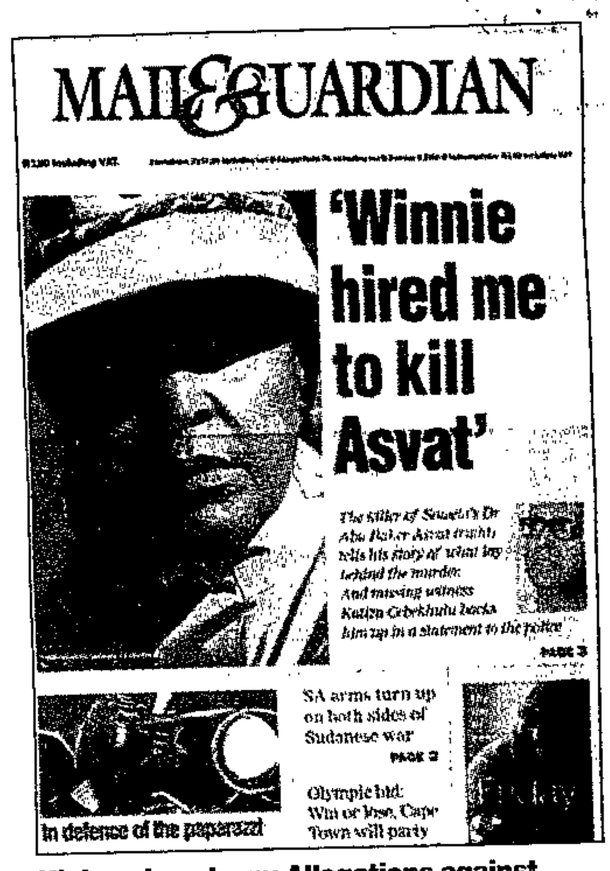
October 3 to 9 1997. Andy Duffy, Marion Edmunds and Stefaans Brümmer

In a tale that could be used as a plot for a Hollywood cop caper, the *M&G* reports on a quiet investigation by police on a police unit. National Police Commissioner George Fivaz wants the lowdown on a high-living unit that reports directly to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

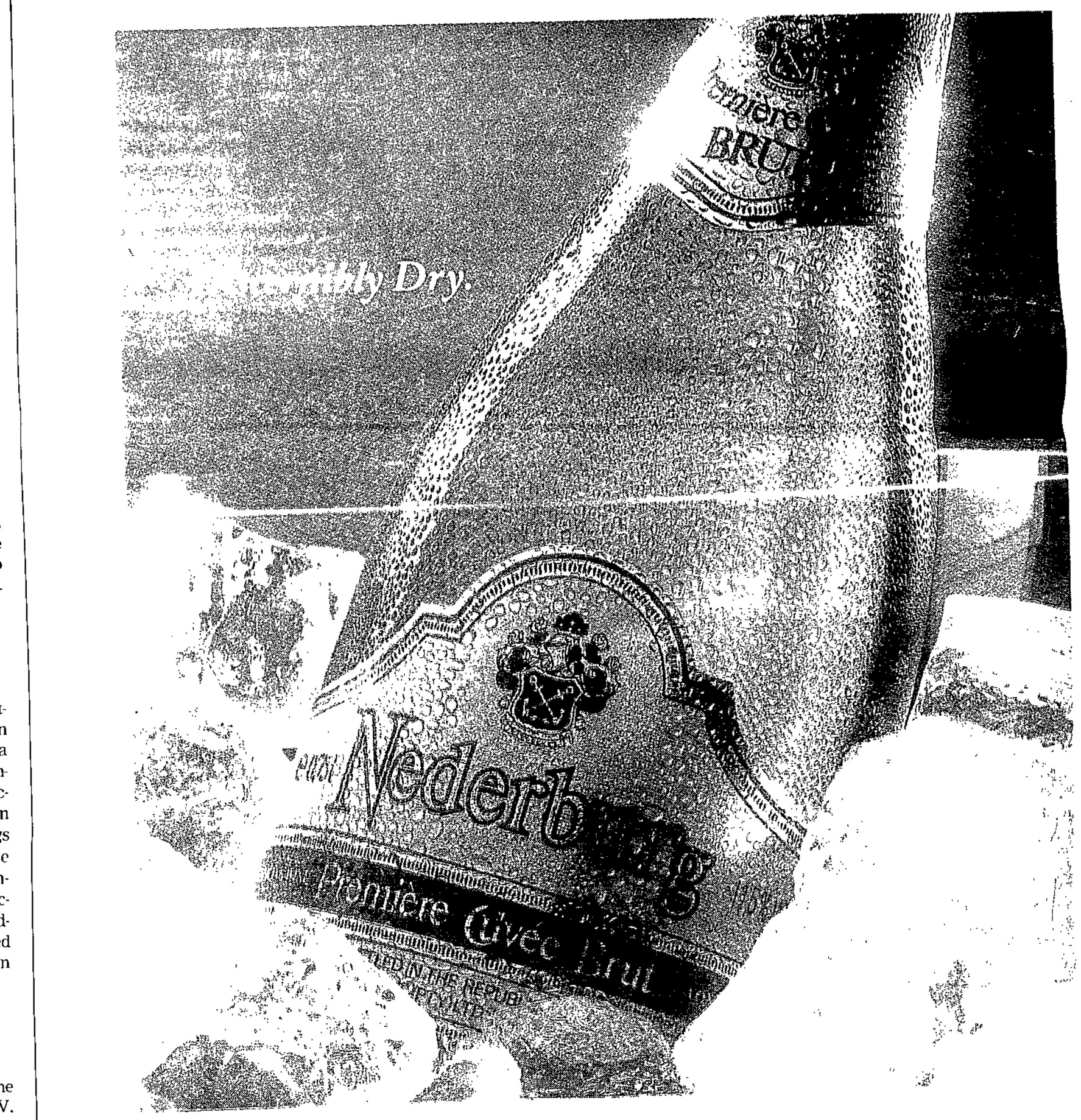
Shady Liberian gets R3-million state salary

November and December 1997. Mungo Soggot

Three million rands a year. That's what Emanuel Shaw II, a shady Liberian oil dealer and diplomat, is being paid by the Central Energy Fund, the country's state-run oil company. This one is still proving to be a bottomless can of worms.



High-up low-down: Allegations against Winnie, Mail & Guardian, September 5 to 11



Nederburg Première Cuvée Brut Sparkling Wine.

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NOT FOR SALE TO PERSONS UNDER THE AGE OF 18

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'Born into the struggle'

PEOPLE like to identify Deputy President Thabo Mbeki as an independent and original thinker, but one who remains close to the more visible leadership. His profile as a policy shaper and mediator in the movement has been built up over a lifetime of involvement. "I was born into the struggle," he says.

He was born in Idutywa, Transkei, in June 1942. Both his parents were teachers and activists. His father, Mr Govan Mbeki, is a university graduate and there were many books in his home, which Thabo read at an early age. Govan Mbeki was a leading figure in the Eastern Cape ANC.

Believing that sooner or later they would be arrested; Mbeki's parents decided that family and friends would also be responsible for bringing up their children. Mbeki therefore spent long periods away from home.

He joined the Youth League at the age of 14 and quickly became active in student politics. After his schooling at Lovedale was interrupted by a strike in 1959, he completed his studies at home. He then moved to Johannesburg where he came under the guidance of Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Duma Nokwe.

While studying for his British A-levels he was elected secretary of the African Students' Association (ASA). He went on to study economics by correspondence at London University. The ASA collapsed after the arrest of many members and at a time when political groups were under attack from the state. Mbeki's father was arrested at Rivonia and sentenced to life.

He left the country in 1962, under orders from the ANC. From Tanzania he moved to Britain where he completed a Masters degree in economics at Sussex University in 1966. Remaining active in student politics, he played a prominent role in building the youth and student sections of the ANC in exile.

Following his studies, he worked at the ANC's London office with the late Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Yusuf Dadoo, before being sent to the Soviet Union in 1970 for military training. Later that year he arrived in Lusaka where he was soon appointed assistant secretary of the Revolutionary Council.

In 1973-74 he he held discussions with the Botswana government about opening an ANC office there. In 1975 he was acting ANC representative in Swaziland. Appointed to the ANC's national executive committee in 1975, he served as ANC representative to Nigeria until 1978.

He played a major role in turning world media against apartheid.

On his return to Lusaka, he became political secretary in Tambo's office and then director of information. From this position he played a major role in turning the international media against apartheid. His other role in the 1970s was to build the ANC in Swaziland and underground structures inside the country.

During the 1980s Mbeki became head of information and publicity and co-ordinated diplomatic campaigns to involve more white South Africans in anti-apartheid activities. When sport, business and cultural representatives visited Lusaka for talks, they all expressed surprise at meeting a man deeply engaged in the issues they had brought to the table.

From 1989 Mbeki headed the ANC Department of International Affairs, and was a key figure in the ANC's negotiations with the former government.

Mbeki was hand-picked by President Nelson Mandela after the April 1994 election to be the first Deputy President of the new Government of National Unity.

— From an ANC biography

Govt to reach out to communities

ANTHONY JOHNSON
ASSISTANT EDITOR

MAFIKENG: ANC president Mr Thabo Mbeki and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will embark next year on a nationwide outreach programme to allow Afrikaners and other communities to express their fears and aspirations to the government.

"This will be done in a face-to-face manner so that both sides grasp the problems (facing the nation)," the newly elected ANC leader said in his first interview since assuming his post.

"Chief Buthelezi and I have agreed that there should be an open dialogue, particularly with the Afrikaans community."

But he emphasised that there was also a duty on Afrikaner leaders to engage the government constructively.

Among the initiatives the government was considering to reassure Afrikaners their language and culture were not endangered was a celebration on Heritage Day, September 24, of the contribution of Afrikaners to the nation.



OUTREACH: Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Mbeki said he also planned discussions with businesses to ensure they met their responsibilities to transformation.

"We need intensive discussions rather than legislation. This is not a go-to-hell sort of attitude."

Mbeki said the most critical issues were the transformation of the public service and the state machinery, the elimination of the culture of corruption which allowed crime to flourish, and invigoration of the economy for rapid growth and development.

● Tomorrow's Cape Times will run a detailed account of Thabo Mbeki's vision for the new SA and how he will tackle the multiple challenges facing him in his new position.

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CHAMPION OF CONSERVATIVE FISCAL, ECONOMIC POLICIES

Mbeki to lead SA into new era

(304A) CT 18/12/97

MAFIKENG: Thabo Mbeki, who became ANC leader yesterday, is expected to focus on transformation above reconciliation, and says he will improve service delivery by making the state machinery more efficient.

MR THABO Mbeki succeeded President Nelson Mandela as leader of the African National Congress yesterday, taking South Africa on its first step into a new era.

Mbeki said he would stick to existing policies, including the conservative fiscal and economic path he has championed.

Mbeki, who at 55 represents a generational change within South Africa's political juggernaut, was nominated unopposed.

As head of the ANC, he is virtually certain to become the country's next president after the 1999 poll.

Mbeki is expected to bring a new accent as leader, emphasising the need to transform the country over the need to reconcile nervous whites with impatient blacks.

"A non-racial society is in the interests not only of black people but of white people," he told a news conference after his election. "Democracy does not threaten whites."

He said ANC policies were on the right track and, asked about South Africa's poor job creation record, stressed his commitment to letting the private sector play the lead role. "This is where the jobs will come from."

As he and Mandela pointed out, there will be no sea change in the policy of a government he, as deputy president, has been running behind the scenes for a while.

"Thabo Mbeki is already de facto president of the country. I am pushing everything to him," Mandela said at the weekend.

"He is a man of exceptional qualities — very respectful, very warm, very sensitive to the sufferings of our people."

Other top leaders will be announced today, and the new 60-member national executive committee, where Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is assured a place as Women's League president, on Friday, a day before the triennial conference ends.

Mbeki said Mandela's broadside at a range of political parties and the media during his outgoing presidential address was not a call to arms. Instead, Mandela's report was an assessment of his term of office from 1994 to 1997.

Asked how the ANC planned to improve service delivery, Mbeki said part of the solution was to ensure that state machinery was transformed to function more efficiently.

Mbeki said he saw the necessity to stick to a tight budget deficit as a short-term one, until sufficient resources could be generated to meet basic needs.

Meanwhile, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night dismissed speculation about a merger between his party and the ANC.

At a news conference in Durban Buthelezi said: "I want to dispel those rumours. Nothing is in the offing at all."

Buthelezi said too many issues remained unresolved between the ANC and the IFP for a merger to be considered.

Mbeki agreed that the ANC was not involved in talks with the IFP about a possible merger, but, when asked if Buthelezi could become deputy president, he said this was "possible". — Sapa-Reuter



HANDING OVER: President Nelson Mandela shares Thabo Mbeki's election as president of the ANC with him at the organisation's co ference yesterday.

PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

Speech racist, paranoiac — NP

CT 18/12/97

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG: President Nelson Mandela's stinging criticism of South Africa's white minority drew accusations of racism and paranoia yesterday from the politicians he had lambasted.

Mandela, 79, bidding farewell as leader of the African National Congress on Tuesday, said the country's young democracy had yet to unite all races, because whites still clung to privileges gained under apartheid.

The white-led National Party, which introduced apartheid in 1948 and dismantled it over 40 years later, said the speech had an "underlying racist tone" that did Mandela and the country a grave disservice.

"The abrasive and divisive language, the very unconvincing and somewhat paranoiac conspiracy theories ... make depressing reading," said a statement from the NP.

Mandela, who yesterday was replaced as ANC leader by his deputy, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said in the speech that some whites thought national reconciliation meant compensating them for the loss of political power by guaranteeing their wealth.

Mr Tony Leon, leader of the Democratic Party, called the speech "undoubtedly the low-water mark of his presidency.

"It was intellectually dishonest and unsophisticated in its analysis of the political and economic situation facing South Africa."

The Afrikaans-language Beeld newspaper said in an editorial it was a shame that Mandela had not spread the blame to include his own party.



LOW-WATER MARK: Tony Leon

"His own party was not always as enthusiastic about national reconciliation," it said.

The Sowetan, the country's largest circulation daily, echoed Mandela's sentiments and said the challenge of reconciliation rested more heavily on the NP and the white Afrikaner-based Freedom Front, than it did on the ANC.

"The greater challenge resides with the conservative end of our political spectrum, more than it does with the ANC," said an editorial in the paper, which has a largely black readership.

Political observers said the tone of the farewell address — which ministers said represented the collective view of the ANC leadership — was surprising in its bitterness.

Tourism Minister Dr Pallo Jordan said after the speech that Mandela's frank, robust and unequivocal speech aimed to outline challenges ahead rather than offer "apple pie and motherhood, sweetness and light". — Reuter

Severing ties with Taiwan is paying off

(304A) Star 20/12/97

On December 28 Chinese Vice-Premier Qian Qichen will sign a diplomatic accord with South Africa. Taiwan will be downgraded to 'liaison' status only. HANS PIENAAR looks at the new dispensation

Was South Africa right to ditch Taiwan in favour of the People's Republic of China?

On the face of it, the Government did not have much choice. Taiwan is a pariah of the world, and it has always been inevitable that a post-1994 government would follow the rest and link up with the mainland, which has the isolation of Taiwan as an almost fanatical main theme in its foreign policy.

All over China, undoubtedly because of decades of indoctrination, there walks a ghost – that of Chiang Kai-Shek, the Nationalist ruler whom the communists drove off the mainland in 1949.

Chiang is one of the villains of the century, having killed millions of people in his emperor-like approach to government. (Although one also has to point to Mao Tse-tung, whose crazy policies led to the deaths of many millions in the Great Leap Forward in the 50s and his Cultural Revolution in the 60s.)

In the popular mind, Chiang and Taiwan are still one. In Guangzhou, when I declined a taxi driver's offer to take me to a memorial for victims of a Chiang massacre (because I had already seen it), he began frantically shouting and pointing: "Taiwan, Taiwan."

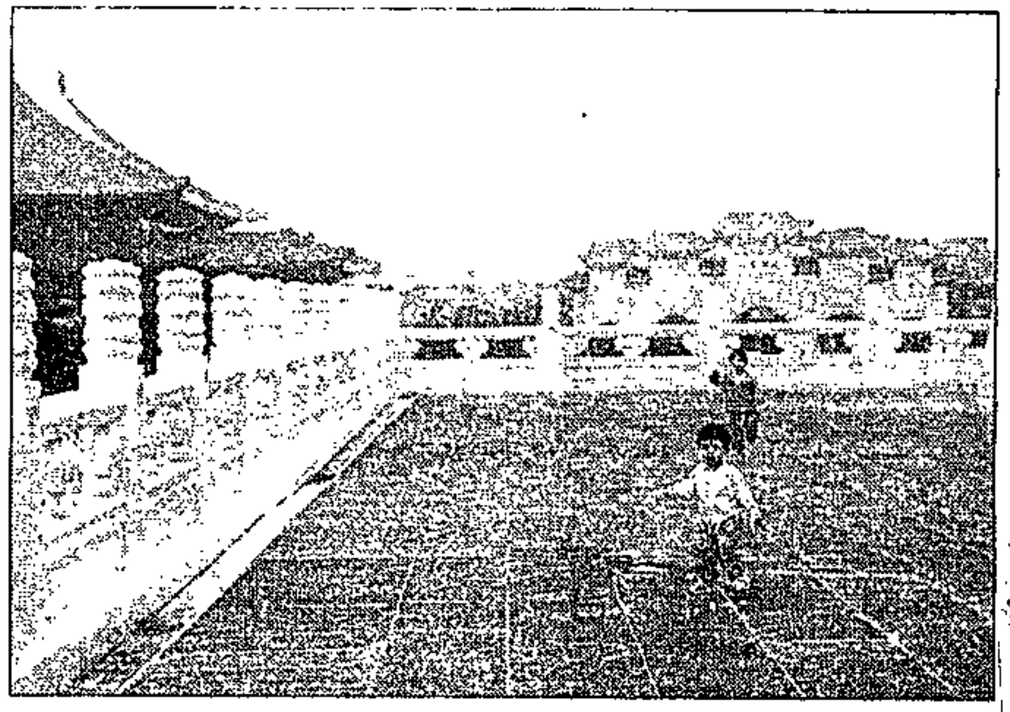
In Taiwan itself there is no love lost for the Generalissimo, who was a sort of Mobutu of the East, amassing a fortune for his family while he was kept in power by the Cold Warring Americans. To this day they remember February 27 1950, when Chiang's soldiers massacred 50 000 Taiwanese citizens.

The pity of the new diplomatic dispensation is that Taiwan, which has been vastly more successful on the economic front than the mainland, has turned itself into a very encouraging democracy since Chiang's death a decade ago. Its handful (22 million) of people – by Chinese standards – are now probably living the freest lives of all Chinese.

That South Africa seems to acknowledge this was demonstrated by Nelson Mandela's granting of the Order of Good Hope to the outgoing Taiwanese ambassador. In addition, Taiwan's final status in South Africa higher than that of the Taiwanese representative in the US.

Foreign-affairs sources in Beijing and Pretoria confirm that human rights and the promotion of democratic values will remain a cornerstone of South African policy towards China, although the approach would be a multilateral one – that is, in concert with other countries.

South Africa, along with the rest of Africa, rates close to the bottom on China's list of foreign priorities. But China is such a huge country, that even if only, say, 0,01% of its trades people were interested in South Africa, they would still number in the thousands.



DEMOCRACY: Boys run on Chaing Kai-Shek's memorial in Taipei. Taiwan is probably the world's freest Chinese-dominated country

In terms of trade, South Africa's switch is paying off handsomely. A delegation of Chinese trades people and industrialists last month clinched deals worth R800-million with South African companies, and there is much more to come.

In Beijing, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs Ji Peiding's official view is rather eyeing the chance to offer their lucrative consultancy services to the Chinese.

As for Taiwan, various Chinese officials have offered the assurance that Taiwanese companies operating in South Africa would not be regarded as the enemy. On the contrary, the new embassy would be ready to offer them any "protection" they might need.

Since numerous Taiwanese firms have already invested billions on the mainland, the question is academic anyway. It would not be much trouble for the Taiwanese to divert their money to mainland firms with links to South Africa if they encounter any problems here.

But China is also in need of political reform. Few Taiwanese, despite the polls calling for independence, believe that a return to the mainland could be avoided – either as part of the current China, or of a split-up one, in which Taiwan could align itself with a southern Chinese state.

It should be seen as South Africa's duty, prescribed by its constitution, to continue to acknowledge and encourage democracy in Taiwan as a way of promoting democratic

"And China has noted the importance of South Africa on the African continent. It was once said that South Africa is a big country on the African continent and China is a big country on the Asian continent. If these two big countries could join hands and walk together, they could achieve a lot. Therefore, in developing our relationship with South Africa, we adopt a very active attitude."

Ji singles out South Africa's expertise in mining and wine-making as a resource for China. The country has invested about R300-million in chrome processing in Northern Province, and SA Dried Fruit will soon start exporting wine to China.

Another official said China was coveting South Africa's highly developed management skills, for which there is a great demand in China.

That is probably one of the messages Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel took back after a visit in September. Many former

ture of South Africa as well as communications and transportation are quite developed, and we can further co-operate in these respects. For example, China and South Africa could join hands to carry out economic co-operation and trade in the southern

handsomely, but

Politicians are corrupt, say most South Africans

(304A)

By DESMOND BLOW

MORE than one in two black people in South Africa believe politicians are "moderately to greatly" corrupt, a recent nation-wide survey by Market Research Africa has revealed.

Nine out of 10 whites, more than eight out of 10 Indians and more than seven out of 10 coloureds share the same view.

Seven out of 10 whites and Indians and five out of 10 coloureds – but less than one out of two blacks – believe politicians have become more corrupt in the past four years.

But 14 percent of all population groups say politicians are just as corrupt now as before the1994 elections.

More than two out of three Gauteng and Western Cape residents believe corruption exists in their local governments, while less than half the residents of KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Province and Mpumalanga believe there is corruption in their provinces.

The survey reveals that the police force is rated "extremely to moderately" corrupt by about six out of 10 residents.

Surprisingly, more whites and Indians believe this to be true.

The greatest disparities in racial perceptions areto be found regarding corruption in business – with only 29 percent of blacks (less than one in three) believing there are under-handed activities in business, while 72 percent of whites (nearly three in four) believe the same thing.

35 percent of the people questioned say corruption has increased in business during the past four years while 20 percent say business people are as corrupt now as they have ever been.

Religious groups and churches are seen as totally corruption-free by more than four in five people.

One in five thinks corruption has increased in the church since the elections.

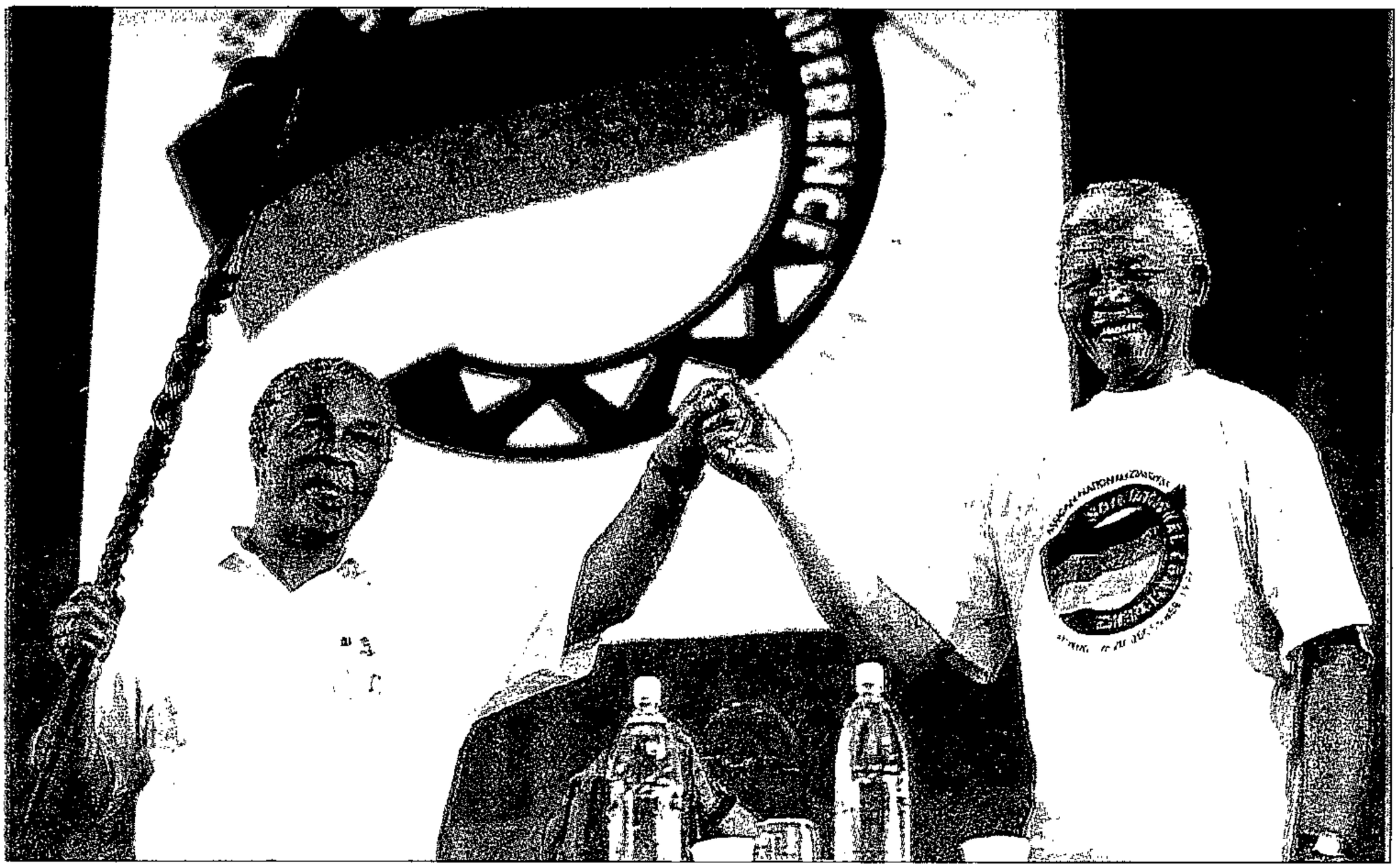
Slightly more think it has decreased.

However, according to Brian Culross, director of MRA, the perception that there is more corruption in South Africa than before may be the result of more media coverage rather than increased corruption.

"People may be more conscious of corruption now than before, as it is becoming increasingly difficult to hide from the many watchdog groups now in place," he says.

CP 21/12/97

CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1997 ★



TRANSFER OF POWER: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, the newly elected president of the ANC, holds up President Nelson Mandela's hand. In his other hand he holds a walking stick presented to him by Mandela at the ANC's conference in Mafikeng. ***PICTURE: AP***

Boost to keep Parliament

CT 22/12/97 (304A)

THE ELECTION OF nine ANC members of the Western Cape to the organisation's NEC will boost the campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

THE campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town received its biggest boost at the weekend since the ANC deferred its decision on the controversy earlier this year, putting the matter on the back-burner.

With nine Western Cape ANC members now on the organisation's national executive committee (NEC), the "home team's" persuasive powers have been greatly enhanced on the body that will most influence the final decision.

However, Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar has sounded a note of warning.

"While we've actually been given another chance (with the earlier decision being deferred), in practical terms it will come down to how the Western Cape (government) shows its commitment to nation-building and non-racialism in a united South Africa".

Omar said if there were "noises" from central government about the region being different from the rest of the country (under NP Premier Mr Hernus Kriel), "then our battle will be difficult one".

A new NEC member, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry Ms Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, said increased local representation "gives us a bigger voice and a greater capacity to be persuasive — we will not sit back".

Local ANC MP Mr Jannie Momberg said the pro-Western Cape lobby on the NEC had been "improved considerably".

A Western Cape resolution tabled and accepted at the Mafikeng conference called on the new NEC to "urgently develop" a programme of action to support the Western Cape in its role as an "effective, vibrant and committed opposition to NP rule".

It urged political investment in an NEC programme which would ensure a "comprehensive defeat" of the NP in the 1999 elections and appealed to all ANC structures to unite in opposition to Kriel signing his new provincial constitution on January 15 next year.

The resolution also called on all Capetonians to "fight this last vestige of racist rule with us".

However, ANC locals at the conference conceded that anything remotely resembling "rolling mass action", or disruptive protest, would be hugely counter-productive and play into Kriel's hands.

"We have to be disciplined and display our peaceful intentions," Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi said.

Mufamadi said the ANC pull-out could prove a "good thing, putting our MECs more in touch with the people and building up the grassroots".

Meanwhile, Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa has confirmed that he will seek to interdict and restrain new Local Government MEC Mr Patrick Mackenzie in the High Court next month to have the district council electoral model of his predecessor, Mr Peter Marais, rescinded.

A win by Valli Moosa would mean rescinding all district council decisions since July 1 this year, throwing local government into crisis.

The Star ... Tuesday December 23 1997

South Africans now see protest and revolution as something passe

(304A)

Markinor survey shows that people have become more materialistic and the 'greens' and activists are losing out

Star 23/12/97

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Military dictatorship or government by a president not accountable to Parliament or the electorate would not be tolerated by South Africans, according to a survey carried out by Markinor, as part of a worldwide values study.

The country is also not interested in unofficial strikes, the occupation of buildings or factories, or boycotts, and there is a little enthusiasm for even attending lawful demonstrations.

Churches, the police, major companies, government in Pretoria, Parliament and the legal system have won the greatest confidence – but the public has little confidence in the armed forces, the green or ecology movement, labour unions, the media and the Organisation of African Unity.

Priorities are listed as full employment, high rate of economic growth, homes, fighting crime, education and maintaining law and order.

The survey – carried out in 50 countries in 1995 and 1996, with the results now published by Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies – is said to reflect "a strong concern with matters relating to the public's physical and economic security, and less concern with matters which bear upon democracy, environmental quality of life and post-materialistic values".

Earlier surveys were carried out in 1981 and 1990 and both had shown concern at the time with survival.

The latest results indicate much of the white population is averse to mass action, compared to blacks, with about a third of blacks saying they might join a boycott and two-thirds saying no.

The province where residents will not participate in any action of any kind is Mpumalanga, while the Northern Province would do so.

"It is highly significant from a state-centred perspective that four agencies of the state rank in the top eight in confidence in public organisations. Even more significant is the ranking of the police, second only to the churches.

"This is remarkable, as during the apartheid era the police served as the cutting edge of the coercive blade of the state, imposing apartheid laws and securing compliance to discriminatory practices.

"Likewise, the legal system processed thousands of apartheid trespasses and transgressions (and) both institutions survived the transition with minimal dislocation and dismantling," says an analysis of the survey written by professors Hennie Kotze and

South Africans have new priorities

Pierre du Toit of the Stellenbosch University's department of political science.

In regard to democracy and its alternatives, 41,4% say it will be "very bad" to have a strong leader not accountable to parliament or the electorate, while 46,4% are totally against military rule. The value of South Africa having a democratic political system received a 46,4% rating as "very good" and 31,4% as "fairly good". But, as the analysis finds, "democracy to most South Africans is an unknown factor".

This is also shown in the overall priorities of the population, which has given a low rating to matters relating to democracy, and in particular to giving people more say in their work and community, more say in government, environmental quality of life and protection of freedom of speech.

The public has priorities which rank higher than that of fine-turning its democratic quality of life. They are full employment, the economy, homes, crime, education and maintenance of law and order.

Taiwan to maintain liaison offices in SA

BD 23/12/97

(304A)

Wyndham Hartley

TAIWAN'S embassy and consulates will be known as "liaison offices" once diplomatic ties with the Chinese island state are formally cut in favour of relations with mainland People's Republic of China next Wednesday.

The raising of the Taiwanese flag outside the country's offices, the use of emblems and the official name of the country "The Republic of China on Taiwan" will also not be allowed in terms of the downgrading of the relations.

The announcement is the conclusion of months of negotiations between SA and Taiwan over the status it would enjoy once diplomatic ties are severed.

A source close to the Taiwanese embassy said he felt the agreement fell short of President Nelson Mandela's pledge of relations that were "as close to full diplomatic ties as possible" when he announced that the change would be made before the end of this year.

No official Taiwanese government function may raise the flag in public or sing the national anthem but private Taiwanese companies and individuals will be allowed fly the flag.

The foreign affairs department said yesterday that Taiwan would be able to call its offices the Taiwanese Liaison Offices. SA's offices in Taiwan would be called the SA Liaison Offices. Taiwanese Foreign Minister Jason Hu said that while the new status was unsatisfactory, it was acceptable.

The department said bilateral trade exceeded R6,7bn a year and Taiwanese investment in SA exceeded R5bn. To preserve and build on the already substantial economic, cultural, scientific and other relations, "SA and Taiwan had reached a satisfactory arrangement for after the severance of diplomatic relations".

The department said the new arrangement for the consulates and embassies of both countries conformed to international law. It would ensure continued exchanges between SA and Taiwan to the benefit of both countries.

China's new embassy will be officially opened on New Year's Day by its Foreign Minister Qian Qicheng, and Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo.

CT 24/12/97

Cabinet ministers' highs and lows of 1997 — in their own words

(304A)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA: Cabinet ministers are regularly assessed by political commentators, newspapers and voters. As the year draws to a close, the Cape Times' sister newspaper, the Pretoria News, thought it would be interesting to revisit the successes and failures of government ministers during 1997 in a different way.

The newspaper asked all 25 national government ministers to give themselves a report card for this year. The brief to the ministers was simply to list their successes and failures for the year and to include a short assessment of their work.

Here are those assessments by the 11 ministers who responded.

Agriculture and Land Affairs Minister **Derek Hanekom**.

The phasing out of control boards in a move towards deregulation. Agreement on the formation of the Wine Industry Trust. The enactment of the Extension of Tenure Security Act is one of the most significant pieces of land reform legislation to be passed in the country.

On the low points: Of special concern is the increasing number of murders of farmers. I believe there are ways rural communities, black and white, can fight crime without resorting to vigilantism.

Finance Minister **Trevor Manuel**.

Three major highlights: The presentation of the first ANC-led finance ministry budget, showing that it is possible to bring together social objectives and sound macro-economic management. The publication of the medium-term budget policy, spelling out a vision for social transformation and sound fiscal management in the long term. Thirdly, the fact that the SA economy weathered storms that hit emerging market economies.

Low points: The failure of the economy to create sufficient jobs, the savings ratio in decline and the gold price and its impact.

Foreign Affairs Minister **Alfred Nzo**.

We managed to avoid the conflagration when Mobutu Sese Seko's reign ended. We developed a draft white paper on SA participation in peace support operations and we played a constructive role in treaties banning chemical weapons and landmines.



LAND: Derek Hanekom



TRANSPORT: Mac Maharaj



LABOUR: Tito Mboweni

I have not had many disappointments this year. The notable exceptions were the hostage-taking of diplomatic staff in Taipei and that we may be forced by budgetary realities to close some of our missions abroad.

Labour Minister **Tito Mboweni**.

Highlights: Parliament passing the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill; the cabinet approving the Skills Development and the Employment Equity Bill.

Low points: The long delay in achieving consensus over the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill.

Achievements: Major laws are the Labour Relations Act, which has already made a difference to workplace relations after only one year. The Basic Conditions of Employment Bill is near implementation.

The brief was to list successes and failures for the year.

Transport Minister **Mac Maharaj**.

Highlights: The raising of finance from the private sector through concessioning to embark on three major road projects at a cost of more than R10 billion.

The creation of jobs and opportunities for previously disadvantaged communities through road projects. More than R87 485 million has gone into creating small and medium enterprises and 8 000 people have been trained.

Two low points: The renewed flare-up of violence in the taxi industry and the increase in the death toll on our roads over the Easter weekend.

Housing Minister **Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele**.

On 31 October this year, altogether 682 433 subsidies were reserved under the capital subsidy scheme. About 237 055 subsidies to the value of R3 billion have been paid out and 379 987 houses are completed or are under construction.

Legislation passed or in the process of being passed this year includes the National Housing Bill, the Prevention of Unlawful Occupation of Land Bill, and a draft bill giving statutory recognition to the National Home Builders Registration Council.

As ministry and department we have achieved the highest levels of housing statistics this country has ever seen.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister **Kader Asmal**.

Achievements: 1,5 million more people, the majority of whom are poor and reside in rural areas, now have water. Plans are to provide water for another 6,5 million people by 1999.

One billion rands worth of water and sanitation services will be delivered to our people this year. R880 million has already been set aside to increase this allocation in 1999-2000.

Defence Minister **Joe Modise**.

Highlights: Integrating the bulk of various armed forces into the new SANDF, building consensus on defence through a widespread consultative process, the consolidation of civil control over the military, putting into place affirmative action and equal opportunities programmes and rendering the essential support to the SAPS in the fight against crime.

Low points: At the moment the force is 61% black and 39% white, yet only 22,5% of officers are black.

Home Affairs Minister **Mangosuthu Buthelezi**.

Highlights: The formulation of a transformation document to guide the process in the department, the finalisation of the green paper on international migration, approval by the cabinet of the national identification system, SA becoming a member of the International Organisation for Migration.

Low points: A limited budget with which the department has to fulfil its myriad functions and an increase in corruption and misconduct cases in the department.

Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister **Lionel Mtshali**.

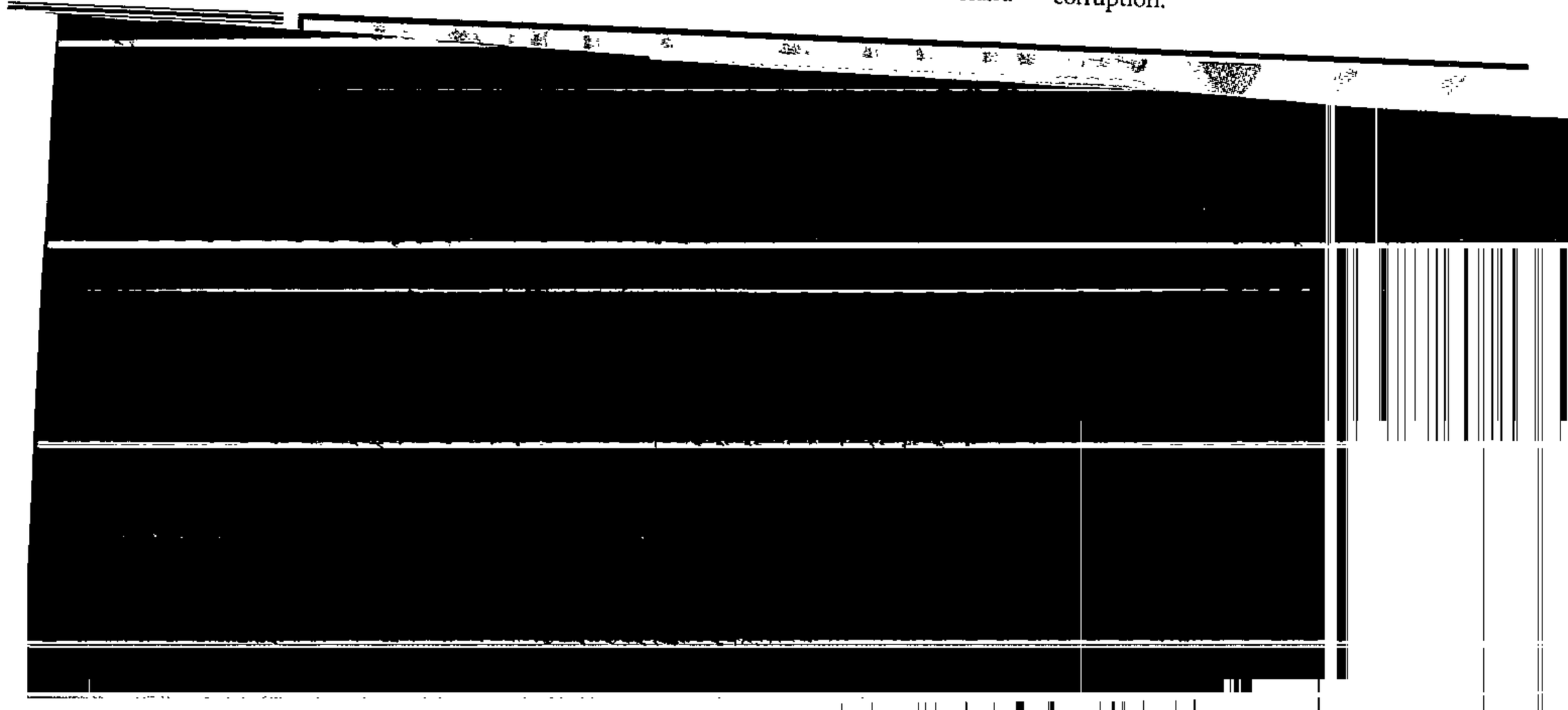
Highlights: The National Arts Council Bill, National Film and Video Foundation Bill, National Advisory Council on Innovation Bill and the Legal Deposit Bill. The Robben Island museum, the opening of 43 community art centres, the cultural industries growth strategy, the year of science and technology and a co-production agreement with Canada.

Justice Minister **Dullah Omar**.

The highlights relate to the transformation of the department, law reform, fighting crime, legislation, court management, case management and human resource development.

I would stress the following: tightening of the bail laws, making provision for minimum sentences for serious crime, higher penal jurisdiction for regional courts, making provision for the rights of fathers of children born out of wedlock and extending the lifespan of the TRC.

Low points: Problems in the legal aid system, civil adjudication, lengthy delays in court, and corruption.



PARLIAMENT REVIEW

Star 15/9/97

Moving debate on legislative capital

(304A)

The decision on whether or not Parliament should stay in the Western Cape must be urgently addressed, writes Jovial Rantao



The debate about the future seat of Parliament is likely to overshadow most pieces of significant legislation passed by Parliament. This is a debate that has divided parties across the political spectrum. A speedy resolution is therefore required to achieve some stability and help those who would be affected by the decision to plan their lives.

Last week, employees of Parliament, most of whom stand to lose their jobs if the legislature is moved out of the Western Cape, added a different political flavour to the debate. As they went about their daily assignments, they wore stickers: "Stop the forced removal".

The words were crafted by the Cape Citizens' Alliance – an organisation fighting to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

The workers said they were concerned about their source of income, the wellbeing of their families and the economy of the province.

Politically, a decision to remove Parliament from the Western Cape would arm the National Party with ammunition to fire at the ANC. The NP might find it easier to tell communities in the provinces that they have been dumped by the ANC. The move might just sound the death knell for the ANC in the province and could become the trigger for the NP to secede.

Already, the NP has given signs that it is ready for a fight. It has hinted that it wants to end provincial power sharing by axing the four ANC MECs in the provincial government. The ANC has responded by tabling a motion in the National Assembly asking newly-elected NP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk to censure Hernus Kriel for creating divisions within the Western Cape by undermining the constitutionally enshrined principle of co-operative governance.

Hope has been expressed by observers that the location of Parliament in Cape Town would help to unite the racially segregated province.

Last week, Speaker of the National Assembly Dr Frene Ginwala hinted that instead of the urban areas that have expressed their interest in being the legislative capital, maybe Parliament should be located in a rural area for development reasons.

So, after failing to have Ulundi declared as the KwaZulu Natal capital, the Inkatha Freedom Party might stand a chance with the national legislature. Maybe Keimoes in the Northern Cape or Apel in the Northern Province should also enter the bid.

Ginwala also took a cue from President Mandela and appealed and cautioned that the debate about the future seat of Parliament should go beyond emotions and sentiment to real issues that affected the functioning of the national legislature.

"The problems that MPs face have not even been debated in the kinds of media debates and the disputes between the two cities ... It's a political decision. You've got to see how the legislature will be enabled to function," Ginwala said.

The Democratic Party has tabled a motion asking the National Assembly to resolve that Parliament should remain in Cape Town and that if a majority of MPs decided in a free vote that the national parliament should be moved, a national referendum should be held before a final decision.

The party has suggested that instead of moving Parliament, long distance communications through new technology should be explored. It has also objected to the centralisation of institutions of national government in Gauteng, a province which already accounts for half of South Africa's economy.

The decision about the future of Parliament should come from the public and not be left in the hands of the ANC, the party has argued.

Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe, whose department has commissioned the feasibility studies on keeping Parliament in Cape Town or moving it to Gauteng, has refused to reveal the contents of the report compiled by auditing firm KMPG. He said he did not think that public debate would be enhanced if the reports – completed between November last year and January this year – were released.

The debate should come to a head soon as MPs from all parties meet in the National Assembly to debate the DP's motion. The ANC national executive committee might want to outmanoeuvre the opposition by announcing its decision on the legislative capital sooner rather than later.



JUDGMENT DAY: The National Party's new leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk yesterday at the release of a "governance" report by his party on the ANC. ***PICTURE: BENNY GOOL***

'Govt has failed efficiency test'

THE National Party has given the ANC government a good report for political legitimacy, but fails it dismally on the efficiency with which it governs. ST 16/9/99

In a "governance barometer" released yesterday, it says the ANC has fared reasonably in the economic and developmental sphere.

Important reforms to improve the efficiency of the public service have been implemented, but meaningful results are not to be expected before the 1999 general election, the NP says. It gives the ANC two to three out of 10 points.

In the economic/developmental dimension it gives the government six to seven out of 10.

The NP says South Africa is moving in the desired direction but, judged by the perceptions of international investors, important conditions have not been met and important obstacles have to be removed.

On political legitimacy the ANC scores six to seven out of 10. But this legitimacy is being eroded by the inability of the government to maintain law and order and to effectively collect taxes. There is also a hesitancy to implement key policy decisions and strategies. — Sapa

(304A)

Few agree on new parties

30 16/9/97

CAPE TOWN — Only 22% overall — 28% of whites and 19% of blacks — of 2 000 men and women polled agreed that Roelf Meyer should establish an independent political party and stand for election, says consumer market research company Research Surveys.

The company conducted a poll in June to establish the public's attitude to the concept of Meyer and Bantu Holomisa creating their own political parties and standing for election.

The study had been scientifically weighted making it representative of the black and white urban population in SA.

Forty-one percent of respondents were neutral about Meyer forming a party and 37% disagreed with the concept. Forty-four percent of blacks compared to 16% of whites disagreed with the idea.

Overall, 31% of respondents agreed that Holomisa should establish an independent political party and stand for election.

In this instance, only 14% of whites agreed with the idea compared to 36% of blacks. Thirty-eight percent were neutral. — Sapa.

ANALYSIS

Values determine whether a nation is a success

SA's primary challenge is one of rebuilding the value systems of the nation, says Cosab CE **Bob Tucker**

BD 16/9/97 (3044)

UNTIL the mid-1970s it was common wisdom throughout the west that the potential wealth of a nation was determined by the resources with which it was blessed, and actual wealth was merely the measure of how effectively it had exploited those resources.

SA and a great deal of its economic success until the mid-1970s was founded on that model. We applied unskilled labour to the extraction and export of our mineral wealth and the development of import substitution industries. However, the model was confounded by the success of the Japanese and other East Asian nations which prospered despite having no resources other than their people, their skills, education and a so-called work ethic.

Conventional wisdom shifted to the view that it is the skills, education and work ethic which determine the potential and actual wealth of the nation.

For that reason all of us are, rightly, concerned about our educational system and the inadequacy of the financial and other resources on which it is dependent. They seem to determine our capacity to reconstruct the nation and underpin our democracy with an economic order able to satisfy legitimate expectations. Yet there seems to be something else at play. Why is it that even when there is enough money and resources, we do not seem to be able to "to get them into the ground"?

There is a substantial body of evidence that education, skills and work ethic are not so much the cause of healthy societies, good government and profitable businesses, but the evidence of something else.

Between 1970 and 1990 the Italian government transferred about 70% of the national expenditure budget from the central government to local and regional governments. Some of those decentralised authorities were very efficient in utilising the funds at the local level. Other authorities were very inefficient.

Governments in the north were effective and the ones in the south failed. However the good performance was not attributable to the fact that the north is industrialised, nor to the fact that the south is dominated by the Mafia.

It became apparent that the industry in the north is a consequence of the same set of circumstances which tends to result in good government, and not that industry itself causes good government. Likewise, the presence of Mafia activities in the south is not the cause of ineffective government, but the consequence of the same set of circumstances which result in ineffective government.

The only certain indicator of the potential effectiveness of government is the number of clubs, organisations, unions and such per thousand head of population.

Interestingly, this coincides exactly with the observation of De Toqueville when he visited the US in the middle of the 19th century. Many of the immigrants who played a central role in the development of the US did not arrive there well educated and skilled. It was the pattern of relationships and fabric of institutions which enabled them to overcome disadvantages. Through it they were able to apply their innate energy and resourcefulness.

Well-developed institutional fabric is, itself, merely the manifestation of value systems and horizontal relationships within the community. Trust, respect and co-operation within a community result in societal structures which facilitate economic activity and good government and "empower" the individual.

So if you thought that the success of the US had something to do with the puritan ethic of its founders you were right. Their values underpinned the rich institutional fabric which in turn resulted in good government, profitable businesses and a prosperous society. Education and skills development followed.

Such a healthy societal structure must be distinguished from one which is vertical and in which individuals rely on "authorities" above them and on cheating or using "the system" to their own advantage. This results in patronage, dependency and inefficiency.

This is empirical confirmation that it is not the brilliance or skills of the individual, nor money, which keeps established order functioning effectively. It is rather the values of society, which are reflected in its institutional fabric, which facilitate economic and social activity and which enable the skill and knowledge of the individual and the resources of the nation to be applied effectively.

Values are the determinant of the wealth of a nation or a business. If the value systems of our society are eroding, much more is at stake than that there is corruption and people do not pay traffic fines. It means the fabric of our society, its government and businesses are threatened.

It is also clear that there is no such thing as a neutral position on values. You are either contributing to an orderly and prosperous society or to disorder. It does matter whether you break the speed limits and whether you pay your traffic fines. It also matters what value framework you have for deciding what is good and what is bad in the work environment and to what end you apply your knowledge and skills.

This is of particular relevance in the context of doing business and working in the public service in SA. It is most unfortunate that over the past century the value systems of the various SA communities have taken a terrible toll. The institutional fabric has been weakened correspondingly.

Time and again we find that it is not that there is a lack of money or of appropriate infrastructure. The problem is a very vertically structured society, and a lack of institutional capacity.

The amount of undisbursed foreign aid and approved budget is building up rapidly, despite the fact that there is so much needed by the poor. This is because of the weakness of the institutional fabric and capacity to "get it into the ground". The mere replacement of white faces with black faces does not, of itself, result in any change in the value system of our society. Dependency remains entrenched.

In a sense, this challenges our deepest underlying beliefs. Do we live in an intensely competitive and survivalist environment, where we can progress only because others fail? If so, we are likely to have an underlying attitude that our personal gratification is paramount, even at the expense of our competitor.

Who is your competitor, anyway? In our society it is the "other" person. In eastern cultures, the competitor is the false sense of ego. This means that in the east they are not playing a zero-sum game. Everyone can win if they all beat the error within themselves.

Considering how well they have done in Asia, perhaps we should consider whether they have not got a much sounder concept of competition than we have.

Western civilisation, and SA in particular, is facing a vicious attack on the value systems on which our societies are based.



TUCKER

That is evidenced in the crime and violence which are so prevalent. The enemy is in the midst of us. In fact, in many instances, the enemy is within us, and the battle is a lonely one, fought individually.

Do we know what it is that we are fighting and which side we are on? Few people in the history of the world have been given the opportunity to live such full and worthwhile lives as we have in SA. The harvest is rich, but the labourers are few. The decision as to the values which we actually live is ours alone.

❑ *This an edited version of a speech delivered by Council of SA Banks (Cosab) CE Bob Tucker at a function of the International Association of Business Communicators recently.*

NP slams Government for 'crisis'

Sowetan 16/9/97 304A

Expectations regarding statehood and delivery not being fulfilled

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress Government has failed in its primary functions, such as maintaining law and order, and has not delivered on election promises, according to the National Party.

The NP says the Government has also failed to convince foreign investors that crime, corruption and lawlessness is under control.

However, according to a 55-page *Government Barometer* it released yesterday, the NP reckons the Government has fared well on political legitimacy.

"It is clear that there are some dimensions where the Government is meeting the standards of internationally accepted best practices and policies, and others where it still has a long way to go," new NP leader Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said in Parliament yesterday at the release of the report.

The barometer claims that as far as efficiency is concerned the Government is not living up to expectations and that South Africa is not only experiencing a "crisis of statehood but also a crisis of delivery".

The NP argues that the Government is not getting the basics right because it is trying to change every sphere of society at the same time. It also says:

- The transformation of the public sector is driven by political consideration and not sound business and management principles;
- There is no national strategy for transformation;
- Instead of downsizing it should be rightsizing to improve efficiency;
- Delivery structures at local and provincial level are "in a state of impotence" because they are not operational or their future role has not been decided; and
- The ANC Government is strong on policy formulation but not on execution of policy.

Surprisingly on the economy and development, the NP says the Government is not doing too badly. But judging by perceptions of international investors there are obstacles that "still have to be removed".

Improve efficiency

"Important reforms to improve the efficiency of the public service have been implemented, but capacity building is a long-term goal and meaningful results are not to be expected before the 1999 general election," he said.

Other problems caused by the Government, Van Schalkwyk said, were that human development was not improving; the brain drain was accelerating; industrial relations and work ethics were weak; flexibility of the labour market had deteriorated and the education system was deteriorating.

Concerning the eradication of corruption the NP proposed that there should be a broader separation of powers of the judicial, legislative and executive branches of government.

NP looks to deal on co-operation

ARG 16/9/97 (304A)

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk is sending signals loud and clear to other opposition parties about his willingness to reach a deal on co-operation before the 1999 election.

This yet-to-be-defined form of co-operation would be only the beginning of realignment, says the newly-elected NP leader who says he could also find common ground with some now within the ranks of the African National Congress.

Mr Van Schalkwyk is provisionally scheduled for meetings with the Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party, among other groupings, in the next two weeks.

It would be a waste of energy for opposition parties to fight each other in 1999 instead of their common political opponent, he told journalists in Cape Town yesterday.

He read significance into the fact that the DP had dropped from its prerequisites for co-operation a demand that the NP should disband.

Mr Van Schalkwyk appeared to distance himself from the idea that the NP should disband by referring to the idea as an "extreme" among options.

The answer was a model of co-operation allowing some autonomy, accommodating all leaders, and enabling parties to pool resources.

Mr Van Schalkwyk gave an assurance to other parties that the NP had no plans to engulf and devour them. "We have no hidden agenda to eliminate them once they are in the kraal. We respect their autonomy and would like to talk to them as equals."

CIVICS TO MOBILISE

Saving Parliament: masses hold the key

CT 17/9/97 (304A)

THE SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) and other civic groups will call for mass action in the Western Cape should the government go ahead with moving Parliament. **DIANE CASSERE** reports.

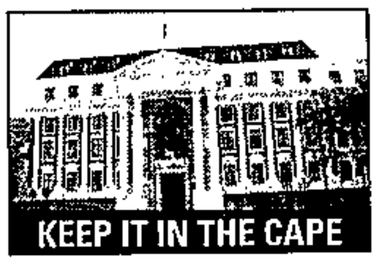
IN 1995, Sanco collected 700 000 signatures in three weeks in favour of Parliament remaining in Cape Town.

That figure would be one million today, says Mr John Neels, its vice-chairperson, "given the growing unease in the townships concerning this issue".

He added: "Now that the Olympic question is no longer an issue, we will devote our energy to keeping Parliament here. We will join up with other civic groups and unions and go back to those 700 000 people. If the government insists on moving Parliament, we will mobilise them.

We will mobilise our communities and call for mass action. The government is accountable to those 700 000 people and to all in the Western Cape. In addition, there are 10 000 jobs at stake."

Sanco said in a press statement yesterday that given the government's commitment to the upliftment of the people through the implementation of the RDP, the cost of moving Parliament to Pretoria would be impossible to justify.


KEEP IT IN THE CAPE

The statement said: "While issues like health and education remain pressing concerns, South Africa can scarcely afford to spend billions on the relocation of Parliament. The vast amounts that moving Parliament would require could best be applied to the numerous deserving RDP projects to improve the living conditions of so many of our people.

"In light of the Masakhane programme, it is very important for communities to pay their own way. The communities have been informed that there will be no handouts — that reconstruction and development must come from within. This becomes impossible if the Western Cape economy suffers the devastating blow of losing Parliament. Over 10 000 jobs are threatened. How will it be possible for Masakhane to be a success when more and more people are unemployed?

"One of the central principles of the RDP is to increase viability of all regions. Should Parliament be moved to Pretoria, not only the economical and financial but also the political functions will be concentrated in one region to the expense of the others. This move could have repercussions for other regions. How long before Bloemfontein loses its status as judicial capital? Will the Appeal Court be located in Braamfontein instead of Bloemfontein?

"Removing Parliament from Cape Town would permanently damage the economy of the Western Cape, at present one of only two economically self-sufficient and growing provinces."

Bid team 'must take up the fight'

DIANE CASSERE

THE city's Olympic bid team should now devote their energy and influence to the campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town, says Mr Kallie Hanekom, executive-director of the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament.

Now that the Olympic bid issue had been resolved, all Capetonians should concentrate their "creativity and organising ability" on the campaign to retain Cape Town's status as a capital city, Hanekom said.

"Parliament is a proven asset, which in my opinion is much more valuable than the Olympics. It is a long-term asset which has provided a steady income to the province for 87 years and could continue to do so for hundreds of years to come."

Parliament was estimated to have generated R860,7 million for the province this year, said Hanekom. "How can you ignore this as a permanent income for the province, with no risk capital involved?"

Hanekom called on the Cape Town City Council and the Cape Metropolitan Council to unite their efforts and make their resources available for keeping the legislature in the Cape.

"We need quantity surveyors, planners, financiers and other experts to put their heads together as they did for the Olympic bid.

"I also urge ordinary Capetonians to think about the implications if Parliament goes north. These include loss of jobs, devaluation of property, both residential and urban, the city's loss of status and the effect this would have on national unity.

"You cannot underestimate the effect on tourism. And heads of state will no longer visit Cape Town as they have been doing. US Vice-President Mr Al Gore brought an entourage of 100 people on each of his visits.

"President Mitterrand of France visited, as did Danish royalty and others.

"Queen Elizabeth and her considerable entourage visited here in her royal yacht. Can you imagine Britannia visiting Pretoria?"

All these visits had taken place because Cape Town was the legislative capital. "They didn't come because of the mountain; they came to address Parliament.

"If the Olympics were important for the unification of South Africa, what could be more important than keeping Parliament here? It links the cultural and political diversity of the Western Cape to the rest of the country. It is in fact our most powerful link."

The global trend today was towards decentralisation. "Don't let us lose both the Games and this valuable asset," Hanekom urged.

Private sector co-operation reaping reward

Star 18/9/97

Midrand has maintained the lowest crime rate in Gauteng for longer than a year in spite of 80% of the community being disadvantaged.

Our Masakhane campaign has been hailed as the success story of the country, taking payment of services from 3% in August 1996 to 70% in August 1997.

When provincial and national government were not prepared to assist Midrand with traffic congestion along the Ben Schoeman, Midrand, together with the private sector, decided to build the most innovative interchange in the country with a traffic capacity well into the 21st century. This project is currently being completed.

A green city project is also being implemented. This will enable local legislation to ensure that environmentally sustainable principles are applied in all development projects. Natural resources are being conserved, protected and enhanced to be shared in an equitable way. Waste source reduction, low-cost thermally efficient housing, energy efficient office buildings, sustainable transport, urban agriculture, the management of water usage, protection and development of open green spaces and environmental awareness is being enhanced in education and training.

Pretoria is limited by its inner-city planning and it is imperative that their existing open space be preserved at all costs. Pretoria is one of the most highly polluted cities in the country and desperately needs to address its sustainability in the next century.

Explosive growth in Midrand has implemented a shift from manufacturing technology to IT technology. Already community members, teachers and scholars are undergoing training in the Midrand community computer centre and the Rabie Ridge community centre. Plans to further extend these facilities are under way. To succeed in the 21st century, we need to eliminate technological barriers which separate the traditionally disadvantaged and advantaged communities. Once we have mastered the basics of technology, we will be well-placed to take advantage of innovation, development and the advancement that is intrinsic to the RDP at the heart of the new South Africa.

(2166) (304A)

In a concerted effort to rectify the racial and economic divide created by apartheid, the Midrand Local Council, in 1996, established a Section 21 company, Middev, to promote projects or activities intended to raise the living standards of disadvantaged communities. Middev, a non-profit company is a partnership between government, business and the community and further focuses on the integration of Ivory Park and Rabie Ridge into the Midrand commercial development, which lies at the centre of this 21st century metropolis.

In less than a year, Middev can boast direct employment and empowerment through housing and infrastructure projects, assistance in the start-up of small businesses, securing over R1-million from international donors for training purposes, and establishing partnerships with major local business leaders. In one project, for instance, Eskom, Caltex Oil and Johnnic came together to facilitate the building of 17 000 thermally efficient, low-cost houses over the next four years using a local labour force.

A city for an efficient government

Why Midrand?

- Parliament in Midrand can be used as a catalyst for the urban development of this pivotal area so that disadvantaged communities can be stitched into the urban mainstream, thereby creating a framework for South Africa's first socially, economically and environmentally sustainable city.
- Midrand enables effective government and teamwork within state departments by locating the administrative and legislative functions in close proximity to one another.
- Midrand plays a direct role in stabilising Gauteng and thereby impacts on the entire South African economy.
- By consolidating a capital region, Midrand addresses government expenditure, efficiency, effectiveness and productivity.
- Only Midrand achieves a series of objectives assisting the transformation process, not just relocation.
- No other city provides freedom from racial preconceptions.
- No other city provides the visible opportunity for national rebirth.
- Only Midrand offers a parliament integrated with sustainable urban planning.
- Only in Midrand can a new parliament act as a developmental initiative creating jobs and stimulating growth.
- Midrand has the lowest crime rate in Gauteng.
- Midrand is the only city which does not rely on the Government to finance the new Parliament and is therefore the most cost-effective option.
- The Midrand Local Council, with it's innovative approach to town planning, is ensuring that infrastructural development is moving towards the creation of a unique integrated urban environment offering a quality of life.
- As a model city in the new century, South Africa can inspire the world and become a highly competitive player on the global market.
- Midrand wholly embraces *Laphumikwezi* – the dawning of a new era – our new country, new flag, new government.

Rapid transport system would benefit everyone

A city of 20 million people cannot possibly function without a rapid transit system. Limitations of road transport, apart from pollution and expense of maintenance, caters only for those who can afford a car

Gauteng is currently made up of dislocated pockets of economic and disadvantaged communities .The existing rail system is designed to link industrial and not residential areas.

Midrand's rapid transit plan is in accordance with the Gauteng green paper and would result in all areas, disadvantaged and advantaged, being incorporated

Situated between Johannesburg and Pretoria, Midrand is crucial to the successful implementation of an integrated public transport system – in fact, the recently completed K101 road through Midrand centre has already been built with sufficient space allocated for a rapid rail line.

This public transit line would directly impact on Johannesburg and Pretoria's imbalances, and the whole economy could only benefit from the growth that would spill out along the main transit route.

'Midrand win would

(3

The debate about the future location of Parliament should come to a head soon. Midrand entered the bidding process in July last year along with Cape Town, Pretoria and Bloemfontein. Why should Midrand be considered as the seat for Parliament? Jenny Lehr, chairperson of the Midrand Parliamentary Committee, explains

Gauteng is facing an awesome future – presently some nine million people live in the province. By 2010, we will have 20 million people.

The region is the focus of subcontinental migration which will result in the formation of one city made up of Johannesburg, Midrand and Pretoria.

Gauteng must therefore be made to perform better and its position as a major player in the subcontinental economic system must be reaffirmed.

The region will become heavily reliant on sustainable urban development and planning. Government's Development Facilitation Act which stresses the need for "extraordinary measures" being taken to address urban disparities, lack of integration and excessive commuting, must be applied.

This is where Midrand can provide the solution.

By virtue of its location and developmental potential, Midrand is at the epicentre of the Gauteng metropolis and can unlock the potential of the region and ensure its ongoing vitality.

> **"No such thing as a 'normal' city in this land"**

A corridor between Johannesburg, the economic centre, Midrand, the legislature, and Pretoria, the administrative centre, would provide an ideal "spine" for this metropolis.

In 1989, the Midrand Metropolitan Local Council recognised the necessity to confront its role in the 21st century and identified the need to build an effective "bridge" between Johannesburg and Pretoria.

The imperatives of Gauteng proved identical to those of Midrand: to create a strong urban economy, shape a future city pattern that integrates disadvantaged communities into the urban mainstream and to reduce excessive commuting.

No other bidding city can be described as "healthy" as there is no such thing as a normal city in South Africa – they were all built around the needs of 20% of the mobile elite and the 80% of disadvantaged were marginalised.

To survive in the next century and to address a sustainable urban dynamic, residential, commercial and recreational space must be integrated. Midrand embraces these principles wholeheartedly.

With the new government in place, there is a window of opportunity to begin healing the apartheid legacies in our existing cities.

Midrand is comfortable in addressing these disparities and is thereby beginning to play a vital role in "normalising" Gauteng as quickly as possible.

The role Parliament can play:

Midrand is not simply looking at "relocating Parliament", but at the actual siting of the first democractic parliament in our nation's history.

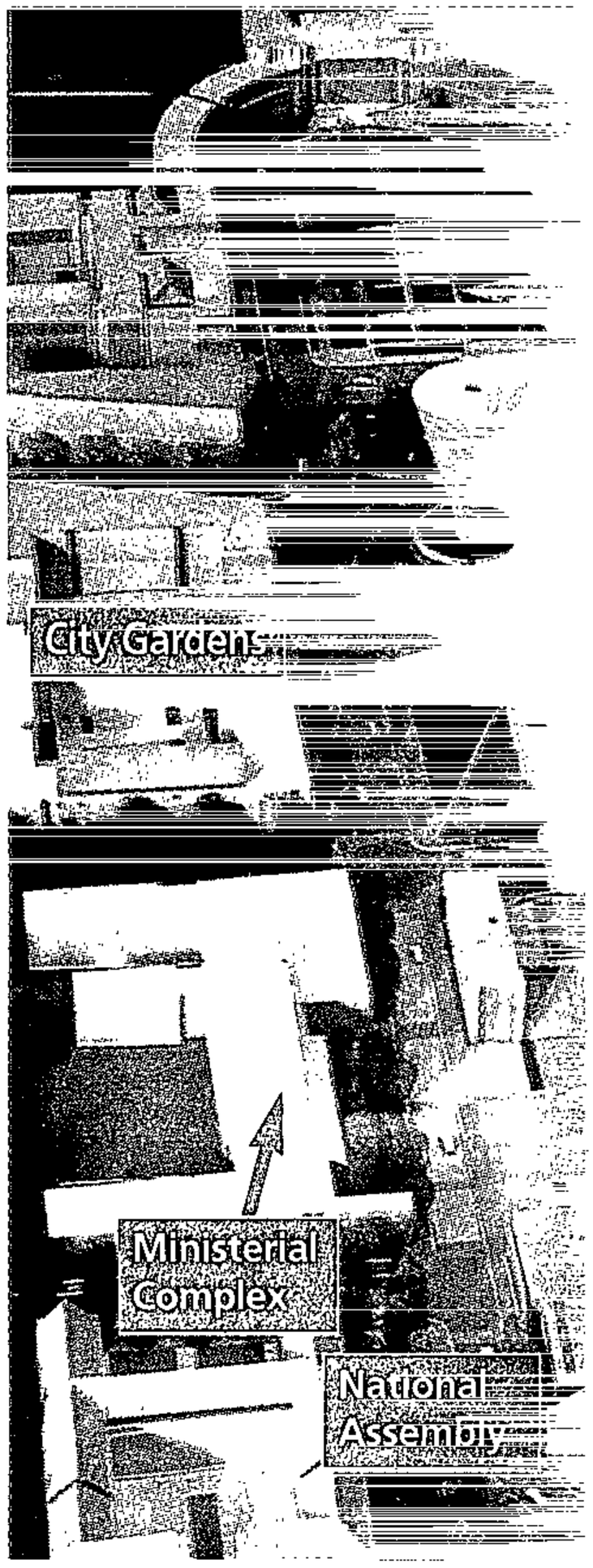
Such a momentous decision must be used to achieve as many objectives as possible - long-term sustainability is essential and far more rational than simply the filling up of existing empty buildings.

The functions of a democratic parliament are basically threefold: to represent the people, make the decisions and to govern.

To operate at maximum efficiency it should be within easy reach of the majority of the people and it needs to exude a friendly, accessible yet authoritative ambience. From the Government's point of view, effectiveness, efficiency and productivity are the guts of it.

Midrand's parliamentary precinct is situated directly in the new city centre, with the 65ha Old Mutual *Zonk'izizwe* development on its northern side, the parliamentary village on its southern side and Grand Central airport to its north.

This makes it equally accessible to all Gauteng residents from Mamelodi to Sharpeville, from Kagiso to Daveyton.



Efficient ... an artist's impression (above) of the parliamentary precinct, which will allow for the creation of public squares, memorials and libraries. The rapid transit plan (right) will incorporate all areas and integrate marginalised areas into the urban mainstream.

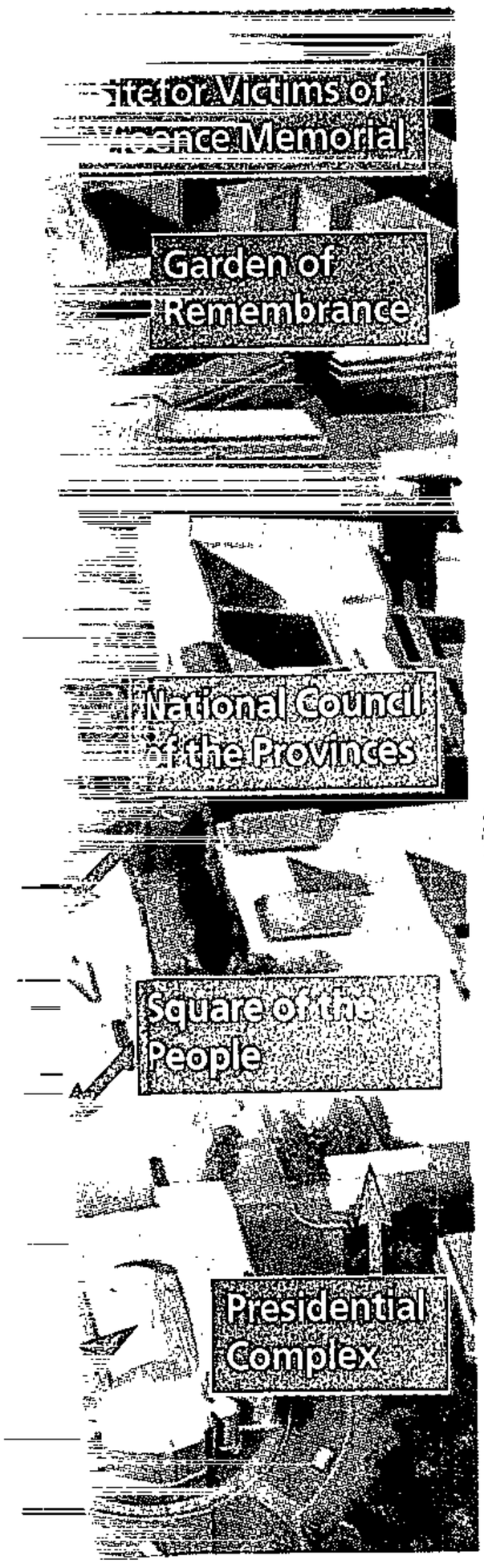
It also addresses the need for integrated accommodation, work and recreation to encourage efficiency and harmony among MPs and leaders.

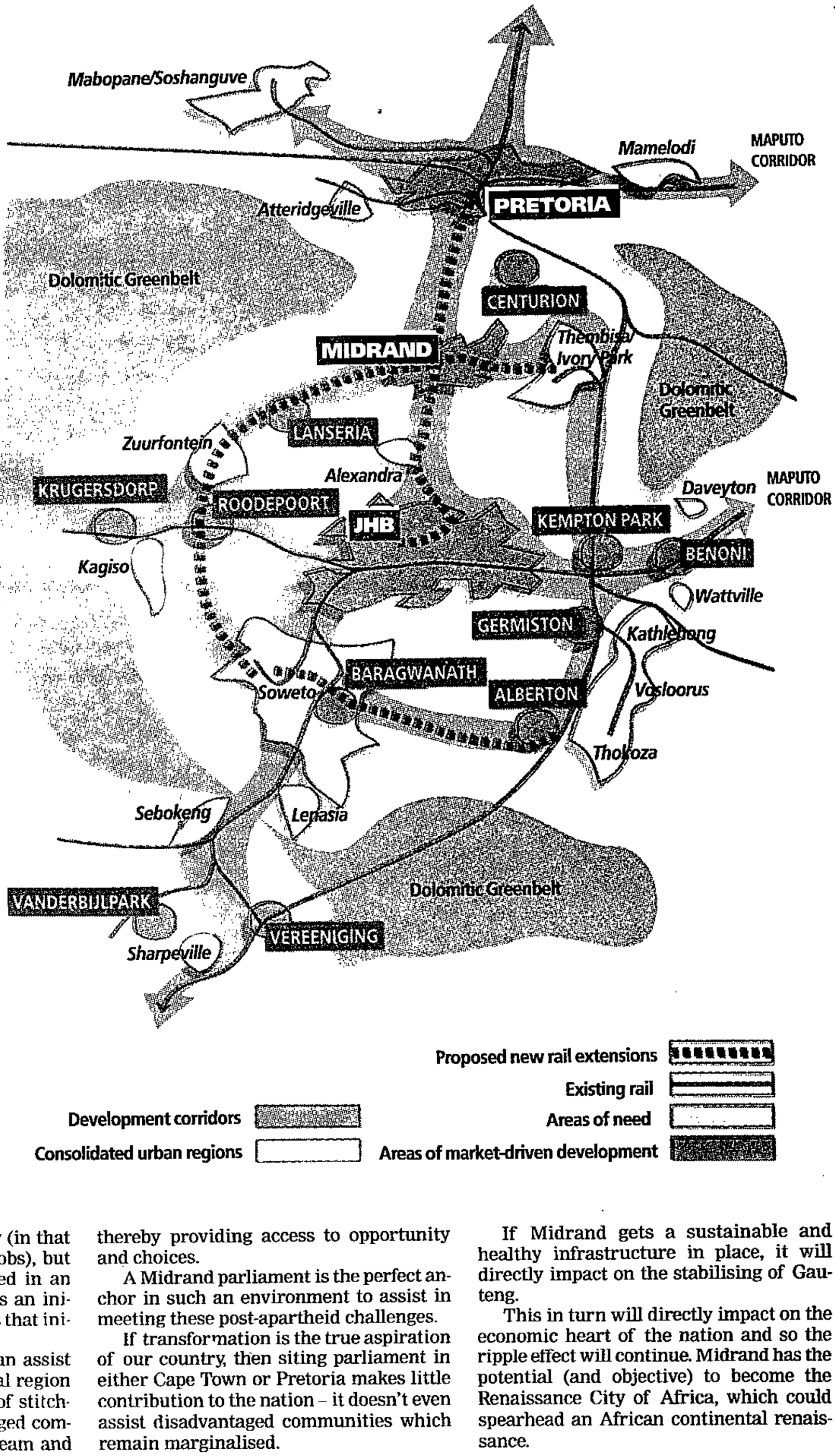
The decision as to where to site parliament is an ideal opportunity to apply and deliver the land development objectives and key themes like RDP, economic growth, job creation, social and urban infrastructure and participation on all levels.

History has proven that Parliament in

stabilise Gauteng'

19 (2th) Star 18/9/97





itself does create an economy (in that it offers fe than 1 000 direct jobs), but can act as catalyst if positioned in an area where private sector has an initiative to fv. Midrand provides that initiative.

Parliar is a project that can assist Midrand nsolidating a capital region which can part of a process of stitching margied and disadvantaged communities the urban mainstream and thereby providing access to opportunity and choices.

A Midrand parliament is the perfect anchor in such an environment to assist in meeting these post-apartheid challenges.

If transformation is the true aspiration of our country, then siting parliament in either Cape Town or Pretoria makes little contribution to the nation – it doesn't even assist disadvantaged communities which remain marginalised.

If Midrand gets a sustainable and healthy infrastructure in place, it will directly impact on the stabilising of Gauteng.

This in turn will directly impact on the economic heart of the nation and so the ripple effect will continue. Midrand has the potential (and objective) to become the Renaissance City of Africa, which could spearhead an African continental renaissance.

Central for 60 MPs living in Jo'burg and 63 in Pretoria

Star 18/9/97 (2048)

In order to minimise the cost, both financial and social, parliament needs to be located in the centre of the majority of parliamentarians (and thereby the people).

Currently, Midrand is directly central to 60 MPs living in Johannesburg, 63 MPs in Pretoria and several in Midrand itself. In fact, 76% of all MPs live within 600km of Midrand.

Grand Central airport can link MPs directly to their constituencies, no matter how far.

The relevance of travel for MPs, however, is not a decisive issue, but a short-term one.

The current reality is that administration is scattered all over Pretoria, and it is already necessary for MPs to get into their cars in order to travel from one ministry to the other or a new parliament in the city centre.

The rapid-rail vision and future infrastructural-structural development in the Midrand region can only improve on the current travelling time between Midrand and the various administration buildings in Pretoria.

> **"Decision must prove sustainability beyond 21st century"**

However, travel conditions within Pretoria can only worsen.

The transformation process cannot depend on government alone, we need to be creative and proactive in addressing the funding of such a project.

The long-term decision must prove its sustainability beyond the 21st century and cannot be addressed within short-term parameters.

The financial plan, namely the People's Company, proposed in locating parliament to Midrand is both viable and elegant. In fact, it eliminates the cost factor of a new parliament becoming an economic issue.

Important however, is the fact that the millions of rands currently being spent on maintaining Cape Town and Pretoria will be saved.

The People's Company raises the necessary cash (up to R1,5-billion guaranteed) to achieve the building of a new parliamentary precinct by taking the burden off the taxpayer and therefore, the Government as well.

UAL Merchant Bank is on standby to put a consortium of smaller merchant banks and black empowerment groups together to create a people's company (PC) through which the capital will be raised.

The PC will be a Section 21 company that will give a stake in Midrand's parliament buildings through people's participation parliamentary notes (PPPNs). It is a creative yet straightforward system.

PPPNs offer all South Africans a chance to participate directly in the development of the new parliamentary precinct and the issue of PPPNs will be fully underwritten by UAL Merchant Bank.

PPPNs will be sold on the retail market, mainly to individuals; however, corporate investors and clubs such as stokvels will also be encouraged to participate. The PPPNs will be issued in units of R100 each and will attract 10% interest per annum on the note value.

People will be able to buy and redeem the PPPNs at Nedbank, Permanent Bank and People's Bank.

In addition to earning interest, PPPN holders will automatically qualify in monthly bonus draws which will represent 5% of the fund's value.

The PC will not have any profit motive but will generate substantial cash surpluses over the period required to construct parliament.

It is envisaged that these surpluses will be made available for RDP projects at the termination of the PC.

This concept creates a voluntary investment environment accessible to all South Africans – a true people's parliament.

Recently, South African President Nelson Mandela indicated his preference for a single capital.

Pretoria, Midrand and Johannesburg will, by natural demographic development will in any case, become one city.

MAVUSO NOW VAN SCHALKWYK'S DEPUTY

NP names 34-member shadow cabinet

CT 19/9/97 (304A)

AN OPPONENT of the new NP leader in the leadership race, Mr Sam de Beer, has been appointed as shadow minister of Public Administration in the party's shadow cabinet.

NEW NP leader Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk has appointed a large shadow cabinet of 34 members, including former General Services Minister Mr John Mavuso as his deputy.

The 37-year-old leader also gave notice that a number of MPs had indicated to him that they would retire at the next election and that they had made way for younger talent in the shadow cabinet.

The most senior omission from the list is Mr Fanus Schoeman, formerly executive director and most senior member in former NP leader Mr F W de Klerk's shadow cabinet.

Mr Renier Schoeman, the chairman of the NP in KwaZulu-Natal, has been appointed executive director and is considered to be number three in the party. Schoeman's appointment has raised eyebrows in party circles as he is a close confidante of KwaZulu-Natal NP leader Mr Danie Schutte, who was defeated by Van Schalkwyk in the leadership election last week.

Three other KwaZulu-Natalians are shadow ministers: former Natal administrator Mr Con Botha (Constitutional and Provincial Affairs), Mr Piet Mathee (Safety and Security) and Mr Adriaan Blaas (Labour). Van Schalkwyk has also included one of his opponents in the leadership race, Mr Sam de Beer, as the shadow minister of Public Administration. Van Schalkwyk is chairman of the shadow cabinet and Mavuso is deputy chairman.

A surprise omission from the shadow cabinet is Mpumalanga NP leader Mr David Malatsi. He has also been overlooked for the party post of executive director, although he was previously Van Schalkwyk's deputy. Malatsi, however, retains the post of NP leader in the National Council of Provinces.



NP PARLIAMENTARY LEADER: Sheila Camerer



SHADOW CABINET CHAIRMAN: Marthinus van Schalkwyk



RAISING EYEBROWS: Renier Schoeman

Mrs Shiela Camerer takes over as leader of the NP in the National Assembly, a post previously held by Mr Roelf Meyer, who resigned from the NP in May.

The shadow cabinet is made up as follows: Dr Theo Alant (Finance), Mrs Sheila Camerer (Justice), Mr Desmond Padiachey (Public Works), Mr Piet Coetzer (Post and Telecommunications, Mr Sam de Beer (Public Service and Administration); Mr John Gogotya (Public Enterprises), Mr Piet Matthee (Safety and Security); Dr Boy Geldenhuys (Foreign Affairs), Mr Patrick MacKenzie (Welfare), Mr David Graaff (Trade and Industry), Mr Hennie Smit (Defence), Mr Nick Koornhof (Environmental Affairs and Tourism), Mr Abe Williams (Sport), Ms Jenny Malan (RDP), Mr Adriaan Blaas (Labour), Mr Myburgh Streicher (Transport), Mr Maans Nel (Mineral and Energy Affairs), Ms Anna van Wyk (Arts and Culture), Charles Ntsizi (Science and Technology), Mr Kobus Gous (Health), Mr Jac Rabie (Housing), Mr Gert Oosthuizen (Correctional Services), Mr Z D Mnguni (Water Affairs and Forestry), Mr Con Botha (Constitutional and Provincial Affairs), Dr Manie Schoeman (Agriculture), Mr Donald Lee (Education: primary and secondary), Mr Dirk Bakker (Education: tertiary), Mr Frik van Deventer (Home Affairs), Mr Daryl Swanepoel (Communication and Broadcasting), Dr Willem Odendaal (Land Affairs), Mr Andries Beyers (Intelligence) and Mr Watty Watson (Local Government) — Political Staff



LEON MULLER

Heads of state: President Mandela and Zimbabwe's President Mugabe are reported to have differerences of opinion over who should be contrelling the policing of southern Africa

Zimbabwe, SA lock horns over who will be in charge of policing southern Africa

(304A) ARG 20/9/97

IDEN WETHERELL

Harare – The row between South Africa and Zimbabwe over control of regional security reveals more than just a power struggle.

It exposes differing approaches to governance which could have far-reaching implications for relations between South Africa and its northern neighbour.

Nelson Mandela's office has been quick to deny reports of a major rift at last week's summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Blantyre, Malawi, where leaders of the now 14-member grouping failed to agree on a constitution for the proposed Organ on Politics, Defence and Security.

The Zimbabwean press reported that Mr Mandela had threatened to resign if he didn't get his way over joint chairmanship of the SADC and that he had "acted like a bully".

In what were clearly officially-inspired leaks, Zimbabwean newspapers reported that other heads of state were shocked by what they considered "an insult to their sovereignty".

While Mr Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said there was no truth in the reports that Mr Mandela had threatened to resign as SADC chairman, Foreign Ministry spokesmen in Pretoria conceded there were important differences of interpretation as to the role of the organ.

Those differences have never been fully spelt out, but they concern radically different views of how security is managed in a democratic society.

Differences concern radically different views of how security is managed in a democratic society

South Africa and Zimbabwe have been at odds over this since Zimbabwean officials first proposed a replacement for the redundant Front-line States formation at a meeting in Windhoek in 1994.

With the advent of a democratic South Africa there was obviously a need for a new organisation to cater for security and peacekeeping within the framework of the SADC.

Zimbabwe proposed a body called the Association of Southern African States (Asas) which it envisaged as an additional sector of the SADC.

That meant it would become the responsibility of a member state and Zimbabwe's leaders clearly intended it should be based in Harare.

But in 1994-5 Zimbabwe's gung-ho plans for intervention in civil conflicts in Lesotho and Mozambique alarmed its partners.

In particular, the South Africans had no wish to see their unreconstructed armed forces dragged into engagements in neighbouring countries by President Robert Mugabe using Asas as a means to impose his own brand of discipline on the region.

Resorting to arguments about Organisation of African Unity rules on non-intervention and hiding behind the reservations of smaller countries, which were understandably unnerved by what they saw as Zimbabwean regional hegemonism, South Africa's diplomats managed at foreign ministers' meetings in 1995 to re-fashion the Asas proposal.

They endorsed plans for an organ on security that would rotate annually among the SADC members and thus avoid manipulation by larger states. This was the formula put to SADC heads of state at their 1995 summit in Johannesburg.

To the surprise of other leaders, Mr Mugabe revived the Asas proposal. Although prepared to drop the requirement that it be a sector of the SADC, the Zimbabwean president insisted that it be chaired by a long-serving regional statesman – a job tailor-made for himself. To Mr Mugabe's chagrin, the SADC heads of state stuck with the recommendation of their foreign ministers that the organ's chairmanship rotate on an annual basis.

Their resolve had been stiffened by the international outcry that had greeted Mr Mugabe's spiteful campaign a few weeks earlier against Zimbabwe's gay community.

Gay issue raised questions on Mugabe's suitability as head of a human rights organisation

While SADC leaders were unlikely to support gay rights, the response of South Africa's powerful civil society raised legitimate questions about Mr Mugabe's suitability as head of an organisation tasked with monitoring human rights and undoubtedly weakened his case.

The upshot was a clumsy compromise fashioned in Gaborone last year whereby Mr Mugabe was appointed transitional chairman of the new organ.

But the gulf between South African and Zimbabwean thinking remained. Fundamental to the new South Africa was the view that intelligence and security issues should be firmly subordinate to politically accountable decision-making. The organ should therefore meet only at official and ministerial levels, the South Africans argued.

It could not function as an alternative forum to the SADC heads of state. Zimbabwe's leaders, who depend upon a multitentacled security apparatus for their tenure of power, saw things differently.

They wanted a regional forum that operated independently of the powerful new South Africa, with its inconvenient preoccupations about participatory democracy.

Above all, Zimbabwe didn't want the organ to become susceptible to the blandishments of regional human rights groups. The issue came to a head last week because the South Africans suddenly woke up to their error in Gaborone last June of allowing the organ's chairman to call his own summits.

New realisations dawned. Which summit would have the higher status: that of the SADC or the organ? Could Mr Mugabe use the mantle of the SADC to intervene in a regional crisis without the agreement of other heads of state?

The loss of political control over decisions taken in Harare clearly gave Pretoria the jitters.

And without political accountability there was little prospect of countries like Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe being amenable to constitutional reform. Mr Mugabe, who has now served as both transitional and substantive chairman, is not keen to give up his unique regional power.

■ **Iden Wetherell is assistant editor of the Zimbabwe Independent**

Boer group sets homeland wheels in motion

Star 24/9/97 (304n)

A group calling itself Boere-Republikeine (BRKB) has settled on a piece of land about 20km from Bronkhorstspruit with the intention of founding an Afrikaner homeland.

A spokesman for the 110-member organisation, Fritz Meyer, said yesterday the BRKB had bought 180 hectares of land next to the N4 highway between Bronkhorstspruit and Witbank and intended establishing an independent "fatherland" for Afrikaners.

The organisation has registered as a close corporation.

Meyer said the BRKB wanted to establish an Afrikaner power base through secession from the Republic of South Africa. The final objective was to create a self-sufficient and economically viable homeland.

The land, which contains the graves of 27 000 Afrikaner ancestors who died in concentration camps, is considered to be of great historical significance to the organisation.

Meyer said any attempt to stop the group would be met with resistance, although he insisted the decision was made out of love, not hate.

"We shall try as far as possible to achieve our freedom in a peaceful manner as long as the Government leaves us alone to do our work," he said.

Meyer said of the homeland: "This time we will throw off the slavery and shackles of imperialism, liberalism and communism to ensure a Christian-national spirit for our people and our descendants."
– Sapa

Sowetan 24/9/97

New era in politics

3044

Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa may have come up with a brave new vision. But, **Themba Molefe** points out, a cloud already hangs over the new movement...

A NEW political party is to be born this weekend. And according to its conveners, it aims to turn South Africa into a world-class nation in 10 years.

"South Africa .. where are we going?" is the question Roelf Meyer of the New Movement Process and National Consultative Forum leader Bantu Holomisa hope to answer when they establish their new party on Saturday.

"We will measure all our activities against this goal – of making South Africa a world-class nation within 10 years," said Meyer at a pre-launch press briefing in Pretoria.

The name, symbols, vision, core values and draft constitution will be announced at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

In fact, for Meyer the return to the World Trade Centre will be the continuation of a process he steered during the historic multiparty constitutional negotiations in 1993.

As former chief negotiator of the National Party, he was also the new Constitution's joint chief architect with former African National Congress general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

He and Holomisa have given themselves between six and eight months to set their plans in motion. "We have a plan to involve all South Africans in this crusade," Meyer said.

Asked what the concept of a world-class nation entailed, he said it referred to raising standards in the country to the highest possible level. The first priorities would be to address crime and unemployment.

In separate interviews, Meyer put forward what could be termed the credo of the proposed new party – South Africanism.

"South Africanism is a transcending value. It is the cohesive force which binds us all to the soil of our land. It is the instinctive sense of belonging we all have, of being here in South Africa, part of a wider region, part of Africa...

Distinct characteristic

"... South Africanism accepts the diversity of our people, it celebrates our differences but knows that diversity without unity cannot prosper. We rally as one around our flag, our anthem, our Constitution."

Rallying around the Constitution is in fact also a distinct characteristic of how the proposed party will operate. Meyer said there was a need for a fresh start in party politics.

Consolidating the opposition parties was not a solution, as their joint-support amounted to only about 20 percent of the voters. Cooperative governance rather than confrontational politics is envisaged.

The new party lists in its policy departure document three guiding principles:

- To be "tough" on civil order;
- Address the plight of the disadvantaged; and
- Strive for good governance.



Roelf Meyer



Bantu Holomisa

Conceding that the Government was concerned about the same issues, Meyer said the ANC was not focused enough on solving such problems. "Why is there higher unemployment today than three years ago? Those are the things we will have to find answers for. The problems and issues might be the same but not the answers."

The new party's goal will be cooperative governance, Meyer said.

Holomisa enters the new political partnership with the purpose of creating a party that will rid South Africa of the imbalances that provide for a "haves and have-nots" situation.

"We must be clear that South Africa has both a first and third world existence.

"South Africa has a threat of unemployment and poverty and the new party will therefore play the role of watchdog – to see that good policies are implemented.

"We have to go beyond what President Nelson Mandela has been preaching, the unity of South Africans for the sake of delivering to the people."

Like Meyer, Holomisa feels the strength of the new party will be determined by the support it will have for its vision.

"We have seen the enormous support that the NCF rallies have had in the past 12 months and that in itself shows that people need a new political home," said Holomisa.

Regarding funding for the new party, Meyer said business people who agreed with the idea of realigning South Africa's political scene provided financial backing. But a cloud hangs over the new movement. The recent arrest of NCF KwaZulu-Natal leader Sifiso Nkabinde was a political ploy to discredit him, Holomisa said.

"There are signs that the justice system in this country might once more be abused by the Government ... to achieve their own political objectives."

Holomisa said these objectives included discrediting opponents of the ANC.

Criminal charges

Nkabinde would, however, not be allowed to join the new political party because of pending criminal charges against him. This also applied to former Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope who is facing several charges of fraud.

Mangope's United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) disbanded last month in favour of joining the new party.

However, while Mangope will not personally be present at the launch or take part in any of its activities, his followers are expected to go to Kempton Park on Saturday.

Nkabinde was acting as KwaZulu-Natal leader of NCF when he was arrested last week on charges that he ordered the murder of 18 people between February 1993 and June 1997. He denied involvement in the murders at his bail hearing in the Pietermaritzburg Regional Court on Thursday.

Renaming of police station 'a milestone'

(304A)

Nomavenda Mathiane

BD 25/9/97

THE renaming of John Vorster Square to Johannesburg Central Police Station constituted a milestone in SA's history, Gauteng safety and security MEC Jessie Duarte said yesterday.

Addressing dignitaries who, like herself, were previously detained at the once infamous police station, she said John Vorster Square was well known for deaths in detention and was a true embodiment of the violence of the apartheid system.

"All that now belongs to the past. The people of Johannesburg and Gauteng and the nation are saying never again shall we have the rights of people trampled upon," she said.

The 11-floor building, consisting of offices, cells, living accommodation, a canteen , a cinema, a museum, a parking basement, a filling station and the public office — previously called the charge office — was opened by former Prime Minister John Vorster in August 1968.

Every speaker referred to the terror the words "John Vorster" evoked in people's minds.

Dignitaries who attended the name-changing ceremony included the former wife of President Nelson Mandela, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela; chairman of the fiscal committee Murphy Morobe; Congress of SA Trade Unions general secretary Sam Shilowa; journalist Don Mattera; Amin Cachalia, the widow of African National Congress veteran Yusuf Cachalia; and the mayor of Greater Johannesburg Isaac Mogase.

Also present were the families of victims who had died or been tortured at John Vorster Square.

They included the family of Ahmed Timol, the first detainee to die falling from a 10th floor window of the building.

Other police stations where names are to be changed include the Johan Coetzee station in Newlands, Johannesburg, which will become the Sophiatown police station, and the Adriaan Vlok in Pretoria North, which will become the Lyttleton Police Station.



Winnie Ma-Mandela, left, and Jessie Duarte at a function yesterday to rename John Vorster Square police station to Jsburg Central Police station.

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Sowetan 25/9/97

Bantu and Roelf go on vote hunt

304A

THEY come from different worlds – one is the son of a conservative Afrikaner farmer who rose to prominence in the apartheid regime, the other a former black militant in South Africa's liberation struggle.

But on Saturday Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa, respectively defectors from the conservative National Party (NP) and President Nelson Mandela's ruling African National Congress (ANC), will launch a new multiracial party aimed at winning power.

Faced with an increasingly sceptical electorate, the two pariahs of the country's largest political parties are striving to win the votes of the disenchanted and undecided to regenerate a struggling opposition.

"Today, there is no balance on the political scene," the party said in a statement last week. "We are still being drawn down by the old political order, by parties either tainted by apartheid or joined by the singular goal of fighting it."

The new party will unveil its name, colours and aims on Saturday in Johannesburg.

At their first joint conference, the two leaders answered policy questions in vague outline, saying they would listen to the South African people before deciding on detailed objectives.

Several themes

Nevertheless, several themes have emerged – the fight against crime and corruption, job creation, the abolition of political "affirmative action" policies designed to bring the black majority into the white-dominated economy and the end of "nepotism".

Since South Africa's historic all-race elections in 1994, the popularity of the "ANC has dropped about 10 percent, the NP 14 percent, and there is about 20 percent floating", the party statement said.

"We have to come up with a good product and a good implemented strategy on politics to capture those people who want no more rhetoric."

Since joining forces, the two men have tried to capitalise on their differences; Holomisa was an extreme leftist and one of the most popular leaders of the anti-apartheid struggle, while Meyer was the centre-right former general secretary of the NP who maintained an image as the boy-next-door into his 50s.

"Roelf and I are very different and we must rally around that challenge and build a winning nation around that," Holomisa told *AFP*.

Common points

Among their few common points is the fact that both were outcasts from their former political families – Holomisa for accusing the ANC Government of corruption and criticising the party's fund raising, while Meyer proposed transforming the party which invented apartheid into a popular black-based movement.

Holomisa (42), who enjoys the title "General" from his military days, is the son of a traditional Xhosa chief who in 1988 captured power in the apartheid semi-independent tribal homeland of Transkei, which subsequently became a base for then-outlawed ANC fighters.

Born to farmers, Roelf Meyer entered NP politics in 1979 and became deputy minister of law and order in 1986, a period characterised by popular unrest.

He gained a reputation as a sharp negotiator during constitutional talks with anti-apartheid groups aimed at achieving a democratic transition.

Today, both are considered traitors to their causes and their names evoke anger from their former colleagues. – *Sapa-AFP*.

Gauteng Afrikaner 'homeland' on the way

BD 25/9/97

(304A)

A GROUP which calls itself Boere-Republikeine has settled on a tract of land about 20km from Bronkhorstspruit in Gauteng, with the intention of founding an Afrikaner homeland.

Spokesman Fritz Meyer yesterday said the organisation bought 180ha of land between Bronkhorstpruit and Witbank and intended establishing an independent "fatherland" for Afrikaners.

The 110-member organisation has registered as a closed corporation.

It wanted to establish an Afrikaner power base through secession from the Republic of SA. The objective was to create a self-sufficient and economically viable homeland.

The land, which contains the graves of 27 000 Afrikaners who died in concentration camps, is considered to be of great historical significance to the organisation.

Meyer said plans to buy more land and the small town of Balmoral were also underway.

The group was given building rights for the land on October 11 last year.

According to Meyer, many of the farmers whose land bordered the proposed homeland were members of the BRKB or sympathetic to the organisation.

Meyer said any attempt to prevent the homeland would be met with resistance from the organisation, although he insisted that the decision to form a homeland was made out of love, and not out of hate.

"We shall try as far as possible to achieve our freedom in a peaceful manner as long as the government leaves us alone to do our work," he said.

Meyer said of the homeland: "This time we will throw off the slavery and shackles of imperialism, liberalism and communism to ensure a Christian national spirit for our people and our descendants."

The group recently encountered resistance when it attempted to remove black people from the land.

Although the organisation identified with similar "Boer republics" such as Orania, it did not consider itself part of any other republic.

He said the homeland, which begins at Balmoral, was considered to be outside the jurisdiction of the SA government.

The organisation has planned a number of projects to make the homeland economically viable.

According to Meyer a petrol station with a workshop and towing service has been planned, as well as a tertiary institution which will accept its first intake in January. A cheese factory is being built.

The organisation is also considering a kibbutz, a high school and a boarding school.

Information regarding the proposed homeland is to be made available on October 10 at the Balmoral junior school. — Sapa.

M+G 26/9-2/10/97

Mandela kicks MPs' butts

(3049)

Marion Edmunds

President Nelson Mandela has instructed all African National Congress parliamentarians to tell him, in face-to-face interviews, what constituency work they do.

Mandela's interest, announced at a recent ANC caucus meeting, is provoked by concern that MPs are neglecting their constituency work and failing to disseminate information to the people about the government's progress. He also wants to assess the mood of voters in the run-up to the 1999 elections.

His intervention is expected to lend political authority to plans by ANC chief whip Max Sisulu to tighten up party discipline in Parliament. Sisulu is to take a firmer line on MPs' work ethics before the end of the year, bringing order to the chaotic constituency system, and helping to define the jobs of MPs.

It is expected his office will introduce mechanisms to monitor performance in 180 constituency offices, as well as attendance at parliamentary committee meetings and sittings of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces. Those who shirk duty will be brought to book.

ANC caucus chairman Thabang Makwetla said Mandela was driven by his keen interest in the ANC's performance in communities. "He wants an assessment of what MPs were doing over the past 18 months. There are a number of offices functioning very well — and then some not so well."

The parliamentary sessions have been cut back this year to make way for constituency work, but the ANC has no overall picture of what has been achieved. The R3 000-a-month constituency allowances go into a fund for office expenses. Although a number of constituency offices are located in shopping centres, many people do not know who their MPs are or how to contact them.

A snap survey by the *Mail & Guardian* this week showed that most offices had a paid receptionist who answered the phone, but few MPs were available, because of their duties at Parliament.

"It's a very mixed-up question and I think it needs to be addressed," said Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash, indicating that local government councillors were often better politicians for the people than national MPs.

"Some of them are obviously lazy and I don't understand what they are doing with all this constituency time they have and the parliamentary breaks," she said

Speaker Frene Ginwala has proposed restructuring the parliamentary timetable to allow for better use of time. This would include an annual four-month break from Parliament for constituency work.

Wilmot James, executive director of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), reflected: "The impression I have is that some MPs have a commitment to their constituencies and work beyond their call of duty, and other MPs are just drawing a salary."

MPs from a "struggle" background are easily overwhelmed by voters who come to them with important, but also unimportant, issues to resolve.

The ANC's MP in the Boland, Melanie Verwoerd, works seven days a week, but struggles to find time to address all the problems brought to her, many of which are not political.

"A man came to me and said he had a problem getting an erection, and because he had voted for the ANC, the government ought to help him. He would not listen when I said we could not do anything for him," she said.

"Eventually we referred him to a sangoma and he came right. It's all part of a day's work."

● Parliament is in recess for a fortnight. The parliamentary column *View from the Gallery* will resume when the National Assembly is back in session.



Do it like this: ANC MP Melanie Verwoerd talks to farm labourers facing eviction. PHOTO: RODGER BOSCH

(804A)

PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT

FM 26/9/97

Bid to curb the overlords

But are legislators bold enough to rein in Ministers' regulatory powers?

Parliament has taken an historic step to curb the power of Cabinet Ministers to govern by decree. It has formed a multi-party ad hoc committee to find ways of subjecting Ministers' decrees or regulations to prior scrutiny by parliament.

The question is whether the committee — likely to be chaired by ANC MP and justice committee chairman Johnny de Lange — will be bold enough to try to limit the executive's law-making powers.

The move was prompted by opposition parties' complaints about the legislature's failure to curb the executive's tendency to govern by issuing regulations that are not subject to parliamentary oversight.

The DP has tabled a motion deploring the trend and the NP is drafting a Bill to outlaw it. Currently parliament cannot amend or overturn ministerial regulations, short of repealing the laws under which they are made.

The ad hoc committee's job is to enact a constitutional provision entitling parliament and provincial legislatures to review all executive rules and regulations. Parliaments of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Britain all exercise such oversight.

SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) spokesman Colin Douglas welcomes the move, but says it may place parliament and Cabinet in conflict. He cites the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill as a prime example of extraparliamentary regulation, since the Bill entitles the Minister to decide the grounds for exempting employers from basic employment conditions.

The committee must decide whether regulatory supervision should reside with existing portfolio committees or to create new committees with powers to force a Minister to withdraw or amend a regulation. Such committees may even be empowered to call Ministers to account for the socio-economic impact of their regulations, as is being considered in Australia.The DP endorses this principle. It passed a resolution at its Federal Conference this month calling for parliament to be advised of the cost of implementing all legislation. The SAIRR says in its newsletter *Fast Facts* that regulatory compliance cost the US economy US$600bn in output in 1995. **Claire Bisseker**

OPPOSITION POLITICS

DP surges in visibility stakes

NP trounced as new party enters arena under Meyer and Holomisa

Tony Leon's Democratic Party is buoyant after its third successive by-election victory over the National Party. Its latest win, in Margate — polling 64% of the vote compared with 13% a year ago — follows similar triumphs in former NP redoubts at Kempton Park in March and Witbank in August.

The DP, quick to capitalise on the propaganda front, boasts it is about to overtake the NP as the dominant force in white, coloured and Indian city communities.

The NP counters — with some justification — that the DP is guilty of "selective representation of minor victories," noting that it has contested only four of the 54 local government elections this year and that it is silent about the thumping it got from the NP in Milnerton, Western Cape.

Even allowing for political legerdemain by DP propagandists, however, the DP has been successful in concentrating resources on a few contests and winning well to boost its image as an expanding party with high morals and astute leadership.

The party's electoral successes converge with its major role in organising, with ratepayers' federations, the unofficial megacity referendum in Johannesburg and attracting 84 324 votes, in spite of a boycott call by the African National Congress and the refusal of several shopping centres to allow polling stations on their premises.

The referendum — which was monitored by the Electoral Institute of SA — reflects strong opposition to the idea of merging Johannesburg's four local metropolitan councils and the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council into a single megacity with centralised political control. Nearly 97% of voters opposed the megacity option punted by the ANC and its leading candidate to succeed Tokyo Sexwale as Gauteng premier, Mathole Motshekga.

These triumphs, though, also highlight deficiencies in the DP. Its victories are confined to historically white areas. Referendum returns show a low turnout in the black townships of Alexandra and Soweto. Though the DP attributes this to intimidation — polling booths in Alexandra were abandoned after threats to Electoral Institute officials — it may also have been due to its minuscule support base there.

Opposition politics, meanwhile, is set to receive a new player this week with the launch of a new party out of an amalgamation of Roelf Meyer's New Movement Process and Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum.

The new party's great hope is that Holomisa may be able to attract black voters in meaningful numbers to its ranks and thus loosen the ANC's tight grip over black voters.

Leon, meanwhile, extends the possibility of co-operation with other opposition parties. He has called for a multiparty conference — "a Codesa of the opposition" — to see what they have in common and if they can co-operate in pursuit of two objectives: to prevent the ANC from securing a two-thirds majority in the 1999 general election and, in the longer run, to generate a major political realignment. **Patrick Laurence**

Poor communication 'hampering govt's hard work'

BD 26/9/97 (Both)

PRETORIA — Poor co-ordination between government departments sometimes led to hard work being lost, as well as to fraud, officials in Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office said yesterday.

Moses Ngoasheng, Mbeki's economic adviser, told the Presidential Review Commission in Pretoria there was no formal link between the deputy president's office and the cabinet secretariat in the president's office. It was the secretariat's "quasi responsibility" to brief Mbeki's office on cabinet matters. However, the office often had to rely on cabinet minutes, and not all matters were always noted. "Many things fall between the cracks along the way," he said.

Frank Chikane, director-general in Mbeki's office, confirmed feedback from the cabinet was a problem. The presidency, he said, should preferably operate as a single unit.

In its presentation to the commission earlier in the day, the office acknowledged there were concerns about a lack of government co-ordination. "There is even talk about a so-called black hole in government," said cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel.

Other problems resulting from the alleged lack of co-ordination included fraud as a result of isolated computer networks.

Ngoasheng said government's tax network and its Unemployment Insurance Fund network were not linked. As a result, companies could underdeclare on their taxes and overdeclare on UIF without anyone picking it up, resulting in huge financial losses, while the welfare network "is not linked to anything".

In an attempt to partly bridge the gap, Mbeki's office announced it had launched a co-ordination and implementation unit. It would seek to co-ordinate government policies to avoid duplication and possible disparities.

Ken Terry, director of management services in Mbeki's office, said the cabinet this month approved establishment of the unit, and a R4m budget for the 1997/98 financial year. It would be headed by a deputy director-general assisted by 14 staff members and should be fully operational at the beginning of next year.

Chikane said interviews with possible candidates were completed recently.

The telecommunications department, in collaboration with Telkom, was setting up a video conference centre between the Union Buildings and Tuynhuys, where Mbeki's Cape Town office was located. Ngoasheng said this would decrease travelling costs.

Stephané Bothma reports that the president relies strongly on his political creativity to win the hearts and minds of the people of SA.

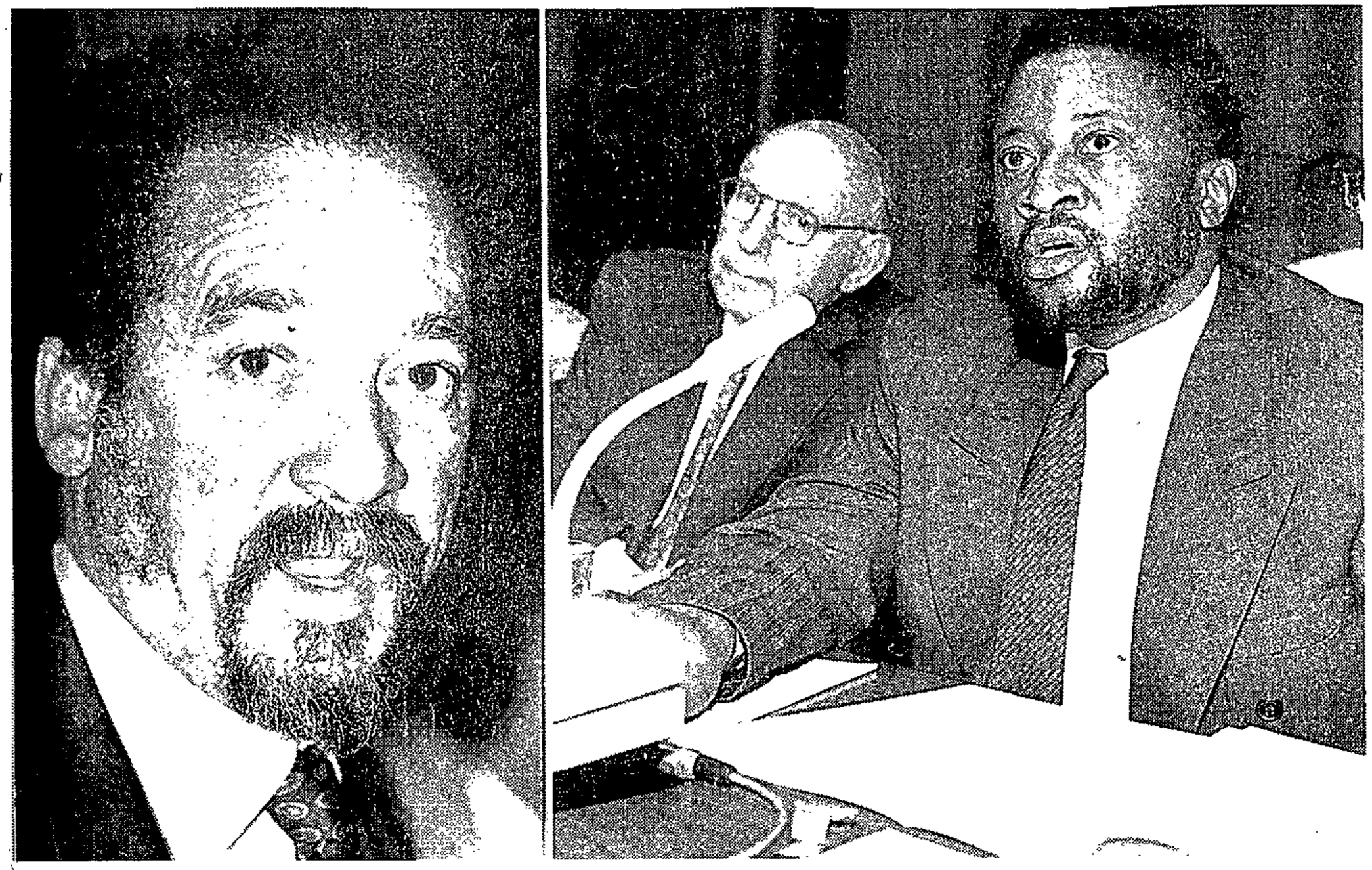
Giving a rare insight into the day-to-day business of Mandela, Gerwel said Mandela rejected the idea that he was irreplaceable.

Mandela, who has travelled abroad 47 times since taking office — 16 times on official state visits — and who makes up to 240 speeches each year, does not have to be stage-managed, the commission heard.

Decisions, such as donning a No 6 rugby jersey for the World Cup final, were spontaneously taken by Mandela and problems in the office were often solved by the president's cunning.

"One of the biggest problems we have faced since the ANC came into power was the repeated question by the media about when the president was going to marry Graca Machel. He quickly solved that problem by telling reporters that he would not discuss issues like that with people younger than himself," Gerwel said.

Gerwel said the president's office received an average of 4 250 letters each month, with about 900 requiring the personal attention of Mandela. Of about 2 900 telephone calls received, the president must give his personal attention to 650.



Presidential Review Commission chairman Vincent Maphai, right, held informal talks with Prof Jakes Gerwel, left, director-general of President Nelson Mandela's office, and deputy chairman Norman Levy in Pretoria yesterday. Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Song and dance as new party 'for the people' is launched (304A)

Thousands usher in United Democratic Movement at glitzy do

ST 28/9/97

CYRIL MADLALA
Political Correspondent

ROELF MEYER and Bantu Holomisa launched their United Democratic Movement at a rally in Kempton Park, Johannesburg, yesterday, but the event looked more like a showbiz extravaganza than a political meeting.

Speaking after Scottish pipers had given a rendition of *Amazing Grace*, Holomisa asked thousands of supporters at the World Trade Centre: "What can we do to make sure the new South Africa does not leave us behind, that the new South Africa is not only for the few who have friends and relatives in high places?"

Meyer, who took turns with Holomisa to deliver the main speech, said: "We are the political home of all South Africans, unified in the spirit of South Africanism by our common passion for our country."

Before Holomisa and Meyer spoke, delegates watched choirs, dancers, sangomas and a performance of an old Beatles song on the main stage. They were also treated to a video with clips of South Africans as a singer sang the event's theme tune — *Impossible Dream*.

The only unexpected guest was Cape gang leader Rashied Staggie, whose brother was murdered by anti-gangster militia in Cape Town last year.

But Staggie was quick to point out he was not a member of the party.

Meyer, the former golden boy of the National Party who quit earlier this year when his colleagues felt he was going too far with his reform initiatives, and Holomisa, a popular leader who fell out of favour with the ANC, were introduced as the new party's joint leaders until its first national congress, in May or June next year.

Holomisa told delegates the founding members came from diverse backgrounds, yet they were united by a common passion and a mission to rebuild the country as South Africans, irrespective of "artificial and narrow" differences.

"South Africa underwent something of a revolution when the ANC won the general election in 1994. And yet, not a great deal has changed for the ordinary person in the street," he said.

Concerns when he and Meyer had been involved in consultation prior to the launch were that there was an "arrogance" of power, the streets were not safe and there were "more commissions than houses". "Most of all, you are overwhelmed by a sense of being helpless. What can we do to change all of this?" he asked.

Holomisa said the agenda for a profound socio-economic transformation had to be redefined.

"Today, our country is in a state of disarray, not as a result of the past government's policies, but the inability of the present government to direct resources to appropriate social programmes and get its priorities right."

Expanding on a policy discussion document circulated at the conference, Holomisa said a lack of economic vision had caused confusion.

"We say yes to privatisation, as long as it will be to the benefit of all South Africans, not just to the few 'rented' blacks or to countries who pump millions of rands into our political party coffers."

In his address, Meyer said supporters of the United Democratic Movement were there because they wanted to break out of the mould of the past.

"We no longer want to vote for political parties that have taken root in a soil of racial division.

"We want to heed our Constitution that calls on us to unite," he said.

The core values of the new party were:

- Respect for the life and the dignity of every individual;
- National self-discipline based on an acceptance that each right and freedom carries with it a corresponding and equal obligation and responsibility; and
- National moral regeneration towards a clear distinction between right and wrong; between what is acceptable and what is not.

Of the core issues that needed to be addressed, job creation and curbing crime were the most fundamental, Meyer said.



SHOW TIME: Holomisa and Meyer present a united front at the launch Picture: RAYMOND PRESTON

Big turnout stuns Holomisa and Meyer

(304A)

Star 29/9/97

United Democratic Movement wows followers at launch

By Cecilia Russell

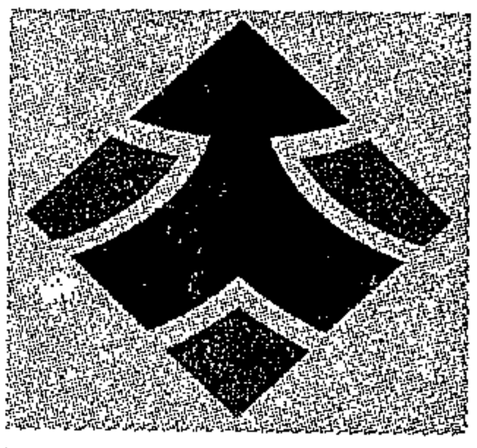
Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa, joint leaders of the United Democratic Movement, greeted thousands of well-wishers at the launch of their new party at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Saturday with thumbs up and clenched fists.

Delegates and supporters were treated to a showbiz-style launch which reflected the divergent political backgrounds of its leaders.

Women in distinctive burnt-orange traditional dress mixed with men in business suits.

Even in prayer, the party tried to be as inclusive as possible, with religious leaders invoking the power of the deities, the ancestors, God and Allah to bless the new party.

To the music of *The Impossible Dream*, Meyer and Holomisa walked on stage to unveil the party's name and logo.



United Democratic Movement

Holomisa seemed genuinely surprised at the huge turnout. The 1 000 delegates were joined for the afternoon launch by an estimated 6 000 supporters.

He turned to Meyer at one point and asked: "Roelf, where are all these people coming from?"

In his speech, Holomisa said that while the New Movement Process and the National Consultative Forum had spoken separately to people from all nine provinces, the concerns of these people were identical: crime, poverty, homelessness, corruption, education, and a failure to transform society for the benefit of all.

He called for a return to the principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme and criticised the Government for its lack of vision of how to ensure that "wealth trickles down from the haves to the masses without disadvantaging the wealth creators".

Holomisa called on the labour movement not to compromise its independence and to distance itself from the Government to "defend the hard-fought gains of their struggle".

New political party gets a luke-warm welcome

(304A)

ET 29/9/97

JOHANNESBURG: Within half an hour of the launch of the United Democratic Movement (UDM) on Saturday, 4 000 supporters signed up as card-carrying members, joint leaders Mr Bantu Holomisa and Mr Roelf Meyer said in a statement yesterday.

The fledgling party would have to capitalise on this initial support and sustain it through a massive recruitment drive in the coming weeks, UDM spokesman Mr Izak Retief said.

He said the party's leaders were developing a policy framework which would be adopted at the UDM's first congress planned for May or June next year.

But if Holomisa believes the party "deserves to be respected" as he indicated in a media conference after the launch, its reception from other parties has been luke-warm.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the UDM would always be seen as the "coming together of old apartheid bedfellows".

"People will vote, not on the basis of fanfare, but on our ability to create a better life for all," Mamoepa added.

The NP said the new party could be described as an ANC "splinter group" which would not be able to effectively challenge the ANC.

"The UDM has ... failed to spell out what they actually mean and what they stand for," NP spokesman Mr Daryl Swanepoel said.

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Peter Leon said the party welcomed political parties which would help develop democracy and break the hegemony of the ANC.

The Azanian People's Organisation said, while it was the democratic right for people to belong to the party of their choice, "it should not be forgotten that both Meyer and Holomisa are the products of the NP".

Freedom Front leader General Constant Viljoen said the launch of the UDM would contribute to a more logical arrangement of political parties in South Africa. — Own Correspondent

New political movement aims to challenge ANC at 1999 election

BD 29/9/97 (304A)

Kevin O'Grady

THE United Democratic Movement (UDM) — the new political party which was launched by Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer at the weekend — would fight for referendums on the death penalty and abortion on demand, according to policy guidelines released at the launch.

It would also fight for inclusion of representatives of the unemployed in the National Economic, Development and Labour Council, it said at the colourful launch ceremony attended by about 2 500 people at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The UDM would be led by ousted African National Congress (ANC) leader Holomisa and former National Party (NP) secretary general Meyer until its first national congress next June, where it would adopt final policies in the form of a manifesto for the 1999 election.

In its policy document on civil order, the party said the demand for punishment and retribution was "a legitimate and understandable ... sentiment".

"Ideological preconceptions should not be allowed to take precedence over this demand" and a referendum ought to be held to test the views of the public on capital punishment.

The party also proposed measures against criminals like the forfeiture of property, "destructive" financial penalties, compensation by criminals to their victims and lifelong incarceration. It suggested bribery and corruption be placed "on a par with crimes such as murder and rape".

The policy documents expressed support for many policies of the ruling ANC — particularly on housing, education and health — but said there were "shortcomings" in their implementation which needed to be rectified.

Speaking at the launch, Holomisa said the party's goal was to become the ruling party.

A resolution on fundraising adopted at a plenary session before the launch also confidently expressed the view that the UDM would defeat the ANC at the polls.

In his speech Holomisa called on UDM members who were members of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) to distance themselves from a call by Cosatu leaders to vote for the ANC in 1999.

The launch was attended by 100 delegates from each of the nine provinces, invited guests — including members of other parties like the NP and the Democratic Party, and about 54 diplomats — and hundreds of supporters.

Reacting yesterday to the party's launch, the NP described it as an ANC "splinter group" which would not be able to effectively challenge the ANC. Sapa reports the NP said the UDM had failed to spell out its plans for solving the country's problems.



New National Party leader Martinus van Schalkwyk addresses members of the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

NP expects to be ANC's future coalition partner

Kevin O'Grady

SA WAS likely to be run by a voluntary coalition government after 2004, in which the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party (NP) could be the main players, NP leader Martinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday.

Addressing a Johannesburg Press Club function, Van Schalkwyk said although the ANC was likely to retain its majority in the 1999 election — "and there is still a danger it may get a two-thirds majority" — this was not likely to last beyond the following election.

He predicted the ANC's alliance with the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) would last until the 2004 polls. Thereafter, the ANC, robbed of its absolute majority by Cosatu's withdrawal from the alliance, would "have to look for partners".

Van Schalkwyk said that while the ANC and NP would make "strange bedfellows", he could not "identify any other party as a likeable partner at the moment".

The political scenario would require a new approach from parties. Voters would be less emotionally attached to parties, which would "need to be very clear on what their policies are". Parties would also need to "make themselves attractive as alliance partners to other parties", he said.

Van Schalkwyk said the NP was still "keeping its options open" on the possibility of rejoining the government of national unity following the recent resignation of NP leader FW de Klerk, whose decision it was that the party should withdraw.

(304A) BD 30/9/97

The NP was not avoiding the issue but was first "concluding ... talks with other political parties and government leaders to see what the possibilities are".

The NP would not rejoin government for the positions or salaries on offer or in order to lift its profile ahead of the 1999 election. It would do so only if the move would not silence the party on important issues and jeopardise the notion of multiparty democracy, Van Schalkwyk said.

There was also scope for cooperation between the smaller parties, but only if there was agreement on policy and not just because they "oppose the same party for different reasons". Van Schalkwyk said the NP needed to "enter a new phase in our debate with the ANC" in which the NP was constructive in its opposition and the ANC recognised the need for effective opposition.

For a brief period after the 1994 election the parties perceived each other not as enemies, but as "just another political party". But "over the past year or two, a new bitterness has crept in," he said.

"We would like to enter into a new relationship with the governing party, (but) before that happens we must mend a few fences. We are willing to do that."

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, September 30 1997

Don't let Gauteng take our Bid away

Unless Cape Town acts soon, we could lose Parliament as well

ARG 30/9/97 (304A)

INSIDE STORY



Cape Town's political leaders cannot be trusted with planning the city's future because they are transfixed by their own party interests, says architect and former councillor Llewellyn van Wyk. **MICHAEL MORRIS** reports

A debilitating decline into cash-strapped provincialism is not, on the face of it, an immediate or even necessarily foreseeable threat.

But Llewellyn van Wyk argues that unless it is properly acknowledged as a possible scenario – together with the range of other opportunities and challenges that face the city into the next century – the prospect of Cape Town becoming the great world city it is potentially capable of being (and great, in the best sense, for its inhabitants) is dicey.

He believes South Africa has a good chance of winning an Olympic bid in, say, 2012 – especially if it follows the Greek example and ensures it has something like 70% of the facilities in place by then.

That would mean completing the facilities by 2005 and, to do that, a programme would have to be put in place right now.

But Cape Town is not the guaranteed choice as South Africa's bidding city, he warns.

And the consequences are broader than they may appear at first.

Mr Van Wyk suggests the following scenario: "Johannesburg submits a proposal to the state based on the argument that most of the facilities required are already in place.

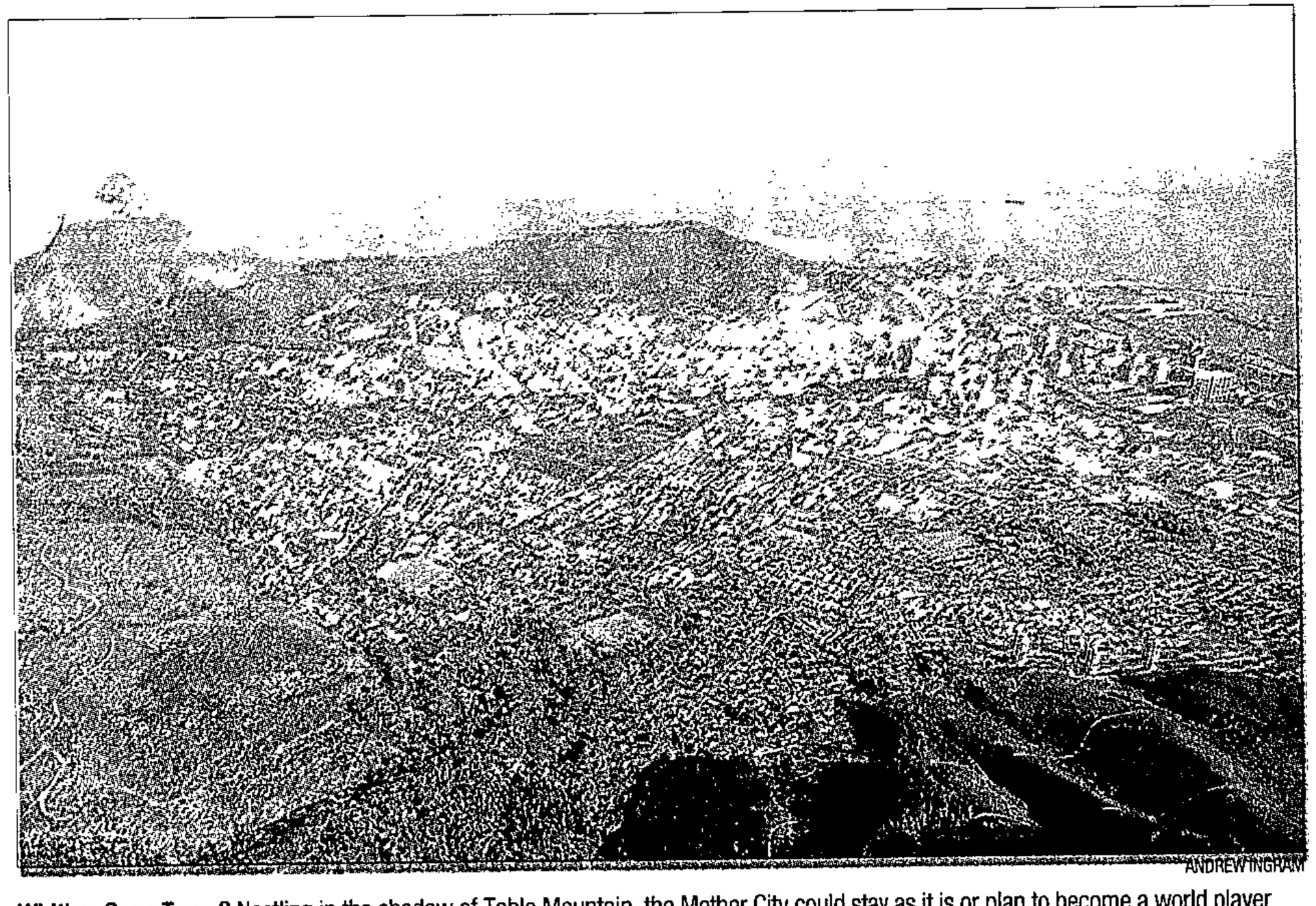
'Councillors are far more interested in their own narrow political interests and the 1999 elections'

"The airport is substantially complete; an athletics track exists; the Standard Bank Arena and Ellis Park exist; there are plenty of training and accommodation facilities with the university and technikon campuses; the only really decent rowing course is in Gauteng and the soccer stadiums which exist, like the First National Bank Stadium, are in predominantly disadvantaged areas and will satisfy developmental aspects as well as African aspirations.

"It takes the Olympics into cities like Soweto and Alexandra.

"As a result of this, the spending required by the state – which, in Cape Town's case, is about 75% – would probably be halved.

"On this basis, a case could be made to the state that they could then use the other half, which they will recover from income arising out of the Games, to fund the construction of a new parliament in Midrand.



ANDREW INGRAM

Whither Cape Town? Nestling in the shadow of Table Mountain, the Mother City could stay as it is or plan to become a world player

"Cape Town then suffers a double whammy: no Games, and no Parliament."

The essence is that this is no time to dither.

Yet Mr Van Wyk confesses to having "lost my faith in the ability of government in the metropole to address these issues in any meaningful way".

He accuses councillors of being far more interested in their own narrow political interests and of being focused on the 1999 elections – now a mere 18 months away.

He says they are providing "no leadership" and "no vision" to a city at a "serious crossroads".

"The vision stated in the Vision 2000 document of the previous city council, which was to make Cape Town one of the world's greatest cities, remains ignored."

What, then, is to be done?

Mr Van Wyk's first proposal is to create a non-governmental organisation, which he has tentatively called a "Millennium Institute", to prepare urban strategies, secure support for them, and lobby all levels of government to have them put in place.

"I see this as a think tank, a planning equivalent of, say Idasa (the Institute for Democracy in South Africa), to set the pace for the kind of planning initiatives which this city requires and which, frankly, I do not see developing in the present political structures."



Call for action: architect and former city councillor Llewellyn van Wyk

"I think that professionals of the built environment, the architects and planners, the engineers and builders, must take it upon themselves to organise an effective and informed lobby, and place pressure on all levels of government.

"Unless we do this, I am convinced that no advance in this regard is going to happen."

He cites the experience in Toronto in the 1980s.

"A lot of people were fed up with the way the city was developing and they set about doing something about it.

"They prepared a document called the Toronto Agenda and, in the next city elections, they endorsed candidates who supported the Agenda ... and it turned the city around.

"We are now faced with that opportunity in 1999.

"If there is sufficient strategising around what the city could and should be, and it is focused on the political campaign, we could get parties on board who have that vision.

"All we have at the moment is petty politicking, with individuals being transfixed by party interests, and any effort to claim credit for their parties."

The bid for the 2004 Games, he points out, was successful in forging common ground, and a common vision, for the city.

This was perhaps its most important legacy.

"Plans that have been produced over the years suddenly came together under the skilful hand of Peter de Tolly.

"Suddenly, the development of the Waterfront, the Foreshore, Culemborg, the Liesbeek basin, the Coast-to-Coast walkway, the pedestrianisation of Cape Town, and a host of other planning initiatives, such as the Metropolitan Spatial Development Programme, gelled into a single vision of immense potential for our city."

In the absence of a fresh, urgent planning impetus, Mr Van Wyk fears this vision will be lost to arbitrary, ad hoc decision-making conducted half-heartedly by local councillors more worried about their own political necks.

ANALYSIS

Apartheid baggage keeps power out of opposition's reach

Parties to the right of the African National Congress will struggle to win national power, argues **Farouk Chothia**

BD 1/9/97 (304A)

THE only successful challenge to the African National Congress (ANC) for power at a national level can come from a party which is on the left of the political landscape. None of the politicians to the ANC's right will ever rise to the presidency.

At best, a black opposition leader like Mangosuthu Buthelezi could find himself having junior status (like Zimbabwe's Joshua Nkomo) in a never-ending "unity government", while a white leader like Tony Leon will always remain on the opposition benches. Even if the black and white opposition politicians to the right of the ANC launch a new party at some stage, a possibility they are considering, they will find it extremely difficult to shed the perception that they are "apartheid-era leaders".

Leon falls into this camp because of the Democratic Party's (DP's) participation in the apartheid parliament, and the belief among blacks that he and his party remain committed to protecting white privileges. Buthelezi's participation in the homeland system, and the support he solicited from the apartheid government, will always count against him. However, his earlier activities — as an ANC Youth League member and as a leader who formed Inkatha with the backing of the exiled ANC — could help him become SA's version of Nkomo.

Many ANC supporters will agree among themselves that Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele and deputy speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile should be hauled over the coals for the scandals they have been involved in. But let DP, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) or National Party (NP) members say this to them, and the chances are that ANC supporters will defend the three to the hilt.

But their reaction will be different if Blade Nzimande, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Patricia de Lille or Bantu Holomisa raise the criticism. ANC supporters will agree, and probably even applaud.

These leaders — unlike the Leons and Buthelezis — have "struggle credentials". They are seen as being committed to improving the lot of blacks, rather than those leaders who are perceived to be continuing their pre-1994 role of bashing the ANC.

Who can blame blacks for reaching such a conclusion when Leon possibly even shames Helen Suzman by resorting to "rooi gevaar" propaganda in democratic SA, and comparing affirmative action to the apartheid government's job reservation policy? During a recent speech in Durban, Leon said: "Once you reject merit as your basis ... you find people are being preferred (for jobs) because they are Broederbonders or communists."

As a result of the historical fault lines, most voters will reject any opposition party — including a new one — which uses rhetoric of the apartheid government or champions policies which were rejected by liberation movements during the struggle era.

They will not vote for an opposition which demands privatisation because they are still wedded — emotionally, ideologically or materially as a result of their suffering at the hands of the private sector — to nationalisation. Nelson Mandela has found it difficult to persuade the ANC's constituency that privatisation is now a "fundamental policy" of the party. What makes opposition leaders think they will find it easier to convince voters that not only should there be privatisation, but it needs to take place more rapidly and extensively.

Furthermore, poverty-stricken blacks from the IFP — which champions conservative economic policies, and repeatedly accuses the "labour aristocracy" of preventing job creation — are switching their loyalty to the ANC, even though it remains in alliance with the Congress of SA trade Unions (Cosatu) and SA Communist Party (SACP).

Zimbabwe is a prime example of a liberated country where a host of opposition leaders from the right — who often hold "realignment" talks among themselves, as their SA counterparts have started doing — have not made a dent on Robert Mugabe's power, even though there is widespread disillusionment with his government. Nearly 20 years after independence, the only opposition figure in the Zimbabwean parliament is Margaret Dongo, who has "struggle credentials". Her strength comes from exposing Mugabe's "betrayal" of the revolution.



HOLOMISA

Granted, Frederick Chiluba — promising privatisation to the "toothbrush" — brought Kenneth Kaunda's rule to an end in elections held in the early 1990s. But Chiluba's policies have proved to be a one-term wonder, and he now resorts to the bullet to stay in power as his policies have been shunned by the electorate, who yearn for Kaunda's rule.

SA's existing parties to the right, or a new one which emerges, have a minimal contribution to make in bringing about a robust multiparty democracy. They will be rejected by the electorate and ignored by the ANC, as very seldom does a ruling party anywhere in the world act under pressure from an opposition which stands no chance of winning elections.

Like it or not, only a new left-wing party can defeat the ANC — one which can strike a chord with most blacks by invoking the names of revered leaders like Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani, and associating itself with documents such as the Freedom Charter and the reconstruction and development programme which the ANC has replaced with its growth, employment and redistribution document.

Although a former homeland leader, Bantu Holomisa has the "struggle credentials" to challenge the ANC. The ruling party seems to be aware of this. Why else did it take out a supplement in a newspaper, publish a booklet, and airdrop pamphlets in townships — all of which aim to link Holomisa to apartheid?

But Holomisa's mistake has been to enter into an alliance with Roelf Meyer, not to mention Sifiso Nkabinde (an alleged apartheid government spy) and Lucas Mangope (a homeland dictator).

One can argue that Meyer's "apartheid baggage" — he served as deputy law and order minister during the repressive 1980s — is offset by the fact that he had been the midwife of democracy.

But Meyer's "midwife" role counts against him. He forced the birth of a constitution which has frustrated the ANC's efforts to bring about land reform, and to remove the "old guard" from the police, army and public service.

It is still unclear what policies Holomisa will espouse, but he could position the party to the ANC's left on economic policy and to its right on moral issues, such as the death penalty. In this way, the party will be better placed to appeal to the ANC's constituency, and that of minority parties.

But when the ANC has its election guns blazing, how will Holomisa successfully defend a Meyer who negotiated a property clause which Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom was reluctant to see inserted in the constitution because he feared it would stifle efforts to make land available to blacks?

At the recent Durban meeting, Holomisa justified the alliance by saying Meyer was committed to bridging the gap between the "haves and have nots", saying: "We must swallow our pride."

In its worst context, the latter comment implies that blacks need whites (which conjures images of an inferior-superior relationship). Alternatively, it could be a call on blacks to reconcile with whites. If this is what Holomisa stands for, it reduces his chances of winning over ANC supporters.

Why should they switch their votes when the ANC advocates national reconciliation, which is being replaced by the more appealing call on people to be part of an African renaissance?

Still, Holomisa is the only leader who might be able successfully to challenge the ANC (but only in elections after 1999).

Cosatu and the SACP could also do so if they hive off from the ANC, as could parties such as the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) if they somehow manage to awaken from their slumber.

A recently released survey shows ANC support had shrunk to 53% by February this year. However, none of the parties to the right seem to have picked up the lost support, which implies there is scope for a left-wing party.

But if a Thabo Mbeki-led ANC believes there is such a threat, it will ensure that the tripartite alliance continues, and the PAC — and possibly even the black consciousness faction which wants to contest the next elections — could be invited into a new "unity government", along with the IFP.

It will mean the creation of a Patriotic Front, an idea mooted by liberation movements about a decade ago as they faced the prospect of constitutional negotiations. The revival of the idea could help Mbeki build the "national consensus" he wants to lead the African renaissance into the next millennium.

Cape to lobby for Parliament

(304A)

Linda Ensor

BD 1/9/97

CAPE TOWN — The ANC in the Western Cape would lobby for Parliament to remain in Cape Town, the provincial executive decided.

A special task team was appointed to spearhead the drive to win support both in the organisation and among parliamentarians.

Sources say that unless the ANC became actively involved in the campaign to have Parliament remain in Cape Town, it was likely that the campaign of the NP-controlled provincial government would backfire because of the latter's conflicts with central government over the delineation of provincial powers. Ultimately the provincial ANC would abide by the party's decision, a source said.

Fight on in ANC over Parliament

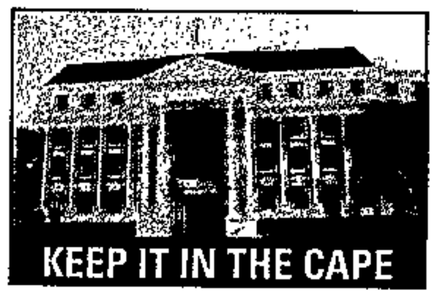
(304A)

KARIN SCHIMKE
POLITICAL WRITER

CT 2/9/97

THE ANC in the Western Cape is not going allow Parliament to move away from Cape Town without putting up a fight.

Provincial structures are questioning the process leading to a final ANC decision on where Parliament should be, and a committee was formed by the provincial executive of the party this weekend to find ways of keeping Parliament in the Cape.



Recent newspaper reports show a growing perception that the decision by the leading party to move Parliament to Pretoria had been all but taken by a sub-committee of the party's national executive committee.

Although sources in the Western Cape emphatically deny that this is so, the party is questioning the processes leading up to a final decision.

Mr Randall van der Heever, ANC MP and provincial executive committee member, said there was "discussion within the party about the processes and the extent to which provinces and MPs are involved in it".

Van der Heever, who together with ANC provincial Economic Affairs MEC Rev Chris Nissen, will lead the committee lobbying national ANC structures on keeping Parliament, said: "We must constantly look at processes and assess whether they do not marginalise certain sections of the party.

"We are at a very delicate stage now. We must be very clear that Western Cape MPs and the provincial executive are not marginalised in this decision.

"In the same way we would not like to see the rest of the country marginalised in making this decision.

"Where Parliament is affects the whole country, and the decision should be made in the interest of the whole country."

This sentiment echoes growing concern in other provinces and in other parties that the ANC is not dealing with the highly-emotive issue openly.

There is a demand for a full auditor's reports on the cost of keeping and the cost of moving Parliament, but so far most of the discussion in ANC structures has been behind closed doors, irking lobbyists for Parliament from all provinces involved.

● See Page 6

programme are available upon re

CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1997

Making sense in a hall of mirrors

CT 2/9/97 (30A)

IN THE SECOND article in the six-part Idasa series on the siting of Parliament, **RICHARD CALLAND** examines the politics that lie behind decision-making on the location of the legislature.

MAKING sense of the location of Parliament debate is like standing in a hall of mirrors. The harder you look the more confusing it gets. Myths abound. Hence, in order to begin to understand the politics, it is important to analyse the process.

The constitution is the starting point. It states that the seat of Parliament is Cape Town, unless an Act of Parliament decides otherwise.

Therefore, moving Parliament requires a proactive and decisive step. It is not as if the question is open and government is required to make a decision. It can opt to do nothing and leave things be.

If Parliament is moved with undue haste the sense of resentment could sour relations between the Mother City and the north for decades, at a time when SA needs to build unity.

Key people within the ANC are more than willing to take the necessary step. Whether as ministers shuttling between the two cities, or as ordinary members of parliament taken further away from both family and constituency (which in some cases, is a third point on a not insubstantial triangle), they have persistently pushed the notion of a move to the north since the new government came to power.

One is very sympathetic. Although the convenience of public officials is not, in itself, the highest priority, it is in the interests of the country that government operates efficiently and that MPs can properly service their constituencies. (Whether, in order to achieve these goals, it is necessary to move Parliament away from Cape Town is another matter. Other, more creative possibilities should surely be explored — a theme I shall return to later.)

What many of the non-Capetonians found when the new Parliament first convened in May 1994 was a city whose climate — both politically as well as meteorologically — was largely uncongenial.

By June 1994 a report had been compiled. Marked "Top Secret", it has never been formally published, which is not surprising when one examines its contents.

It could not be described as a balanced document. Like an affidavit in a divorce case, it gathers together the evidence against the one spouse, with scant regard for the feelings of the other.

Things then went quiet. The constitutional negotiations trundled along. To the irritation of the pro-movers, the Cape Town *status quo* was established. The ball was firmly in their court. Now, they have moved again — the ANC has resolved to finalise its policy on the matter.

Accordingly, a National Executive Committee (NEC) sub-committee was constituted, comprising Mr Tito Mboweni, Ms Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile and Mr Jeff Radebe. It has apparently adopted the same criteria as the 1994 report — namely, the costs of running the current system, the implications with regard to government efficiency and the projected costs of a single capital.

After the presentation of a draft report — which was delivered orally (no copies were distributed) — the NEC asked the three sub-committee members to tidy up certain aspects of the report prior to its final presentation at its October meeting, when one of three possible routes will apparently be taken.

The NEC will either make a decision and present it as a *fait accompli* to the ANC's December tri-annual conference; or it will present a recommendation or set of options for debate at the conference; or it will make a decision in favour of a move and then seek to implement it — in other words present a bill to Parliament before the end of the year in the (surely vain) hope that it will be passed, and that the logistical considerations can be surmounted by May 1999 so that the newly elected MPs can move into a new set of buildings immediately.

Whatever happens, the importance of public debate needs to be taken into consideration. The decision should not be rushed through. To do so would be to compound the divisiveness of the issue. If Parliament is moved with undue haste the sense of resentment could sour relations between the Mother City and the north for decades at a time when South Africa surely needs to build unity.

Moreover, if, as seems both appropriate and necessary, the Department of Public Works is involved in the compilation of the report, then it should be published. It should not be regarded as an internal ANC report. It would be a public document if public money has been used.

Then the question of the timing of its publication becomes important. The ANC is likely to want to wait until after the NEC decision. However, the making of the decision — that in reality is likely to decide the matter — without any opportunity for public scrutiny of the evidence on which the decision will be based, would be unwise.

The public must be given a chance to examine the evidence for themselves and to raise the level of what has, so far, been a sterile and superficial public discourse.

The public must be given the chance to examine the evidence for themselves and to raise the level of what has, so far, been a sterile and superficial public discourse.

Only then will the most critical questions emerge: have the right criteria been chosen? Are the figures fair or massaged? Does the balancing exercise attach enough weight to the socio-political questions surrounding what those in favour of Cape Town describe as the "unifying umbilical cord" of the link between Pretoria and Cape Town?

Finally, have more creative means of satisfying everyone been fully explored? Parliamentary procedure could, for example, be reformed.

It is surely not necessary for every cabinet minister to be in parliament for the weekly 30-minute question time. How many of the 26 ministers are likely to be questioned in that period? Why not reform the system so that, for example, the Minister of Transport is required to answer parliamentary questions for two hours on the first Tuesday afternoon of every other month? It would not only improve efficiency since the Minister could plan around this date, but would also increase parliamentary accountability.

And, secondly, as we have recently discovered at Idasa, with an Intranet linking our two main centres in Cape Town and Pretoria, information technology can make an enormous difference to effective internal communications.

We circulate minutes and attach documents, selecting recipients from a menu; we even "meet" via e-mail. It is cheap, quick, and very efficient. Has this possibility been studied and costed?

Because of the constitutional position, the burden of proof lies with those who advocate the move. For them to satisfy it — and to satisfy the public — will require the adoption of a good process. A good process, we believe, will produce a good decision. It remains to be seen if that principle will be respected.

❑ *Richard Calland is head of Idasa's Political Information & Monitoring Service.*

ANC 'secretive' on Parliament issue

CT 3/9/97 (304A

KARIN SCHIMKE
POLITICAL WRITER

DESPITE several affirmations that the question of where Parliament will be located would be up for open and public debate, there is growing dissatisfaction with the way in which the African National Congress is dealing with the issue.

Yesterday Western Cape acting premier Mr Gerald Morkel sent a letter to Public Protector Mr Selby Baqwa to request an urgent meeting.

In the letter he raised concerns about the manner in which the ANC has allegedly used state documents to prepare for a recommendation on where Parliament should be without making those documents available to the public.

There have been complaints — not only from other political parties, but also from independent groups — that the ANC has kept an independent auditor's report commissioned by the Constitutional Affairs Ministry and two reports from the Public Works and Transport departments out of reach.

The Cape Times reported yesterday that even the ANC provincial structures in the Western Cape were wary that they were being "marginalised" on the issue by the national structures of the party.

As ANC leader, President Nelson Mandela has warned high-ranking ANC members against making public their own preferences.

However, ANC sources have said there appeared to be three schools of thought within the party: those that wanted Parliament to stay in Cape Town, those that wanted it to move and another group that wanted a full investigation and feasibility studies on which to base their decision.

"This is a highly emotive subject and some of us want to be able to discuss it on a level where personal sentiment is of no concern," said one source.



SEEKS MEETING: Gerald Morkel

In his letter to Baqwa, Morkel makes it clear that his criticism is aimed at "a particular faction" within the ANC.

When addressing the National Council of Provinces last week, Mandela again gave reassurances that the matter would be handled "with great care".

He also said: "We must accept the fact that there should be one capital in this country. As to which one it should be, that must depend on the reports of the relevant committees that have been set-up."

This statement in itself was ill-judged, some have said, because it assumes the viability of the administrative and legislative arms of government being in the same city.

Mr Mark Wiley, of the National Party, said this had not been proven.

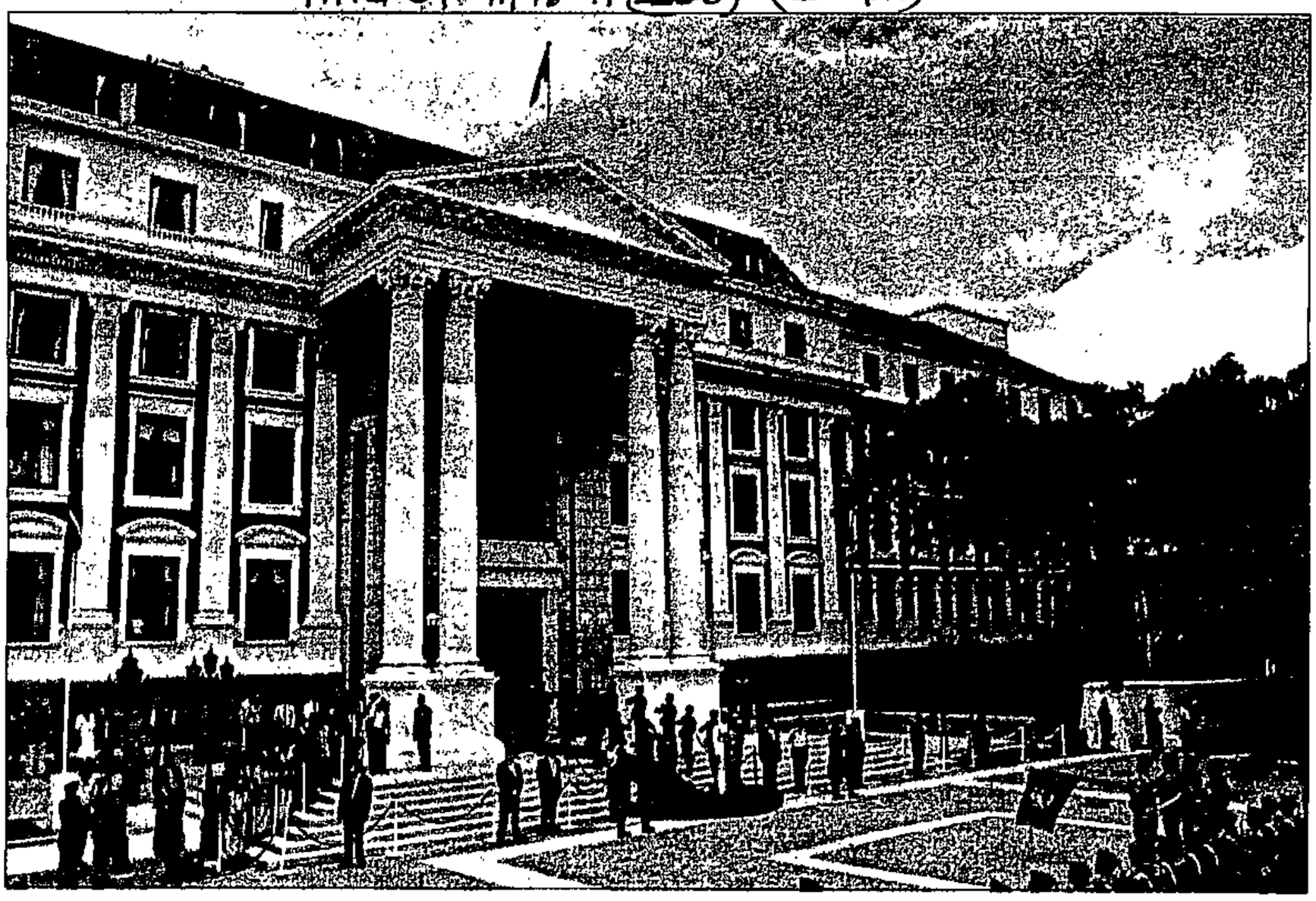
"If we had the opportunity to study true, corroborated figures and it is proven factually that the administration and Parliament must be in one city, only then can we look at how to improve the situation.

A sub-committee of the ANC's national executive committee is dealing with the issue and is set to make a recommendation in October which will be ratified at the party's conference in December.

Pretoria set to take Parliament

M+G 5th-11/98-97 (304A)

Cape Town's privileged position as the home of Parliament is slipping away, writes **Marion Edmunds**



Changing the guard: An old South African tradition — the opening of Parliament — may have to move to Pretoria. PHOTO: ERIC MILLER/I-AFRIKA

Management consultants KPMG have dashed Cape Town's chances of keeping Parliament with a finding that the cost of moving the country's administration to Cape Town would be a staggering R23,5-billion.

The African National Congress's pro-Gauteng lobby will use this figure to argue the cheaper alternative – that Parliament move to Pretoria, at an estimated cost of only R237-million.

The ANC dismissed the possibility of keeping the status quo -- Parliament in Cape Town and government in Pretoria — when President Nelson Mandela last week made it clear he believed South Africa should have one capital.

The cost of moving Parliament will be used to bolster pro-Pretoria arguments already set out in a special internal ANC report to its national executive committee (NEC) in July. This report indicates that the ANC's leadership is set on Pretoria and will not investigate the cost of locating Parliament in Bloemfontein or Midrand.

It also says that a decision about moving Parliament should be taken as soon as possible, and implemented quickly, to prevent the issue being taken up by opposition political parties as a campaign issue for the next elections.

This urgency, felt in the ANC's highest ranks, is demonstrated by a suggestion that normal tendering procedures for the creation of a new Parliamentary complex be short-circuited.

"The project need not be delayed by drawn-out tender procedure as there is a possibility of using a framework of a rapid delivery system for the procurement of essential infrastructure ..." reads the internal ANC report.

Removing Parliament from Cape Town could be particularly bruising for a vulnerable ANC in the Western Cape, particularly as the National Party has presented itself as the champion of the Cape's coloured people.

A sub-committee established by the ANC's NEC to investigate the issue has put the cost of running Parliament in Cape Town, away from the administrative centre in Pretoria, at R47-million this year. Relocating to Pretoria would cost R237-million and take 29 months, as opposed to the 11 years KPMG suggests would be needed to move the administration down to Cape Town.

While plans were drawn up by the public works department as far back as 1994 to convert a number of historic buildings adjacent to Church Square into a parliamentary complex, Pretoria has also indicated it has vacant land upon which government can build a new complex.

According to another recent KPMG study — on the financial impact of moving Parliament from the Western Cape — it is found that Cape Town would lose 8 715 jobs. The study says that the effect on the Western Cape's economy would be marginal, at 1%.

Parliament was estimated to have generated R860,7-million for the province this year.

Meanwhile, KPMG has broken down the costs of moving the administration to the Cape as follows: construction and land costs are put at R5,9-billion, the physical transfer of furniture and equipment, staff and their families at R3,2-billion, severance packages and rehiring of personnel in Cape Town at R236-million and the added social infrastructure needed in Cape Town to cope with the flood of public servants would cost R309-million.

The few Western Cape ANC members who have seen these figures are sceptical about their accuracy. Media reports on the ANC NEC's preference for Pretoria have added fuel to internal party debate on the issue, which was raging on and off in the ANC even before 1994.

While technically Parliament itself, with all parties, will take the decision on whether or not to move, the ANC as majority party will carry the vote. The NEC committee investigating the issue is headed by Minister of Public Works Jeff Radebe, and is backed strongly by Minister of Transport Mac Maharaj and Constitutional and Provincial Affairs Minister Valli Moosa. The NEC is to take a decision next month, to be ratified by the ANC conference in December.

The Western Cape ANC is mobilising to keep Parliament and is disgruntled that the pro-Gauteng lobby is not prepared to share the information on which it bases its arguments.

Ironically the research at the centre of the ANC row has been paid for by taxpayers, and government is accused of leaking documents to the ANC irregularly. Moosa, whose department commissioned at least two of these studies, fobbed off this accusation at midweek.

"Somebody must have given the ANC the documents," he said. "Is this really a story?"

However, opposition parties are outraged. National Party Western Cape MEC Gerald Morkel is taking the matter to Public Protector Selby Baqwa.

"We think it is very bad if government information is used to favour a faction in a political party. What if the Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi commissioned a study on immigrants and presented it to an Inkatha Freedom Party congress before it was tabled in Parliament?" he said. "The ANC would be angry. There is a matter of principle here."

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon criticised the ANC for blurring the lines between party and state: "This is outrageous. This is a sign of an advanced one-party syndrome. We are demanding explanations. We think this should be a parliamentary matter, discussed by a parliamentary committee."

A strategy team of Western Cape ANC MPs was due to meet this Friday to draw up a position paper to keep Parliament where it is. "This is not about finances," said MP Ben Turok. "This is a political decision."

'Secrecy' on Parliament slated

DP challenges Mandela to go for referendum

ARG 5/9/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President Mandela has been challenged to give the National Assembly full details of the decision-making process about the moving of Parliament – and whether he believes a referendum should be held on the issue.

The question was tabled by Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party, who has also requested a parliamentary debate.

It is unclear when the debate would be held, given the likelihood that the African National Congress will be reluctant to face a debate until its national executive committee has taken a decision.

Mr Andrew's motion asks the National Assembly to agree that it is important to foster national unity and that it is not desirable to centralise all institutions of national government in a province (Gauteng) which already accounts for about half of all South Africa's economic activity.

The motion also notes that technological development has revolutionised modern communications and has made long-distance interaction and information exchange easier and cheaper than it was in the past.

"Parliament does not belong to current MPs or to Cabinet ministers."

It says the decision-making process about the future seat of Parliament has been marked by an unacceptable level of secrecy, a lack of transparency and an absence of public participation.

The motions calls on the National Assembly to resolve that Parliament should stay in Cape Town and that should most MPs decide in a free vote that Parliament should be moved, a national referendum should be held before any final decision is taken.

A spokesman for ANC chief whip Max Sisulu said the ANC at national level had not taken a decision on the future of Parliament.

Mr Mandela had indicated that he wanted the decision-making process to be as inclusive and comprehensive as possible.

National Party whip Piet Coetzer, speaking in his personal capacity, said the NP's stated position was that there should be a free vote on the issue.

FM 5/9/97

OPEN DEMOCRACY BILL

Transparent when I say so

(304A)

Government is peculiarly opaque in writing its freedom of information law

The Constitution is perfectly plain: everyone has the right of access to "any information" held by the State — or by "another person ... required for the exercise or protection of any rights."

The reality, however, is anything but plain.

The Open Democracy Bill, initiated by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in 1994, has been wracked by controversy, passing through innumerable drafts to which, ironically, the public has had scant access. The Bill is meant to give constitutional right of access, and must be in place by 1999.

The original draft — which proposed special information courts — was shot down by former Chief Justice Michael Corbett in 1995 on cost and impracticality. A version of May this year, was distributed at a workshop last week convened by Idasa and other nongovernmental organisations in Cape Town. It does not seem to enhance transparency.

Since all Ministers have had time to study the Bill, some have inserted a variety of prohibitions on disclosure, on grounds such as commercial sensitivity; security of prisons and other government installations; threats to national security and defence; and even information that "might substantially jeopardise the financial welfare of the country or the ability of government effectively to manage the economy."

Since each government department is to get a dedicated "information officer," through whom requests will be channelled in tortuous procedures, these officers will be gatekeepers of "the public interest."

Some functions outlined in the Bill will be assumed by the Human Rights Commission. The Bill also states that further consultation is necessary before the person-to-person right of access — such as an aggrieved employee seeking to find out what is in his company files — can be legislated.

It is still not clear how the final Bill will look. Its revealed spirit, though, is to stifle public inquiry through complex procedures and mounting costs. Yet a version of the Bill has apparently been ratified by Cabinet, and could soon be tabled in parliament. The real issue is whether the ultimate product will itself be constitutional. **Peter Wilhelm**

SAT ARGUS 6/9/97 304.A

Political violence flares in townships

JULIAN JACOBS

The African National Congress and Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum have accused one another of dirty tricks as tensions between them grow in Cape Town's black townships.

The NCF accuses the ANC of setting fire to the house of the forum's local chairman.

But the ANC claims the NCF set fire to its own chairman's house to trump-up charges against the ANC.

The NCF is due to form a new party later this month with Roelf Meyer's New Process Movement.

The new party is widely seen as a strong threat to the ANC's power base in Cape Town's black townships where Mr Holomisa has strong support.

As tensions grow between the ANC and Holomisa supporters, an internal police letter has surfaced at the Guguletu police station, suggesting the possibility of attacks by the NCF against members of their own organisation in order to blame the ANC.

The letter, which was sent by the police internal security unit, warned that the NCF was bent on causing violence in Cape Town's townships.

In a recent Radio Xhosa interview, ANC ward councillor for KTC Gladstone Ntamo also warned residents that the NCF was about to start a war against the ANC.

Mr Ntamo said the NCF would burn down a house of one of its own members and put the blame on the ANC.

But the forum has dismissed the letter and Mr Ntamo's claim as propaganda to discredit it.

Over the past few months both groups accused each other of foul play and intimidation.

This came to a head last weekend when the house of the NCF chairman in KTC, Nceba Tyhobeka, was set alight.

Mr Tyhobeka laid a charge of arson and alleged the ANC was responsible.

Western Cape NCF leader Malizole Diko slammed the allegations that the NCF was planning to attack the homes of its own members.

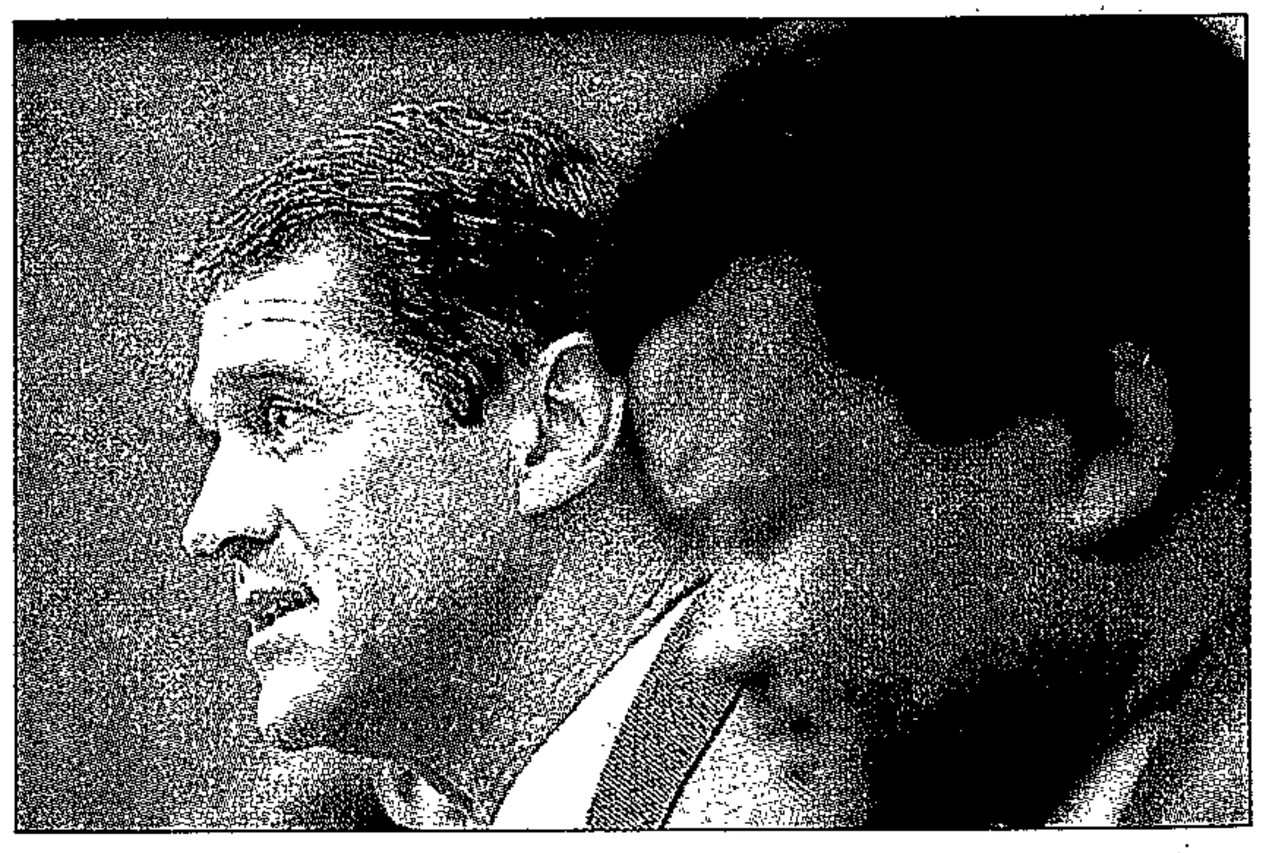
"If the police knew about the attack, why didn't they sit down with the culprits?

"They used to be the tools of the former government; now they are the tools of the present ANC government," Mr Diko said.

He said the NCF was an organisation that was committed to peace and had nothing to gain from causing violence in the townships. Mr Diko said the announcement by Mr Ntamo of a possible attack on the NCF was an old ANC trick to avoid blame.

There have been a series of fake pamphlets allegedly distributed by the NCF using letterheads bearing the ANC/SACP/SANCO logos.

In May this year the NCF allegedly copied names of ANC leaders from the voters' roll and put them on fake National Party letterheads to give KTC residents the impression that ANC leaders were NP supporters.



Unity: Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa at a press conference in Johannesburg

97 MPs have resigned in 30 months of new order

Star 8/9/97 (304A)

By March 10, a total of 77 members of both houses of Parliament had resigned – and last month saw the resignation of FW de Klerk.

A further 19 MPs have left since then – one, Dan Makhanya of the National Party, died. Most resignations are the result of party "deployments", particularly in the NP, while the ANC's deployment of MPs in the civil service continues.

Despite the perception of MPs opting for lucrative postings in business, there have been no additions to the list of MPs who have done so. The count is still 12 MPs – including seven from the ANC.

They are N T Majoli-Pikolo, Moses Mayekiso, Casca Mokitlane, Saci Macozoma, Marcel Golding and John Copelyn.

Jennifer Schreiner (ANC) joined the Department of National Intelligence and Thenjiwe Mtintso became the chairman of the Commission for Gender Equality.

The PAC expelled its former leader, Clarence Makwethu, for "undermining the party's constitution by fostering factionalism and by refusing to recognise" the new party hierarchy. The Rev Stanley Mogoba replaced him.

Danny Jordaan (ANC) pulled out to guide Bafana Bafana's international crusade (into the World Cup) as the chief executive officer of the South African Football Association.

The ANC's singing MP, Jennifer Ferguson, left to follow her singing career in Sweden.

National Assembly resignations:

- F W de Klerk (NP), retired.
- Roelf Meyer (NP), resigned and is now forming his own political movement.
- Jennifer Schreiner (ANC).
- Thenjiwe Mtintso (ANC).
- Clarence Makwethu (PAC), expelled.
- Danny Jordaan (ANC).
- Jennifer Ferguson (ANC).
- Gregory Fredericks (ANC), Department of Sports and Recreation.
- Piet Marais (NP), NCOP.

NCOP resignations:

- Alex van Breda (NP), retired.
- Atti Jooste (NP), retired.
- Mark Wiley (NP), to the Western Cape Legislature.
- Abraham Williams (NP), to the Western Cape Legislature.
- Charles Redcliffe (NP), to the Western Cape Legislature.
- Org Marais (NP) to the Gauteng Legislature.
- Abraham Balie (NP), to the Northern Cape Legislature.
- Kraal van Niekerk (NP), to the Northern Cape Legislature.
- Phillip Powell (IFP), to the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature.
- M Mncunu (IFP), to the KwaZulu Natal Legislature.
- Jackson Mthembhu (ANC), Chief Whip in the Mpumalanga Legislature.

This information has been provided by the Political Information and Monitoring Service of IDASA

'We must not lose Parliament'

W Cape urged to unite after Olympic failure

(304A)

ASHLEY SMITH
STAFF REPORTER

ARG 8/9/97

With the Cape Town's Olympic dream in the dust, politicians across party lines have vowed to fight to the bitter end to keep Parliament in the city.

National Party spokesman Chris Kohle said Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel would gladly have forfeited Cape Town's Olympic bid to keep Parliament.

The seat of government had to stay in Cape Town as it was vital to the economic growth of the province.

"Parliament is a long term thing, and although the Olympics would have been a major economic injection, keeping Parliament is even more important," he said.

Mr Kriel felt so strongly about the issue that the Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP) had been given an office by the NP to lobby financial and popular support.

Cameron Dugmore of the African National Congress said he feared the Western Cape would be further isolated from the rest of the country if it lost Parliament.

He called on the political parties to present a united front, or "we face the possibility of losing it."

Democratic Party spokesman Hennie Bester said Cape Town's failure to get the 2004 Games represented an opportunity for level-headed thinking about moving Parliament.

"Moving Parliament would seriously disturb provincial relationships in the country. It would lead to a very unhealthy state of affairs," he said.

Rumours that Cape Town would lose Parliament if the Olympic bid was successful would now finally be laid to rest.

"We must take hold of this opportunity to push for Parliament to remain here," he said.

Executive member of CAP Kevin Kevany said that although everybody was disappointed that Cape Town had lost the bid to host the Olympic Games, it was critical it did not lose Parliament as well.

"People in Cape Town have taken for granted the positive effects of having Parliament. These include diplomatic tourists and the massive conventions that are held in the Mother City each year," he said.

Losing the Olympic bid had given Cape Town a "stay of execution". Many people had linked a successful bid with the city losing Parliament.

"We have a couple of months to mobilise the type of support the bid enjoyed among Capetonians. We have to make people understand that losing Parliament would be a huge minus for the city."

He said CAP wanted to raise at least R1-million to employ experts to compare the costs of keeping Parliament in Cape Town with those of moving it to Pretoria.

Mr Kevany said figures indicating that it would cost less to move Parliament than to keep it in Cape Town were very misleading.

These arguments were being fuelled by "greedy people".

"Take away Parliament from Cape Town and a call for secession from the rest of the country will be well received," he said.

Van Schalkwyk wins race for Nat leadership

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARG 9/9/97

Marthinus van Schalkwyk was elected National Party leader this afternoon with a convincing majority of 75 votes out of 105 in a single ballot.

At 37, he becomes the NP's eighth leader since its founding in 1914 and its first to be elected since the NP left the Government.

The electoral college, chaired by outgoing national leader FW de Klerk, met secretly for just less than an hour at NP's Marks Building headquarters in Cape Town.

After the election, Mr Van Schalkwyk made an acceptance speech, followed by messages of support from provincial leaders.

He trounced three rivals, Kwazulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte, Gauteng leader Sam de Beer, and Northern Cape leader Kraai van Niekerk. Each of them received about the same number of votes.

More than 200 supporters, media, MPs from other parties and diplomats awaited the result..

Mr Van Schalkwyk told the cheering crowd: "Today the NP faces the future, we accept the challenges that lie ahead ... we can and will turn the tide of history."

A poster in the crowd, produced moments after the result was announced, read: "Marthinus the Nat-Ural choice".

Mr De Klerk said: "I am proud of the way in which this party held this election and we are all proud of our new leader."

Mr Van Schalkwyk was to address a press conference shortly after his election, and Mr De Klerk was to make his farewell speech to Parliament this afternoon.

NP leader was Matie lecturer, page 3

CONTENDERS LACK FW'S CHARISMA

De Klerk bids farewell to life in politics today

(3064A)

CT 9/9/97

POLITICAL ANALYSTS believe that none of the contenders for NP leadership will be able to develop F W de Klerk's charisma and rapport with coloured and Indian communities.

AN era comes to an end today when Mr F W de Klerk bids farewell to public life and politics.

He is tipped to be replaced by 37-year-old Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, the party's executive director who hails from Gauteng.

At 11.45am today on the steps of the Marks Building — the NP's parliamentary headquarters — De Klerk will introduce his successor to the media after a 45-minute electoral process where 100 members of the NP's electoral college will cast their votes.

Van Schalkwyk has emerged as a favourite, ahead of Mr Kraai van Niekerk, a former minister of agriculture and leader of the party in Northern Cape province; Mr Danie Schutte, party leader in KwaZulu-Natal; and Mr Sam de Beer, party leader in Gauteng.

Mr David Malatsi, leader of the NP in Mpumalanga and the only black member deemed fit to challenge for the leadership, withdrew in favour of Van Schalkwyk, whose career within the NP has improved dramatically in the past two years.

Revelations that Van Schalkwyk was a military intelligence agent seem to have failed to dissuade his followers and other NP provincial leaders from supporting him.

In Gauteng, Van Schalkwyk does not have the support of all NP members. Most black members of the NP in the province have rallied behind De Beer, who after the departure of Mr Roelf Meyer, became the liberal in the party.

Van Schalkwyk, however, has the support of three provincial leaders, some influential black members and the NP's youth formations. No black candidates or women have featured in the leadership race.

Political analysts have been united in their belief that none of the contenders will be able to set the political world alight and develop the kind of charisma and rapport with coloured and Indian communities that made De Klerk a popular leader in those communities.

The main issues facing the new leader will be whether to seek readmission to the Government of National Unity (GNU) and whether to continue with the political realignment campaign started by De Klerk.

Van Schalkwyk has declined to say if he will push for the party to return, but Schutte has openly said he will support such a move.

Two hours after handing over the reins to a new leader, De Klerk will bid farewell to Parliament, marking the end of a career that started 24 years and 10 months ago.

The NP's eighth leader will become the first party leader to be elected by an electoral college. All former leaders were chosen by the parliamentary caucus.

De Klerk's successor is to be elected by an electoral college which is in essence an extended federal council.

A total of 100 members represent the provinces, with Gauteng and the Western Cape having 14 each, KwaZulu-Natal 12, and the other six, 10 each.

The other nine members are: De Klerk, who will chair the electoral process, the leader of the NP Women's Action Mrs Marike de Klerk; leader of the Federal Youth Action Mr Boeije de Wet and the five deputy chairpersons of the federal congress — Mr Gerald Morkel, Mr John Mavuso, Mr P W Saayman, Mr S V Naicker and Mrs Sheila Camerer. — Own Correspondent



TIME OUT: Marthinus Van Schalkwyk takes a break from his busy schedule to spend some rare quality time with his three-year-old son Christiaan at their home in Welgemoed.

PICTURE: GARTH STEAD

'More of the same' say critics

Argus 10/9/97 (304A)

Doubt cast on Van Schalkwyk saving the NP

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The election of Marthinus van Schalkwyk as leader of the National Party has been greeted by a chorus of "more of the same" from other parties sceptical that he can save the NP.

Max Sisulu, chief whip of the African National Congress, said Mr Van Schalkwyk's election was not a break with the past: "It's just more of the same old NP."

Mr Van Schalkwyk, like his predecessor, had apartheid skeletons in his cupboard, Mr Sisulu said.

In a national statement, the ANC demanded clarity about Mr Van Schalkwyk's links to military intelligence, and MI's role on university campuses during the 1980s, as well as its links to third-force violence after 1990.

"The country and its people will judge Van Schalkwyk's quality as a leader on the strength of his choices to co-operate with the Truth Commission regarding his past activities and true extent of his personal involvement in the gross human rights violations that MI was involved in."

The New Movement Process of Roelf Meyer, former NP star, also dismissed Mr Van Schalkwyk's election as "more of the same".

Freedom Front spokesman Pieter Mulder said the departure of FW de Klerk and the election of Mr Van Schalkwyk meant the end of an era in Afrikaner politics.

"Afrikaner politics was never as fluid as now," Dr Mulder said.

The monopolistic hold of the NP on Afrikaner church and cultural organisations had been broken, and this meant that in future Afrikaners would choose their political organisations according to which would best serve their economic and cultural interests.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said Mr Van Schalkwyk faced a sombre if not impossible task in trying to breathe new life into the faltering NP.

"Never before has the party been in such a weak position – it cannot shed the baggage of the past, yet it lacks the depth of leadership to pull it convincingly into the future," Mr Leon said.

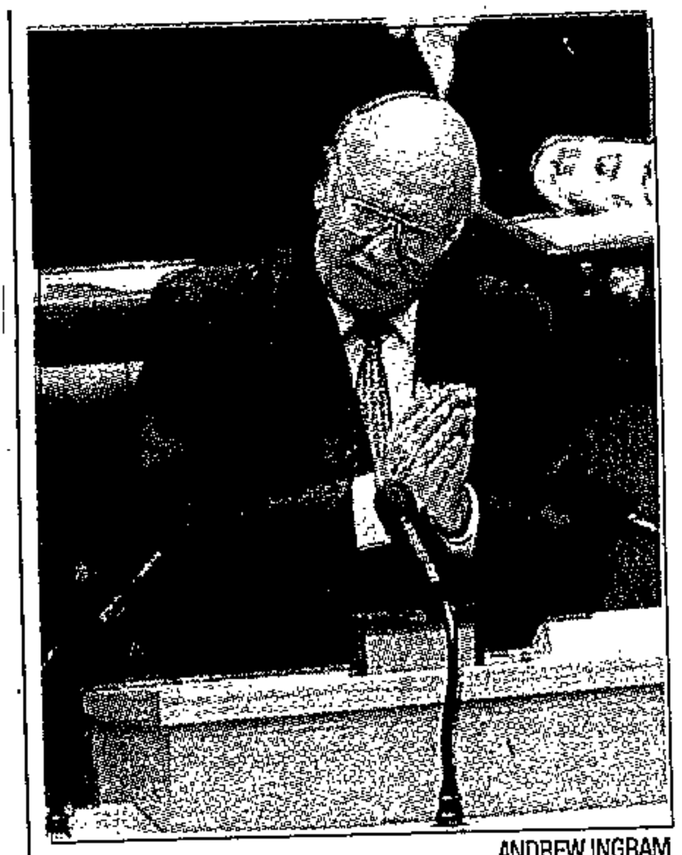
However, in a hint of amenability to future co-operation, Mr Leon said Mr Van Schalkwyk should take advantage of the support he had gained within the NP to prove the party's reliability in dealing with other opposition parties and gain something of value in the 1999 elections.



PIETER MALAN

New broom: Nat leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk and his wife Suzette meet the press

Mr Van Schalkwyk pledged himself to work with other political parties that shared his party's philosophy, and said: "We cannot continue to waste energy in fighting parties that, basically, agree with one another."



ANDREW INGRAM

Farewell: FW de Klerk in Parliament yesterday

Cheers, sniping as FW bows out

Argus 10/9/97 (304A)

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

FW de Klerk received a rowdy send-off from Parliament in a speech peppered by heckling from African National Congress benches and cheering by National Party supporters in the public gallery.

Mr De Klerk said it was poignant to stand at the podium as memories came flooding back. It was from there he had announced the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of "liberation organisations" and he added: "It was from this podium that the axe was put to the neck of apartheid."

In a pointed reference to the standards of decorum in the National Assembly, Mr De Klerk said he hoped the next generation of young MPs would "find ways and means to restore a culture of constructive, lively debate to which this chamber unfortunately does not lend itself".

Mr De Klerk apologised for actions and statements he had made as a cabinet minister and later state president. which had hurt others.

He said he bore no grudges, even against those who had branded him a traitor for his reforms.

He paid tribute to Marthinus van Schalkwyk, his successor as NP leader, as an intelligent, well-qualified young man with wonderful political acumen and the ability to rejuvenate the NP.

Steve Tshwete, Leader of Government Business, acknowledged Mr De Klerk's "brief moment in time" in dazzling the world with his boldness, but harshly criticised the former NP leader's alleged failures after 1990.

Kobus Jordaan of the Democratic Party said posterity would tip the scales in favour of the positive contribution which Mr De Klerk had made to South Africa.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, paid tribute to Mr De Klerk's contribution in the transition and to the accommodation which enabled the IFP to take part in the 1994 election.

'TIME TO BURY SPEARS'

New NP leader wants to get rid of cobwebs

CT 10/9/97 (3044)

JOHANNESBURG: At 37 he is the youngest head yet of a political party, but there is no time to grow into the job, Van Schalkwyk says, because of a host of issues.



YOUNG BLOOD: Marthinus van Schalkwyk and his wife Suzette outside Parliament yesterday. *PICTURE: AP*

NEW National Party leader Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, 37, has pledged to transform the party, and to work with other opposition parties.

In his first speech after winning the leadership race (75 out of 105 votes) Van Schalkwyk said he would change the NP into a "lean, mean (machine) fast on its feet".

However, he could not give a commitment on whether the party would return to the Government of National Unity. The issue is expected to arise when the party leadership debate their strategy under the new leader.

But the defeat of KwaZulu-Natal leader Mr Danie Schutte, understood to have received 11 votes to Northern Cape leader Mr Kraai van Niekerk's 10 and Gauteng leader Mr Sam de Beer's nine, shifts the party away from re-entry.

Also, Van Schalkwyk is today expected to announce whether the party would continue with its legal action against the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

He went on to predict that after the 1999 elections, no political party would get voter support of more than 50%. In 2004 SA would be governed by a coalition, he said.

He used his first speech as official opposition leader to attack the ANC for committing the same mistake as the NP in 1948 when it came to power.

He said it was time the ANC lived up to its commitment that SA belonged to those who lived in it.

"Somehow they create an impression that they govern in the interest of their supporters only," he said, speaking in the debate on the leader he replaced, Mr FW de Klerk's farewell speech to the National Assembly.

The new leader also called for a new role for Parliament.

"It is time to bury the spears. Its time to jointly build. Parliament and our democratic processes must never become the AK-47s, the Casspirs and landmines of the new South Africa.

"Instead of a battlefield, Parliament must become a building site. The battle of ideas is the lifeblood of democracy, the building block of the new SA home, with a place for all its children," he said.

He described himself as a young and proud Afrikaner who belonged to a generation which believed in excellence and not mediocrity.

All provincial leaders pledged their support, loyalty and resources to Van Schalkwyk.

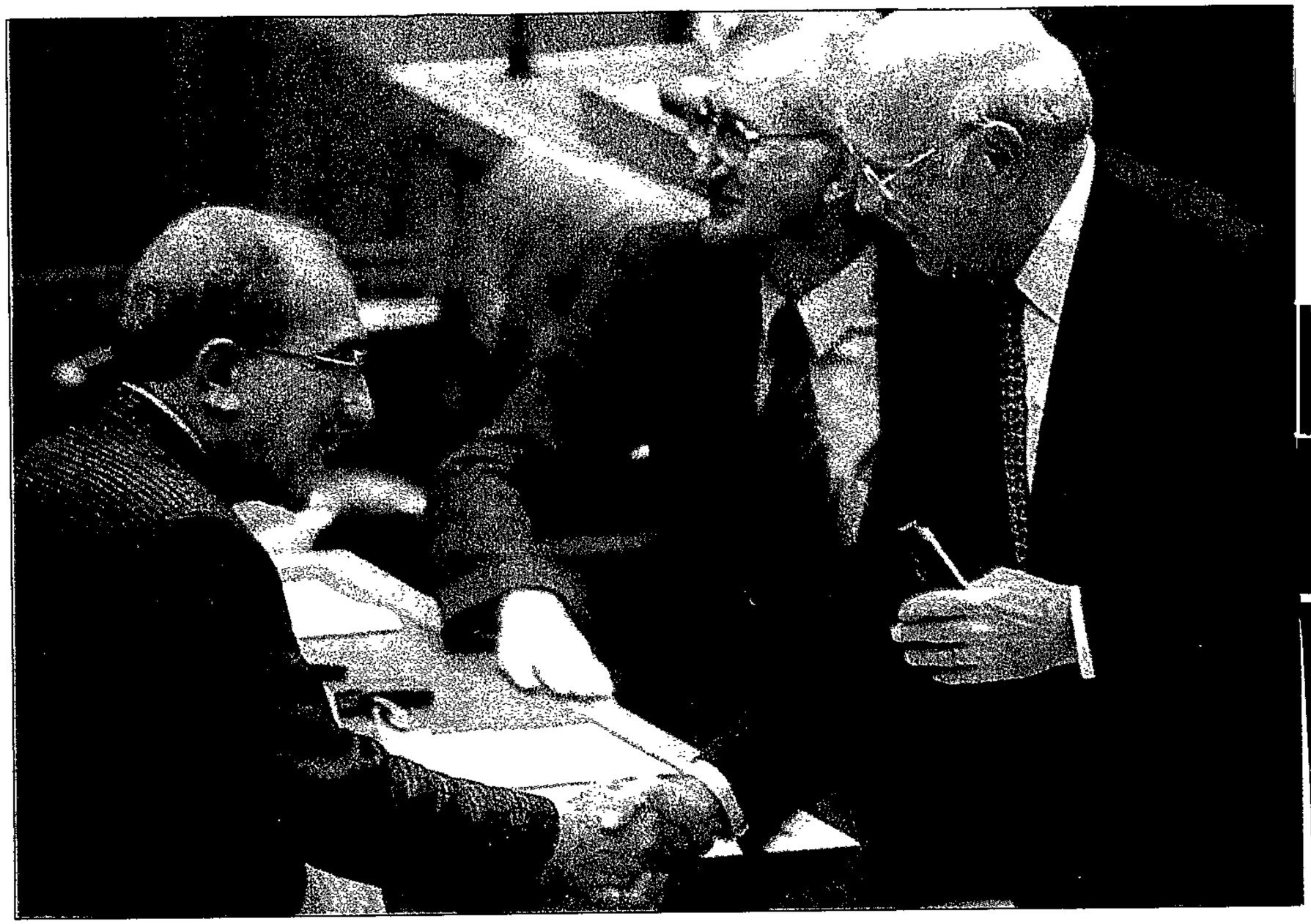
Schutte said he supported the new leader and the party's decision to rejuvenate itself.

The NP's Mpumalanga leader Mr David Malatsi was "extremely excited", hailing his "friend" as a leader of the future, young enough not to be tired after the election.

The NP's Northern Province leader Mr Andre Fourie said although a generation had been skipped, he and other older members of the party supported Van Schalkwyk.

"He's got all the makings of a good leader. He has good political acumen, is intelligent and a good strategist. If anyone can use the window of opportunity created by De Klerk, it is him," Fourie said.

In his farewell speech, De Klerk said he believed the NP would play a significant role in the future. It would spring a few surprises, as it had done many times in the past, he said. — Own Correspondent



SWAN-SONG: Outgoing NP leader FW de Klerk is congratulated by the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, Kader Asmal (left), after delivering his farewell parliamentary speech yesterday. *PICTURE: ALAN TAYLOR*

Boos, applause as FW takes his leave

POLITICAL STAFF

WITH a smile on his face and a song in his heart, former President FW de Klerk bowed out of politics yesterday.

In an emotional speech to the National Assembly, punctuated by boos from the ANC backbenchers and applause from about 400 NP supporters in the public gallery, De Klerk said he had no regrets about leaving politics. He, however, acknowledged some of his past decisions might have hurt other people.

The former leader was proud to deliver his swan-song on the same podium from which he had freed President Nelson Mandela and unbanned the ANC and other political organisations in 1990.

He, nevertheless, said he also remembered the mistakes and lost opportunities during "a wonderful career" in which God had presented him with a host of "rare opportunities".

De Klerk said one of the things which most worried him about South Africa was that minorities were feeling marginalised. He said it was imperative to build the country where all people "feel accepted and safe".

Significantly, President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and most senior cabinet ministers were not present for De Klerk's final speech. Only Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Pan Africanist Congress leader Dr Stanley Mogoba and African Christian Democratic Party leader Mr Kenneth Meshoe were present.

Sports and Recreation Minister and Leader of the House Mr Steve Tshwete struck a negative chord during the tributes by political party representatives.

He reminded De Klerk that as Interior Minister, he had declared him "persona non-grata" in the 1980s and forced him into exile. However, Tshwete said De Klerk's February 2, 1990 reform speech had "set South Africa on the road to freedom".

He tempered this remark with a jibe that this was "a brief moment" in which De Klerk "dazzled the world". Tshwete said that De Klerk was marginalised by conservative elements in his party after taking "this courageous step" and this was a tragedy.

Tshwete said De Klerk had quit the NP ship just as it was sinking "into the dustbin of history".

Buthelezi, the Acting President, praised De Klerk for his honesty "on all occasions" and the part he had played in the transition from apartheid. He also praised him for backing the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for international mediation on the Constitution when the ANC failed to carry out its promise.

He reserved special praise for De Klerk for acknowledging his own role in encouraging the former NP government to free Mandela and unban the ANC.

Seat of Parliament 'a political issue'

Cowetan 11/9/97

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent (304A)

THE debate around the seat of Parliament is not the same as the one around the Olympic host city and the decision about it should be political, Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala said yesterday.

Parliament's seat has become a hotly debated issue. A week ago when it seemed that Cape Town would win the bid to host the Olympics in 2004 the impression was that Pretoria would also get the seat of Parliament.

However, that scenario had changed after the failed Olympic bid.

Ginwala told Parliament that it was a reality that South Africa inherited a government administration situated in Pretoria while the legislative body was based in Cape Town.

She said the debate should be broader because nobody had mentioned whether the administrative centre should be moved from Pretoria to Cape Town or, whether for developmental reasons, an entirely new capital should be be agreed upon.

● Turning to the high incidence of theft at Parliament, Ginwala said that new measures would soon to be put in place to tighten up security. But a balance had to be attained between keeping "an open and accessible Parliament and having the necessary security".

Speaker warns that Parliament's future should go beyond emotions

Star 11/9/97 (304A)

By Jovial Rantao
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala has cautioned that the debate about the future seat of Parliament should go beyond emotions and sentiment to touch on the real issues affecting the functioning of the national legislature.

Ginwala told a media briefing in Parliament yesterday that the debate about the location of Parliament went beyond "bricks and mortar" and financial considerations. She said the issues of the seat of Parliament needed to take on board how a legislature and MPs should function.

"Now the problems that MPs face have not even been debated in the kinds of media debates and the disputes between the two cities. We're not the Olympic Games, where cities bid and say 'Come, we've got nice facilities here'. It's a political decision.

"We have, perhaps, in our transition certain unique facilities in terms of where MPs come from. In five to 10 years' time, hopefully, MPs will be living right across the country. They won't come from a particular place. Ministers won't come from a particular centre. South Africa has many urban centres and hopefully we will get MPs from rural areas and ministers from there as well. So when we're looking at the location of the legislature, we need to take all of that on board."

Ginwala said in principle she agreed with President Mandela that SA should have a single capital. The ANC is expected to announce its decision soon.

Meanwhile, the DP has objected to the centralisation of national government institutions in Gauteng and to the decision on the location of Parliament being left in the hands of the ANC.

Ginwala also announced that Parliament is to introduce a new electronic security system to curb escalating theft from offices in Parliament.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi revealed recently that 2 900 items were stolen from Parliament in the past nine months.

Video democracy goes on trial

ARG 11/9/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Stand by for the age of tele-democracy, with video-conferencing between Parliament, Tuynhuys and Pretoria – but don't think this means Parliament will stay in Cape Town.

Frene Ginwala, Speaker of the National Assembly, said a trial run of the tele-democracy system would start on September 22.

A pilot project had gone well.

"It has tremendous implications for Parliament if we extend it across the country, because Parliament has to communicate with the executive, but that's only part of its communication. The most important is its ability to communicate with the population."

Dr Ginwala did not believe the new technology had a bearing on the issue of the seat of Parliament.



Technology important: Frene Ginwala

"It's not the problems you're facing in 1994 or 1999, it's a long-term decision, and we've got to look at how and the best way it's going to be possible for MPs to be involved in the process.

"Technology, wherever we are, is going to be extremely important."

She agreed with President Mandela that Parliament and the executive should be in the same city "unless we work out a totally different system of functioning".

Dr Ginwala said no one seemed to have argued that the executive branch should come to Cape Town.

"After all, if we're supposed to be monitoring departments, does Mohammed go to the mountain or the mountain come to Mohammed?"

Another issue was whether a third place should become a consolidated capital.

It is believed a parliamentary debate on the topic is unlikely before the African National Congress has decided its position on the issue.

Midrand welcomes widening of debate on move

Johannesburg – The Midrand Metropolitan Local Council has welcomed widening the debate on one capital city for South Africa.

"This is the first sign of intelligent grappling of the issue rather than a short sighted 'bricks and mortar' approach," the council said in a statement reacting to comments by Speaker Frene Ginwala.

At a briefing in Cape Town yesterday, Dr Ginwala said the debate on the seat of Parliament or government should go beyond brick-and-mortar facilities and finance. – Sapa

Veil drawn over probe into cost of Parliament

(304A)

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARG 11/9/97

The Government has refused to release the findings of a group of independent auditors into the costs of having Parliament in Cape Town while the executive is based in Pretoria.

Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe, replying to a question in the National Assembly by Kobus Jordaan of the Democratic Party, said that "given the sensitivity of the issue" the Government did not want to release the report until all such studies were completed.

Mr Radebe said auditors KPMG were commissioned by the Department of Constitutional Development to investigate the comparison of Cape Town and Gauteng as the location for the legislative authority.

The auditors were also asked by Constitutional Development to assess the economic impact on Cape Town should Parliament be moved.

Mr Radebe said the Government was committed to releasing the commissioned reports as public information "as soon as possible".



Van Schalkwyk moves to boost reconciliation in NP

ARG 11/9/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Marthinus van Schalkwyk, newly elected leader of the National Party, has ordered a review of all disciplinary action within his party to boost reconciliation within its ranks.

But on the main issue facing the party – whether to continue its Cape High Court action against the Truth Commission – he held back from committing himself to any course of action.

The NP would wait for commission head Desmond Tutu's return from the United States to discuss the issue personally with him, Mr Van Schalkwyk told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu's apology to the NP about the commission's conduct was "deeply, deeply appreciated", Mr Van Schalkwyk said.

He really believed a settlement on the issue could be reached, but said Archbishop Tutu's attitude contrasted strongly with other "elements" in the TRC.

While the NP was not running away from the commission, "it's so obvious the dice are loaded against us". It was clear that the commission was an important part of the African National Congress's election strategy against the NP and its other opponents.

Asked about Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel's reported intention to axe ANC members from the provincial cabinet, Mr Van Schalkwyk said he had "a lot of sympathy" for Mr Kriel's stance. The ANC MECs controlled some 58% of the provincial budget, but had had a very destructive approach of late.

The rest of Mr Van Schalkwyk's address served to call to mind his background as a political analyst, as he finds his feet at the helm of his party and as the Leader of the Opposition in Parliament.

In his analysis, it was clear the ANC would win the 1999 election, but this did not mean NP supporters should lose all hope. He believed the party would retain the Western Cape, could win a share of government in Kwazulu-Natal and could win the Northern Cape.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said meetings were being set up with other political parties.

He continued to project his party's openness to political realignment: "There is not one party on the political scene we regard as a permanent enemy or a permanent opponent."

Referring to Roelf Meyer's New Movement Process, Mr Van Schalkwyk said that, while he did not preclude future co-operation, it was still not known what the NMP stood for.

■ Another Pretoria NP stalwart, Takis Christodoulou, a member of the Gauteng Legislature, has joined Mr Meyer's NMP.

The writing's on the wall for one capital — CAP

(304A) ET 11/9/97

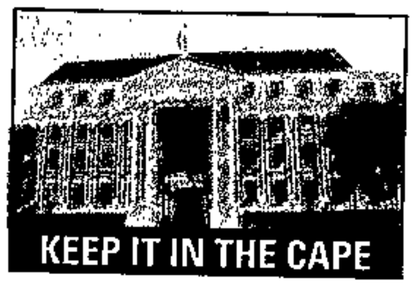
DIANE CASSERE

ABOUT 1 500 parliamentary workers yesterday staged a protest to keep the institution in Cape Town.

They sported yellow stickers saying "Stop forced removals — keep Parliament in the Cape".

And they decked the walls of Parliament with posters: "The very place that ordered the forced removal of Capetonians wants to force another removal. This time it's jobs."

However, not everyone agreed with the sentiment, calling it "emotional".



The posters were distributed to parliamentary workers by the Citizens Alliance for Parliament (CAP).

It was based on advertisements the Cape Times placed in newspapers to support the campaign to keep Parliament in the Mother City.

CAP executive-director, Mr Kallie Hanekom said some 10 000 jobs could be lost.

He added: "The people of the Western Cape have never been consulted. CAP has never been consulted, nor have we ever been given any figures to comment on."

National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union members at Parliament were angry their union had not yet consulted them.

They alleged they were forced to suppress their anger and outrage because their leadership was Gauteng-dominated.

Mr Fred Pheiffer, chairman of the Parliamentary Staff Union said yesterday: "If Parliament is forced to move, general staff will be forced out because managements are looking after their own careers and pandering to the politicians."

The chairman of the Pretoria Capital Initiative, Mr Peter Maluleka, said he understood Capetonians' "emotional response to our bid", but it was not cost effective to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

Maluleka, also the Pretoria Metropolitan Council head, said Parliament did not belong to either Pretoria or Cape Town, but to the nation.

ANC MP Mr Moss Chikane said of the posters and stickers: "This is not an emotional issue, but it is about how best we can save resources.

"Before we think of the benefits to one city we must look at the interest of the collective, the taxpayer, and we must answer this unemotionally.

"In the interest of national unity, no centre should say we are better than the rest."

Chikane said the main issues were cost cutting and national unity: "The original question was not whether Parliament should be in Pretoria, but how cost effective it would be to have one capital rather than keeping things as they are.

"I will say up front that I am from Pretoria, but I have no complaint with Cape Town.

"The people are nice and so is the climate. I have no axe to grind against the people of Cape Town."

Chikane conceded Parliament contributed to Cape Town's economy. But he urged the city to emphasise its potential as SA's tourism capital.

Parliament: Heed Cape's legacy

(304A) CT 11/9/97

DERRICK MARCO

THE people of the Western Cape are divided along lines of interest, need, concern and beliefs, all of which do not neatly coincide with party-political preference. Many of them meander in a political vacuum, uncertain about past convictions and about what the future holds out for them.

It is these people — their lives, histories, pain, suffering and their hope for a better life — that ought to have a voice in discussions regarding the relocation of Parliament. However, the majority of the Western Cape's people appear indecisive, unable to articulate and assert their point of view. It is striking, for example, how little debate and informed positioning there are around new national directions in public policy, in healthcare, education, welfare and economics.

There is scant evidence of the province, a place where millions live, exerting a profound influence on national thinking. The silence could be interpreted as parochialism, even an antagonism towards nation-building. It is better understood, I believe, as a result of thin political leadership and a disorganised and fragmented civil society.

It is simply not easy to energise the Western Cape in an engagement with national debates.

So, too, the matter of the location of Parliament.

Our economically privileged citizens appear inwardly focused on the accumulation of assets and capital, aided by those fleeing from the crime-ridden economic capital of our country, Johannesburg. Asset-building in crime-free zones is their concern.

The people of and beyond the Cape Flats, removed from the property markets, are more worried about the growing battle between organised crime and vigilante-type groups, battling for space and dignity in overcrowded working-class and lower middle-class neighbourhoods; and then, of course, there are the slums. Between these poles, there is pathetically little concern about what happens to a national resource such as Parliament.

There should be concern about what happens to the people employed by Parliament. About 1 000 employees will be affected, all of whom have financial and familial obligations. Relocated or retrenched, the burden will run into millions.

Sentiment seems to be that Parliament ... does not make a significant difference to their lives. This reflects an apathy that stands in stark contrast to the birth and growth of a new nation.

There is little grasp of the impact that the moving of Parliament will have on the province. The general sentiment seems to be that Parliament meant little to people in the past and it does not make any significant difference to their lives now. This negative attitude reflects an apathy that stands in stark contrast to the birth and growth of a new nation. Yet it is also a judgment against the national leadership's inability to take the entire nation along with it.

Given the manner in which the debate has been conducted, the failure to engage civil society in the debate, it is easy to conclude that the Western Cape is not being recognised as a part of the new South Africa.

I believe that once there is public debate, once people begin to feel included in the process, they will begin to recognise the value and significance of keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

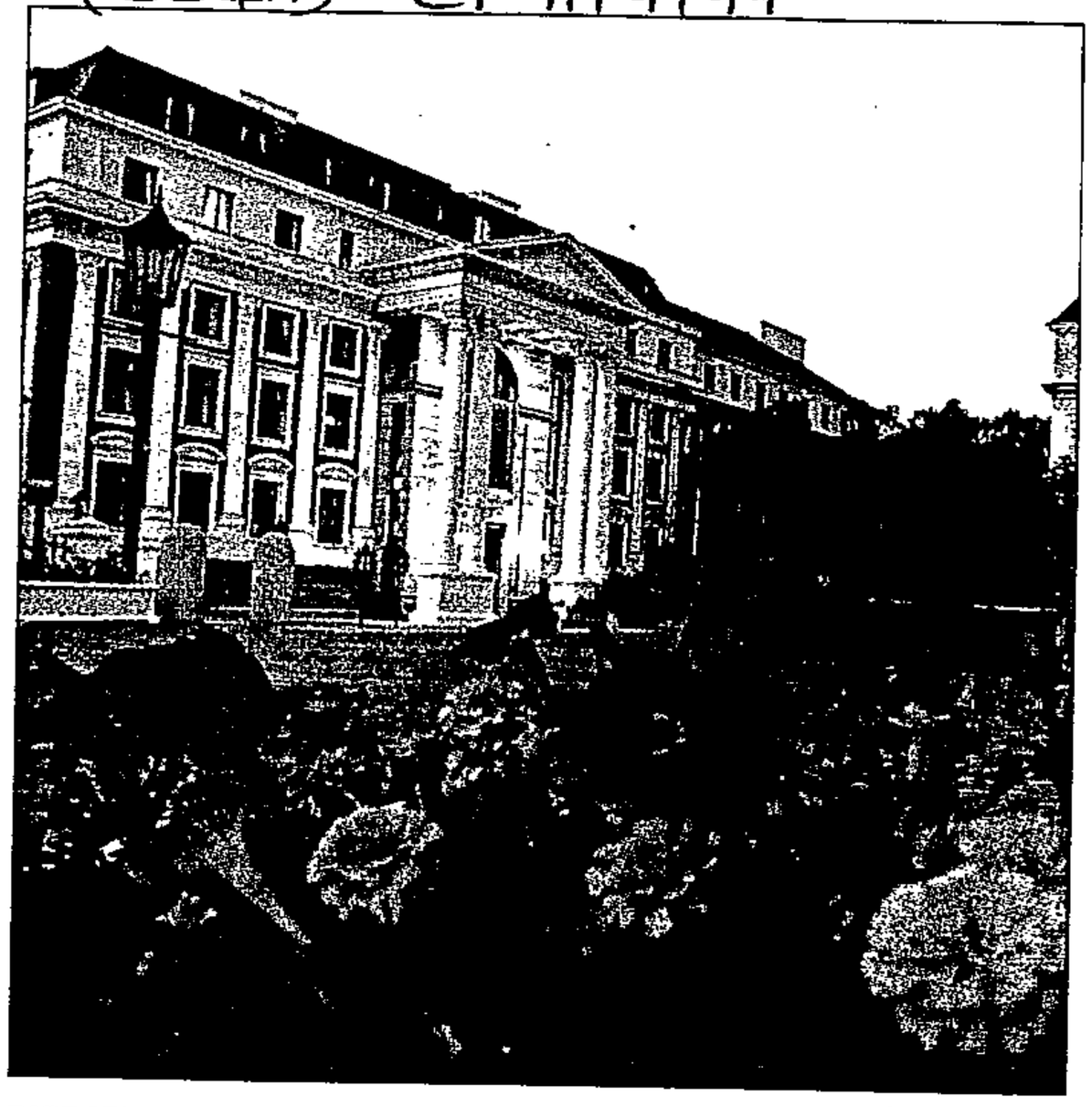
Cape Town's history is not only one of colonial domination. Cape Town was also the arena in which slaves struggled for their freedom in the 19th century and, more recently, one of the main places in which the struggle for democracy took place.

This reality also needs to be recognised. How better to recognise it than to locate a democratic institution here?

It is important to note the political, economic and social arguments that have been raised by those in favour of keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

These organisations and individuals need to make the people in the Western Cape aware of these issues and they need to engage them in this critical debate. Only then will the significance of Parliament as a democratic institution located on their doorstep become meaningful to them.

Derrick Marco is director of Idasa's Democracy Centre in Cape Town.



PART OF THE CAPE'S HERITAGE: Cape Town's history is not only one of colonial domination, it was also the arena in which slaves struggled for their freedom in the 19th century and one of the main places in which the struggle for democracy took place.

Silence on cost of split seat of power

(304A)

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Star 12/9/97

Cape Town – The Government has refused to release the findings of a group of independent auditors into the costs of having Parliament in Cape Town while the executive is based in Pretoria.

Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe, replying to a question in the National Assembly by Kobus Jordaan of the Democratic Party, said that, "given the sensitivity of the issue", the Government did not want to release the report until all such studies were completed.

Radebe said auditors KPMG were commissioned by the Department of Constitutional Development to compare Cape Town with Gauteng as the location for the legislative authority.

The department also asked the auditors to assess the economic impact on Cape Town if Parliament is moved.

And the Public Works Department had asked them to report on the financial and related implications of moving central government department head offices from Pretoria to Cape Town, Radebe said.

The reports were completed in November 1995 and January 1997.

The Department of Public Works had so far received only a draft report from KPMG.

Radebe said the Government was committed to releasing the reports as public information "as soon as possible, to assist in a serious and sober consideration of this very important matter".

Parliament should not be treated as a political rally

BD 12/9/97 (304A)

As parliamentary proceedings dissolve into singing, dancing and clapping, political correspondent **Wyndham Hartley** wonders where the country's highest legislative institution is headed



Speaker Frene Ginwala, left, has eased the dress code for visitors to Parliament but she faces an uphill struggle if populist mobilisation tactics like those used by the ANC and Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom, centre, before last week's Extension of Security of Tenure Bill vote, and the National Party upon former NP leader FW de Klerk's farewell to Parliament, are to be kept in check.

LAND Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom had a broad smile on his face when he, and just about the entire African National Congress contingent in the National Assembly, began singing and toyi-toying on the floor of the house. The occasion was last week's vote on the Extension of Security of Tenure Bill in the National Assembly. The galleries were packed with farm workers and they too sang and toyi-toyied while the bells rang for the required three minutes to summon MPs to the voting.

The triumphalism of Hanekom and his ANC colleagues was in sharp contrast to the gloomy expressions on the faces of MPs in the opposition benches. Particularly those in the National Party who were bitterly opposed to the legislation securing the land tenure rights of farm workers on farms which they did not own. The Nats insisted the house divide and votes be recorded for and against the controversial measure.

Hanekom had presented the bill to Parliament as a victory. There were loud cheers of support from the farm workers in the gallery. On one level it was simply the ANC looking after its left flank, where the National Land Committee has been exerting pressure for more deeply entrenched land rights. It is not the first time the ANC has used a struggle metaphor to consolidate political support for its legislative action inside the assembly.

Then, this week, when retiring NP leader FW de Klerk bade farewell to Parliament, ANC backbenchers entered the chamber to find, to their surprise, the public galleries were crowded with NP supporters. The faithful clapped mightily each time the former president made a point, and drowned out interjections thrown at De Klerk from the ANC back benches.

One ANC MP had clearly had enough and demanded a point of order from Speaker Frene Ginwala. She asked whether it was correct for the public gallery to clap so loudly. This was drowned out by a further round of applause for De Klerk from the gallery. When Ginwala finally managed to restore order sufficiently to get a word in, she said that the new Parliament had allowed applause to be expressed from the public gallery, but stressed that it should not be disruptive. She dismissed the point of order. De Klerk, with a smile, gave the speaker and the house the undertaking that he and his followers would not dance in the house. Hanekom had the grace to look embarrassed.

The ungracious ANC behaviour at De Klerk's final speech was compounded by a vicious political attack on him by leader of government business in the National Assembly Steve Tshwete which apparently embarrassed many of his senior ANC colleagues. It was, as the saying goes, not quite cricket.

What was fascinating about this incident, though, was that the ANC had been outflanked. Lulled into complacency by its massive 62% majority — which has given it comfortable victories in all the shouting matches in Parliament so far — the ANC benches were stunned by losing for the first time.

But, it has to be asked, is either scenario appropriate for the highest legislative institution in the land? The Westminster-style rules of the old SA Parliament said it was unacceptable for anyone in the public gallery to be noticed at all. It was forbidden to take notes, unless you were sitting in the formal press gallery seats. Reading of newspapers was also unacceptable. Definitely outlawed was clapping, singing and dancing. Not even "volksliedjies" or the national anthem would have been tolerated.

It was vital for the new Parliament to have a different feel, a different atmosphere, to the stuffy pomposity that went before. Ginwala has gone a long way towards achieving this. She has eased the dress code for visitors, and for members. This might seem insignificant, but collars and ties for visitors would undoubtedly have left ordinary South Africans feeling alienated by the institution. And this would have left them wondering what exactly this victory over apartheid was all about. Parliament has become a far more friendly place, which is welcome.

But for the nation's leaders to treat the legislative process like just another political rally does neither them nor the institution any good at all. Where will it end? Will every important or controversial decision taken in the house now be dominated by competitive dancing and clapping from the public gallery? Will ministers pack the gallery with members of their constituency to drown out opposition?

This week's NP response to last week's singing and dancing seems to make this a distinct possibility. Any perception of serious attention being given to good legislating could be lost. If populist mobilisation tactics become the order of the day, the "people's" Parliament and all those who struggled so hard to get elected to it, will be the poorer.

State property leases terminated

BD 12/9/97 (304A)

Jacob Dlamini

CAPE TOWN — Government had terminated more than 1 734 property leases as part of the public works department efforts to compile a comprehensive asset register, Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

Radebe said a number of the leaseholds had been terminated as a result of the lapse in the contract period.

The department had begun upgrading information on the estimated 5 484 government leaseholds in order to ensure correct payment of rentals and effective financial control.

The upgrade had allowed government to assess market-related rentals and to ensure the state was not charged exorbitant rentals.

Radebe said statistics showed there were 63 738 state-owned properties. About 44 985 of these were national, while 17 000 were provincial.

Radebe said 834 of these had been identified as being redundant and had been marked for immediate disposal.

Cabinet had adopted a set of policy guidelines which would guide the sale of state property, Radebe said.

The manner of disposal would give black people the opportunity to purchase state assets, he said.

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NATIONAL PARTY LEADERSHIP

How lekker to be Marthinus

(304A)

FM 12/9/97

Aside from a fresh face there's little in policy terms to distinguish new NP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk from axed Roelf Meyer

The enthronement of Marthinus van Schalkwyk (37) as leader of the National Party (NP) this week put a fresh face on show. It also brought interesting departures from past NP utterances.

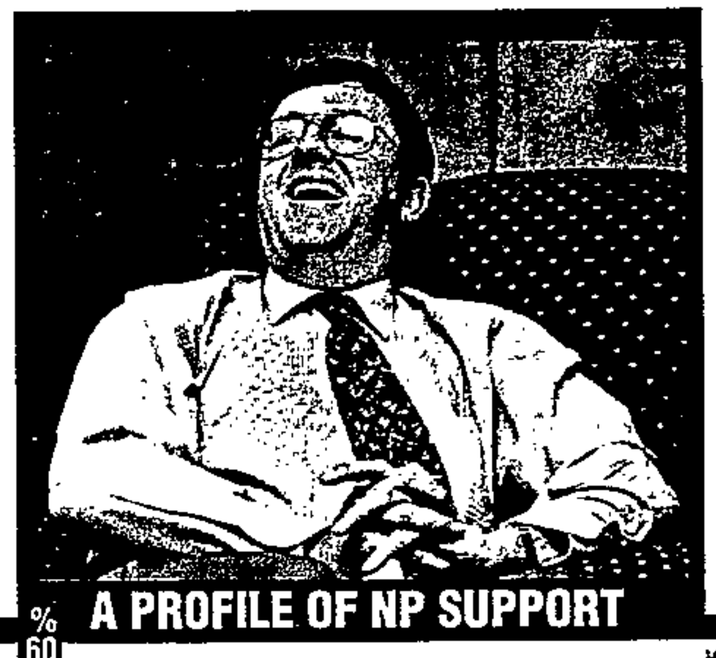
At a media conference after a brief balcony appearance in the parliamentary precinct in Cape Town, Van Schalkwyk referred to the Olympic bid debacle and said "magic can only take us so far — people want substance."

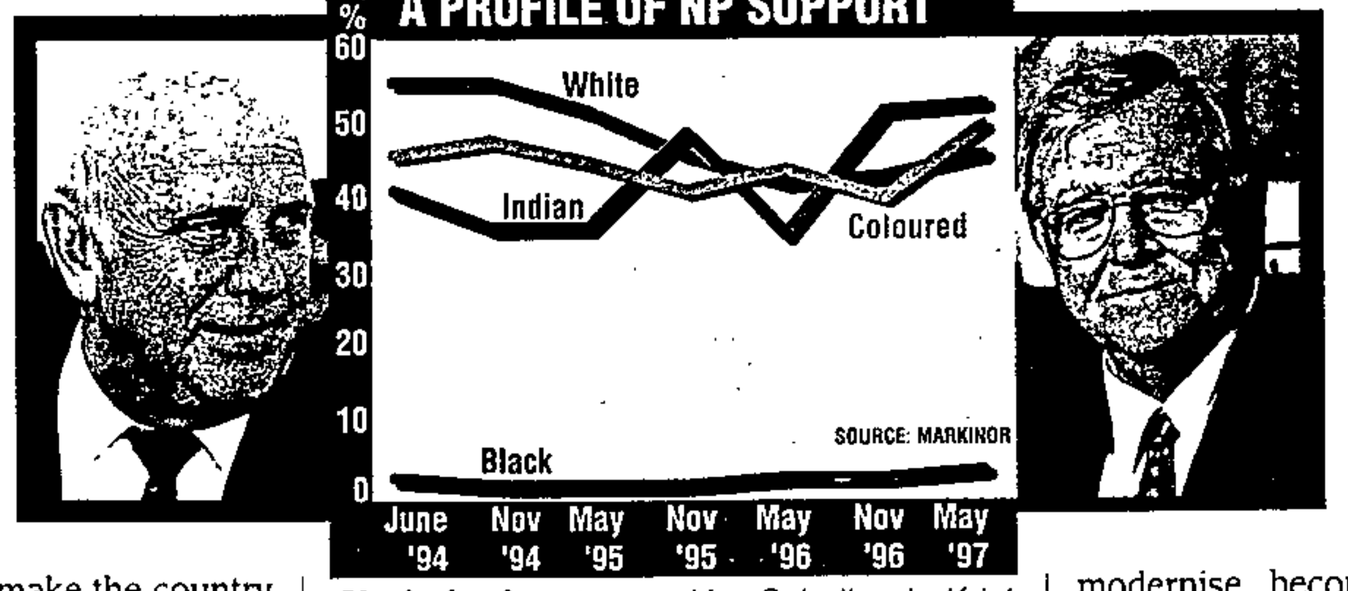
This was more than a dismissive aside about the seeming ineffectiveness of Nelson Mandela in Lausanne. In almost the same breath, Van Schalkwyk managed to conflate Mandela with De Klerk. SA, he said, had been extraordinarily lucky to get two such statesmen at the same time — but "take away their magic" and one is left with "the slow realisation that the substance is not there." Once the older leaders leave, "is there enough to make the country successful?"

"I am a young Afrikaner, and proud of it," he declaimed from the balcony to a small, vociferous and mainly coloured crowd of NP supporters. "But above all, I'm a South African." A fresh start, youth, an open mind and commitment to a multiparty democracy — these were his major personal themes, along with affirmations of support for the free market and the family.

Nonetheless, some found an element of *déjà vu* in Van Schalkwyk's first leadership appearance.

In policy terms, there was little to distinguish him from the ousted Roelf Meyer. He stressed the need for new cross-party alliances, backed by the view that by 2004 — and possibly in 1999 — no single party would attract more than half of the votes in an election. The eventual outcome would be "a voluntary coalition," he said — and work towards this would begin soon.





***Clockwise from top** . . . Van Schalkwyk, Kriel & De Klerk*

Important in these consultations will be the question of whether the NP should seek a return to the Government of National Unity (GNU), to which it is constitutionally entitled along with Cabinet posts and a deputy presidency, in the same number as those vacated by De Klerk last year.

Van Schalkwyk said he hadn't made a "final decision" and the matter would be debated by the NP's ruling Federal Council. But the party would not be tempted by "jobs, salaries and perks."

In handing over the reins, De Klerk noted that the 105-member NP electoral college had given Van Schalkwyk 75 votes on the first ballot, with the remainder evenly distributed between Kraai van Niekerk, Danie Schutte and Sam de Beer. An outright victory for the younger man, then, though attempts to rouse the crowd into a chant of "Mar-thi-nus! Mar-thi-nus!" were less successful than getting it to sing, *"Dis lekker om NP te wees!"*

Van Schalkwyk was clearly the best clean-slate candidate for a party that hesitates to allow women too much authority — a part of its inherent conservatism. He is the first NP leader in decades not to automatically inherit a prime ministership or a presidency. Though he was a member of the Ruiterwag, the junior wing of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond, he "many times declined to become a member" of the Bond. That is probably a first, too.

His past association with the Military Intelligence-funded Jeugkrag ("Youth For SA") student movement has been explained away by the statement that "under my chairmanship (Jeugkrag) campaigned strongly for the normalisation of the political situation in SA."

Some, especially in the ANC, believe the association was not benign; but Van Schalkwyk seems willing to explain all if the Truth & Reconciliation Commission asks him to testify. Furthermore, "for many young people, Youth for SA was the first step in a long process of reconciliation and political realignment. It raised the hopes of many that there was an escape from the dead end SA was seemingly heading towards."

Van Schalkwyk pledges "to work with other parties that share our philosophy, to put aside self-interest." The NP will modernise, become "lean and mean" and seek consensus with others when there is a concurrence of approach. He believes that parties are too ethnically based. Again, though, this is what Meyer was saying.

Western Cape NP leader Hernus Kriel decided early not to enter the leadership race. A senior political figure told the *FM* that Kriel — whose provincial base is secure thanks to the coloured vote — didn't wish to preside over the dissolution of the NP, scrambling to hold its structures together against inroads from Meyer, the Democratic Party and others, while neglecting his home base.

Though he appeared on the balcony with De Klerk and Van Schalkwyk, Kriel quietly slipped away afterwards, presumably to the provincial legislature where Nationalists know better than to speak of SA's "different realities" that have "to be taken into account" in reconstructing the national base of the NP.

Peter Wilhelm

Zuma adds portfolio: 'Minister of Unanswered Questions'

304A

Star 13/9/97

Cape Town – Controversial Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma now has another unofficial portfolio – she has been dubbed the "Minister of Unanswered Questions".

A count of questions early this month for written reply put to her by fellow MPs shows that Dr Zuma holds the dubious record as the minister with the largest number of unanswered questions against her name.

According to the rules of Parliament, any parliamentarian has the right to put written or oral questions to any minister – one of the most important ways ministers can be brought to account for what is happening in their ministries.

If a question for written reply is not answered within 10 parliamentary working days, the question can be transferred to the list for oral reply, a procedure that forces the minister to stand up in Parliament to answer the question.

But commentators have warned of an alarming trend of some ministers becoming less responsive to the critical scrutiny of Parliament.

This trend, they say, is particularly evident in the number of questions for written reply that remain unanswered at the end of the parliamentary session. In 1995, 10% of written questions remained unanswered, a figure that grew to 39% last year.

A count of unanswered questions on this week's order paper shows that a total of 156 questions have been on the order paper for more than 10 working days. Zuma tops the list of ministers lax to answer questions, with 27 of them unanswered.

Other culprits include Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi (15), Education Minister Sibisuso Bengu (13), and Welfare and Population Development Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (11).

Zuma's spokesman Vincent Hlongwane shrugged off the issue as unimportant. He accused the *Saturday Star's* sister paper, the *Argus* of focusing on "peripheral" issues. – Own Correspondent

The minister of unanswered questions

Zuma keeps MPs waiting most often ... and for longest

(30UA) ARG 13/9/97



Culprit No 1: Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma tops the list of ministers yet to answer questions with 27 awaiting her reply

PIETER MALAN

Controversial Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma now has another unofficial portfolio – she has been dubbed the "Minister of Unanswered Questions".

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A count of unanswered questions on last week's order paper shows that a total of 156 questions have been on the order paper for more than 10 working days. Dr Zuma tops the list of ministers slow to respond with 27 unanswered questions. Other culprits include Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi (15), Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu (13) and Welfare and Population Development Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (11).

The NP's Jacko Maree described the situation as 'pathetic'

While most of these ministries could give an exact breakdown of what the status of each unanswered question was and why there were problems in getting the information, Dr Zuma's spokesman, Vincent Hlongwane, shrugged off the issue as unimportant.

He told Saturday Argus that it was "not the first time the issue was brought up", accusing the paper of focusing on issues on the "periphery".

He then referred all questions to ANC chief whip Max Sisulu who he said had been dealing with the issue together with his National Party counterpart.

But Mr Sisulu's spokesman Mike Elrinck denied knowledge of any such discussions and said Mr Sisulu could not respond on behalf of Dr Zuma.

Dr Zuma's spokesman shrugged off the issue as unimportant

Dr Zuma also holds the record for the unanswered question that has waited the longest without reply – a question put to her by the Democratic Party's health spokesman Mike Ellis on March 14 this year.

He wanted to know from Dr Zuma how many doctors, including foreigners, were appointed at state hospitals since January last year.

National Party MP Jacko Maree described the situation as "pathetic".

One of his questions had to be put on the order paper again this year after Dr Zuma failed to come back to him by the end of last year.

Dr Zuma has been the centre of several controversies including the *Sarafina 2* AIDS awareness play debacle, her backing of the now discredited Virodene anti-AIDS drug, and her support for the import of Cuban doctors.

Party researchers in recent months have started transferring up to 100 questions a time from the list of questions for written reply to that for oral reply to force various ministers to answer them.

Maxwell Mulaudzi, spokesman for Mr Mufamadi, said all questions appearing on last week's order list had been answered during the week.

This was confirmed by parliamentary workers who said the Safety and Security ministry was usually very diligent in answering questions.

Lincoln Mali, speaking on behalf of Professor Bengu said the ministry was still waiting for reply from provinces on many of the questions put to the ministers.

"The process of getting answers from provinces usually takes a bit of time, which explains the delay," he said.

Mr Mali suggested a system should be put in place whereby MPs could be officially notified if answers to their questions took longer than expected and the reasons for the delay.

Ms Fraser-Moleketi's spokesman could not be reached for comment.



Culprit No 2: Sydney Mufamadi



Culprit No 3: Sibusiso Bengu



Culprit No 4: Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi

Local ANC in Parliament plea

AYESHA ISMAIL

(304A) ST(CM) 14/9/97

A PLEA to the ANC national executive to hold fire in the controversy over a site for Parliament is to be made by the Western Cape region of the party.

The ANC provincial executive committee, anxious to put some distance between itself and the national executive which is pushing for relocating Parliament, this week decided to make the special request at the next national executive committee meeting (NEC).

The NEC is expected to make a final decision on the controversial issue before the end of the year.

A vote in favour of relocating Parliament could have serious consequences for the ANC in the Western Cape, with the NP almost certain to turn it into anti-ANC ammunition in the 1999 election. Both parties in the region are calling for Parliament to stay in Cape Town, saying that any decision to the contrary will have dire economic consequences for the region.

The ANC decision to ask its NEC to indefinitely "put the issue on hold" comes during yet another week of open political warfare with Premier Hernus Kriel.

This week the NP voted to amend the province's constitution to allow it to increase its cabinet by two extra members and bring an end to the government of provincial unity.

This effectively means the four ANC ministers in Kriel's government will lose their posts if the Constitutional Court approves the amendments. Kriel has indicated that he would then reshuffle his cabinet. But the ANC has vowed to fight the NP to the end.

Political analyst and economist Sampie Terblanche said he was amazed at Kriel's "*kragdadigheid*" against the national ANC.

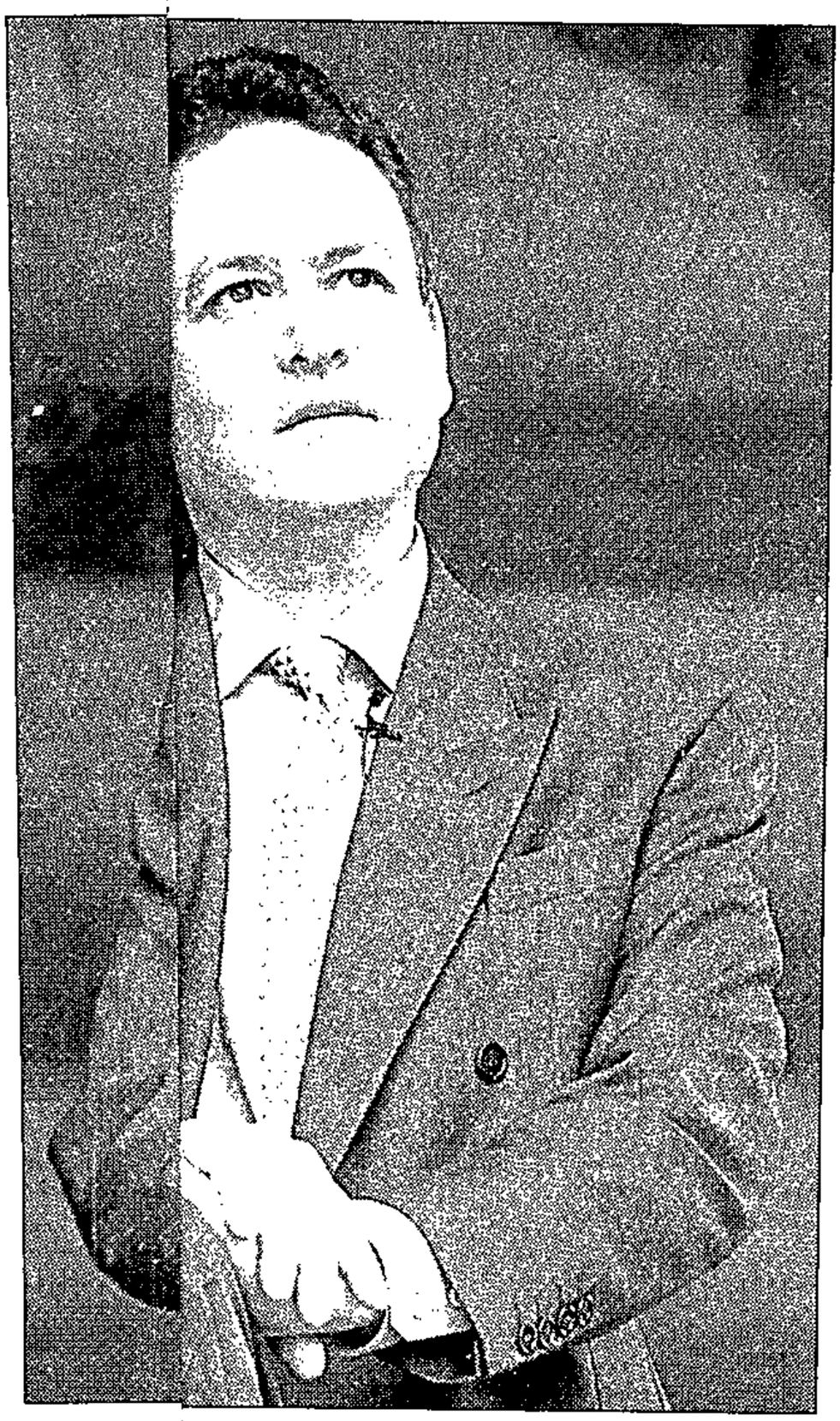
He said the central government was already less sympathetic towards the Western Cape with finances.

"Kriel is cutting his nose to spite his face," Terblanche added.

DP leader calls for united opposition

(3044) ST 14/9/97

CAROL PATON



OPEN TO ... DP leader Tony Leon, who told his party yesterday ... possible Picture: RAYMOND PRESTON

TONY LEON, re-elected yesterday as the leader of the Democratic Party, called for a "Codesa of the opposition" to forge a front of minority parties.

At the party's federal congress in Kempton Park near Johannesburg, Leon said: "If it emerges from a position of consensus at that meeting that we all agree on fundamental principles, then this could lead to a merger.

"There is no other party with whom the DP shares an identical set of principles. But partnerships in politics are possible, provided your fundamentals are right."

Leon said the DP's principles were non-negotiable. "If agreement is impossible on fundamental principles, we still have a duty to South Africa to prevent ANC dominance, and we must consider other ways of practical co-operation."

Leon said the emergence of an over-dominant party presented one of the greatest dangers to democracy. He intended to explore further the "tactics and modalities" of possible co-operation.

It was not simply a choice between a merger or going it alone, he said. Options that would allow the DP to retain its distinctiveness in the next election, while preventing the ANC from winning a two-thirds majority, should be investigated.

The DP's relationship with other opposition parties will be a key debate at the congress this weekend.

A motion proposed by the Constantia branch called on the DP to take a leading role in creating an electoral alliance of opposition forces. Another, proposed by the DP Youth in Kwazulu Natal, called for it to form a new party with other parties. Leon said "a middle road" would have to be found.

Buoyed by its recent success in by-elections in Kempton Park and Witbank, where the DP stole two former safe seats from the NP, the party had won the battle for survival, Leon said.

Its defeat in 1994, when it won only 1,7 percent of the vote, had placed it in "survival mode".

The DP also adopted the economic policy guidelines it unveiled earlier this year. The policy recognises the need for rapid economic reform due to globalisation of the South African economy, and contains a range of recommendations.

These include:

- Taxation: reducing the maximum rate of individual income tax to 35 percent; scrapping secondary tax on companies; increasing VAT by one percent; and tax rebates for security-related expenses and tertiary education fees;
- Job creation: exemption from collective-bargaining agreements for small businesses; banning of sympathy and socio-economic strikes; more labour-market flexibility through agreements in the workplace; greater government assistance to small and medium enterprises; and the establishment of free-trade zones at ports; and
- Fiscal discipline: a cut in the budget deficit to three percent; reduced state spending and the costing of all proposed legislation before it is tabled in Parliament.

A divisive and most costly move

CT 15/9/97 (304A)

IN THE fourth article in Idasa's six-part series on the siting of Parliament, **LINDA VAN DE VIJVER** argues that the supporters of a move to Pretoria can learn much from the Bonn to Berlin move in Germany.

MUCH has been said about the moving of Parliament from Cape Town to Pretoria, yet it seems that little, if any, cognisance has been taken of other countries' experiences. While there are numerous examples of parliamentary moves, I will confine myself to the most recent example, namely, the Bonn-Berlin move.

One of the arguments in favour of moving parliament from Bonn to Berlin was that it would assist in promoting a spirit of unity and reconciliation in a country that had been divided for more than 40 years. In South Africa, we are similarly trying to re-build a divided country, but it is doubtful that the same rationale can be applied here, particularly because the divisions that exist in South Africa are not related to borders, but to people.

A move to Pretoria will possibly create a feeling of divisiveness, a feeling in the Western Cape that it is being excluded from decision-making processes and that it is being punished for its majority support of the National Party. While it can be argued that the *status quo* is a legacy of South Africa's colonial past, it must be remembered that the National Convention's decision in 1909 was a compromise based on the need to reconcile a divided population. Perhaps we once again need to consider making this compromise.

Critics of the moving of parliament in Germany stated that the move would result in too much power and wealth being located in one area. A number of countries, for example, France and Japan, have realised that the over-concentration of power is not efficient or conducive to good governance, and are moving towards decentralising their power bases. With much of the civil service and many parastatals located in Gauteng, there is already an over-concentration of power and economic interests in the area, a situation that will only be exacerbated by the moving of Parliament.

Much has been said about the unnecessary costs incurred by ministers and parliamentarians having to commute to and from Cape Town and that, in the long term, the moving of Parliament, however costly, will in fact result in money being saved. But have the costs of moving Parliament been realistically calculated?

Bearing in mind the secrecy surrounding a number of documents on the financial implications of a parliamentary move, we cannot help but question the good faith of those in favour of the move.

In Germany, the initial predicted costs have increased substantially, to approximately R10-billion. Bonn has also experienced severe economic damage as a result of the move — 50 000 direct job losses as well as thousands of related work opportunities. The possibility of such losses and the effect on the Western Cape cannot be ignored. The loss of Cape Town's status as a capital city will also have severe repercussions. Cape Town could become, as Rio did after the moving of Brazil's parliament to Brasilia, little more than a city visited for its beaches and its mountain.

Making sense of the budgetary estimates that have been drafted is a daunting task. They provide few answers to the questions that one may ask regarding the cost of moving Parliament. Predicted costs range from R237 million to R928 million. This makes it frighteningly clear that there is little certainty as to what the ultimate cost will be and, if we take Germany's experience into account, it will be far more than originally envisaged.

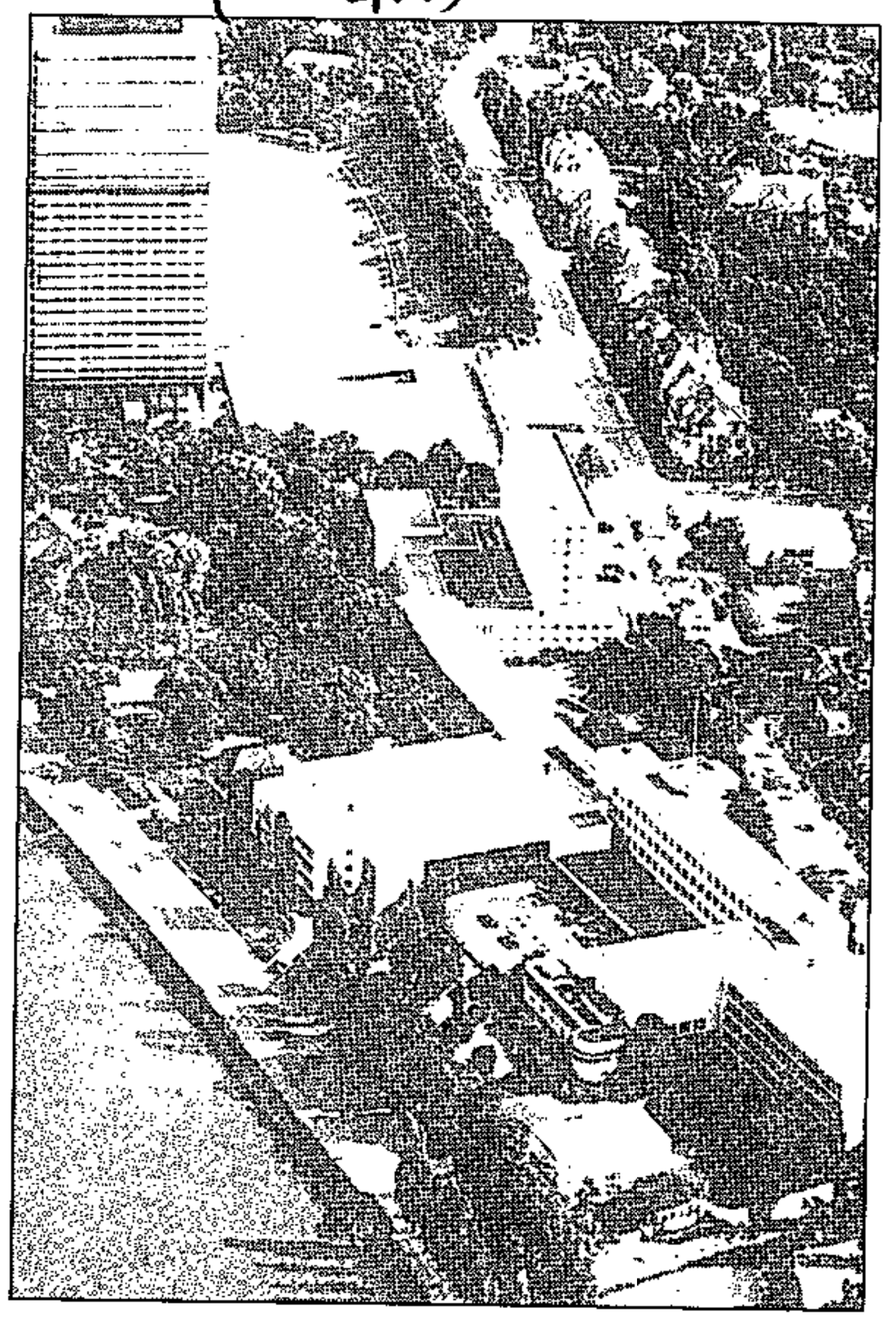
Bearing in mind the secrecy surrounding a number of documents on the financial implications of a parliamentary move, we cannot help but question the good faith of those who are in favour of the move. The salient point that needs to be made is that until this confusion is resolved, we cannot engage in a meaningful debate about the financial implications of moving Parliament. Bonn received R14 billion in compensation for the loss of parliament. There has been no indication that compensation will be granted to Cape Town for its loss.

Another question that needs to be answered is where the funds realised from the sale of buildings in Cape Town will go. It was widely held that the hosting of the Olympics would be Cape Town's compensation, but as this option is no longer a possibility, what might Cape Town receive instead?

Initially, the moving of parliament in Germany was scheduled to take place by 1995. It was soon realised that this was unrealistic, and current predictions are that the move will take place by the year 2000. If a country such as Germany, renowned for its efficiency and superior work ethic, takes this long to move its parliament, how long will South Africa take? What needs to be borne in mind here is the monopolistic nature of the construction industry, the cumbersome and lengthy tender procedures, and the mismanagement that so frequently plagues development projects in South Africa.

As a nation we have a tendency to constantly re-invent the wheel when looking for solutions, rather than learning from others' experiences. So, when trying to reach a decision about the location of Parliament, let us not be hasty. It would be wise to consider other countries' experiences, before making a decision that we might regret.

❑ *Linda van de Vijver works in Idasa's executive office.*



UP FOR RENT: An aerial view of the government buildings in Bonn. The skyscraper to the top left is an office block for members of parliament, in the centre of the picture is the Bundesrat, bottom right is the Bundeshaus (house of parliament) and between the two is the chamber of the house, all soon to be vacated for Berlin.

DP wants opposition 'Codesa' to scupper ANC's chance of winning 66% of vote at polls

POLITICAL STAFF

JOHANNESBURG: The Democratic Party wanted to lobby other opposition parties to work together to prevent the ANC from gaining a two-thirds majority in the 1999 general elections, spokesman Mr Peter Leon said yesterday.

He said Mr Tony Leon, re-elected as party leader, had proposed at the DP's federal congress in Kempton Park at the weekend that opposition political parties should realign and "forge a front of minority parties".

He had called for a "Codesa (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) of the opposition" to discuss strategies to improve membership and prevent the ANC's increasing its power in the 1999 elections.

The DP leader did not exclude the possibility of such talks leading to a merger if parties agreed on fundamental principles. However, the DP hoped to retain its distinctiveness in the next elections.

"We would need about R20 million to run an effective and successful campaign," Peter Leon said.

The DP had resolved to lobby for the SA Police Services to be decentralised in all metropolitan areas and administered by councils instead of the government.

If police in the cities were accountable to local government structures, they would be more disciplined, more productive and more effective in implementing crime prevention strategies. There would also be less absenteeism. The national government would have a supervisory role to guard against the city police's overstepping their powers.

ET 15/9/97

(3049)

Proposals to broaden Leon's powers withdrawn

BD 15/9/97

304A

Linda Ensor

KEMPTON PARK — Controversial proposals to enhance the power of re-elected Democratic Party (DP) leader Tony Leon by allowing him to supersede party lists with his own nominations were withdrawn at the party's federal council meeting at the weekend.

This was one of a number of divisive issues — such as the location of Parliament — which were not voted on at the congress in the interests of party unity.

The party did, however, endorse Leon's political realignment strategy and economic policy which called for the rapid implementation of privatisation and the growth, employment and redistribution strategy.

There was a groundswell of support in favour of closing suburbs to ward off criminals despite the views of opponents who felt that this was a resurrection of influx control. A congress resolution called on government to promulgate and issue uniform legislation to allow for this as well as for the establishment of private estates.

Leon's proposal, widely accepted by other parties, that he be allowed to nominate or promote one out of every 10 candidates on the party list was intended to ensure greater racial, gender and skills representation in the small party.

This would also facilitate the fast-tracking of newly arrived, talented politicians up the party ranks. Also, should the DP merge with another party, or successfully woo other prominent politicians, such a move would enable the party to offer parliamentary seats.

Opponents, however, argued that this practice would fundamentally depart from democracy and could be potentially divisive and controversial as it presupposed that the leader's judgment was superior to the democratic process. In the end, Leon withdrew the proposal.

However, his realignment strategy, including the organisation of an opposition "Codesa" and the premise that the DP would enter into alliances only on the basis of its non-negotiable principles, was overwhelmingly carried by the congress. If there were no possibilities for a merger on this basis, then other forms of tactical alliances should be formed, Leon proposed.

Former party stalwart Helen Suzman expressed the view of several delegates when she warned the DP to be "wary of alliances" and stick to its principles of the rule of law, freedom of opportunity, no discrimination and freedom of speech. She praised DP MPs for their role in keeping a watchful eye over the abuse of state power.

DP MP Ken Andrew cited research findings which showed most of the party's potential and actual supporters preferred the party in its existing form.

Concern was expressed over government's proposal to exclude permanent residents from the voters' roll, the delegation of responsibility for the 1999 elections to local authorities, and the possibility that the voters' roll would be compiled without any reference to the physical address of the voter.

Daniel Silke warned that this would open the way for a "gross abuse of the electoral system" as voters could vote in any ward.

On matters of conscience, such as the death penalty, abortion and euthanasia, the party recognised the right of its representatives to abstain from voting if they disagreed with the party line.

Errol Moorcroft was elected chairman of the Federal council. The congress decided to beef up its finances by requiring members to pay their membership fees if they wished to remain registered as members, and to meet at least once every two years rather than annually as at present.

The financial report of the party indicated that all the regions were solvent, and that head office, after a difficult year, was nearly in the black.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT (for the President of the Republic): Madam Speaker, the President has directed that we reply as follows.

The combating of corruption is, and has been since May 1994, a priority of Government. The steps which the Government has taken to combat corruption in our society are set out in the reply of the Deputy President during Interpellation No 4 in the National Assembly on 20 August 1997 as well as in my reply to Question No 3 today.

In addition to the numerous measures and initiatives outlined there, the Department for Public Administration has launched a proactive education campaign to popularise the Code of Conduct for Public Servants, the foremost element of which is an injunction to prevent corruption of any kind.

We have also continued to appeal to the private sector to match these efforts to root out the legacy of corruption and moral degeneration which contaminated all sectors of our society under apartheid, including the private sector.

Mr S J DE BEER: Madam Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy President, I would like to ask him if the Government is willing to consider- the possibility of establishing a multiparty parliamentary committee to investigate modes that will lead to the strengthening of the role of Parliament within the content of a more accountable and transparent Government.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, as we have said a number of times in this House, the Government is interested in a united national offensive on the question of corruption, and therefore we would be quite happy to discuss any measures that may be proposed which would result in such a united national offensive.

Dr T G ALANT: Madam Speaker, arising out of his reply, I would like to ask the hon the Deputy President a question. I am grateful that in the absence of the hon President, he answers the questions and not the Deputy Minister, because he has the authority to speak on behalf of the Government. I want to refer to Chapter 9 of our Constitution where provision is made for the establishment of, as they are called, institutions to strengthen constitutional democracy. One of these institutions is the institution of the Auditor-General. A while ago there was an attack on the person of the Auditor-General,on his qualifications and on his integrity.

[Interjections.] I want to ask the hon the Deputy President whether he or his Government has taken any measures to protect the Auditor-General.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I thought that the House had discussed the matters to which the hon member referred. The House took specific resolutions, and I believe that that is sufficient for the moment.

Mr K M ANDREW: Madam Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy President's first reply, may I ask him whether the Government or he would not agree, particularly in times of transition, that there are extra opportunities for corruption where financial management and controls fail within whatever sector or organisation or department it might be. If he were to agree with that, should Government not make a particularly strong and concerted effort, in the short term, to ensure that in terms of training, expertise and persons available for financial management control in all Government departments and institutions, that is looked at so as to ensure that financial management is of the highest calibre?

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, the Government is discussing the particular question the hon member raised. Among other things we are concerned about the level, within the ranking system within Public Service structures, of officials who handle finances. It is the general belief of the Government that in many instances such officials need to be of a higher rank because of the responsibilities that they have. Indeed, the Government is discussing this matter. We are discussing the matter in detail across the spectrum, for instance, as it would affect the SA Revenue Service, again with a view to ensuring that the people who handle public funds have the capacity to discharge that responsibility.

Mr C SALOOJEE: Madam Speaker, arising from the Deputy President's reply earlier on setting up a committee to look at corruption can he assure this House that a thorough investigation will be set up into why no action was taken by the hon Abe Williams to stamp out the rampant pension corruption in his department when he was the NP's Minister of Welfare?

Mr P W COETZER: Madam Speaker on a point of order: That hon member has just reflected on the integrity of another member, and in regard to a subject that is at the moment subject to an official investigation. Further, unlike the office bearers of the ANC, that hon member had the dignity to resign from the position he held while the investigation was going on as I say, this is unlike what we have, for instance, with regard to drivers' licences. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! I would like to be given time to consider my ruling on this particular point of order.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I think that the crux of the point of order that was raised was that this matter should not be discussed. You said that you were going to rule on that, so I do not know how to discuss it.

Mr A WATSON: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy President's reply, and in particular in regard to the organs of state that have been instituted by the Constitution to *inter alia* fight corruption, may I ask him, as the de facto Prime Minister, what steps he intends taking to discipline members of the Cabinet who disregard those matters that are described in Chapter 9 and the integrity of those involved? [Interjections.]

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I do not know whether you really expect me to answer that question. It is not a question. It is speculation. If at any point Ministers are in violation of the Constitution in their conduct, naturally certain consequences will follow from that. However, that is a speculative thing. Action would be taken if such a thing did happen.

Department: unauthorised expenditure

*2. Dr R T RHODA asked the President of the Republic:†

> Whether he has taken or intends taking any steps following on the findings of the Auditor-General that the Department of Health incurred unauthorised expenditure amounting to R58,1 million; if not, why not; if so, what steps? N1796E

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT (for the President of the Republic): The President will await the report and recommendations of the Standing Committee on Public Accounts before considering whether it is necessary for him to take any steps following the findings of the Auditor-General that the Department of Health incurred unauthorised expenditure amounting to R58,1 million.

Dr R T RHODA: Madam Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy President's very short reply, corruption, maladministration and sleaze in general occur in states throughout the world. What I want to know is how many more errors Minister Zuma is going to commit. [Interjections.] Is she untouchable? Why is the President scared of actually sanctioning her? Why cannot anything be done about this gross maladministration in respect of taxpayers' money in this country? [Interjections.]

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, in response to the question that was posed, the President has said that he would consider this matter as soon as the Joint Standing Committee on Public Accounts has considered it and made its recommendations. The hon member now wants me to be a soothsayer. He wants me to gaze into a crystal ball and see what the future holds for us and then answer this question. I am sorry. I do not have this capacity. [Interjections.]

Dr R T RHODA: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy President's reply, this matter has been going an since 1995. We are now at the end of 1997, and it seems that the hon the President simply cannot come to a conclusion about this matter, whilst further misdemeanours and maladministration are continuing all the time. I would like to know when this matter will be brought to end.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, the report of the Auditor-General, to which this question refers, was not published in 1995, but after that. The Joint Standing Committee on Public Accounts will consider this matter, and the President will act on the matter after that.

Incidence/causes of corruption

*3. Mr D DE V GRAAFF asked the President of the Republic:†

Whether he intends establishing a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the incidence and causes of corruption in South Africa; if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details? N1797E

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT (for the President of the Republic):

No. On 6 November 1996 the President assented to the Special Investigating Units and Special Tribunals Act, 1996. This Act provides for the establishment of special investigating units for the purpose of investigating corruption and maladministration in connection with the administration of State institutions, State assets or public money. It also provides for the establishment of special tribunals which will be able to deal with cases arising out of such investigations. The President is therefore empowered to establish a special investigating unit in order to investigate any matter or to refer the matter to an I existing special investigating unit for investigation. The President has already appointed one such unit under the chairpersonship of Mr Justice Heath to investigate inter alia any improper transactions or practices regarding State property between 1976 and the present time.

The President is also mindful that the Office of the Public Protector was established by the Constitution, precisely in order to investigate corruption and to protect the public against maladministration in connection with the affairs of Government, improper conduct by a person performing a public function, improper or unlawful enrichment of a person performing a public function and an act or omission by a person performing a public function resulting in improper prejudice to another person. This body is currently investigating numerous such allegations.

The President has from time to time appointed various commissions of inquiry to inquire into specific allegations of corruption or to recommend improvements to the Public Service generally, or in regard to maladministration, including –

- Commission of inquiry into the alleged smuggling of and illegal trade in ivory and rhinoceros horn in South Africa
- Commission of inquiry into the alleged arms transactions between Armscor and one Eli Wazan and other related matters
- Commission to review irregularities in the Public Service between 27 April 1993 and 30 September 1994 (Browde Commission; now the White Commission)
- Commission of inquiry into the alleged irregularities or malpractices regarding the allocation, leasing, alienation and transfer of certain State land (De Meyer Commission)
- Commission of inquiry into the protein energy malnutrition scheme (Wiegand Commission)
- Commission of inquiry regarding the transformation and reform of the Public Service (Presidential Review Commission)
- Commission of inquiry to investigate the purchase of computer equipment regarding the literacy programmes for adults in the former Administration: House of Representatives (subsequently closed so as to allow for criminal proceedings to take their course)

In addition the Premiers of the Eastern Cape, Northern Province and North West have appointed commissions of inquiry regarding allegations of corruption or maladministration in the administrations which exist or existed in their provinces (Heath, Semenya and Skweyiya Commissions).

The President believes it would be more appropriate to establish commissions of inquiry or special investigating up its or to issue requests to the Public Protector in regard to specific allegations of corruption or specific institutions and to take the necessary civil and criminal law measures against persons implicated, rather than to establish judicial commissions of inquiry to investigate the causes of corruption in South Africa generally and without reference to any specific allegation of corruption. The President believes that the causes of corruption are well known.

Mr D DE V GRAAFF: Madam Deputy Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy President's reply, may I ask him why the activities of the Heath Commission are being prejudiced by lack of funds?

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, the hon the Minister of Justice has just told, me that we are meeting next month with Judge Heath to deal with the question of financing that commission.

Mr D DE V GRAAFF: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy President's reply, I want to ask him if he is aware that an international anticorruption conference is taking place in Lima, Peru, next month, from 7 to 11 September. I would like to ask him whether South Africa will be represented at this conference and, if they are being represented, by whom.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I have no information regarding whether we will be represented at such a conference.

Mr R P Z VAN DEN HEEVER: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy President's reply, can he confirm that in the normal course of investigating corruption he will ask the Office for Serious Economic Offences to speed up the investigation into the hon Abe Williams, an investigation which has been delayed for a considerable period of time, for alleged fraud and corruption involving R22 million, and whether he thinks the NP will support him in his action. [Interjections.] [Laughter.]

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I would like to believe that the Office for Serious Economic Offences is doing its best with regard to that matter. I am sure that they would not necessarily want to drag their feet.

Looking at the expressions of the hon members across the floor – they are nodding vigorously – they are in support of the speeding up of that investigation. [Laughter.]

Mr P W COETZER: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy President's reply, is he also willing to speed up the investigation surrounding the alleged irregularities in which an office bearer of this Parliament is involved as far as a driver's licence is concerned? Is he also willing to advise that particular person to follow the example of Mr Williams and, pending that investigation, to vacate the position that she holds? [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order!

Prof B TUROK: Madam Speaker, on a point of orders Do you not feel that that comment was a reflection on the Chair, on yourself, that it should be disallowed and that the hon member should be excluded from this House for total contempt? [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Hon member, I take the point you raised in your point of order, but I choose to let the Deputy President handle the question.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, as I understand the situation with regard to what I suspect the hon member is referring to, this particular matter was investigated by the SA Police Service. It was referred to the Attorney-General of the Western Cape, who decided not to prosecute and said in discussing the matter that he felt there was, no reason to prosecute because, as far as he was concerned, the law had not been violated.

I am quite happy to accept the decision of that officer of our courts. The hon member may want to disagree with the Attorney-General, but he is not going to persuade me to disagree with the Attorney-General. [Laughter.]

Mr P W COETZER: Madam Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy President's reply, can he please explain to this House how the Attorney-General of the Western Cape can make a pronouncement on an investigation that is at present taking place in Mpumalanga. [Interjections.]

Mr A FOURIE: Madam Speaker . . .

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Hon member, we have already taken five supplementary questions and the hon the Deputy President is going to answer the last one.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I did not hear the question properly, because the hon member spoke very closely into the mike and was shouting. That becomes inaudible, but if he could stand back a little bit and lower his voice a little ... [Laughter.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Would the hon member like to repeat the question?

changed in our schools. The hon member still maintains that we should not introduce changes next year, only in Grade 1. My reading of what the hon member is saying is that no changes must be introduced in education. [Interjections.]

I have never come across such a well-staggered and phased-in approach as the one that we are following and I want to assure him that the teachers are ready.

I also want to say that our campaign to instil a culture of learning, teaching and service must be taken seriously because that campaign calls for us to affirm and to believe that the teachers can do it. I do not think that we are assisting our teacher if we come here to say that he or she is not prepared or is not capable of implementing changes in education. I suggest that we give the teachers the support they need and that we believe in them. If the hon member believes that the teachers are not ready, the teachers may be called to come and speak for themselves. What I have said is that the teachers are as ready as anything and they are excited about Curriculum 2005.

Debate concluded.

Report on SA: 33rd most corrupt country

4. Dr T G ALANT asked the Executive Deputy President:*

(1) Whether his attention has been drawn to the report of "Transparency International" in which South Africa is classified as the 33rd most corrupt country out of 52 countries; if so, what steps are envisaged in this regard;

(2) whether any member of the Cabinet has been instructed to study this report and to formulate proposals with a view to improving South Africa's position in this regard; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? N1832E.INT

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, the answer to the first part of the question is "yes". With regard to the second part of the question, work is taking place in the Office of the Deputy President to prepare for a discussion of this matter by the Cabinet.

The hon member may recall that I raised the important question of corruption during the debate on my Budget Vote in this House on 10 June this year. I said then that the task that faces all of us is to confront the enormous challenge to restore to our communities a system of social values which creates a climate hostile to criminal and other antisocial behaviour. The first step along this very necessary road is the recognition that we inherited from our past a corrupt society which demands of all of us that we become militant combatants for the moral renewal of our country as part of the process of its reconstruction and development.

I went on to say that the persistent propagation of the notion that all we require to deal with the problem of crime is more police officers and the strengthening of the criminal justice system as a whole, critical though these matters are, is not only a fig leaf with which to hide the reality of a deadly inheritance, but also constitutes the abdication of a responsibility without the discharge of which the cesspool which feeds all criminal behaviour will remain and continue to spawn its bitter fruit. I said that it did nothing to solve the problem or to build the necessary united national effort to add insult to injury by suggesting that corruption is endemic to the system of African governance and is therefore only three years old in our country.

Furthermore, the former editor of the *Sunday Times*, Mr Ken Owen, also addressed this matter in an article in his paper on 2 April 1995, in which *inter alia* he said:

> Hardly a day passes without reminders of how bad things were under the Nationalists. The Public Service, according to the Auditor-General's report for the year before the transition, was both bloated and unable to gather tax revenue. The worst areas were the Bantustans which continued to be propped up by the Department of Foreign Affairs even after all financial controls had broken down into a system of wild looting.

Ken Owen continued to say:

> This litany could continue forever but the incompetence and corruption of the Nationalists lies mainly in the past because they are not in Government, except in the Western Cape where they are still spending money they haven't got, like drunken sailors.

[Laughter.] [Time expired.]

Dr T G ALANT: Madam Speaker, it is quite clear that three and a quarter years after 11 May 1994, the new RSA in several respects does not enjoy the benefit of the doubt any more. [Interjections.] As in the case of crime, corruption represents one of the most serious threats to the stability of the new South Africa. Two recent publications, the NP's Corruption Barometer and Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index depict the same tale: Corruption is rampant in South Africa. [Interjections.]

The ANC's knee-jerk reaction has been quite predictable. Do not confuse us with facts – just blame apartheid!

This interpellation offers the de facto Head of State the opportunity to react to the perceived level of corruption in our country and to tell us what reforms he has in mind to strengthen the integrity of our systems.

*I can quote figures to show that corruption has nearly got out of control during the past three years and has led to the threatened collapse of the public sector, the damaging of the character of the South African Government and a very poor international image of our country, which serves as a deterrent to investors.

Corruption has cost the taxpayer between R13,5 billion and R20 billion during the past three years. This estimate excludes corruption at local government level. The amount connected with maladministration during the first three years of the ANC Government totalled between R7,9 billion and R10,6 billion.

Fraud was the second most important form of corruption, and between R5,5 billion and R9,6 billion was at issue in this rehard. Corruption at national level, excluding the provinces, involved between 75 000 and just over 100 000 people between June 1994 and June 1997. An unacceptably small number of cases of corruption have been followed up by the national Government and provincial governments. Recommendations in connection with the combating of corruption have been totally ignored in some provinces.

It seems to us as if there are individuals in the national Government who are very concerned about the growing problem of corruption, but a general commitment by the Government to combat corruption has been absent up to now. The reasonable conclusion one reaches is that the ANC Government is soft on corruption. [Interjections.] The facts about corruption are indisputable. The question is whether the Government has the will and the ability to take the lead to eradicate this cancer in the RSA. [Interjections.]

Rev K R MESHOE: Madam Speaker, the fact that corruption has spiralled out of control in this country cannot be denied by any honest person. It is correct to put the blame squarely on the Government, which is too soft on corruption, just as it is too soft on crime. It refuses to be tough on corrupt officials, public servants and some members of the business community, just as it refuses to be tough on criminals.

Blaming the past all the time will not help to solve the problem. Everybody knows that there was corruption in the past. This Government has had more than three years to eradicate corruption from our society, but it has failed. [Interjections.] Calls to declare the prevention of corruption a national priority will not help much, as calls to declare crime prevention a national priority have failed to stop crime in this country.

Mr L M GREEN: Madam Speaker, on a point of order: Is it parliamentary for a member of Parliament to infer that another member is a thief? [Interjections.] The member of Parliament sitting next to the hon Shepherd inferred that the hon Rev Meshoe has abused funds, and that is a wrong inference.

The SPEAKER: Order! Hon Mr Green, could you please tell us how he "inferred" the words.

Mr L M GREEN: The exact words were: "What happened to the R75 000?", referring to election funds. Hon Speaker, that is unparliamentary. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order! Will the member referred to please rise. The reason why I asked you to repeat the words is because it is an inference which you may have drawn, and not a statement made. Had the allegation very specifically been that he took the money, then it definitely would be unparliamentary.

Mr W A HOFMEYER: Where is the IEC money? [Interjections.]

Rev K R MESHOE: Madam Speaker, if that member wants to know anything about the past, he is welcome to come to us and we will help him. [Interjections.] However, to shout here and try to score political points is not helping at all. If he is sincere, let him come to us and he will get information. [Interjections.] Now I will proceed.

Calls to declare the prevention of corruption a national priority will not help much, as calls to declare crime prevention a national priority have failed to stop crime in the country. What we need is a Government that has the will to act. If the corruption of the police and the judicial system by crime syndicates is not stopped, this country will definitely collapse. Something must be done urgently, and I therefore propose a threefold solution. Firstly, the Government should make a definite commitment to eradicating corruption from our society. Secondly, the principle of restitution should be introduced in this country. If offenders can be made to pay back four times what they have stolen, after they are convicted by a court of law, corruption will be drastically reduced. [Time expired.]

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, as I said when we had a debate here in June, the issue of corruption is of such seriousness that it demands that, in addressing it, we act together in the context of a national consensus which all of us should help to develop. Some of the responses in this House during that budget debate gave me no indication that our appeal would be listened to. The situation remains unchanged today. Needless to say, however, the failure of our appeal in the Assembly will not deter us from doing our best to unite the country in a determined offensive against corruption in our society.

With regard to the Transparency International report itself, it would be proper for members of the House, including the hon Dr Alant, to read the report and the statements made by the issuers of that report a bit more carefully. Dr Peter Eigen, the chairperson of Transparency International, says some of the following things about that report. He says Transparency International is not saying in that index that one country is more corrupt than another. [Interjections.] He says that what they are reporting are perceptions of levels of corruption. [Interjections.] He further says that an analysis of the actual scores for individual countries shows that a number of countries had virtually the same scores. This further highlights the danger of relying on a country's rank for interpretation or in comparing the ranking from one year to the next. He says that the differences in scores out of 10 from year to year have significance, not the comparative places in the list of countries. [Time expired.]

Mr A FOURIE: Madam Speaker, we listened very carefully to what the Deputy President said, but we want to say to him and to the rest of South Africa that the perceptions mentioned have become a fact in our country. [Interjections.]

Let us say to one another that no country is immune to corruption, not even Denmark with their high 9,94 rating out of a 10-point score in respect of clean government. [Interjections.] But this Government's rating, which slipped from 5,68 to 4,95 out of 10 in 1997, leaves much to be desired.

Again today, the Deputy President blamed the present bad state of corruption on the past. After three and a half years of ANC government, that is just not on! [Interjections.] The hon Clever Trevor claimed that there would be stronger safeguards, but these safeguards had no effect on recent events.

Allan Boesak is embraced by the hon Dullah Omar and funding for his defence is arranged by South Africa's ambassador in the United States of America. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order!

Mr A FOURIE: NGO millions which never reached their destination, resulted in the poor becoming poorer. [Interjections.] Independent Broadcasting Authority officials scandalously abused their privileges. [Interjections.] A Mercedes-Benz was parked as a palm-greasing instrument with tender documents inside. [Interjections.] One attorney-general's report after another is more shocking than the next. The Deputy Speaker's illegal driver's licence incident was ignored by the ANC as if it had never happened. The devastating Northern Province Simenya Commission report was the result of NP pressure. However, it is a fact that R20 billion has disappeared since the ANC took over the Govern-

ment in 1994. The taxpayer has to pay the price for this. Except for the Transparency International report, the World Competitiveness Report . . . [Time expired.]

*Dr T G ALANT: Madam Speaker, as a responsible official opposition the NP has taken the lead and has made imaginative proposals as regards the combating and prevention of corruption. In essence the NP is asking for a national strategy against corruption and for the Government to declare the combating and prevention of corruption to be a national priority.

†However, the hon the Deputy President seems to be distressed by his lack of ability to lead the Government. Listening to him today, the only conclusion one can reach is that the ANC is not fit to govern. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I am firmly of the view that we do need to discuss this question at greater length among ourselves to get an understanding of the nature of the problem that we are dealing with. I think it is clear too that some of the members of the House do not quite understand, or maybe do not want to understand, the depth of the crisis that was created in this country by virtue of the existence of an illegitimate regime. [Interjections.]

Two of our most important weapons in the fight against corruption are the practices of transparency and accountability. Among others, this requires that we establish the necessary procedures and institutions to ensure that this practice is a reality and adhered to. This has been done. In this regard I must also mention that later this year the National Assembly will consider the Open Democracy Bill which, among other things, seeks to protect the so-called whistle-blower who seeks to expose corruption.

Further, the fight against corruption is going on and has been going on in various departments of Government. For instance, the Police Service has established and has a functioning anticorruption unit. At the same time the Independent Complaints Directorate has been constituted and is operational. Serious work is continuing to establish a reliable pension data base. This is supported by the efforts of the Department of Home Affairs to ensure that all citizens have proper identity documents. Other work is going on to establish an automated fingerprint system, as well as an integrated personnel data base to facilitate the efforts of a number of departments in their fight against crime and corruption. New passports which are less vulnerable to forgery are being issued.

Only yesterday, as this House discussed Bills relating to the Reserve Bank and the SA Revenue Service, its attention was drawn to their importance in the struggle against money-laundering and tax and customs and excise fraud respectively. At the same time, measures are being implemented to tighten controls at our land, sea and air border posts.

Special investigation units and special tribunals have been established by the Minister of Justice to deal with the issue of corruption. The Minister of Health has been working on a system of identification for medicines and drugs to address the problem of theft of these products from the public health system. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

President of the Republic:

Ministers present during interpellations/motions/questions

*1. Mr C W EGLIN asked the President of the Republic:

Whether, with reference to section 92(2) of the Constitution, he has issued any instructions to members of the Cabinet to be more frequently present to deal with interpellations, motions and parliamentary questions relating to their portfolios and/or to provide more comprehensive replies to parliamentary questions; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the response thereto in each case? N1627E

are currently renting plush offices in Johannesburg at a rate of R75 000 per month. The chairperson's salary has been boosted to more than R400 000 per year – about R33 000 per month – which is just about in line with that of a Cabinet Minister. The question is: What does one have to show for this?

In that commission, so far, there has been an inability to even set up a register for complaints, even though they have received quotes in this regard. I am advised by legal practitioners that not one single case has been brought before the Constitutional Court by this commission on behalf of indigent litigants or people who do not have the ability to approach the court.

We move on to the Gender Commission as another example, which is highly relevant. The powers of this commission are essentially the same as those of the Human Rights Commission. [Time expired.]

Mr D H M GIBSON: Madam Speaker, for many years in South Africa there has been a myth that our country is a rich country. The reality is quite different. We have vast disparities between rich and poor. [Interjections.] The great task which all of us in this House have is to try to ensure that we use our national resources in such a way that we actually achieve a better life for all. At the same time as we create the conditions which will enable the poor to uplift themselves, we have to make sure that we do not tax those who are better off to the extent that the country becomes even more uncompetitive than it already is in world terms. We also have to ensure that we do not waste the limited resources which our country has.

If the proper use of resources is the yardstick, then the ANC is not doing very well as a government. Some of our money is being squandered to the detriment of both the poor and the rich, and without anything concrete to show for it. Many of our standing and constitutional commissions seem to the DP to be nothing more than lavish exercises in self-indulgence, delivering not much more than grossly overprivileged lifestyles for a few fortunate friends of the ANC, with a leavening of a few others to keep some of the opposition political parties quiet.

The DP will not keep quiet. Someone has to cry halt. [Interjections.] Someone has to say that we are not serving the interests of the poor, or of the rich for that matter, if we squander our resources on paying salaries and perks which are often totally out of proportion to the worth of the commissioners or the value of the work which they do. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF FINANCE: Madam Speaker, the key question that neither the DP interpellant nor Mr Gibson has answered is how the agreements were struck. I am reliably informed that in respect of all the commissions, save the Gender Commission, the DP supported their establishment in the constitutional negotiations.

In respect of the Youth Commission – I imagine that the hon Leon's next set of questions will relate to that – I want to quote his party member and follower M J Ellis who, on 19 March last year, said in relation to the Bill:

> . . . the DP made up its mind right from the start, when this Bill was first published, that we would support this piece of legislation, and I stand here today in support of it.

Therefore, the accusation levelled against Comdt Blaas by the hon Leon in respect of hypocrisy applies as much to him regarding the commissions. They supported the establishment of the commissions, they participated in the negotiations and, in fact, in the hearings on the Youth Commission as well. But now he seeks to change his mind. The Pontius Pilate outfit does not fit the hon Leon.

Mr A J LEON: Madam Speaker, just for the edification of the hon the Minister of Finance, Mr Ellis never supported, at any stage, the fact that the chairperson would receive a salary of R352 366 a year or R30 000 a month. That is an obscenity, because the Minister is comparing the chairman of a commission which has done very little so far to a judge president of the High Court, when no such comparison is justified and there is no obligation in terms of the legislation for such obscene amounts of public money to be squandered on such a post. That is the reality. Nowhere can one find any textual or Hansard support for that concept.

We have always tried to bring these matters under some kind of regulatory control in terms of the amounts that are being spent on them. Indeed, as

far as the Gender Commission is concerned, the question that we have to ask is how we can justify a separate commission to deal with gender issues which are, in essence and by their nature, human rights issues, whilst simultaneously having a Human Rights Commission, a parallel structure in Parliament . . . [Interjections.]

We have some very vocal members who serve on it. We have the Ad Hoc Joint Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and the Status of Women, and indeed, in the hon the Deputy President's Office there has been a specific designated post dealing with the same issue. Yet another R4 million of that hon Minister's money, indeed the taxpayer's money, is expended on that.

We then come to the Pan South African Language Board. Here it is not so much the money, but the nonallocation thereof. According to our information, the board has a budget of R11 million. This money has not been made available to the board, not even for the payment of commissioners' salaries. As a result, commissioners operated in the first year without pay, which is at least a selfless example. The chief executive is the only appointment made so far. Yet they have expended R55 000 so far on domestic transport needs.

We go on to the Volkstaat Council. This provides for 20 members elected by members of Parliament who support the idea of the volkstaat. It must issue a report on its findings. That is all well and good; there is nothing wrong with that. That has cost a total of R9 809 000 since its inception. This is a concession which has been made, but is it worth R10 million? How do we justify or quantify it?

Let me also say something else for the hon the Minister's edification: The figures are widely divergent. The Human Rights Council gets R400 000, the Gender Commission R212 000, the Youth Commission R352 366. What is the basis for these distinctions and differences, and what attempts are being made to regulate matters or provide something which is a measurable standard against which the payment and remuneration are set, or are there no standards? Is there no remuneration, because this does not impact on independence, but rather on efficiency? [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF FINANCE: Madam Speaker, in many instances one would find reference in the specific statute. It is certainly there in the case of the Human Rights Commission. The Government may not reduce the salaries of serving members of the Commission. The salary of the chairperson of the Youth Commission is R212 400 a year and is in line with that of the Gender Commission. These figures have been set by the internal governmental structure known as the Central Evaluations Committee, and thereupon implemented. The perks would apply equally in respect of the Gender Commission and the Youth Commission, and in fact a number of the lesser-funded commissions.

The question of justification and quantification are matters to be dealt with in this House. This must be seen in the context of the separation of powers, and it is not for Government to turn around and say to the commission that it does not like what it is doing, because then the same Tony Leon is going to get up and say that this Government has cut resources of this commission because they are afraid that it will expose what they are doing.

More importantly, I want to ask if this is the same DP which, in the Western Cape, supported, in addition, the establishment of a provincial electoral commission, an environmental commission in the province, a children's commission and an enlarged provincial executive council. Can it be the same party? I believe not.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

President of the Republic:

Combating corruption: national priority

*1. Mr S J DE BEER asked the President of the Republic:

Whether he intends declaring the combating of corruption a national priority; if not, why not; if so, what steps is he considering to combat corruption? N1795E

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT (for the President of the Republic): Madam Speaker, the President has directed that we reply as follows.

The combating of corruption is, and has been since May 1994, a priority of Government. The steps which the Government has taken to combat corruption in our society are set out in the reply of the Deputy President during Interpellation No 4 in the National Assembly on 20 August 1997 as well as in my reply to Question No 3 today.

In addition to the numerous measures and initiatives outlined there, the Department for Public Administration has launched a proactive education campaign to popularise the Code of Conduct for Public Servants, the foremost element of which is an injunction to prevent corruption of any kind.

We have also continued to appeal to the private sector to match these efforts to root out the legacy of corruption and moral degeneration which contaminated all sectors of our society under apartheid, including the private sector.

Mr S J DE BEER: Madam Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy President, I would like to ask him if the Government is willing to consider- the possibility of establishing a multiparty parliamentary committee to investigate modes that will lead to the strengthening of the role of Parliament within the content of a more accountable and transparent Government.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, as we have said a number of times in this House, the Government is interested in a united national offensive on the question of corruption, and therefore we would be quite happy to discuss any measures that may be proposed which would result in such a united national offensive.

Dr T G ALANT: Madam Speaker, arising out of his reply, I would like to ask the hon the Deputy President a question. I am grateful that in the absence of the hon President, he answers the questions and not the Deputy Minister, because he has the authority to speak on behalf of the Government. I want to refer to Chapter 9 of our Constitution where provision is made for the establishment of, as they are called, institutions to strengthen constitutional democracy. One of these institutions is the institution of the Auditor-General. A while ago there was an attack on the person of the Auditor-General,on his qualifications and on his integrity.

[Interjections.] I want to ask the hon the Deputy President whether he or his Government has taken any measures to protect the Auditor-General.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I thought that the House had discussed the matters to which the hon member referred. The House took specific resolutions, and I believe that that is sufficient for the moment.

Mr K M ANDREW: Madam Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy President's first reply, may I ask him whether the Government or he would not agree, particularly in times of transition, that there are extra opportunities for corruption where financial management and controls fail within whatever sector or organisation or department it might be. If he were to agree with that, should Government not make a particularly strong and concerted effort, in the short term, to ensure that in terms of training, expertise and persons available for financial management control in all Government departments and institutions, that is looked at so as to ensure that financial management is of the highest calibre?

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, the Government is discussing the particular question the hon member raised. Among other things we are concerned about the level, within the ranking system within Public Service structures, of officials who handle finances. It is the general belief of the Government that in many instances such officials need to be of a higher rank because of the responsibilities that they have. Indeed, the Government is discussing this matter. We are discussing the matter in detail across the spectrum, for instance, as it would affect the SA Revenue Service, again with a view to ensuring that the people who handle public funds have the capacity to discharge that responsibility.

Mr C SALOOJEE: Madam Speaker, arising from the Deputy President's reply earlier on setting up a committee to look at corruption can he assure this House that a thorough investigation will be set up into why no action was taken by the hon Abe Williams to stamp out the rampant pension corruption in his department when he was the NP's Minister of Welfare?

Mr P W COETZER: Madam Speaker on a point of order: That hon member has just reflected on the integrity of another member, and in regard to a subject that is at the moment subject to an official investigation. Further, unlike the office bearers of the ANC, that hon member had the dignity to resign from the position he held while the investigation was going on as I say, this is unlike what we have, for instance, with regard to drivers' licences. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! I would like to be given time to consider my ruling on this particular point of order.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I think that the crux of the point of order that was raised was that this matter should not be discussed. You said that you were going to rule on that, so I do not know how to discuss it.

Mr A WATSON: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy President's reply, and in particular in regard to the organs of state that have been instituted by the Constitution to *inter alia* fight corruption, may I ask him, as the de facto Prime Minister, what steps he intends taking to discipline members of the Cabinet who disregard those matters that are described in Chapter 9 and the integrity of those involved? [Interjections.]

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, I do not know whether you really expect me to answer that question. It is not a question. It is speculation. If at any point Ministers are in violation of the Constitution in their conduct, naturally certain consequences will follow from that. However, that is a speculative thing. Action would be taken if such a thing did happen.

Department: unauthorised expenditure

*2. Dr R T RHODA asked the President of the Republic:†

> Whether he has taken or intends taking any steps following on the findings of the Auditor-General that the Department of Health incurred unauthorised expenditure amounting to R58,1 million; if not, why not; if so, what steps? N1796E

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT (for the President of the Republic): The President will await the report and recommendations of the Standing Committee on Public Accounts before considering whether it is necessary for him to take any steps following the findings of the Auditor-General that the Department of Health incurred unauthorised expenditure amounting to R58,1 million.

Dr R T RHODA: Madam Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy President's very short reply, corruption, maladministration and sleaze in general occur in states throughout the world. What I want to know is how many more errors Minister Zuma is going to commit. [Interjections.] Is she untouchable? Why is the President scared of actually sanctioning her? Why cannot anything be done about this gross maladministration in respect of taxpayers' money in this country? [Interjections.]

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, in response to the question that was posed, the President has said that he would consider this matter as soon as the Joint Standing Committee on Public Accounts has considered it and made its recommendations. The hon member now wants me to be a soothsayer. He wants me to gaze into a crystal ball and see what the future holds for us and then answer this question. I am sorry. I do not have this capacity. [Interjections.]

Dr R T RHODA: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy President's reply, this matter has been going an since 1995. We are now at the end of 1997, and it seems that the hon the President simply cannot come to a conclusion about this matter, whilst further misdemeanours and maladministration are continuing all the time. I would like to know when this matter will be brought to end.

The EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, the report of the Auditor-General, to which this question refers, was not published in 1995, but after that. The Joint Standing Committee on Public Accounts will consider this matter, and the President will act on the matter after that.

Incidence/causes of corruption

*3. Mr D DE V GRAAFF asked the President of the Republic:†

The second issue is that the hon the Minister advises us that this Bill will be proceeded with, come hell or high water presumably if there is no consensus. So much for the social partnership which he has made the centrepiece of his Ministry, stating that there has to be a social partnership. I would not be as crazy about the social partnership, but certainly the Labour Relations Act only went through because of the social partnership. Is that now going to be destroyed? I think we should be informed.

The third condition is that the Bill, as it now stands, is not the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill at all. It is the Best Conditions of Employment Bill. There is no comparable country in the world, at South Africa's stage of development, which has in place these kinds of protections and devices as a minimum floor of conditions. I am not saying that they should not exist where they are negotiated. I am saying that no country, not Brazil, not Chile, not any comparable country . . . [Interjections.] So what! [Interjections.] That Deputy Minister is meant to be at the forefront of getting investment into this country. [Interjections.] He is harming investment and job creation, and he should explain to the House . . . [Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF LABOUR: Madam Speaker, the initial short reply that I gave was intentional, so that the interpellant should put exactly the question he wanted to ask. Now that he has posed the question properly, I will answer it. The processes in the National Economic, Development and Labour Council related to the negotiations on the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill, have not been completed. The parties in Nedlac deadlocked on most of the critical issues, as a result of which we could not conclude any agreement.

I then set in motion a process involving bilateral meetings with the Ministry of Labour, Business South Africa, Nafcoc, the trade union movement, ie Cosatu, Fedusa and Nactu, to assist in the process of resolving the key issues at hand. These processes went on during the months of July and August.

At the end of that process, I reached the conclusion that sufficient consensus existed for us to bring the Bill to Parliament. The judgment of what constitutes sufficient consensus is my judgment. It is not BSA's judgment, it is nobody's judgment but mine. And, together with the Cabinet, we reached the conclusion that sufficient consensus exists.

Having done that, we are now in a position to submit the Bill to the parliamentary process. That brings me to the hon Mr Leon. The Bill will be submitted to Parliament. [Time expired.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Madam Speaker, at the outset I would at least like to say to the hon the Minister, with reference to his statement that the question was simple, that in Afrikaans we have an expression which goes: "'n Goeie begrip het 'n halwe woord nodig", which means: "A few words to the wise suffice."

The hon the Minister is saying that he will make the decision. It is a good thing for the Minister to take a strong stand and to say that he will make the decision. The question is, and with this I concluded my previous turn to speak, which process is going to be followed after that?

If consensus is in fact reached at Nedlac, will the parliamentary process take its course, will it be going to the Portfolio Committee on Labour as it should, and also will? Will the legislation then, while Cosatu has its representatives in this highest Chamber in the country, and there are enough of them here, be amended or will there be new additions?

Is the Minister going to refer it back to Nedlac to consider the amendments? Or does the strong standpoint of the Minister in saying here that he will make the decision mean precisely that he wants consensus to be reached at Nedlac, knowing full well that the legislation can be amended if it goes through the parliamentary process, and that in the end it is Parliament that decides about this, with the supporters of Cosatu who are represented here in this Chamber to include what they in fact always wanted to be incorporated?

This is very important legislation. A previous speaker made reference to it and said that it contained the best conditions of employment that exist. Labour has a fundamental influence on the economy of South Africa. The labour force eventually determines South Africa's economy. If we want a healthy economy in this country, then we should, as far as labour is concerned, play less and

work harder. Then we will be able to build and establish a better economy.

The MINISTER OF LABOUR: Madam Speaker, there will be ample opportunity to debate the contents of the Bill when it is put before the committee and also when it is put before the House. I therefore do not want to respond the way a Spanish bull would to having a red flag waved before it, because I have no intention of playing that game.

The critical issues here are that the Bill is being brought to Parliament, that it will be considered by Parliament, and that the parliamentary committee together with the House will have ample time to debate it. Hon members' views on the matter will have to be expressed at that time. We obviously have different viewpoints to those of the hon Leon about what constitutes basic conditions of employment and about what constitutes best conditions of employment. He is free to expound on those views during the parliamentary process. Nobody is going to stop him from doing so.

The process which involves business and labour in Nedlac and the bilateral meetings is now finished. The issues will have to be dealt with when the Bill is before Parliament. I have nothing further to add.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS:

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

President of the Republic:

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Is there an hon Minister who will take the question addressed to the President of the Republic? The question will stand over.

Mr K M ANDREW: Madam Speaker, I object to the question standing over. I would like it to be answered, please. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER FOR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Madam Speaker, the chairperson of my committee had me engaged in very serious matters of Parliament. [Laughter.] I take it that we are dealing with Question 1 on the Question Paper? [Laughter.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! It is Question 1 which is addressed to the President.

Moving of Parliament: formal/informal procedures

*1. Mr K M ANDREW asked the President of the Republic:

(1) With reference to the current debate concerning the possibility of moving Parliament from Cape Town to Gauteng or the Government's administration from Pretoria to Cape Town on a permanent basis, what formal and informal procedures are to be followed in making this decision;

(2) whether a referendum will be held on this matter; if not, why not; if so, what steps is he taking to ensure that such a referendum is held? N2072E

The MINISTER FOR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT (for the President of the Republic):

(1) The decision about the location of Parliament rests with Parliament. Section 42(6) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, confirms Cape Town as the current seat of Parliament, and prescribes the procedure to be followed if a new determination were to be made. This includes the attainment of a majority in both Houses of Parliament. It is to be expected that if the matter were to come before Parliament, various parties would undertake internal consultations to determine their own approaches. Parliament may itself set out informal or additional procedures to be followed, in addition to those prescribed by the Constitution, so as to guide it in taking its decision. The President prefers that there should be wide and thorough consultation on this matter.

(2) The question of a referendum to decide this issue has not specifically arisen.

Mr K M ANDREW: Madam Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply on behalf of the

President, may I ask him whether there is an ANC committee which consists not only of Cabinet Ministers looking into this matter? If so – this is the critical issue – do they have access to the reports prepared by one or more Government departments which have not been made public?

The MINISTER FOR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Madam Speaker, I would suggest to Mr Andrew that he puts that question to the ANC. [Interjections.]

Mr K M ANDREW: Madam Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's evasion, may I ask him whether there are any reports on this subject prepared by Government departments that either he or the Cabinet is aware of. If so, have those reports been made available to any persons other than Cabinet Ministers?

The MINISTER: Madam Speaker, over the years, Government departments have considered this matter and have conducted their own analyses. To my knowledge, there would be various reports available on this matter. Such reports, as far as I am aware, would not have been made available to anybody other than Cabinet and the relevant officials in the departments that may have worked on them.

Mr K M ANDREW: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply . . .

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Hon Andrew, you have not been recognised this time.

Mr D DE V GRAAFF: Madam Speaker, arising out the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to ask him whether he is aware of any cost analyses that have been done with regard to moving Pretoria . . . [Interjections.] . . . moving Parliament to Pretoria. [Interjections.] It might cost less to move Pretoria, I admit. If such a financial impact study has been made, I would like to ask by whom the study has been made and whether such a report will be made available to Parliament.

Secondly, I would like to ask the Minister if the ANC will allow their members a free vote on this issue, and whether the members of the ANC caucus of the Western Cape will be allowed to vote according to conscience, have to vote or according to instruction. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER: Madam Speaker, it is a matter of record that the ANC is one of the most democratic political parties anywhere in the word. [Applause.] I would ask the member to put his detailed questions to the ANC. I can assure him – and he will know this – that on important matters, there has never been such depth of consultation within a party as the ANC has done, for example, in the process of the drafting of the New Constitution. This is unlike the NP. I do not think he needs to be worried about our internal processes as such.

Concerning impact studies, I am aware that impact studies have been made. I am not in a position to answer as to whether the President will make them available to Parliament or not, but I will put that to him.

Mr K M ANDREW: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's previous answers, I would like to ask him whether he would not agree that if these reports prepared by Government departments have been made available to persons other than Cabinet Ministers, it would constitute an abuse of taxpayers' money and a corrupt practice?

The MINISTER: Madam Speaker, quite clearly, Mr Andrew is speaking on the basis of speculation. He will also know that I am not fully *au fait* with what constitutes proper practice as far as that is concerned. All I can say to him is that we have taken steps in Cabinet to ensure that those reports do not get distributed outside Cabinet. [Interjections.]

Executive Deputy President:

Questions standing over from Wednesday 27 August 1997:

Transkei: salary of Head of the Military Council

*1. Mr W A HOFMEYR asked the Executive Deputy President:

(a) What salary was paid to the Head of the Military Council of the former Transkei on its formation and (b) what salary increases were granted until the dissolution of the Council?

N1775E

The DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENT:

The earliest information we have been able to obtain is that in July 1991 the Head of the Military Council was earning R141 243 pa.

In October 1992 this was increased to R193 329, an increase of 36,9%. The increase was backdated at least 15 months to July 1991.

The next month, in November 1992, the salary was again increased to R211 227, an increase of 9,3%. The increase was backdated three months to August 1992.

In December 1993 the salary was increased to R211 802 an increase of 5,0%. The increase was backdated eight months to July 1993.

In April 1994, the salary was increased to R266 784, an increase of 20,3%. The increase was backdated four months to December 1993.

Overall the salary was increased by 88,9% over a period of slightly less than three years.

It is noteworthy that the last increase was recommended to the Transkei president by the Head of the Military Council on 26 April 1994 and was approved by that president on 29 April 1994.

Mr D H M GIBSON: Madam Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply – he appears to be otherwise engaged – may I enquire whether the head of the Transkei Military Council was a member of the ANC during the period in question. [Laughter.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Madam Speaker, I am not the secretary-general or the acting secretary-general of the ANC, but I do know that he joined the ANC much later. I would rather think that the question might be better put to the NP than the ANC. [Laughter.]

Mr W A HOFMEYR: Madam Speaker, I must say that I am shocked by the extent of these increases and I think that it is particularly appalling that it appears that the last increase of 20% was recommended by Gen Holomisa the day before the 1994 elections . . . [Interjections.] . . . and appears to have been approved by the president of the Transkei after the interim Constitution came into effect on 27 April 1994. I would like to know whether these increases were made legally. As far as I understand, the provision was that such increases had to be approved by the Transitional Executive Council at the time.

Secondly, I as far as I understand it, the position in the Public Service is that one's pension is basd on one's final salary. It would appear to me that these increases were granted for only one purpose, and that was to ensure that Gen Holomisa enjoyed a 20% increase in his pension for the rest of his life. Can the Minister confirm that?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Madam Speaker I am equally appalled that at the time when we were involved in the election itself, the person concerned – who was very high on the ANC's list – should at that point actually have asked for a 20% increase in salary. I would agree with Mr Hofmeyr that it is appalling.

I am not sure whether the increases were legal. But following Mr Hofmeyr's intervention, I think that I should investigate this matter and find out from those people who served on the TEC whether or not these particular increases had the consent of the TEC at that particular moment in time. I shall certainly take that matter further.

With regard to the second question, it is also my understanding, as Mr Hofmeyr said with regard to Public Service pensions that they are based on the final salary. Again it seems to me that it would be more appropriate for me to get more information on this and come back to the House on this particular question.

Mr M B MPAHLWA: Madam Speaker, further arising out of the Deputy Minister's reply, some of the problems inherited by the Eastern Cape government that relate to irregular promotions and irregular salary adjustments, some at the barrel of a gun by the officers of the security forces of the Transkei, took place in the period shortly before and after the elections. Given that these adjustments were effected as South Africans were voting for a new government, is it possible that this triggered this clamour for salary adjustments by public servants in the Transkei?

A lot of these irregularities took place because there was a general neglect of responsibilities of management by the government of the day in the

courtesy dinner in a crowded public restaurant during which general matters of interest in the nuclear area, were discussed.

Finally, Dr Stumpf confirms that no further contact had been undertaken since then (or even before then) with any Iranian Government official and that the AEC has had no business or other dealings with Iran in the past nor are any being considered at present.

Should the Atomic Energy Corporation have any business or other dealings with Iran in future, these will take due cognisance of the requirement of the LTN's nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, to which both Iran and South Africa have acceded, as well as South African legislation prohibiting the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and other international agreements, such as the Pelindaba Treaty, which has declared the African continents a nuclear weapon free zone.

(2) No.

Failure of Public Service Act: impediment to curbing corruption

*20. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister for the Public Service and Administration:

(1) Whether the failure of the Public Service Act, 1994 (Proclamation R.103 of 1994), to enforce the disclosure of the findings of closed disciplinary hearings and to make provision for protection for officials who go above their immediate superiors to report corruption, has been found to be an impediment to the Government's efforts to curb corruption; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether he or his Department intends taking any steps aimed at correcting the situation; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when? N1976E

The MINISTER FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATION:

(1) No, this has not been shown to be an impediment to the Government's efforts to curb corruption.

The principle underpinning discipline in the Public Service, is that it should be corrective in nature. Deriving from this approach, good practice dictates that discipline should be dealt with confidentially in order to protect those officials who report corruption. As such, the Public Service Act does not specifically enforce the disclosure of disciplinary hearings. The consequences of the disciplinary hearings, will of course, become known as it could entail, *inter alia*, the transfer, discharge or reduction in rank of an official.

Chapter M of the Public Service Regulations provides for a Code of Conduct for the Public Service. Regulations M4.4.1 0 of the said Code of Conduct directs that an employee in the course of his or her official duties, shall report to the appropriate authorities, fraud, corruption, nepotisim, maladministration and any other act which constitutes an offence, or which is prejudicial to the public interest. If an employee contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of the relevant Code of Conduct, he or she shall be guilty of misconduct in terms of section 20(t) of the Public Service Act, 1994, and may be dealt with in accordance with the relevant section of the said Act.

Should an official who has reported any form of corruption to his immediate superiors be victimised by the alleged transgressor in any manner, such victimisation will in itself constitute misconduct on the part of the alleged transgressor and he/she may be dealt with in accordance with the relevant sections in the Public Service Act. The reason being that the latter's actions are to the prejudice of the administration, discipline or efficiency of a department, office or institution of the State.

(2) Considering the underlying principles, no specific steps are envisaged.

SARS: money withdrawn from taxpayers' bank account

*21. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether the Commissioner of the South African Revenue Service has any powers to withdraw money out of a taxpayer's bank account; if so, under what circumstances;

(2) whether the taxpayers involved are advised of the Commissioner's intention to withdraw such money; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(3) whether any money was so seized during the latest specified period of twelve months for which information is available; if so, (a) what amount and (b) how many taxpayers were involved? N1978E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) Yes. If a taxpayer owes the Commissioner any tax or interest, the Commissioner may appoint any person in terms of section 99 of the Income Tax Act to act as the agent of such taxpayer and such agent may be required to pay over taxes or interest due by the taxpayer from moneys which the agent holds on behalf of the taxpayer.

(2) No. It would defeat the purpose of the garnishee order if the taxpayer was informed in advance that it was the intention to withdraw money from the account as he or she would ensure that there was no money in the account. In normal circumstances the placing of a garnishee order is the last resort in a long process of trying to collect tax and the taxpayer would be well aware that tax is owing and South African Revenue Service was attempting to collect it.

(3) The appointment of agents is done throughout South African Revenue Service and many millions of rands of tax are collected in this manner but statistics of the number and amounts are not kept.

Persons remitting capital abroad

*22. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether any individuals have taken advantage of the relaxation of exchange controls permitting them to remit capital abroad as from 1 July 1997; if so, (a) how many individuals and (b) what amount had so been remitted as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether consideration is being given to the further relaxation of exchange controls; if not, why not; if so, (a) what is envisaged in this regard and (b) when will such further relaxation become applicable? N1979E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) Yes

(a) Up to 31 August 1997 the number of applications processed in regard to individuals amounted to 2 035. It should be borne in mind, however, that a period of 2 to 3 weeks elapses from the original application being completed by an individual and final processing by the Exchange Control Department of the South African Reserve Bank.

(b) For the month of July 1997 the total amount remitted was R144 million, and for August 1997 the amount was R131 million.

(2) There is an ongoing review of exchange control measures, and further reforms will be made in due course.

Number of members of federation of trade unions

*23. Comdt A BLAAS asked the Minister of Labour:†

Whether he will make known details on the number of members of a certain federation of trade unions, the name of which has been furnished to his Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) what was this union's enrolled membership number as at the latest specified date for which information is available and(b)

NW blacks quit NP for Roelf

(304A)

Sowetan 11/8/97

NINE black National Party members in North West defected to Roelf Meyer's New Movement Process, leader of the group Mr Stoffel Masebo said yesterday.

He told *Sapa* from Saulspoort near Pilanesberg that a number of senior local African National Congress figures might follow suit.

"I have been inundated with calls from members of various parties since our decision became known," Masebo said. "Many have expressed interest in joining us." He said ANC members were disillusioned with the failure of reconstruction in the area.

"There is also much confidence at grassroots level in Roelf Meyer because of the productive role he played in the constitutional negotiations." The nine who have joined Meyer include party youth league leader Mr Thabo Mosebo.

The others are: Ms Gertrude Moatshe, Mr Ben Moemedi, Mr David Mothlapa, Mr Aaron Kgaledi, Mr Nkae Pilane, Bishop R Makete and Mr Benjamin Matlou.

● The NP was dealt another blow yesterday following the defection of alleged former super-spy Mr Russel Crystal to the Democratic Party.

Announcing the acceptance of Crystal, DP leader Mr Tony Leon said the party had not discussed Crystal's shady past. Crystal worked closely with the International Freedom Foundation in the United States, which was thought to be a front operating for the SA military intelligence.

South Africa fails the world corruption test

(304A)

Scandinavians have the cleanest hands

Star 1/8/97

South Africa was the 33rd most corrupt country out of 52 countries surveyed by Transparency International in 1997, according to a statement received in Johannesburg from its Berlin-based headquarters yesterday.

The TI said its corruption perception index (CPI) applied a ranking system designed so that countries perceived to be least corrupt were given the highest scores out of 10.

No country scored 10, but Denmark, Finland and Sweden (first, second and third respectively) had emerged in top place, while New Zealand (fourth) had slipped down from its 1996 position. And, for the second year running, Nigeria had emerged in the lowest position (52nd) and was perceived to be the most corrupt country of all those analysed.

Points awarded to some countries were: Denmark 9,94; Finland 9,48; Sweden 9,35; New Zealand 9,23; Australia 8,86; United Kingdom 8,22; France 6,66; Italy 5,03; South Africa 4,95; China 2,88; Russia 2,27; and Nigeria 1,76.

The TI said the CPI, "issued at a time of growing public concern about corruption throughout the world", was based on seven international surveys of business people, political analysts and the general public. It reflected their perception of corruption in 52 countries.

German university economist Dr Johann Graf Lambsdorff, who developed the CPI, said only 52 countries qualified for inclusion in the index. This was because a minimum of four surveys were required.

"Given that there are almost 200 sovereign states in the world today, it is certain that there are many countries that may be perceived as even more corrupt than those listed on the CPI, but we do not have sufficient information to rank them all." – Sapa.

SA seen growing more corrupt, survey shows

(34) (304A)

BD 1/8/97

Belinda Beresford

INTERNATIONAL business perceived SA as more corrupt than it was a year ago, Transparency International's corruption index showed yesterday.

SA was ranked as the 33rd least corrupt out of 52 countries. Last year it was 23rd out of 54. Transparency International based the index on international surveys of businesses, the public and political analysts. The index gives a score between zero and 10, with 10 indicating an absence of corruption.

SA scored 4,95, slipping from 5,68 last year. Countries with similar rankings include Malaysia, Taiwan, Italy and Poland.

Denmark received the highest ranking with 9,94, followed by Finland and Sweden, with New Zealand in fourth place after leading last year.

Nigeria was again perceived as the most corrupt country with a score of 1,76. It was followed by Bolivia, Colombia and Russia.

Finance Minister Trevor Manuel said perceptions of corruption in government "could be higher because there is a lot more reportage than ever before. Stronger safeguards are in place and are working."

Business affected perceptions about SA, but this was an area where government had less control. Accountability regarding the ethics of parliamentarians was higher than before.

Transparency International chairman Peter Eigen said the index was a measure of lost opportunities since corruption deterred foreign investors.

However, it should be recognised that while developing countries tended to be ranked lower, much corruption was "the explicit product of multinational corporations".

Business Against Crime GM David Clephane said impressions of corruption were extremely important. "It is perceptions that affect foreign investment, and therefore I believe we should be taking them very seriously."

Sapa-AFP reports that a study by a Harvard professor showed a rise in corruption levels had the same effect on foreign investment as raising the marginal tax rate more than 20%.

National Party disowns leader of so-called defectors

Cape Town – The leader of a so-called breakaway group from the National Party in North West Province, Stoffel Masebo, had been charged with theft of party property in 1994 and was no longer a party member, the NP said yesterday.

It was reacting to a statement released by Masebo on Thursday that he and eight other black NP members in the province had defected to the New Movement Process of Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa.

NP provincial secretary Martin Petzer said none of the so-called NP members referred to by Masebo were known to the party. "It seems as if opportunistic individuals who feel uncomfortable in a party with discipline, specific values and good organisation look for an opportunity to denigrate the party and try to market themselves to other parties in the process."

NP provincial chairman Dieter Kruger said Masebo, who was an NP election organiser in 1994, had been released from all duties after he failed to return a vehicle and other party property. Charges of theft had been laid against him. The car had been hired from a company in Brits and was recovered by another party member a few months later. – Sapa

Star 21/8/97 (3049)

Public protector likes to fly gravy plane ... at the taxpayer's expense

ARG 2/8/97 (304A)

SUKASHA SINGH

Durban – South Africa's public protector Selby Baqwa has shown he has a taste for the high life – but at the taxpayer's expense.

Mr Baqwa was invited to Durban last month to attend the public international law symposium hosted by the Ford Foundation.

All the international delegates were flying economy class, but Mr Baqwa requested an upgrade to business class. The organisers declined. So his office, which is funded by taxpayers, paid for him to get a better seat.

A Toyota Venture was sent to pick him up at the airport. The driver waited for him for two hours, but Mr Baqwa had made other arrangements. He hired a "VIP car" – at the taxpayer's expense, of course. Mr Baqwa said he was not aware that a driver had been sent for him.

Speaking from Pretoria yesterday, he outlined how he saw his job.

"The duty of the public protector's office is to investigate complaints from the public about Government maladministration."

Justifying his actions, he said: "I am appointed at a certain level, which is similar to an Appellate Division judge. At this level I am entitled to certain things, like flying first-class."

He said he thought it was unfair that he should be singled out for criticism as this was just "part of the package at which I operate".

He said he did hire a "VIP" car, but did not disclose whether it was a Mercedes-Benz or a BMW.

"It's just not me to go on a frolic and be extravagant. I have often used my own car at my own expense."

Said a source close to the law symposium organisers: "When I asked him about his airline ticket, he smugly replied that he always flew business-class. I wanted to punch him, because he couldn't see how frustrated I was that he was wasting my hard-earned money."

Democratic Party spokesman Mark Lowe said he was shocked at Mr Baqwa's behaviour.

"He's the public protector. How can he set such an appaling example? How is the public supposed to have faith in him to preside over matters like these when he is guilty of over-spending?

"This epitomises all that's bad in this country when our very own public protector is caught flying high on the gravy plane."

No money in politics

Many South African politicians have relinquished their posts for greener pastures in the business world. **Gumisai Mutume** explains why ...

NOT ONLY IS Nelson Mandela stepping down as leader of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) in December, but he has also stated that he will not seek a second term as President of South Africa.

Mandela's five-year term ends in 1999 and, by not seeking to renew it, the highly respected statesman is setting a precedent on a continent where heads of state are not known to cede power voluntarily after just one stint in office.

But initial trends show that, in post-apartheid South Africa, politicians do not feel obliged to hold on to their posts.

One of the country's most respected politicians, Cyril Ramaphosa, last year resigned as ANC general secretary to go into business, and the general secretary of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Ziba Jiyane, also bade farewell to the opposition party recently.

Premier and ANC chairman in Gauteng Tokyo Sexwale is soon to follow.

The list goes on: ANC acting general secretary Cheryl Carolus says she will not stand for the position at the party's national conference in December; Labour Minister Tito Mboweni announced last month that he, too, may be leaving after his first term.

Juicy prospects

Other, lesser-known, politicians have also resigned and many of them have headed for business, where a black empowerment campaign is providing prospects too juicy to reject.

"The political game here is not zero-sum," says Norman Aphane of the Africa Institute of South Africa. "There are alternatives; if you don't make it in politics you can try your luck in business.

"It is different in a lot of African countries."

It did not take former ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma long to figure out that the grass is greener on the business side. He left politics to become managing director of Transnet, a transport corporation which also runs South African Airways.

He rakes in nearly R1 million a year, almost double what Mandela earns annually.

However, in many countries on the continent, politics is the only paying option, notes Aphane. Hence former president Denis Sassou Nguesso in civil war-ravaged Congo realises he has to wrestle control from president Pascal Lissouba if he is to enjoy the benefits of the power he previously held.

It took an armed struggle to oust Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko after three decades in the driving seat. On South Africa's eastern border, one of Africa's last ruling monarchs, Swazi King Mswati III, has resisted calls for democratic change.



President Nelson Mandela ... setting a precedent by not seeking to renew his five-year term when it ends in 1999.

Local commentators say many African countries can take a cue from South Africa, where politics is not a life-or-death situation.

According to deputy general secretary of the South African Communist Party Jeremy Cronin, South Africa is going through a phase of political transformation, and politics is becoming a career rather than a mere pursuit.

Professionalised

He argues that the days when people found themselves in politics by virtue of their activism are over and that politics is becoming professionalised.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa has another explanation for the trend. He denies that the ANC has been hit by a wave of resignations. Instead it is undergoing "a deliberate redeployment of our cadres to other sectors of our community that are also important in the transformation process".

For instance, Ramaphosa is now leading the drive towards economic empowerment for blacks, who control less than 10 percent of the

"The political game here is not zero-sum. There are alternatives. If you don't make it in politics you can try your luck in business"

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shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

But some within the ANC fear there may still be too much idolising of one man – Mandela. There is talk within the ANC that a special role may be created for him at the party's national conference in December.

"The conference will look at electing new people to office, according to new criteria expected to drive the party in a new direction," says a source within the party who requested anonymity.

"By implication, there is dissatisfaction that very little mileage has been gained over the last three years. One of the major debates is that the ANC does not seem to be influencing the direction Government is taking."

He says some of the resignations by Members of Parliament are because "people feel they are being whipped into certain directions even if they feel otherwise".

Last October when the ANC demanded that its members vote in favour of the abortion Bill, some voted with their feet.

The ANC national conference will also see Winnie Madikizela-Mandela putting in a challenge for the deputy presidency of the party. There is pressure, especially among the women within the ANC, to elect a woman to the position, but the Women's League has not reached consensus on the candidate.

The conference, the first since the ANC came to power in 1994, is likely to see further attrition in the top ranks of the organisation as new criteria for leadership come into play.

"Our challenge is to ensure healthy and comradely competition, so that we emerge from this process united, with a leadership suited to the current phase," notes the ANC.

"In the context of the current phase of the national democratic revolution, account also has to be taken of the capacity of individuals to play a leadership role in governance." – *Sapa-IPS.*

Cost probe backs Pretoria Parliament

ARG 4/8/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A Cabinet committee report on the cost of the twin-capital system comes down heavily on the side of Pretoria.

The report, dating from 1994, cites a preliminary costing of R42-million by the Public Works Department for converting state-owned buildings in Pretoria "to meet parliamentary needs".

"Even if this figure is increased by R58-million to a total of R100-million, this would be recovered within about four years," it says. This would be made possible by "income from rental and sale of parliamentary property in Cape Town over a five-year period", which it estimates at more than R261-million.

It is understood that figures quoted in the report are being used as arguments in favour of moving the legislative capital to Pretoria, as the African National Congress prepares for a formal decision on the issue at its national conference in December.

The terms of reference of the Cabinet committee were to look into the costs of running the current system, implications of the current system with regard to governmental efficiency, and the projected costs of a single capital.

On the last issue alone, the report considers only the possibility of basing both the executive and legislative arms of government in Pretoria, without considering whether this could be done in Cape Town.

Using figures obtained from ministries which responded to a survey, it estimates the cost of the twin-capital system to each ministry at more than R16-million for 1993.

To this, says the report, should be added the cost of maintaining accommodation while Parliament was not in session. It quotes a 1992 figure of R6-million.

Queried by the compilers of the report about the adverse effects of the twin-capital system, three departments said they experienced no adverse effects from the absence

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Cost probe backs Pretoria for Parliament

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from Pretoria of directors-general and other top officials, while one acknowledged some problems but said it felt it had developed an effective management system to deal with the situation.

The Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology said the decision-making process was delayed or complicated and there was "administrative duplication of the controlling process".

The Department of Transport said the trips to and from Cape Town meant the director-general had to shoulder "abnormal responsibilities in Cape Town supporting the minister in his normal programme of duties and responsibilities".

The report does acknowledge that enhancing the efficiency of government could not be resolved simply by changing the arrangement of capitals.

"Even if there was to be one legislative and administrative capital, other in-depth measures would be required to attend to this aspect."

A Public Works memorandum outlines the conversion of Pretoria's old Capitol Theatre, at present being used as an indoor car park, into the new National Assembly.

It says the old Raadsaal could be used for the Senate and committee rooms (the report was written before the inauguration of the National Council of Provinces).

It says the old provincial administration building could become offices for Parliament and the old Netherlands Bank building an entrance to Parliament.

Commission reprimands finance team

BD 4/8/97 (304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The Presidential Review Commission — responsible for investigating government restructuring and service delivery — reprimanded the finance department yesterday for treating the commission shoddily.

Commission chairman Vincent Maphai said he hoped other departments, still to make presentations to the commission, would be better prepared than finance because the commission had a vital role to play regarding the overhaul of the public service.

Maphai accused finance of having given a "shoddy and flimsy" presentation at a public hearing on Saturday.

The hearings were intended to give the commission a sense of where departments were on restructuring and service delivery, he said.

Finance director-general Maria Ramos, who was abroad, would, on her return, be asked "to present a thorough submission on the transformation progress in her department.

"The commission also required written answers to questions on the respective roles of the department of finance and state expenditure, the implications of three-year rolling budgets, intergovernmental relations and finance's transformation programme."

A source close to the commission said the housing department was another whose presentation recently had been "very disappointing".

The commission was left with a sense that departments such as finance and housing "are without any transformation policy or that serious transformation is not taking place".

The finance team was "junior" and unable to answer questions adequately, the source said. "They were ill-prepared, and some people on the finance panel came across as arrogant."

However, finance chief director Andrew Donaldson, who attended the hearing, said yesterday: "The only sloppy thing about the presentation was that the commission started proceedings an hour late."

The presentation had been "perfectly well argued", and the finance team had spent "a great deal of time" on the role of state expenditure and the issue of three-year budgeting.

He denied that the finance team was junior. The team had consisted of a deputy director-general, two chief directors and two directors.

A finance ministry spokesman said there had been significant transformation of the department; it was a lot more representative; and had gained a reputation for being professional in the way it addressed issues. The ministry would ask to make a fuller presentation to the commission.

Maphai said it seemed the problems encountered were linked to the commission's own problems in its first six months of operation, which could have resulted in some departments not taking the commission seriously.

The commission was plunged into crisis earlier this year when the public service department rejected its business plan and the then chairman Bax Nomvete resigned. However, Maphai stressed yesterday, the commission's problems were a thing of the past and it

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Finance

Continued from Page 1

was functioning well.

The commission's task was to investigate the extent to which government departments had restructured in the light of the new political dispensation and, more specifically, in light of the need to meet delivery requirements.

Maphai complimented Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe and his department, who also addressed the commission at the weekend, for "the level of the department's delegation and the high standard of their presentations". He also praised the safety and security department.

The commission has so far focused on service delivery departments. The departments of health, water affairs, welfare and education are scheduled to address the next round of public hearings next week.

Maphai said the commission would embark on "intensive" visits to departments on completion of the hearings next month.

It would have to report to President Nelson Mandela at the end of the year.

Fiercest debate looms over whether Parliament should relocate

304A 5/8/97 Star

By Jovial Rantao
Political Correspondent

Parliament is a place where the most heated of debates take place – ones which affect the lives of millions of voters who elected the 490 MPs to represent them.

However, the greatest debate since the ANC swept into power might be about whether the 18th-century buildings in Cape Town should be abandoned for a location in Gauteng.

The debate about the seat of the National Assembly is one that has joined the city's residents across the political divide. It's also one that has divided political parties, including the ANC, as MPs make their feelings known.

The Cabinet has established a committee to investigate the possibility of Parliament moving to Pretoria or Midrand. It is headed by Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe, whose responsibility it would be, once a decision has been taken about the move, to construct new buildings or renovate existing structures. Radebe's ministry would also have to conduct a cost analysis of the move.

The committee, which has already received a number of reports on the matter, is expected to report back to the executive soon.

Its report would be used for a public discussion on the matter. It has been speculated that the report would favour the creation of a single national capital in Pretoria.

Labour Minister Tito Mboweni and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile are also members of the sub-committee. The ANC has left the matter in the hands of its National Executive Committee, which is expected to pronounce itself on the matter before the end of the year.

If the decision is not taken, the matter would be left for the ANC national congress, scheduled for the North West in December.

Once the decision has been taken, it would be taken to the ANC parliamentary caucus and then to the assembly for a debate and vote.

In the meantime, the ANC has started to conduct a study from which a discussion document would be drawn.

The ANC wants the debate to be national and not to be confined between Cape Town and Pretoria.

The ANC would consider the financial implications of relocating Parliament or keeping it in Cape Town, the political implications, the impact of the legislative process and MPs' abilities to service constituencies.

Some Gauteng-based ANC MPs are known to have openly expressed their wish for the national legislative authority to move.

They have cited the strain that their families have been subjected to, leading to the break-up of some.

The opposing view is that moving Parliament would not change the situation because if Parliament moved to Gauteng, the Western Cape-based MPs would also take strain.

Some ANC MPs believe that a decision on the seat of the national legislature would come almost immediately after the announcement on which city will host the 2004 Olympics.

There's a strong indication that if Cape Town was awarded the Olympics, it would be easy for Pretoria to get Parliament.

Although he has not made his feeling public, President Nelson Mandela is known to have privately expressed the wish that Parliament should be moved to Pretoria, where he spends most of his time.

Most diplomats favour Pretoria as the seat of Parliament.

But Cape Town has been the most vocal and has launched fierce resistance to what it sees as a threat to itself, the economy and the city's jobs.

Most opposition political parties are willing to allow a free vote for their members. The National Party is one such party, although its leader is known to have been unequivocal that he wants Parliament to remain in Cape Town.

The cities of Pretoria and Cape Town have been at each other's throats with opposing bids.

The Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP) has launched a mass communication programme aimed at keeping the legislature in Cape Town.

Kallie Hanekom, executive director of the organisation, said the people of the Western Cape, "correctly or incorrectly", were beginning to feel that they were being punished.

He said that the increasing calls for a Western Cape secession were understandable.

With "the threat to move Parliament, with its concomitant loss of jobs, prestige, economic manifestations and other negative consequences, you have a growing and increasingly powerful lobby to move towards secession.

"Although moving Parliament would have a devastating effect on the Western Cape economy, the issue is not simply one of economic.

"It's really revolves around a number of factual and emotive issues that threaten to be extremely divisive," he said.

The fierce debate over the issue started as early as 1909.

At that time, Pretoria threatened to opt out of the Union of South Africa unless it was given capital status.

"It's clear therefore, that there's precedent for cities, in this case Cape Town, taking their status very seriously."

In 1910 it was decided that it was both fair and wise for the sake of unity, to leave the administrative capital in Pretoria and the legislative capital in Cape Town.

The initial decision was a good one and had meant that both the economic and unifying effects of a twin capital have worked.

"In the 1950s, the then apartheid government tried to move Pretoria permanently away from Cape Town to Pretoria.

"The current Pretoria lobby is therefore in good company. The liberal atmosphere in the Western Cape has an enormous effect on legislators, and is one that should not be underestimated," Hanekom said.

CAP has accused the Pretoria lobby of dirty tricks by "abusing" the President's name by saying that he was in favour of Pretoria as the unified capital.

Although the Pretoria lobby has not been that vociferous in the activities, they have the support of most politicians in the majority party, who favour Parliament to be in Pretoria.

'If Parliament goes, city will suffer'

CT 6/8/97 (304A)

CHRIS BATEMAN

MOVING Parliament to Pretoria would harm Cape Town's property market and cause long-term economic damage to the region, Western Cape MEC for Economic Affairs the Rev Chris Nissen predicted yesterday.

Nissen said the effect on the Western Cape economy would ultimately harm the national fiscus, adding: "We want to tell the Pretoria business boys, leave Parliament in Cape Town."

Nissen reiterated that the ANC in the Western Cape had agreed to support the local Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP).

He was responding to a 1994 cabinet committee document, leaked to the media yesterday, in which it is claimed that the cost of converting state-owned buildings in Pretoria to house Parliament could be recovered within four years. The document claimed this could be done by renting and selling Parliamentary property in Cape Town.

The 1994 cabinet committee report is reliably understood to be central to the pro-Pretoria lobby within the ANC, which is jostling for the upper hand in advance of the governing party's national conference in December — when a watershed decision is expected.

Nissen cited the Australian example in which the 1980 budget for a new parliamentary complex in Canberra was A$278 million (about R954m) — versus the actual A$1 billion (about R3,43bn) it eventually cost to build 11 years later.

The parliamentary committee's terms of reference were to look into the costs of running the current system, the implications of the current system with regard to government efficiency, and the projected costs of a single capital.

It did not probe the possibility of basing the executive and legislative arms of government in Cape Town — but explored only the cost implications of Pretoria's combining the two functions.

It estimated the cost of the twin-capital system at more that R16m for 1993, adding R6m for the cost of maintaining accommodation while Parliament was not in session.

Nissen said keeping Parliament in Cape Town would save the taxpayer at least R216m a year.

Cape Town's CBD would suffer a major economic blow with an immediate reduction in office space and office labour demand, resulting in plummeting property values and a decrease in new building activity.

The need for the services of caterers, computer and communication specialists, as well as research and information staffers would drop dramatically — and the hotel, restaurant and taxi industries would feel the bite.

The greater degree of isolation from national public life would affect years of positive international business lobbying by his department and local businesses, Nissen said.

Parliament was one of the strongest pillars in building the Western Cape economy and removing it would affect the region.

"Cape Town deserves promotion as an asset to South Africa and the rest of the world," Nissen said.

Mr Kallie Hanekom, executive director of CAP, said the ANC had committed itself to making a formal decision on the seat of Parliament no sooner than its tri-annual national conference in Mafikeng in December.

He said that with 40% of South Africa's population living between Port Elizabeth and the Mozambican border, MPs and parliamentary staff would have to travel long distances regardless of where Parliament was situated.

CAP had "abundant empirical research" which demonstrated "beyond doubt" that the other provinces were equally sensitive to marginalisation by Gauteng and favoured Cape Town as the seat of Parliament.

He said CAP surveys showed a majority of ANC members in Gauteng endorsed this view.



Face of public access: Fazela Mohamed

R1 buys you full story of financial affairs of MPs and Cabinet ministers

ARG 6/8/97 (304A)

ZUBEIDA JAFFER
PARLIAMENTARY EDITOR

Armed with just one rand, you can enter room VIII at the Houses of Parliament and walk out with a three-page document listing the gifts and financial interests of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The record shows the deputy president holds no directorships in companies, nor does he hold any shares. He owns a private residence in Johannesburg which he describes as being a five-roomed flat, but has declared ownership of no other land or property.

Attached to his disclosure is a list of gifts received from foreign governments – a computer and printer valued at R10 000 from the Taiwanese vice-premier and a R500 compass from the Portugese government are two items on a list of 18 gifts recorded from May to October last year.

And if you don't have a rand for administrative costs, you are free to study the records of all MPs in the spacious lounge, which leads into a small office where you will find the newly appointed registrar of members' interests, Fazela Mohamed.

In appointing Ms Mohamed, Parliament has made it possible for the public to have direct access to the declared financial interests of all parliamentarians, including cabinet ministers.

As former finance head of the Constitutional Assembly, 36-year-old Ms Mohamed is not a stranger to the rigours of financial accountability.

Her new position will give effect to the commitment of parliamentarians to complying with the code of conduct in regard to financial interests.

Parliament bid selfish, Pretoria told

ASHLEY SMITH
STAFF REPORTER

(304A)
ARG 7/8/97

MEC for economic affairs Chris Nissen says Pretoria's bid to wrest Parliament from Cape Town is "selfish".

At the announcement yesterday that more than R1-billion in foreign investment in the Western Cape is in the pipeline, Mr Nissen said he had warned last year that moving Parliament would have dire consequences.

"Thousands of people will lose their jobs as a pillar of the province's economy will be removed. To limit the effect of a possible move we have been trying to boost other sectors so that the risk factor is spread wider," he said.

"If Parliament moves, we will have to continue spreading the economic risk to other sectors. However, for now we have to continue the fight to keep the country's seat of power in the Western Cape."

He said it was "selfish of the Pretoria boys" to want Parliament.

By Adrienne Roberts — Email: roberts@tml.co.za

When perception becomes the reality

FM 8/8/97

The Corruption Perception index

In the latest of a series of depressing pronouncements on SA by foreign agencies, Transparency International (TI) says SA's score on its Corruption Perception index has deteriorated from 5,68 out of 10 last year to 4,95.

The index doesn't measure actual levels of corruption; it measures what people think. So SA's worsening image could just be a bad byproduct of good changes. Better transparency is exposing the ghost workers, kickbacks and consulting scandals.

But from the foreign investor's point of view that's irrelevant. The perceptions "may not always be a fair reflection on the state of affairs, but they are reality," says TI.

A recent study by Harvard's Shang-jin Wei, based on the 1996 index, establishes a clear link between levels of corruption and foreign direct investment (FDI).

Bribes act as a sort of tax on business. In 1996 Singapore's score was 5,5 points higher than Mexico's. Wei finds that difference to be the equivalent of raising the marginal tax rate by over 20%.

And a 1% rise in the marginal tax rate reduces inward FDI by about 5%. This implies that if Singapore lost 6 points, it could lose all its FDI.

One thing that emerged from SA's scoring was that respondents varied widely in their opinions.

A high average variance of 3,08 implies that 66% of SA's scores ranged between 3,3 and 6,8.

Hong Kong's variance was also high. TI suggests the reason in both cases could be insecurity about "future developments."

It's hard to identify trends based on TI's research, which only goes back to 1995, but other historical data suggest perceptions of countries like Mexico, Poland and Portugal have improved, but those of China, Russia and SA have deteriorated (see chart).

The index is based on seven surveys by well-known bodies like Gallup International. Local and expatriate executives, staff and the public were polled. ■

PERCEIVED CORRUPTION

	1996	1988-1992	1980-1985
New Zealand (rank*: 1)	9,43	9,30	8,41
Sweden (3)	9,08	8,71	8,01
Canada (5)	8,96	8,97	8,41
Singapore (7)	8,80	9,16	8,41
UK (12)	8,44	8,26	8,01
US (15)	7,66	7,76	8,41
Portugal (22)	6,53	5,50	4,46
South Africa (23)	5,68	7,00	7,35
Poland (24)	5,57	5,20	3,64
Mexico (38)	3,30	2,23	1,87
Russia (48)	2,58	3,27	5,13
China (50)	2,43	4,73	5,13
Nigeria (54)	0,69	0,63	0,99

*out of 54 countries

SOURCE: TI & GÖTTINGEN UNIVERSITY

CAPE TIMES
FRIDAY, AUGUST 8, 1997

Roelf after 'new' SA citizens

(3049)
CT 8/8/97

STELLENBOSCH: South Africa still did not have a multiparty democracy and not much had changed from the old order, Mr Roelf Meyer the New Movement Process leader, said yesterday.

Because of the divisions of the past, South Africans still lived in different worlds and looked at issues, such as crime, from totally different perspectives.

There was still a "majority-minority" situation and the country was still caught up in confrontation politics, he told a public meeting here.

South African politics had to undergo a fundamental transformation to establish a true South Africanism that all citizens, regardless of race or language, could associate with.

In their hearts, people had to look at each other as South Africans regardless of race or language.

A government incapable of dealing with crime, for example, would summarily be voted out of office in countries where proper multiparty democracy existed.

However, in South Africa there was at this stage no chance of that since most African National Congress supporters did not see any alternative political home, because one did not exist at present.

Meyer said his movement wanted to change this by bringing all South Africans together in a spirit of true South Africanism, emphasising the fight against crime and creation of jobs to bring about real empowerment of poorer communities. This was the only way to establish good governance and civil order.

The new party, to be launched in conjunction with Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum on September 27, did not intend to be yet another opposition party representing a small minority, although it would start as such.

It aimed at becoming a real and viable opposition capable of challenging the government for power. The new party hoped to have its policy manifesto formulated and in place by March next year with a view to the 1999 elections.

It was aimed particularly at the country's youth, and the results of the new party in a transformed South African political scene would not necessarily be visible in "our lifetime". — Sapa.

Seven new MPs to take seats

(304A) 8/8/97

REPLACEMENTS for seven MPs who have vacated their seats, including New Movement Process leader Mr Roelf Meyer, will be sworn in on Tuesday, August 19.

Ms Maggie Ratsoma, a former member of the Pretoria metropolitan council, will replace Meyer, who lost his seat on July 1 when he left the NP.

The ANC's Jennifer Ferguson, who left politics to pursue her career in the arts in Sweden, will be replaced by Ms Thembeka Gamndana, a former senator and Mpumalanga MPL.

Free State MPL Mr Ace Magashulu will take up the seat vacated by Mr Mthawelanga Mfebe.

Ms Jennifer Schreiner will be replaced by Ms Ntombazana Botha from the Eastern Cape; the new gender commission chief, Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso, by Ms Mzwandile Masala; and Ms Joyce Mashamba by Mr Noel Williams from the Western Cape.

Dr Ismail Cachalia will trade his place in Parliament with Mr Indries Naidoo from the Gauteng legislature.

No replacement was named for Mr Raymond Suttner, SA's new ambassador to Sweden. — Sapa

The mother of all capitals ...

ARG 8/8/97 (304A)

ANDREA WEISS
City Editor

Cape Town should not only be the seat of Parliament but also the administrative capital, provincial Minister of Local Government Peter Marais told Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki today.

Mr Marais's assertion drew a smile from Mr Mbeki, who is on an official visit to the Western Cape today and tomorrow.

At a briefing attended by local councillors and members of the provincial cabinet, Mr Marais said: "It is not enough just to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

"To ensure efficient service and reliable, clean administration in our country Cape Town should be the administrative capital of South Africa."

Mr Marais said the campaign to keep Parliament in Cape Town had drawn the signed support of nearly 700 000 people, some of whom would lose their jobs if Parliament moved to Gauteng.

He said business had handed in a petition of more than 50 000 signatures of people who understood the economic reality of losing "one of our prime assets".

Mr Marais said that in spite of severe budget cuts by central Government, the Western Cape had managed to deliver "what we have set out to do".

Another issue raised by Mr Marais was the budget cut to the centre for local government training which had curtailed training programmes for disadvantaged councillors. Mr Marais said although the centre was doing valuable work, it had been reduced to "a shadow of its former self through bureaucratic dawdling".

He said the current "fashion" of budget cuts to the province would soon disable the department of local government in its obligation to monitor and regulate local government.

Mr Marais appealed to Mr Mbeki to stop central Government "interference" in provincial matters, especially in a dispute between Constitutional Affairs Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa and himself.

Open democracy bill brings govt, public information flow to the fore

Political correspondent **Wyndham Hartley** looks at the implications of the controversial democracy bill

(BD 8/8/97) (BD 8/8/97)

FORMER US President Richard Nixon's enthusiastic underlings committed various crimes, including the now legendary break-in at the Watergate offices of his Democratic Party opponents, in their highly successful campaign to secure for him a second term of office. Highly successful because right in the middle of the Watergate scandal he was re-elected by one of the largest landslides in US election history.

The point is that throughout Watergate, Nixon used national security as an excuse to stop publication of his personal tapes and records. When forced to reveal the information by the courts it tied Nixon to the scandal and drove him from office.

SA's open democracy bill seeks to allow access to information held by government. In theory at least it should allow individuals to see files held on them by the intelligence community, the tax man, and so on. While the final form of the bill is still a secret, which will be revealed only when it is finally tabled in Parliament, concern has been expressed about the limitations and exemptions which would allow information officers to refuse requests for information.

There are about 15 of these in early drafts and right up there among them is "defence and security of the republic". This section is extremely broad in the first draft of the bill and also allows information officers the right to not even confirm that information requested exists if it could harm the national security and defence.

The subsection says that a reason for the refusal has to be given unless giving a reason would also harm the security and defence of the nation. Along with this clause are also ones allowing refusal if the safety and security of individuals and property will be threatened and if it will harm law enforcement operations.

Refusal is also allowed if release of information would "cause substantial harm to the capacity of the republic to maintain or conduct relations in the best interests of the republic". Another says refusal can take place if the disclosure of a policy is likely to frustrate the success of that policy. Information can be denied if the request is "manifestly" frivolous or vexatious or if a thorough search fails to find the information requested. The officer would have to describe efforts taken to find the information.

Another controversial exemption allows a request for information to be refused in order to protect the commercial information of a third party. Refusal is also allowed if the information was supplied to a government department in confidence.

All the exemptions and limitations on the duty of government to disclose information raise the crucial question of who will interpret requests.

For example, an application to the National Intelligence Agency is refused because the information officer says the request would harm the security of the country. The individual says he is being monitored by the intelligence community for political reasons. In refusing the request, the information officer further refuses to acknowledge the existence of the file or simply concocts a fake search and denies the file exists. Who decides the rights and wrongs?

Some of the words used are also alarming. What do "would be likely to" and "manifestly frivolous" or "substantially to impede" mean? It is possible that the language used allows such a wide interpretation that not even the courts will be able to rule that refusal of a request was unjustified.

It is unreasonable to expect government to release information that will genuinely harm national security but, as in the case of Nixon, the legislation could provide a convenient escape route for political interference in the operations of government.

It is for this reason that one of the early proposals for the open democracy legislation involved the creation of "information courts". This, apparently, ran into trouble with the justice department which feared the under-resourced and overstretched justice system would be inundated and attention diverted from the more immediate concern of prosecuting criminals.

The latest version of the bill, which was approved by the cabinet in June, has still not been made public.

Just how the exemptions and limitations will finally read and what administrative and judicial means of appeal will be provided will be of considerable interest when the bill lands.

Interesting question: if the open democracy bill was already law, could it have been effectively used to force government to make it public before it was tabled in Parliament?

The irony is that the development of an open democracy law has been less than open and some key role players have yet to see even the outdated first draft, let alone the latest version.

Debate on this — in public hearings and in Parliament — promises to be vigorous indeed.

Roelf who?

Cool reception for Meyer on Cape Flats

ARG 9/8/97 (3049)

JULIAN JACOBS

It appears Roelf Meyer will bring little ex-National Party support from the Western Cape when he forms a new party with Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Meyer's whistle-stop tour of the Cape Flats this week showed few people knew of him and fewer supported him.

Mr Meyer's traditional support lies in Gauteng where he was the former National Party leader.

Mr Holomisa, on the other hand, has drawn thousands of former African National Congress supporters to rallies in Cape Town.

'We want to begin a new political home for all South Africans'

Some observers believe the new party could hurt the ANC more than it hurts the National Party in the battle for control of the Western Cape in the 1999 elections when the ANC will try to wrest control of the province from the Nats.

Mr Meyer's New Movement Process and Mr Holomisa's National Consultative Forum are due to merge into a new party on September 27. Mr Meyer left the NP earlier this year and Mr Holomisa was expelled from the ANC last year.

Mr Meyer's two-day tour of the Mother City this week was accompanied by a Cape winter storm and produced little for his comfort.

Speaking to Saturday Argus in his car between Delft and Valhalla Park, he said: "Starting from scratch is what is required to successfully become a truly reflective party of the rainbow nation of South Africa".

Asked about the little support he had received on his visit, he said he had not come to Cape Town to recruit, but was on a fact-finding mission. Mr Meyer said his telephone had been ringing non-stop since he arrived on Tuesday evening. But judging from his tour of NP strongholds on the Cape Flats, the Nats have little to fear.

Although municipal councillors have defected to him in other provinces, he has attracted no NP councillors in the Western Cape to his movement. His ally, Mr Holomisa, has already secured a significant public support base among disgruntled ANC supporters in the black townships of the Cape Flats.

Ironically, Mr Meyer was at the forefront of winning black supporters for the NP, but during his two day visit he has mainly concentrated on coloured and white communities. Arriving at a Bellville South community centre on a cold, wet Wednesday, Mr Meyer greeted a few people. Some were surprised at his visit, others didn't know who he was.

Similar scenes played themselves out at a visit to the local community health centre where hundreds of people were more interested in having their lunch than in seeing which politician was present.



Former allies: two National Party supporters chat to Mr Meyer in the Bellville South Community Health Centre



OBED ZILWA

Frozen out: Roelf Meyer, touring Delft's new Eindhoven suburb, chats to two greengrocers, but he found little support for his new party to be launched next month with Bantu Holomisa

But, Mr Meyer said his movement was only a couple of weeks old in the Western Cape and there was a lot still to do. He said his recruitment drive would start in earnest as soon as the new party had been launched and a name given to it.

"We want to begin a new political home for all South Africans. The current form of opposition politics has no potential for growth and if they stay as they are they'll become extinct."

He said after the September 27 party launch, a new political order would come into being, with a new character.

Early in the week, Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said his party was considering an election alliance with the new political party to be formed by Mr Holomisa and Mr Meyer.

After the DP's municipal by-election candidate polled 61,79 percent of the votes in a municipal by-election in the traditionally National Party stronghold of Witbank in Mpumalanga, Mr Meyer said a follow-up meeting would be held with the DP on August 13. The Democratic Party also recently defeated the NP in Kempton Park with a win of 76 percent to 24 percent of the vote.

CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1997

Does your hinterland lie there?

CT 11/8/97 (304A)

THE Mother City may soon lose Parliament. Contributing Editor **ANTHONY HOLIDAY** examines some of the factors underlying a possible move.

MORE than three years ago, in the wake of South Africa's first democratic election, the prospect that Parliament would migrate from Cape Town to Gauteng seemed merely very probable. Now it looks like a stone-cold certainty.

Around that time I warned in this column that a powerful lobby within the African National Congress favoured such a move and that the movement to keep Parliament where it was would find the pressures for change difficult to eradicate, not least because Cape Town and its environs are steeped in the symbolism of a colonial era, which clashes head-on with the aspirations driving the ANC and the national democratic revolution it has spearheaded.

What has happened since is simply that the ANC has had time to absorb and reflect on the message which the majority of Western Cape voters sent it in 1994 by delivering the province into the hands of F W de Klerk and Hernus Kriel's National Party. The election campaign had been marked by the Nats' use of "swart gevaar" tactics to inflame the racist prejudices and fears that have long been endemic to a section of the Cape's coloured people.

Those coloureds who voted for the very people who had driven them from their homes under the provisions of the infamous Group Areas Act and offered daily affronts to their dignity by enforcing so-called "petty" apartheid, possibly failed to realise and probably failed to care that they were dealing a death-blow to the Mother City's hopes of remaining the legislative capital.

Nonetheless, it was inevitable the signal they sent would eventually be read by Thabo Mbeki and some of his most influential advisers in a way that made keeping Parliament in Cape Town look like a political impossibility.

To fail to see why this should be so is to fail to understand that political power is largely a matter of symbolism and the aura of legitimacy or illegitimacy which symbols confer.

'To fail to see that keeping Parliament in Cape Town appears to be a political impossibility, is to fail to understand that political power is largely a matter of symbolism'.

Parliament and its culturo-geographical context symbolise to the whole nation the source of the laws that rule everybody's lives, so long as most people consent to obey them. If that source is perceived to be sited in a region where doctrines of racial exclusivity still hold sway and where the majority of the inhabitants are, at best, reluctant participants in the process of nation-building, then there is a danger that the populace of the other eight provinces will grow contemptuous of the laws Parliament enacts.

Moreover, Mbeki has recently given expression to his vision of the South African and African future, encapsulated in his talk of an African Renaissance. Whatever criticisms may be made of this vision, there is no doubt that the Deputy President is serious about it and that it is an inclusivist and Africanist vision. There is quite simply no place in it for making conciliatory gestures to the exclusivist pretensions and traditionalist prejudices of certain Afrikaner and coloured messiahs in the Western Cape. And to allow Parliament to stay put would be to make just such a gesture.

Further, the proponents of the idea that Parliament should not be moved fail to grasp that this same Parliament has enacted, not a federalist, but a unitary constitution with federal features. That circumstance makes it seem anomalous that the legislative seat of the country should be at its southernmost tip in Cape Town and not at its industrial and commercial hub in Gauteng. Unitary constitutional arrangements, when coupled with macro-economic blueprints such as Gear in post-colonial set-ups, tend to favour centrist and not devolutionary blueprints of how the state should be organised.

Compared with these factors, the usually touted considerations such as the cost of moving the legislative centre and whether Cape Town gets to host the Olympics in 2004 carry little weight.

It is said that, if the Olympics come our way, it would be unfair to grant Cape Town the additional privilege of keeping Parliament.

But surely it could equally be said that, if the bid is lost, the disgrace of failure ought to count against Capetonian claims to be the seat of national legislation. As to the arguments about costs, both removers and retainers can bring a host of " damned lies and statistics". But surely no one doubts that, while the short-to-medium price of the move would be heavy, having a single legislative and administrative capital would be cheaper in the long run.

The arguments that really do not deserve to be taken into account in deciding so weighty a matter are such as that Cape restaurateurs would suffer loss of revenue, or that the tourists would have one less attraction to gawk at and photograph, or that the sentimental feelings of Cape traditionalists would be hurt by the move.

The Cape has more than enough scenic and historical advantages to keep tourists and Captour and the restaurateurs happily occupied, so long as we have the wit to use them to the best advantage.

As to tradition, the pre-colonial Cape was not a seat of government as the colonisers who came later understood the term. It did have — before the Dutch and English invaders destroyed most of it — a 25 000-year-old Khoisan artistic and religious culture which ought to become the true source of Cape pride.

If good sense prevails, visitors to the Company's Gardens may read a meaning different to that intended by the slogan beneath the statue of Cecil Rhodes, imperiously pointing northwards, which says : "Your hinterland is there."



RHODES: Imperiously points north to the "hinterland" from the Company's Garden.

Dr Anthony Holiday teaches philosophy at the University of the Western Cape's School of Government.

CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1997 ★

'GRAFT HIGHEST IN EAST CAPE'

Corruption costs R20bn — NP

(304A) CT 11/8/97

THE NATIONAL PARTY says corruption levels of up to R24 million in the Western Cape are "statistically insignificant" compared with provinces like the Eastern Cape. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

CORRUPTION in South Africa cost taxpayers between R13,5 billion and R20bn over the past three years — and now threatened the institutional collapse of the public sector, the National Party claimed yesterday.

The NP claimed, according to a 375-page analysis of newspaper reports from July 1994 to June 1997 on national and provincial government, that corruption had "spiralled out of control" over the past three years — and had actually accelerated over the past year.

In the Western Cape corruption was found to range between R11 million and R24m over that period — "statistically insignificant" compared with the Eastern Cape's R1,4bn.

The NP initiative comes in the wake of a Transparency International corruption index which ranks South Africa the 33rd most corrupt of 52 countries polled.

The NP report said maladministration alone, during the first three years of ANC government, cost the country between R7,9bn and R10,6bn.

The findings were based on a computer analysis of 2 000 newspaper articles over three years, coding the reports into categories and then interpreting the data.

NP spokesman Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the figures could not be attributed solely to greater transparency under the current regime.

"This is not an ANC-bashing exercise — we have a huge problem in South Africa, things are going much worse now. It's between the citizens and the government," Van Schalkwyk said.

Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar said last night that the NP had not only tolerated but encouraged corruption "so that we inherited a civil service here and in the TBVC states, created by them, where corruption was rife".

He said the ANC recognised that corruption "was not a white issue. Corruption is non-racial — it can infect anyone and the (inherited) environment has infected people in several parts of the country. It's like a cancer which we inherited — I think it's spread and has to stop."

Omar said he wanted to congratulate the NP for "becoming converts to the anti-corruption struggle".

He said the Heath Commission — once criticised as "draconian" — would be a vital anti-corruption instrument in creating "instant, summary probes", with special tribunals issuing corrective orders.

He would be meeting Finance Minister Mr Trevor Manuel this week to ensure Judge Heath was "properly equipped and adequately financed".

The NP report said fraud constituted the second most important form of overall corruption, involving between R5,5bn and R9,6bn. Corruption at a national level (excluding the provinces) involved between 75 000 and 102 790 people.

Besides threatening the collapse of the public sector, the current situation blackened the character of the state and tarnished South Africa's image, deterring foreign investors.

Recommendations about combating corruption were ignored in some provinces and the will to eradicate corruption was "largely absent in the leadership of provinces such as the Eastern Cape", the report concluded.

Corruption was more prevalent in the Eastern Cape (71 cases involving between R1,462bn and R2,728bn), followed by KwaZulu-Natal (54 cases involving between R1,152bn and R1,607bn), the Northern Province (25 cases involving between R174m and R652m).

The Free State had 48 cases involving between R103m and R222m, and Mpumalanga 37 cases involving between R34,5m and R88,5m.

The NP proposed that President Nelson Mandela declare the prevention of corruption a national priority, in the same category as crime.

It said that while there were individuals in the ANC government concerned about the problem, a general commitment to combat corruption was absent.

ET 12/8/97.

Corruption 'thrived under apartheid'

(3049)

JOHANNESBURG: The NP was trying to blame the ANC for corruption which flourished and entrenched itself during the apartheid days, the ANC said yesterday.

The party was responding to a "bizarre" NP statement at the weekend which said corruption had cost taxpayers between R13 billion and R20bn since the ANC came to power in 1994.

The NP had accused the ANC of being soft on corruption and called on President Nelson Mandela to declare the prevention of corruption a national priority.

But ANC national working committee member Dr Pallo Jordan dismissed the NP report as "cheap politicking", saying it did more to expose the NP's naïvete than it did to address the issue.

He said the NP was refusing to acknowledge it was the ANC which fought for an open, transparent government with institutions and mechanisms charged with rooting out corruption.

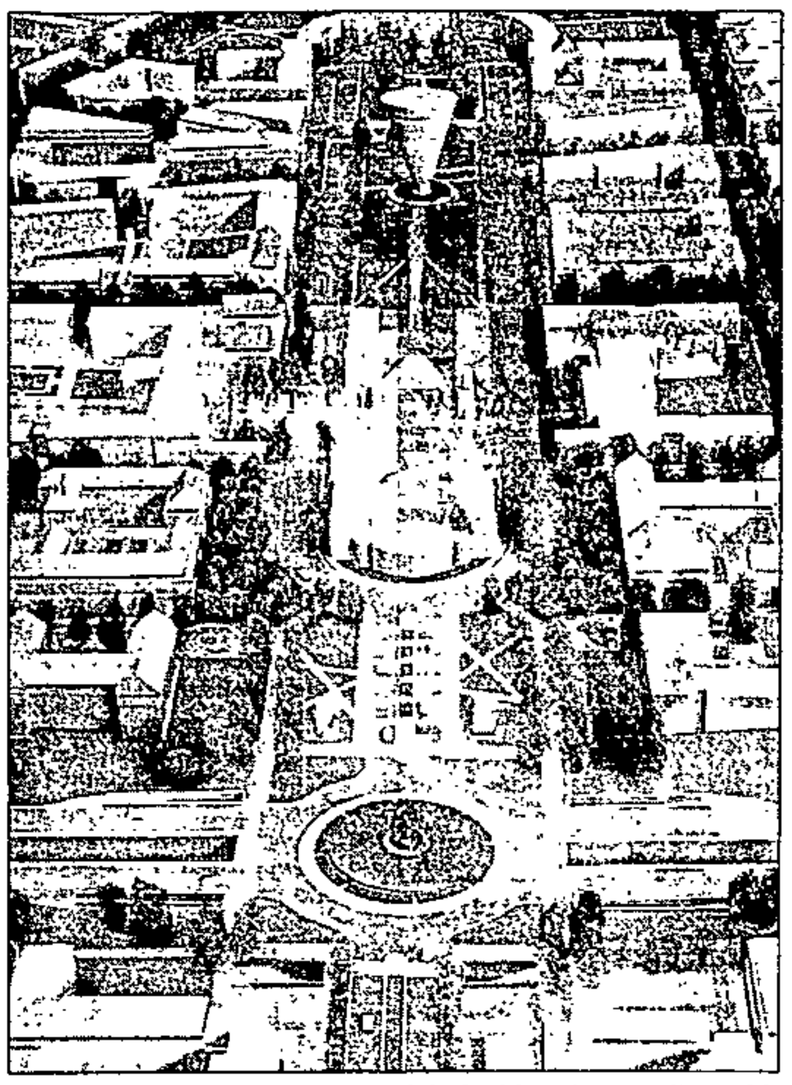
Jordan said these included the public protector; a revamped Auditor-General's office; a vibrant Public Accounts Committee; a code of ethics for public servants and an Open Democracy Bill which encouraged civil servants to blow the whistle on corruption.

ANC spokesperson Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, during the Deputy President's budget vote in June, had refused to support an ANC motion tackling corruption. He said De Klerk was extensively criticised for this.

Jordan noted that the Auditor-General had last week released a report about billions of rands lost through corruption in the NP's homelands system.

He described as bizarre the NP's refusal to co-operate with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by revealing "the networks it set up, which were not only involved in gross human rights violations, but were also part of the syndicates of crime and corruption within and outside state structures".

Jordan said the NP report could not be called "serious research" as it relied extensively on press clippings which were based largely on allegations rather than facts. The NP had also not reported the actions taken to address the corruption. — Sapa



Greenfield development ... a model of Midrand's new CBD, with Parliament at the centre.

Parliament in Midrand 'a winner for everyone'

Star 14/8/97 (304A)

Cape Town could focus on tourism and the new consolidated capital could benefit both Pretoria and Johannesburg

By Rodney Victor

Should Parliament move north, the choice for a new site will be either Midrand or Pretoria, says Jenny Lehr, chairman of the Midrand parliamentary bid committee.

Cape Town was likely to lose out on cost implications alone, claimed Lehr. The budget for moving hundreds of civil servants from Pretoria to Cape Town every year was R325-million for the current financial year alone.

Establishing Parliament in Pretoria would further burden an already imbalanced urban infrastructure, she said, and would do nothing to improve the lifestyle and situation of disadvantaged communities in that city.

Pretoria was deliberately ignoring Midrand's challenge for Parliament, because Midrand posed a "very real threat" to Pretoria, Lehr said. Pretoria's strategy appeared to be working, at least as far as the public was concerned. Most people thought Pretoria was now fairly well-established as the winner, and that Midrand had faded from the scene.

Midrand had many advantages over Pretoria, Lehr said. It had none of the political baggage of Pretoria, associated in many people's minds as "the regime" and "the enemy".

"Pretoria is too associated with apartheid and its progeny such as the Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act, which were ruthlessly executed from Pretoria, to be a truly unifying national capital."

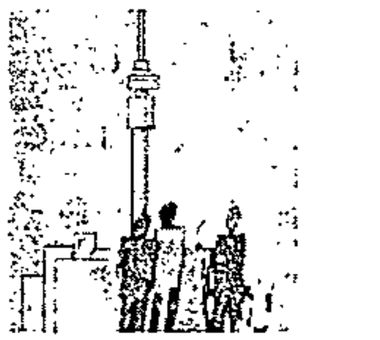
Only Midrand could provide a tangible symbol of the new South Africa, Lehr said. "It's not so much a question of relocating Parliament, but of establishing the first truly democratic Parliament in South Africa."

Midrand had years ago identified the need for a CBD, in a green-field site east of the existing Halfway House commercial area, Lehr said. It would include a 1,6km boulevard off Old Pretoria Road, and would have a unique mix of commercial, residential and recreational open spaces close to each other, enjoying 24-hour usage.

"The lights came on when it was suggested parliament be moved. We realised we could provide an ideal environment for Parliament, and Parliament could complement what we had been planning - a sustainable model city for the new century which will make us highly competitive in the global market."

Parliament in Midrand would create a win/win situation for all three cities bidding for parliament, Lehr said.

Cape Town would be able to focus on its tourist attractions and market itself as a world city of peace. It would regain



METROBEAT

the 50% of its hotel beds occupied by bureaucrats for nine months of the year, and it would at last get the international convention centre it needed - in the present parliamentary complex once it had been converted.

Pretoria would remain South Africa's administrative capital and would become part of a new consolidated capital region which would include the financial capital of Johannesburg, the legislative capital of Midrand and the administrative capital of Pretoria.

Midrand's bid would not cost South African taxpayers a cent, Lehr said. Midrand had proposed establishing a Section 21 (not for gain) People's Company which would give the public a stake in the new parliamentary buildings.

Establishing Parliament in Midrand would be a tremendous spur to development throughout Gauteng, Lehr said.

The bid committee had suggested building a new high-speed rail link from Johannesburg, through Midrand, to Pretoria. It had also proposed constructing an additional circular rail line which would enclose the entire core area of Gauteng.

The circular line would branch off the existing Kempton Park/Pretoria line and pass though Tembisa, Ivory Park, Midrand, Lanseria, Zuurfontein, Roodepoort, Soweto and on to Alberton, where it would join up again with the existing Kempton Park-Vereeniging line.

Gauteng would then have strong north/south and east/west lines, as well as a circular line, which would create strong economic corridors and draw previously disadvantaged communities into the urban mainstream.

Whatever decision was taken over the siting of Parliament, it had to be an informed and educated decision, and in the best interests of the nation.

The bid committee was concerned that the new South African constitution did not provide any clear mechanisms for making that decision, Lehr said. There was no formal committee responsible for weighing up the options and deciding.

"Whatever process is decided on, it obviously must be fair, transparent and democratic," Lehr said.

Inkatha hardliner joins ANC

(304A) ARG 14/8/97

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Walter Felgate, controversial Inkatha Freedom Party hardliner and long-serving lieutenant to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today joined the African National Congress.

Mr Felgate, long seen to be at the centre of Inkatha's brinkmanship in boycotting Kempton Park negotiations, threatening to boycott the 1994 elections and keeping the party out of the Constitutional Assembly, said he had become "totally estranged" from Chief Buthelezi.

His defection was prompted by his strong disapproval at the IFP's decision to withdraw from the Kwazulu Natal peace process in protest at allegations about senior Inkatha leaders having known about hit-squad activities.



Turned: Walter Felgate

Mr Felgate today accused the IFP of being undemocratic and said he was tired of working within the confines of confrontation politics.

He was welcomed into the ANC by S'bu Ndebele, Kwazulu Natal MEC and provincial deputy ANC chairman, at the party's headquarters in Durban.

Grinning from ear to ear, the newly dubbed "comrade Walter", accepted an ANC membership card, T-shirt and cap designating his new political colours.

Specialists dispute corruption ranking

BD 14/8/97 (Bus) (30pt)

Tim Cohen

LONDON — An emerging market specialist organisation has taken issue with a corruption poll published earlier this month which showed standards in SA were slipping.

However, in many ways, the Merchant International Group's analysis casts SA in a worse light than the poll published earlier this month by Germany-based Transparency International.

The Transparency International poll, based on responses of businesses and analysts, ranked SA 33rd out of 52 countries, down from 23rd out of 54 the year before. Nigeria, the only other African country polled, was worst.

Merchant International questioned the approach of the Transparancy International survey, saying the subjective nature of opinion-based polls meant that it failed to distinguish the type and scale of corruption in each country.

Merchant International spokesman Peter Gore said his company tried to measure how problematic it was to do business in a country rather than only how much corruption existed.

Although there were dangers associated with corruption, a whole range of factors affected the success of investments, including terrorism, cultural idiosyncrasies, unfair market competition, vested interests and extortion, he said.

The company said this range of factors was quantified in what it called "grey area dynamics" which it then compared with a market consensus of a country's risk rating.

So how did SA measure up? SA's rating had decreased slightly from last year and it ranked alongside countries like India and the Philippines.

Gore warned that the two methods were not directly comparable. Several countries ranked well below SA in the Transparancy International list were measured as better venues for business by Merchant International.

Gore listed both blue-collar and white-collar crime as SA's biggest problems, but said this did not mean that European companies were not interested in investing in SA.

Wake-up call for Capetonians

CT 18/8/97

304A

RYLAND FISHER
EDITOR

IF Cape Town loses Parliament, there are many people who would argue that we have only ourselves to blame.

As MPs return to Cape Town this week to begin the third session of the year, there is a great need for all Capetonians to join hands to ensure Parliament stays in our city.

The harsh reality, which many Capetonians find hard to understand, is that the decision will not be based only on economic factors, such as the potential loss of jobs in the city and province or the savings on travel costs, which appear to be Pretoria's biggest argument.

No, the decision will probably be based on a mixture of political and personal factors. One of the personal questions members of Parliament, the majority of whom are Africans, will be asking themselves is: just how welcome am I in this city?

The answer — and this may come as a surprise to many Capetonians — more than likely will be: not very welcome.

But if the truth be told, Cape Town has been slow in advancing from being a coloured labour preference policy area to being a part of the greater South Africa where Africans are in the majority and don't feel unwelcome.

Racism is still a big problem in the Western Cape and the great divide, while noticeable between whites and coloureds, is even greater between Africans and the rest.

If coloured, white and Indian Capetonians want to keep Parliament, they must accept this fact and see it as a challenge they have to overcome.

They must show a strong commitment against racism and condemn as social outcasts people who bandy racial abuse with apparent impunity and with the blessing of their peers.

Failure to deal with racism will make Cape Town's chances of keeping Parliament so much more difficult.

And it is already a near-impossible task. There is talk that a decision has been taken by the African National Congress and that its MPs, including those from the Western Cape, will be given no option but to vote along party lines.

The likely scenario is that the ANC's final decision on Parliament will be taken at its national congress in December. But it is possible that the decision will be taken sooner.

Capetonians have little time to convince members of Parliament, especially those in the ANC, that Parliament should stay in our city.

While we have been caught up in the excitement, positive and negative, around Cape Town's bid to host the 2004 Olympics, we have not paid much attention to the issue of retaining Parliament.

All Capetonians, whether they be in business, sports, trade unions, political parties or municipalities, must assess their role so far in the campaign to keep Parliament in our city.

Some businesses and municipalities have given millions of rands to the Olympic Bid campaign, but the Citizens' Alliance for Parliament (CAP) has had to get by on meagre handouts.

CAP has been mandated, by a broad alliance of organisations and in a petition signed by more than 700 000 people, to fight to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

The financial support from local businesses and municipalities, however, has been close to pathetic.

At the Cape Times we have decided to throw our full weight behind CAP and, in the next few weeks and months, we will be reporting and commenting extensively on the issues involved in the fight for Parliament.

We urge all Capetonians to get involved. If we lose Parliament, it will be too late to cry.

Survey shows ANC govt is losing support

(304A
Sowetan 21/8/97

HSRC poll says an astonishing 73 percent of SAfricans suspect civil service is corrupt

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's popularity has grown, but so has public discontent with his government, according to a survey released in Pretoria yesterday.

The Human Sciences Research Council survey shows that 73 percent of all South Africans suspect the civil service is corrupt, while 64 percent think the Government is wasting taxpayers' money.

Only a third of those questioned were satisfied with the country's economic situation. A total of 2 197 South Africans above the age of 18 were polled in February.

Sixty-one percent feel Mandela is doing a good job, compared to 60 percent in February last year. Satisfaction with the way in which the country was being governed had dropped from 53 to 43 percent over the same period.

Levels of dissatisfaction in this regard have risen from 31 percent to 38 percent from February last year to February this year.

Satisfaction with provincial governments had also taken a negative turn, with only four provinces receiving a nod of approval from more than 50 percent from their voters.

They are North West, where 60 percent of people indicated a positive sentiment towards the provincial government, Western Cape (58 percent), Northern Cape (53 percent), and Kwazulu-Natal (52 percent).

Only 48 percent of Gauteng residents feel positive towards their provincial government. The figure is 47 percent in the Northern Province and the Eastern Cape, 45 percent in the Free State, and 43 percent in Mpumalanga.

The premier with the highest approval rating is Popo Molefe of North West (47 percent). Arnold Stofile of the Eastern Cape is the least popular premier at 24 percent.

The positive ratings of other provincial premiers are: Manne Dipico (Northern Cape) 42 percent; Tokyo Sexwale (Gauteng) 39 percent; Hernus Kriel (Western Cape) 38 percent; Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri (Free State) 33 percent; Ben Ngubane (KwaZulu-Natal) 32 percent; Mathews Phosa (Mpumalanga) 28 percent, and Ngoako Ramatlhodi (Northern Province) 27 percent.

"We clearly have a crisis in local government," the HSRC's executive director for population and development Vincent Maphai told reporters at the release of the findings. "There has been a drastic drop of faith in our local governments." – *Sapa.*

Nats refute Games 'deal'

Sowetan 20/8/97

By Ido Lekota
Political Reporter

THE National Party has dismissed suggestions that the outcome to the current debate about moving Parliament to Pretoria depended on whether Cape Town was successful in its 2004 Olympics bid.

Spokesman for Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel, Mr Chris Koola, said yesterday the NP was opposed to Parliament moving whether "Cape Town got the Olympic bid or not".

"Even if we get the Olympics that cannot compensate for the job losses if Parliament is moved to Pretoria.

"At least 10 000 jobs will be lost. Therefore the two events should not be linked," Koola said.

Recent media reports speculated that there could be a compromise between the Western Cape government and the African National Congress to move Parliament if Cape Town won the Olympic bid.

Meanwhile, within the ANC the debate has been halted pending the decision to be taken at the party's executive committee at the end of the year.

However, ANC sources said moving Parliament to Pretoria would be "suicidal" for the organisation.

They said it was now time for the ANC to consolidate itself in the Western Cape "due to the lack of delivery from the NP-dominated provincial government".

EFFECT ON BUSINESSES AND JOBS FEARED

CBD 'will die' if House moves

CT 20/8/97 (304A)

IF PARLIAMENT leaves Cape Town, much of the city centre could become an empty shell. As embassies and their staff move out, residential properties could also be affected, **DIANE CASSERE** reports.

IF Parliament goes, the Cape will lose its status as the "Switzerland of South Africa", the place where investors buy to secure their future, said MEC for Economic Affairs Chris Nissen.

Moving Parliament to Pretoria would impose severe economic losses, particularly in Cape Town's central business district, said Nissen.

"The most conspicuous economic damage will occur in terms of the property market."

The immediate decline in the demand for office space would be accompanied by pressure to lower rents and a steep drop in demand for office-related labour, Nissen said.

"This in turn will bring about a decline in property values and result in a decrease in new building activity. The abandonment of office space will also have a significant impact on business and employment in the region."



'SEVERE LOSSES': Chris Nissen

The move would be a disaster, said Mr Johan Snyman, of Medium-Term Forecasting Associates. The company specialises in building research.

"Apart from the economic implications, the whole north-south debate would be opened up again if the Cape was to lose Parliament. It would polarise the country," said Snyman.

He is more concerned about CBD than residential property.

"It will be a sad day if the embassies leave us," he said.

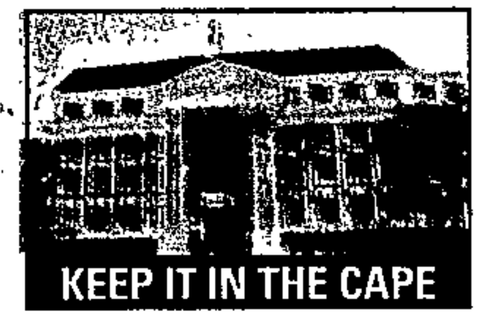
"Places like Acacia Park could be absorbed into the market. But the CBD is suffering as it is.

"The property sandwiched between Parliament and Plein streets might be filled, but new development that would have taken place elsewhere will not and the alternatives for developers will be fewer.

"If Parliament goes to Pretoria, there will be a fall-out for the Cape Town CBD. It may take three years, but it will happen.

"There is a whole industry surrounding Parliament — for instance, translators and lawyers who are geared to advise their clients on parliamentary legislation. A move would impact on all that."

Snyman is sceptical about a "prefabricated" Parliament, for which existing buildings in Pretoria would be used. "Forget that. Have you ever known a parliamentarian not to spend money? They are going to build — they spend millions of rands of other people's money."



KEEP IT IN THE CAPE

Mr Kallie Hanekom, executive director of the Cape Alliance for Parliament, said estate agents had told him there was already insecurity — and not only in the CBD property market.

"The residential market will start to suffer, too. Constantia and other upmarket areas will lose status when the diplomats move ... to Pretoria."

Mr Erwin Rode, of Rode and Associates, is less pessimistic than others about the future of the CBD if Parliament moves. He agrees, however, that property values in the Parliament-Plein street area would be affected, as would retailers.

"In the long-term, it depends on what they do with the old Parliament building," Rode said. "The move can't be good news, but if it happens in the next two years there is every chance that Cape Town could take it on the chin."

The buildings used in Cape Town for parliamentary purposes, as listed in the city of Pretoria's submission to the Constitutional Assembly, are: Tuynhuis; Westbrooke; Groote Schuur; Highstead (Groote Schuur Estate); 120 Plein Street; Good Hope Building; Regis Building; Barclays Bank Building; Rygersdal flats; Acacia Park; Laboria Park; Pelican Park; Mouille Grange; Stalsplein House; the old president's council building; Parliament; Marks Building; state houses for ministers, deputy ministers and directors-general; Reserve Bank Building; 100 Plein Street; Walmer Estate.

TIMES
TIMES, AUGUST 19, 1997
1997

PRETORIA 'GAINING SUPPORT'

Union, ANC split on move

CT 19/8/97 (304A)

PERMANENT PARLIAMENTARY staffers are against moving to Pretoria but may be outvoted as it appears that most ANC members are in favour. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

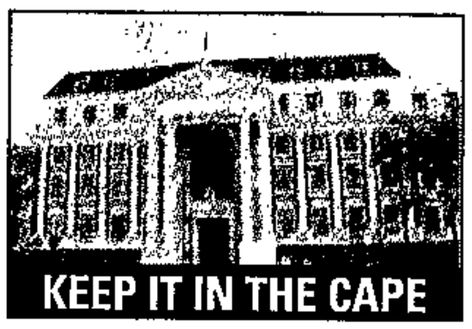
THE growing threat that Parliament will be moved to Pretoria is dividing the ANC, alienating union members and could disrupt the family lives of hundreds of civil servants.

At least 900 people would face a "move or be retrenched" option with the impact on family life described as "devastating" by Mr Koos Kruger, Western Cape manager of the Public Servants' Association (PSA).

"Most households have two breadwinners — if one has to move it would have a devastating effect," he said.

Staffers would be faced with resigning and finding another job, moving their entire family, or splitting married couples.

However, the association's general manager, Mr Casper van Rensburg, said only eight percent of the PSA's membership — about 11 000 of the 136 800 members — were employed in the Western Cape and that "fewer people will be inconvenienced by having Parliament in Pretoria".



While Kruger appealed for the use of modern technology to reduce travel costs for MPs, departments and support staff, Van Rensburg said moving to Pretoria would "save millions in the long run and be quite a lot cheaper on staff costs".

A snap survey among the 850 permanent parliamentary staff members found no one in favour of a move to Pretoria.

"It's *terra incognita* — a foreign land. We love it here and it would be a huge problem for us," one long-serving staffer said.

Van Rensburg said he knew of "no complaints" among his members — but emphasised that the PSA had no membership among the 850 staff employed directly by Parliament in the Mother City.

He said the PSA had about 80 members dedicated to keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

Most of the permanent parliamentary workers are members of the National Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu), which yesterday maintained its non-committal stance in the controversy.

Cape Town parliamentary chairperson of Nehawu, Mr Buddy Ntsong, agreed that members' options were unattractive but insisted that his union was "not ready to take a position".

"We have to listen to all the lobbies — we're talking to the Citizen's Alliance for Parliament later this week and then we want to hear Pretoria's side — only then can we take a position," he said.

He said Nehawu had maintained this neutrality since 1995.

Nehawu's vice-chairperson for the region, Ms Pam Harris, referred all queries to chairperson Mr Michael Makwawiba, who failed to respond to messages.

A small group of Nehawu members are known to believe they are being "sacrificed on the altar of alliance unity with the ANC (and its national position)".

Van Rensburg said moving Parliament would "save millions because all departments are here except for provincial administrations".

"At least you have Gauteng there and others close by, while (with Parliament) in Cape Town all the ministers, directors-general and public service commissioners and staff have to travel and live with attendant expenses," he said.

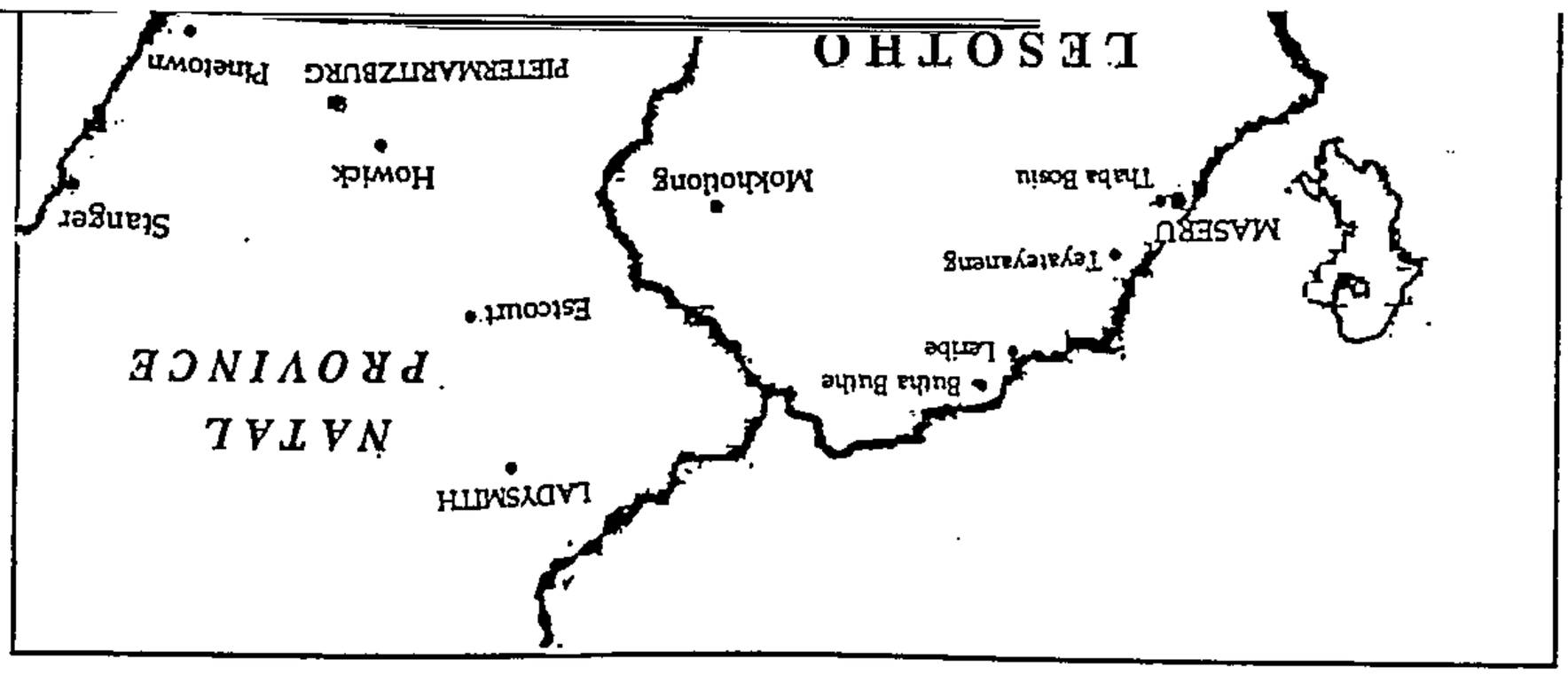
Van Rensburg admitted that setting up parliamentary infrastructure in Pretoria would be expensive.

Kruger questioned the sense of the move. "Is it really a priority for South Africa now with all the ambitious upliftment plans we have on our limited budget?"

Within the ANC, the veil of silence remained yesterday, though members admitted privately that the July national executive committee report, which favoured Pretoria, was gaining support.

However, the Western Cape region of the ANC supports the bid to keep Parliament in Cape Town.

The strongest indication of the eventual outcome is expected to emerge from the ANC's national executive committee meeting in Gauteng on October 10.



MINISTERS GAGGED

Cape-Pretoria debate hots up

304A

CT 18/8/97

WHEN MINISTERS are forbidden to speak, and opposing sides start firing financial figures at each other, only one thing is certain: it's going to be a bruising battle. **KARIN SCHIMKE** and **CHRIS BATEMAN** report.

As the end of the year and the ANC national congress looms, the risk of Cape Town losing Parliament to Pretoria seems to be growing.

There are signs that the choice between the two cities will be made in a most undemocratic way.

Mouths have been zipped and keys thrown away when it comes to the issue of where Parliament should be. Reporters are finding it increasingly difficult to extract information from ANC politicians on the matter.

Senior government ministers who once spoke openly and vociferously about their preference for the siting of the nation's legislative capital have been muzzled. They have apparently been asked by the President not to speak openly on such a sensitive matter.

This has made open debate on the matter difficult. Many ANC members have grumbled their dissatisfaction.

The NP and DP, on the other hand, have not shied away. They are allowing their members to speak freely on their preferences. The leadership of both parties have stated their preference for keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

Senior ANC sources both in Parliament and in the Western Cape last week agreed to speak to the Cape Times only on condition of complete anonymity.

"You can imagine how touchy such a heavyweight issue is within the party — and how divisive it can be," one said.

Parliament's home in the Western Cape is already entrenched in the Constitution and can only be changed by a vote of 201 members of Parliament, subject to approval by the National Council of Provinces (NCOP).

If the NCOP does not approve, only a vote of 280 in favour can change the seat of Parliament. Also, since the seat of Parliament can be changed only by an Act of Parliament, a lengthy process of public hearings and consultations must be undertaken.

This is in line with the latest — and most lasting — line from President Nelson Mandela that it is a decision that will be taken by the country's people. This view has been endorsed by ANC Western Cape leader Mr Dullah Omar. He is on record as saying "there are processes in motion to determine the final seat of Parliament and it is now up to the people of South Africa to decide".

While the ANC in the Western Cape took a resolution last year at the provincial conference and the provincial general council to support the campaign for Parliament to remain in Cape Town, a gagging order has been placed on party heavyweights — mostly national ministers with high-profile portfolios.

At the same time, an ANC sub-committee of the party's national executive committee (NEC) has presented a report heavily weighted in favour of Pretoria as recently as July this year.

"There was debate around the figures they presented to the (NEC) supporting Pretoria and it was decided to go back to the drawing board," one source said.

However, the very weighting of the report was an indication of "which way the wind is blowing", especially given that the NEC sub-committee comprised Deputy-Speaker Ms Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, Labour Minister Mr Tito Mboweni and Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe.

Rumours that the ANC's national working committee further consolidated this bias in favour of Pretoria at a meeting just weeks ago were unfounded, the sources claimed. "There'll be much more direction when the NEC meets again (on October 10 in Gauteng)," one said.

ANC Western Cape spokesman Mr Cameron Dugmore said that although the party in the province supported the campaign to keep Parliament here, "we do understand that it is an issue that will be resolved at NEC level".

Executive director of the NP and MP Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said his party's view was that Parliament should remain in Cape Town. "But we will allow a free vote. It is a decision that must be taken by Parliament and all members should be allowed a free vote.

"Using a sub-committee to decide the issue which is binding on all the ANC's members of Parliament is totally wrong," Van Schalkwyk said.

Mr James Selfe, DP executive director and MP, said: "It would be a very bad day indeed for national reconciliation if the ANC decided to steamroll this thing through."

The DP's position is that it is dangerous to concentrate all economic and political power in one province, and the party's leader Mr Tony Leon said yesterday it was outrageous that a decision affecting Parliament should be made at one party's national congress "albeit the leading party's congress".

"It erodes the sovereignty and supremacy of Parliament and is a decision that should be made by the very people who will be affected by it, that is, all the members of Parliament."

While the financial implications of having the legislative and administrative centres of the country in two cities almost 2 000km away from one another were the initial stimulus of the debate, it has evolved into something much more emotive. Supporting sums for either side of the argument can be reeled off depending on which economist one believes, say some, but the real issue is deeper.

Van Schalkwyk touched on the what many believe to the "the real threat" of losing to Pretoria. "It will definitely lead to a feeling of isolation in the Western Cape and nobody should be surprised if there is a feeling of aggressiveness and of (the Western Cape) wanting more independence if it happens."



KEEP IT HERE: Kallie Hanekom, of CAP. PICTURE: KAREN RETIEF

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WORKER DEMANDS: The Cosatu leadership belt out their demands during yesterday's mass march through the city centre. ● See Page 9 PICTURE: O

If Cape Town loses, Parliament's workers lose

CT 21/8/97 (304A)

CHRIS BATEMAN

PARLIAMENT has no pension fund with which to pay out its 826 workers should the decision be taken to move to Pretoria, it emerged yesterday.

This was confirmed by Parliament's human resources manager, Mr Mike Coetzee, who stressed that he was in "monthly contact" with the major unions and would "negotiate and consult" a deal, should it become necessary.

While there is a parliamentary pension scheme, rewarding a decade or more of service, its chief aim is to ensure staff continue to draw a salary after official retirement.

It is not designed to handle retrenchments or packages.

Chairperson of the Parliamentary Staff Union (PSU) Mr Fred Pheiffer said a ballot which polled 68% of the 826 staffers this week, showed 94% in favour of keeping Parliament in Cape Town.

"The point is that if a decision to move to Pretoria comes, no effort is being made to offer compensation to staff.

"I don't think they are aware of what moving hundreds of people would cost, and the psychological and financial trauma such a move would cause to staff," Pheiffer said.



The PSU drew up a statement yesterday, which it is due to hand to management via a labour relations consultant, outlining their position and anxieties.

Pheiffer said the Speaker of Parliament, Dr Frene Ginwala, "promised a while back that before anything happened, staff would be consulted".

He said staff presumed that they would be offered a package.

"If we don't we'd be losing our jobs, and at the moment there's no budget or preparations in place for this," he added.

Pheiffer said 75% of the 826 workers — mostly blue collar — were married and therefore especially vulnerable if Parliament moved to Pretoria.

Coetzee said he had yet to receive "any proposal" from the PSU and that "if it comes to that (moving Parliament) we'd obviously have to look at retirement dispensation in consultation with staff and the unions".

Pheiffer said moving Parliament to Gauteng would give that province even greater dominance over the rest of the country, marginalising the Western Cape.

Nearly 80% of the 826 Cape Town permanent staffers belong to the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) — which has remained tight-lipped about the controversy.

Nehawu's executive is dominated by "northerners" (Gauteng and Pretoria residents), imposing silence on rank and file members, a significant portion of whom live in the Western Cape.

Workers in the passages of Parliament expressed their anger at being "sold out" by their union.

"If there was a threat to remove Volkswagen from the Eastern Cape it would suddenly be a major issue at national level," one said.

Pheiffer said: "The irony of the matter is that they are being refused a voice."

Most of permanent parliamentary staff had by yesterday taken to wearing yellow "stop Parliament moving" stickers on their lapels.

Poll shows rising anger over chaos and corruption

(304A)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT ARG 21/8/97

Pretoria – A national survey indicating growing dissatisfaction with the national and provincial governments is a clear reflection of the chaos and mismanagement at provincial level, opposition parties have said.

Commenting yesterday on the results of an annual Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) poll, which showed a growing lack of confidence in provincial administrations, both the Democratic Party and National Party said the government should realise South Africans had had enough of maladministration.

The HSRC survey, conducted in February among 2 197 respondents around South Africa, showed that only 43% of South Africans were satisfied with the way the country was being governed.

This is sharply down on the post-election euphoria of 1994 when 64% were satisfied. Since then, the number of people stating their dissatisfaction has risen from 17% to 38%.

The Government was harshly criticised in the survey on its economic policy and the level of corruption. Most of those questioned said they were unhappy with the Government's economic policy with 83% of whites, 63% of coloured people, 48% of Indians and 45% of blacks stating dissatisfaction.

On perceptions of corruption in government, 73% of respondents said they believed there was corruption among public servants and 64% believed the Government was wasting taxpayers' money.

Highest on the list of issues needing to be tackled were job creation (46%), crime (18%) and the economy (12%), the survey found.

FACT FILE

Support for political parties: (May 1994 figures in brackets)

ANC	53% (63%)
NP	12% (19%)
IFP	4% (4%)
FF	1% (3%)
PAC	2% (0,4%)
DP	2% (1%)

Positive attitude towards provinces (positive attitude towards premiers in brackets)

North West	60% (47%)
Western Cape	58% (38%)
Northern Cape	53% (42%)
KwaZulu-Natal	52% (32%)
Gauteng	48% (39%)
Northern Province	47% (27%)
Eastern Cape	47% (24%)
Free State	45% (33%)
Mpumalanga	43% (28%)

What concerns South Africans the most

Jobs	46%
Crime	18%
Economy	12%
Housing	7%
Education	6%
Political violence	6%
Health	3%
Illegal immigrants	2%

'Success of hosting Games depends on keeping the House'

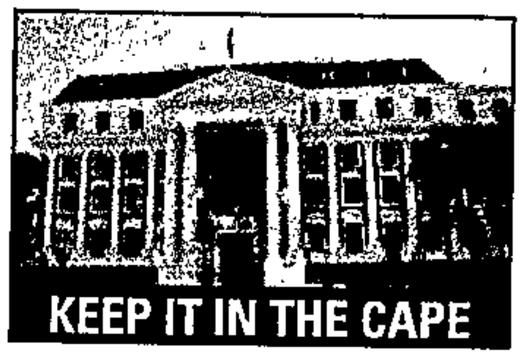
(304A) CT 22/8/97

SWOPPING PARLIAMENT FOR the Olympics is not the answer for national unity, says Pick 'n Pay chief executive Raymond Ackerman. Nor will it benefit the Olympic city if we win. **DIANE CASSERE** reports.



CAPETONIANS need to wake up and extend old-fashioned courtesy to parliamentarians to make them feel welcome in our city, says top businessman Raymond Ackerman.

In defence of keeping Parliament in the Cape, Ackerman said he did not wish to take "a narrow, Cape Town view".



"I run a national company and I'm trying to think of the country. The purpose of having Parliament here and the administrative capital in Pretoria in 1910 (when the union was formed) was the same as it is today: to unite the country and prevent fractions and arguments.

"Don't create rivalry between the centres, leave the status quo," argues Ackerman.

"The Government of National Unity was formed to keep the country together. Unfortunately the Nats pulled out, but I suggest we don't do anything about this (moving Parliament) until after the turn of the millennium.

"The worst thing would be for the world to see Cape Town denuded of Parliament if we win on September 5 — and I think we will win," he says.

"The worst thing would be for the world to see Cape Town denuded of Parliament if we win on September 5 — and I think we will ... stripping Cape Town of Parliament will be like Samson losing his hair."

Ackerman believes the Mother City should not lose Parliament until after 2004, if at all: "My strongest appeal is that we wait (for the move) until after 2004. President Nelson Mandela is a wise man, he will understand this. It would be a disastrous move for the success of the Olympics.

"Stripping Cape Town of Parliament will not be a good move, it will be like Samson losing his hair."

Asked about the economic implications of Cape Town losing Parliament, Ackerman repeated that he did not want to take "only the Cape Town view".

"My main argument is keeping the country together in the new South Africa. I realise there are practical problems, but with today's communications it is more than possible. In 1910 they managed, and they had to catch trains back and forth.

"If it was alright then, we can manage it now. Don't disturb the country now," says Ackerman.

He also appealed to Capetonians to "jump up and welcome the parliamentarians here".

"If they don't feel welcome here, Cape Town had better wake up and make them feel welcome, with old-fashioned courtesy.

"We must welcome them when they move into their new homes, into new shops or restaurants. Capetonians have a reputation for being isolationist and rather unfriendly. The city is very cliquy," says Ackerman.

He added that the rest of the country, those who supported a move to Pretoria, should "wake up to" the effect the move would have on the unity of the country.

"Don't let's make any disastrous mistakes," Ackerman appealed.

STATE OF THE NATION

304A 15/8/97

Our growing racial

The vast majority of South Africans remain in their racial trenches and the differences in their thinking



Queuing for unity *. . . but passing each other by? South Africans waiting to vote in the 1994 elections*

Three years after the African National Congress swept to power and Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as President in an atmosphere of euphoria, SA remains a racially fractured society.

Racial epithets and racist ideology may be suppressed in a show of political correctness, but race consciousness lurks beneath the surface, impeding the birth of a common patriotism and threatening, once again, to divide the nascent nation.

Mandela's dream of forging a united, nonracial nation across the chasms inherited from 45 years of National Party rule remains largely unfulfilled as he prepares to step down as president of the ANC in December.

Even he — having made reconciliation a central theme of his presidency — has failed to attract support from the harmonious blend of colours captured in the phrase "rainbow nation."

The continuing and, in many ways, widening gap in racial attitudes emerges from a survey of sociopolitical trends conducted by market research company Markinor, based on fieldwork conducted in March and April throughout the country. The results, drawn from data obtained in personal interviews with a representative sample of 3 474 people of all races, have not been published before.

They depict a people who have not yet cast aside the racial blinkers imposed on them during the long years when SA was a caste society, with race rather than class or religion as its defining feature.

Mandela, who more than any single person has won admiration from all sectors of

15/08/97

imbalance in support for him.

But Mbeki has one major factor in his favour: the declining popularity among whites of their traditional or aspirant leaders. The rating of the National Party's F W de Klerk in the white community stands at 5,6 compared with 7 in June 1994. Equivalent figures for the Freedom Front's Constand Viljoen and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi are 4,6 (1994: 5,2) and 4,6 (1994: 5,2).



If, however, Mbeki finds it easier to win white support because of De Klerk's lower rating, De Klerk appears poised to offer resistance in the competition for coloured and Indian support. While De Klerk's rating in these communities has declined since June 1994, it has picked up on the ratings for November 1996. In the coloured community it is 7 against 6,3 last November; in the smaller Indian population it is 6,7 against 6,4.

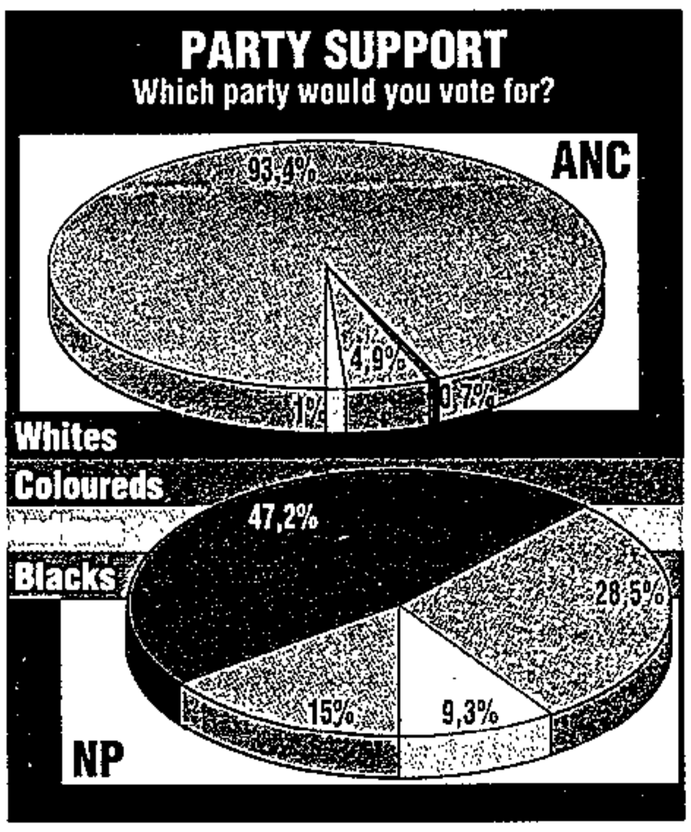
Mapai offers another perspective on Mbeki. He has deliberately held back, refusing, wisely in Mapai's view, to compete with Mandela's popularity and "revealing his face" to the public through the media on his own terms. If, or when, he takes over as President, he will be more assertive in projecting his own image, Mapai says, predicting that economic performance rather than charisma will be critical to his popularity with the electorate.

As the fieldwork for the latest poll was conducted in March and April, it does not measure the impact of the quarrel within the NP which led to the resignation of Roelf Meyer, the formation of his New Movement Process and his pact to form a new party with Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum.

The oldest nonracial party in SA is the SA Communist Party, which opened its membership to people of all races at its formation in 1921. The ANC — which did so at its 1969 conference at Morogoro in Tanzania — is a relative newcomer to the ranks of nonracial parties. The NP, by comparison, is a brash adolescent, having removed racial restrictions from its membership clause only in 1990.

But the SACP's impeccable nonracial credentials do not seem to have helped it win favour. Only a minute fraction (0,3%) of South Africans of all races plan to vote for this party. Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, thinks that the main reason for the SACP's dismal score is that it has largely lost its identity as distinct from the ANC and been subsumed by its vastly larger ally.

The SACP accounts for about a quarter of the 400 members of the National Assembly and an equivalent proportion of the membership of provincial legislatures. Those who thought it would be too big a mouthful for the ANC to swallow have been proved wrong



equal proportions from the black and white communities, 4% from each, though — because the black population is much larger — black members of the party are dominant numerically.

When respondents are asked to indicate their first and second preferences from the pool of competing parties, all parties score positively.

But the increase is greatest for the PAC, whose support expands from 2% to 14%.

That seems to mean that the PAC is best positioned to win votes from disillusioned ANC voters.

But, says Vincent Mapai, of the Human Sciences Research Council — which has conducted its own survey of political attitudes — there is no evidence that these voters are ready to transfer their allegiance to a rival party.

"No party has benefited yet," he says.

Patrick Laurence

PARTY ALLEGIANCES

ANC still short of two-thirds majority

The ANC is unlikely to obtain a two-thirds majority if a general election were held in the prevailing political climate, according to a survey of sociopolitical attitudes and preferences conducted by Markinor.

The results show that the ANC would once again emerge as SA's juggernaut by winning 62% of the poll, only a mite under the 62,65% which it garnered in the election of April 1994 — and once again short of the two-thirds it requires to change the Constitution unilaterally.

Its dominance, however, would be even more marked because its closest rivals, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, are likely to poll considerably fewer votes than they did in 1994.

The proportion of the vote that these parties are set to gain on present trends is 15% for the NP, down on the 20,4% it attracted in 1994, and a mere 4% for the IFP, a precipitous and, for the party leadership, worrying fall in support from the 10,54% obtained in 1994.

The remaining parties represented in parliament figure in the margins as also-rans: Democratic Party 3% (an improvement on its 1,68% in 1994); Freedom Front 2% (1994: 2,17%); and Pan Africanist Congress 2% (1,25%).

The SA Communist Party registers as the faintest of blips (0,3%) on the score board; members of the party are also members of the ANC and, presumably, would give their vote to the ANC as the dominant partner in the alliance.

When results are broken down on a racial basis:

- The ANC emerges as an overwhelmingly black party at rank-and-file level;
- The NP is seen as a party which is rapidly transforming itself by winning substantial support from coloureds and Indians (50% and 53% of the respective communities would vote NP); and
- The IFP is shown to draw support in

Moving Parliament would entrench the NP in the Cape

BD 22/8/97 (304A)

Debate on moving Parliament is hotting up, writes political correspondent **Wyndham Hartley**

THOSE in favour of moving Parliament from the Mother City to a patch of Highveld near Midrand or Pretoria concentrate their arguments on the financial gains which would be made by the move.

They argue, for example, that the money spent on moving politicians and officials to and fro between Cape Town and Pretoria during the year would very quickly pay for the construction costs of a new parliamentary complex.

There seems little doubt that they underestimate the cost of building a new complex, not to mention the cost of providing housing for MPs who do not live in the Johannesburg-Pretoria area.

Those who want to keep Parliament in Cape Town are probably also guilty of overestimating the costs of creating a new complex in the north. They point out that moving would cost the Western Cape dearly in economic terms.

Even top African National Congress (ANC) people in the Western Cape are warning about the damage which moving Parliament will do to Cape Town.

Chris Nissen warned this week that there would be serious harm to property prices and the office rental market, as well as the "office related" labour market. It would also see almost 1 000 people working in Parliament lose their jobs. This would cost a pretty penny as the state would have to pay them severance packages. If Nissen is correct, these people would have very little chance of getting another job. The diplomatic corps would move out to take up permanent Pretoria residence.

Then there are the arguments that taking Parliament closer to where the public servants are would make government more efficient. Again there are counter arguments. For example, if parliamentary committees cannot meet on time or achieve a quorum when the members are stranded in Cape Town, far from home and other distractions, will moving Parliament really make a difference? Of course not.

But the issue is not about costs or efficiency. If it was, the solution which would save an enormous amount of money and rationalise the situation is obvious. Move the entire public service to Cape Town.

Most government departments in Pretoria are housed in rented accommodation. What difference would it make where the state rented accommodation? Corporate SA could move to create the office space needed for government in Cape Town and, aside from the one-off cost of paying for the move, it would be business as usual with government and legislature consolidated in one place. The enormous cost of building a new complex of sufficient quality to house the new democratic Parliament of SA would be saved. As would the extraordinary cost of building new parliamentary villages to house the MPs.

The biggest problem with this is that it would destroy Pretoria. The centre of the city would have dozens of empty buildings, and the housing market would collapse as public servants sold properties in order to move to the Cape.

In sharp contrast, Cape Town would boom as never before. But this option is never mentioned. The obvious conclusion is that cost and efficiency arguments are being used to cover what is fundamentally a political decision.

The Western Cape is National Party territory. It is also, in the parlance of the pro-Gauteng lobby, not really SA. The ANC looks unlikely to unseat the Nats in 1999 and some in its ranks bitterly resent having to go to Cape Town to sit in Parliament. To move would remove the indignity of going to a Nat-controlled land to deliberate on legislation.

Apparently a decision on the issue will be made by the ANC's national congress in December. It is understood that the last time the ANC's national executive committee tried to discuss the matter it was extremely divisive and discussion was shelved.

The coming congress promises to be one of the most crucial for the ANC. It will have to decide on a successor to Nelson Mandela as president of both the organisation and the country. It will have to try to resolve the question of who should succeed Thabo Mbeki as heir apparent in the deputy slot.

This is not to mention debates on the growth, empowerment and redistribution strategy. These are not going to be easy matters and the issue of moving Parliament will further muddy the waters. The party leadership might opt to defer a decision on it.

What is clear is that very powerful people want Parliament to move. When the decision will be formally taken and whether Mandela's undertaking to consult the people of SA in a referendum will be fulfilled, remain to be seen.

Just how much support the Western Cape ANC can muster to prevent a move is not clear. What is clear is that if Parliament goes so do the ANC's chances of winning control of the Western Cape in the foreseeable future. It would be granting the NP a homeland.

The biggest irony is that, after sneeringly referring to "the Pretoria regime" in the struggle years, that is what many in government now want to be.

Constitution's watchdogs set to watch each other

ANC 23/8/97 (3044)

CLIVE SAWYER

For the first time in the new South Africa, one of the constitution's independent watchdogs will be peering into the affairs of another.

This is the upshot of the two-hour battle in Parliament yesterday over whether the public accounts committee or the public protector should probe the truth or otherwise of the grave claims made by Minerals and Energy Minister Penuell Maduna against Auditor-General Henri Kluever.

The ANC majority prevailed, placing in the hands of Public Protector Selby Baqwa an inquiry into the accuracy of the auditor-general's report to Parliament refuting Mr Maduna's claims about strategic fuel fund irregularities.



Henri Kluever

Mr Maduna has accused Mr Kluever of complicity in a cover-up of these alleged irregularities. At the same time, also at the insistence of the ANC, an ad hoc committee of the National Assembly is to be set up to investigate whether Mr Maduna acted properly in questioning the auditor-general's performance in his probe of the fuel fund "having regard to the law in general and the constitution".

The constitution makes it an offence to interfere with or fail to protect state institutions supporting democracy, of which the auditor-general is one.

The background and implications of yesterday's debate are more complex than they seem at first sight.

In part, the saga is an illustration of the inter-linked web of institutions bound by the constitution, a sign of how much South Africa has changed from parliamentary sovereignty to constitutional supremacy.

In handing the probe to the public protector, Parliament has taken the extraordinary step of giving an outsider a task to do which one of its most powerful and esteemed committees, that on public accounts, has itself not completed.

Ken Andrew, the head of the committee, is understood to be planning a challenge to what happened in the House yesterday.

ANC chief whip Max Sisulu does not agree that the motions impugn the integrity of either the auditor-general or Mr Maduna. "It is a mistake to see investigations as impugning the integrity of the auditor-general. Our approach has been based on fairness, and what could be fairer than setting up parallel independent inquiries?"

Mr Sisulu said the issue was not Mr Kluever, but the reports prepared on the fuel fund by the auditor-general.

Observers of the evolution of the new constitution and its creatures may yet withhold judgment. There is a common perception of deep tensions between the "old guard", some of whom continue to occupy senior positions of authority, and the drivers of the new dispensation.

This tension, as much as anything else, is seen as being behind Mr Maduna's earlier statement to Parliament which sparked all the controversy, implying that he could not trust the auditor-general to produce the results Mr Maduna wanted.

It is difficult to imagine a resolution of the present inquiries resulting in a situation in which everyone wins: Mr Maduna's claims and those of the auditor-general have been mutually exclusive. Since 1994, the reports of the auditor-general have been treated with the greatest possible respect by Parliament and its public accounts committee.

Now it is up to Mr Baqwa, the public protector, to decide whether one of Mr Kluever's reports to Parliament was correct and proper. The credibility of many people rides on the result.

CITY PRESS News

Parliament may be about to have a change of address

(304A) CP 24/8/97

Millions to be saved – and made

CP CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN – A formal recommendation that Parliament be moved to Pretoria and that the parliamentary complex here be sold for some R261 million, is currently being considered by the National Working Committee (NWC) of the ANC, which will report on the recommendation to the ANC's National Executive Committee in October.

The recommendation was presented to the NEC last month by a committee consisting of Jeff Radebe, minister of public works; Tito Mboweni, minister of labour; and Baleka Mbete-Kgositsele, deputy speaker.

Their recommendation that parliament be moved, is, among other things, based on a set of department of public works memoranda in which it is stated that the country could save millions if Parliament was moved.

According to the documents – which are marked as "top secret" on every page – the parliamentary complex, other supporting buildings, the parliamentary residential towns and official residences make up some 738 state properties.

On January 1 this year, these properties were together worth more than R219 million. If projections in the Cape property market are taken into account, these properties can be gradually sold over five years. And with cash from buildings which cannot be sold immediately, there could be a total yield of more than R261 million.



MONUMENTAL MOVER . . . *Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe, who presented the formal recommendation to the NEC along with Labour Minister Tito Mboweni and Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsele.*

The memoranda, some of which were drawn up in 1994, state that Parliament can be housed in existing state buildings in Pretoria for about R42 million.

According to this plan – which was also presented by Radebe to the NEC – the national assembly would be in the Capitol Theatre, the senate in the Old Council Hall and the offices in the old Transvaal Provincial Building.

Even if the R42 million (which was calculated in 1993) increases with time to R100 million, it should be recovered within four years from savings from accommodation and travel costs to the Cape, according to the memoranda.



CASH INJECTION *... Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not have to rely on big business.*



IN CHARGE *... Judge Johann Kriegler, who heads the Independent Electoral Commission.*



PAC BOOST *... With state funds PAC's Bishop Mogoba could improve his party's election hopes.*

Proposed Bill would finance parties contending elections

CP 2418/97

(304A)

PARLIAMENT has begun discussing State funding for political parties - but the bill as it stands is but a first tentative step towards grappling with the thorny issue of financing multi-party democracy.

Money is the oil which greases the political machinery. Political parties are expensive; election campaigns costly. Without funds, political parties are unable to compete for votes on an equal footing and elections become a contest of bank balances rather than ideas.

The key issues when considering financing political parties are transparency and equity.

The Promotion of the Multi-Party Democracy Bill, which has been tabled in Parliament, is somewhat ambitiously named because the bill does not go much beyond meeting the government's basic consitutional obligation to provide for the funding of political parties on an "equitable and proportional basis".

MONEY is the oil that greases the political machine, writes **CHIARA CARTER**, but to provide legitimate parties with equal opportunity at election time the government intends to introduce a parliamentary Bill providing for state funding.

The Bill will however be fleshed out during committee discussions, which will doubtless stimulate further debate about the private funding of parties.

The bill proposes that the government set up a fund which would provide political parties with funding – on a proportional basis.

The fund would be controlled by the Electoral Commission, currently headed by Judge Johan Kriegler, and political parties would have to account for how they spend the money, which is to be used in line with the needs of a political party in a "modern democracy".

The commission would have the right to reclaim money used incorrectly – including recourse to civil action against the political party and its office bearers.

It represents a very important move away from parties relying entirely on private funding - a situation which means parties whose policies suit the affluent were in a stronger position and cash-strapped parties were tempted to sacrifice principle for contributions to party coffers.

One of the major beneficiaries of this Bill would be the Pan Africanist Congress, whose image among big business is almost zero. However, since the election of former Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba as its president, the PAC has embarked on the struggle to radically changing its image in the corporate world.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party's image has taken a hammering at recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings and not too many businesses woould be likely to finance its election campaign. This bill will also be welcome to Inkatha.

As it stands the Bill is a minimal move towards meeting the government's constitutional obligations – in the face of the coming election.

Much of the discussion in Parliament is likely to centre on the formula which will be used to work out how much each party will receive.

The Bill says the formula should take into account the relationship between a party's total number of representatives in Parliament and the provincial legislatures.

It is at the discretion of the state president to make regulations on the finer details of the formula as well as other aspects of the law.

Opposition parties are likely to push for the details of the formula to be fleshed out.

Idasa, which has done research on party political funding around the world, argues that the formula should not entrench the existing balance of power - but instead tilt towards the principle of equity, favouring smaller parties.

Idasa points out that state suopport does not have to be confined to finacial grants.

It could encompass free or reduced rates for broadcast time as well as inducements such as making donations tax deductible.

Idasa thinks the government should extend funding to include parties outside Parliament, possibly using criteria such as paid-up membership, existence of a constitution and the like, to exclude "jokers" such as the Soccer Party and Kiss, which contested the last elections.

As the Bill stands an initiative such as the Meyer-Holomisa group would have to compete with established political parties, without state funding.

The anti-defection clause prevents MPs from crossing the floor to form a faction or separate initiative.

The Bill does not begin to tackle private donations to political parties, a source of much controversy in many countries, including South Africa.

Idasa's research shows that many countries have measures which limit the extent of anonymous private donations and in some cases these are banned altogether.

The argument for excluding foreign funding is that this could allow another country – or a foreign corporation – to call the shots.

Deputy Speaker won't be charged with fraud

ST 24|8|97
JUSTIN ARENSTEIN

(3049)

PARLIAMENTARY deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile's application for a new identity book, in which she claimed to have a driver's licence, was not fraudulent or aimed at deceiving, the Western Cape Attorney General, Frank Kahn, said this week.

After reviewing all the evidence in the police docket, Kahn said there were no grounds "in either fact or law" for charges to be brought against Mbete-Kgositsile.

However, he declined to comment further and failed to return a series of calls to his office and cellphone in the past four days.

Three months ago the driver's licence and a related learner's licence that Mbete-Kgositsile referred to in her application were found to be invalid by the Moldenhauer Commission into Fraudulent Licences.

The commission — which was instituted after the Sunday Times exposed irregularities in Mpumalanga's traffic department — found that both licences had been irregularly issued by Mpumalanga's director of traffic, Henry Brazer.

The commission cleared the deputy Speaker of knowingly breaking the law or colluding with traffic officials. She was ordered to hand over her identity document, with the licences in it, to police for destruction.

Despite the commission's findings, the commercial crime unit in Nelspruit opened a fraud docket against Mbete-Kgositsile last month.

At the time the police explained that investigators had received information that Mbete-Kgositsile had stated that she "possess[ed] a valid driver's licence issued in Mpumalanga" in her application for a new identity document.

A second police docket, dealing specifically with discrepancies raised by the Moldenhauer commission and with its findings of widespread licence fraud and corruption, is due to be forwarded to the Pretoria attorney general by Wednesday.

He is expected to decide whether to prosecute by Friday.

Police have been at pains to stress that Mbete-Kgositsile is only a material witness in this docket and that the major suspects are the traffic officials who issued her licences.

She could not be reached for comment yesterday.

75% OF SA POPULATION LIVES WITHIN 600KM RADIUS

Midrand joins tussle over Parliament

(304A) CT 25/8/97

THE MIDRAND LOBBY says the Gauteng city is the obvious choice as it would link the financial and administrative hubs and wouldn't cost taxpayers a cent. Political Writer **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

A NEW seat of Parliament that could bridge the imbalances in urban planning created by apartheid, has 75% of the country's population living within a radius of 600km and costs the taxpayer not a cent?

Certainly not Pretoria or Cape Town.

It's Midrand — which is to enter the fray this week and is determined to convince the ANC, which leans towards Pretoria, that it is the obvious place to choose.

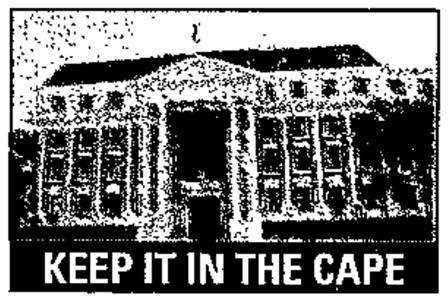
The Midrand is out to "ensure" that a transparent mechanism is used in choosing the new seat of Parliament.

"That's our main point of departure — and to grab this window of opportunity to help the country make transformation happen," says Ms Jenny Lehr, head of the Midrand bid, who is to fly to Cape Town with her team on Wednesday to begin serious lobbying. Lehr says Zimbabwe failed to grasp the nettle of major change 17 years ago, with alarming consequences for urbanisation that are evident today.

Midrand has been largely ignored by the powerful Pretoria lobby and dismissed as "power-hungry Gautengers" by Cape Town's protectors.

However, it has several convincing arguments to support its bid. These are that Midrand:

- Does not have political baggage.
- Is the third-largest investment centre in the world and the fastest-growing city in Africa.
- Has 75% of the nation living within 600km of it.
- Has the lowest crime rate in Gauteng — a record it has sustained for the past 18 months.
- Has seen Masakhane payments soar from three percent last August to 70% this month.
- Would use the UAL Merchant Bank's capital-raising scheme — to be known as the People's Company and which will use participatory notes to attract investors — to raise up to R1,5 billion.
- Would help Pretoria and Johannesburg heal the imbalances of an urban infrastructure in which 20% of the labour force — the mobile elite — lives in or close to the cities and 80% is marginalised.



KEEP IT IN THE CAPE

- Would become an urban epicentre designed for the 21st century, with a metro rail or underground.
- Is home to the head offices of the major computer companies and has ample convention centres.
- Has the space to stabilise the sprawling urbanisation of Pretoria and Johannesburg and link the administrative and financial hubs.

Lehr said her team was not fighting for capital city status for Midrand.

Cape Town was "a PR tourist consultant's dream", she said. It could market itself worldwide as the "Geneva of Africa". The 50% of hotel beds now taken by bureaucrats could be used to attract a wider range of tourists.

"Cape Town should look to the future, not the past," said Lehr. "Parliament does not create an economy. At most 8 500 jobs are linked to Parliament and a large proportion of (Cape Town's) skills could be transferred to the tourist industry."

The proposal to move Parliament to Pretoria was "incomprehensible", Lehr said. "What are they doing for Atteridgeville and Mamelodi?"

Midrand, on the other hand, was aiming to become the first truly modern, sustainable, "normal" city in South Africa. It had a long-term plan to cope with the doubling of the Pretoria-Johannesburg region's nine million citizens within 20 years.

With the government's travel budget running at R325 million for the 1997/98 financial year, Parliament could not afford to remain in Cape Town, Lehr said.

"We aim to get the fundamentals right during this time of opportunity — to plan for residential and commercial as well as open space and recreation. This prevents business and industrial centres dying at 6pm and links disadvantaged people (with) the mainstream."

- According to a leaked secret ANC document, Cape Town's 788 parliamentary buildings and linked offices and residential complexes had a combined value of R219,3 million on January 1 this year. These could be sold off over five years. If rents over five years were included, about R261,2 million would be generated.

● See Page 8

CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, AUGUST 25, 1997

Parliament's home since Union

(304A) CT 25/8/97

WILMOT JAMES begins a six-part series by Idasa on the siting of Parliament by examining the history and politics behind the decision to make the Mother City the legislative capital.

FOR a very long time, to many of us, Parliament was but a stranger. Its creation, at the time of Union in 1910, was a compromise of white men: English colonial men, proto-Afrikaner boers and some, such as Jan Smuts, a bit of both.

The white men couldn't settle on a single place for the new South African capital, so they settled to divide it. Cape Town would be the seat of the new Parliament, being the old capital of the Cape Colony. Pretoria, the old capital of the Transvaal Republic, situated close to the site of vulgar materialism that was Johannesburg, became the administrative capital of the Union and the place, therefore, where the civil service was to be lodged. Bloemfontein, former capital of the ironically named Orange Free State, a serious contender in the capital stakes of the time, became the seat of the Court of Appeal, nestled in the quietude of farms, mines — and Basothos, at a distance.

The white men couldn't settle on a single place for the new South African capital, so they settled to divide it. Cape Town would be the seat of the new Parliament, being the old capital of the Cape Colony.

This Parliament of white men enfranchised white women in the early 1930s, though their vote was rarely converted into representation. Despite having the vote, white women entered the halls of the legislature only by exception.

This Parliament of white men disenfranchised the few Africans who had the right to vote in the Cape. The legislation that accomplished this pitiful act in 1936 had as a companion a law that enlarged what was then known as the African reserves.

This Parliament of white men, which by the 1950s was dominated by Afrikaners of the National Party, removed the coloured voters who qualified from the voters roll by an act, brazen in its cowardice, of stuffing the Senate with Namibian Nationalists.

It is not surprising, then, that women and people of colour thought of Parliament as a distant, unfriendly and often hostile place.

It remains amazing to some that someone such as Helen Suzman survived an institution so pale and reeking with testosterone.

In the spirit of intolerance, Parliament was also anti-Semitic and anti-communist, which the awesome Sam Kahn invited with such fury. Read the Hansards at the time for a treat of his extraordinarily sharp prose. Kahn's opponents managed only anti-Semitic and anti-communist invective. The Parliament of the Nationalists proceeded to spit out one of its most talented MPs, with others who were there as so-called native representatives. Anti-communist legislation took care of them.

In time, ideology counted for more than talent — though, of course, the occasional bright mind managed to enter, usually on the opposition benches.

That ideology — of white supremacy or nothing — reserved its venom for black people who dared to stand up for their rights. Parliament first declared the ANC, PAC and other organisations struggling peacefully for their people as illegal. It accumulated a litany of repressive laws that both asserted its brute strength and concealed its weakness. It betrayed the progenesis of Westminster, never able to check a runaway executive.

Sitting out there in the Cape, Parliament became the symbol of everything black people despised. It was not even a place teachers wanted to send their pupils to get a first-hand look at civics in action, for it was a place that symbolised civics in reaction.

I was a high-school pupil in Athlone in the 1960s and my teachers, a breed unusually dedicated to education in the deep sense of the term, never included Parliament on the roster of places to visit.

Places of interest were carefully screened to shield young minds and souls from everything they had taught us not to be. The University of Cape Town was okay. The Observatory in Observatory was okay. UCTs Little Theatre at Hiddingh Hall was a favourite. Maynardville, because it physically and pathetically segregated its audience in the very face of Shakespeare, wasn't okay, but our English teachers were so genuinely desperate for grand theatrical exposure, individual students could attend on conscience.

But Parliament? Never. It was the place of, and for, the devil.

Make no mistake, Lucifer came in other guises too, this time from Pretoria. Parliament was, after all, only parliament, a legislative rubber stamp for the executive and its senior civil service.

When provincial administrations or city governments stood in Pretoria's way, the men from the north came down to fix things. To its credit, Cape Town's city authorities refused to implement the Group Areas Act, so the *manne* from Pretoria came down to do it for them. That explains why District Six only went the way of mass removals in the 1970s, whereas other places were affected earlier, in the late 1950s and 1960s. It took PW Botha and his group-areas henchmen to knock Cape Town into shape.

Some people want to take Parliament away from Cape Town. Most of those people want to put it in Pretoria, a place with institutions that have yet to become a national resource for all our people.

The symbolism of a repressive Parliament, based in Cape Town, was exceeded in greater force by the symbolism of a repressive executive based in Pretoria. Political institutions in either place were not fountains of hope or justice. The tricameral Parliament, PW Botha's effort to project his geographically focused mind to find solutions to non-geographical problems, only made things worse. It simply served to confirm inferiority by segregation at close proximity.

The first democratic South African Parliament of 1994 was everything the history of parliaments was not. It was filled with a number of women, a preponderance of black Africans and, yes, coloured and Indian faces too. The people of SA, the Western Cape and Cape Town had democracy, justice and fairness introduced into a place that had long been there but never theirs.

Teachers can now send their pupils to visit Parliament without fear of affronting their dignity or undoing their values. It is a place that now belongs to all, not just some. It has become a national resource.

Some people want to take Parliament away from Cape Town. Most of those people want to put it in Pretoria, a place with institutions that have yet to become a national resource for all our people.

Undoubtedly there are reasons to move Parliament, but are they so compelling to override the feelings of those who now treasure the presence of a national resource in Cape Town? I cannot but fear that the *manne* from Pretoria are after us again.

❑ Dr Wilmot James is executive-director of Idasa. Next Monday Richard Calland will examine the politics of decision-making underlying a possible move of Parliament.

Parliament should stay in Cape Town, says DP

BD 25/8/97 (304A)

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — A national referendum should be held if MPs, voting with a free vote, decided that Parliament should be relocated to Gauteng, the provincial congress of the Democratic Party decided on the weekend.

The party noted the undesirability of all national institutions being sited in the one province that accounted for about half of gross domestic product, and resolved that Parliament should remain in Cape Town.

In his speech, re-elected provincial leader Hennie Bester attacked the increasing lawlessness of People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (Pagad), which he said posed a serious threat to public order in the Western Cape.

The organisation had been responsible for 71 attacks on homes of alleged drug dealers. Of the 60 people arrested, only three had been convicted while 30 cases had been withdrawn — a seriously bad record, Bester said.

He called for a High Court judge to head a multidisciplinary team to focus on prosecutions relating to Pagad and gang-related crime. He said the creation of a metropolitan police force would give fresh impetus to dealing with the gangs on the Cape Flats.

Union federation Cosatu was criticised for inhibiting job creation and transformation of the public service Affirmative action in the Western Cape was attacked for excluding coloureds.

DP leader Tony Leon highlighted the danger of single party dominance. "Democracy has not been consolidated here; intolerance is endemic over wide areas of the country; and a democratic culture has yet to take root.

"There are signs that two of the larger opposition political parties are beginning to break up ... South Africans who value democratic government must be concerned at the decay of opposition parties," he said.

Malaria campaign to use new drug

Business Day Reporter

A NEW malaria treatment available in SA will be the focus of a massive free malaria treatment programme that gets under way in East Africa next month as part of a global awareness campaign to stop the spread of malaria over the next 10 years.

One million treatments of Malarone, which has proved 98,5% effective in treating malaria, will be handed out to malaria patients who have failed to respond to conventional treatments, a spokesman for drug manufacturer GlaxoWellcome said.

BD 25/8/97

The Malarone donation programme is being co-ordinated by the US-based task force for child survival and development in conjunction with the World Health Organisation. Similar projects are expected to be set up in Vietnam and Brazil over the next year.

To prevent resistance to the product developing too rapidly, it was being administered only as a last resort when other drugs had failed and was therefore not available as a prophylactic.

(304B)

De Klerk plan to quit politics earns mixed response

B04A

From page 1

ARG 26/8/97

leader had played in bringing about a peaceful political transformation in the country.

"Whatever mistakes he may have made, and it is possible that he has made very fundamental mistakes as many of us have done, I hope South Africa will not forget the role he has played."

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said while there might be other criticisms of Mr De Klerk's leadership, history and South Africa owed him a debt of gratitude.

PAC leader Stanley Mokgoba said he would remember Mr De Klerk as a leader who did not shy away from dialogue with his opponents.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said Mr De Klerk's departure would give the NP an opportunity to "start anew" and would open the possibility of greater solidarity in the Afrikaner's quest for self-determination.

ANC women's league Winnie Madikizela-Mandela said Mr De Klerk's resignation reflected his concession that the NP, which was burdened by its past and hamstrung by a membership which reflected white interests rather than national interests, could no longer make a positive contribution to the country's non-racial democracy.

"History records De Klerk had the courage to take the right decision at the right time when he conceded the failure of apartheid and appealed to the democratic forces in the liberation movements to step in and rescue the country," she said.

FW in 'I quit' bombshell

—>cont.

NP boss s ·t to hand in his resignation today; Western Cape strongman Hernus Kriel tipped as successor

(304A) Star 26/8/97

STAFF REPORTERS, OWN CORRESPONDENT, SAPA

Official opposition leader FW de Klerk is to announce his resignation as leader of the National Party at a meeting of the party's federal council in Cape Town later today, but is also expected to announce that he will continue to play a leading role as elder statesman.

F W de Klerk dropped his bombshell resignation plans last night at a meeting of the party's nine provincial leaders in Cape Town. The NP leader informed the provincial leaders of his decision during the evening session of the meeting.

It was understood that, after last night's meeting, members of De Klerk's inner circle held talks with him in an attempt to dissuade him from resigning.

At 8.30am today a meeting of the party's federal executive began. Although its agenda had been set long in advance, De Klerk's bombshell overshadowed the discussions.

Although party sources confirmed De Klerk's announcement, NP spokesman Jan Bosman would today not confirm or deny the development. He said a formal statement was expected after the conclusion of the federal council meeting later today.

The federal council consists of the provincial leaders: Andre Fourie (Northern Province), Hernus Kriel (Western Cape), Danie Schutte (KwaZulu/Natal), Manie van Rensburg (Eastern Cape), David Malatsi (Mpumalanga), Kraai van Niekerk (Northern Cape), Innes Aucamp (Free State), Sam de Beer (Gauteng) and [illegible]

RIAN HORN



Making way for new blood ... former deputy president F W de Klerk is expected to resign.

Other possible successors could include Gauteng NP leader Sam de Beer, KwaZulu-[illegible]



Hernus Kriel ... in ebullient mood after

Hennie Bekker (IFP) said the news of the planned resig-[illegible]

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Other members of the federal council include De Klerk's wife, Marike, as leader of the NP's Vroue Aksie and youth wing leader Boeije de Wet.

De Klerk's departure comes a week after the NP registered its lowest poll yet – 12% – in a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

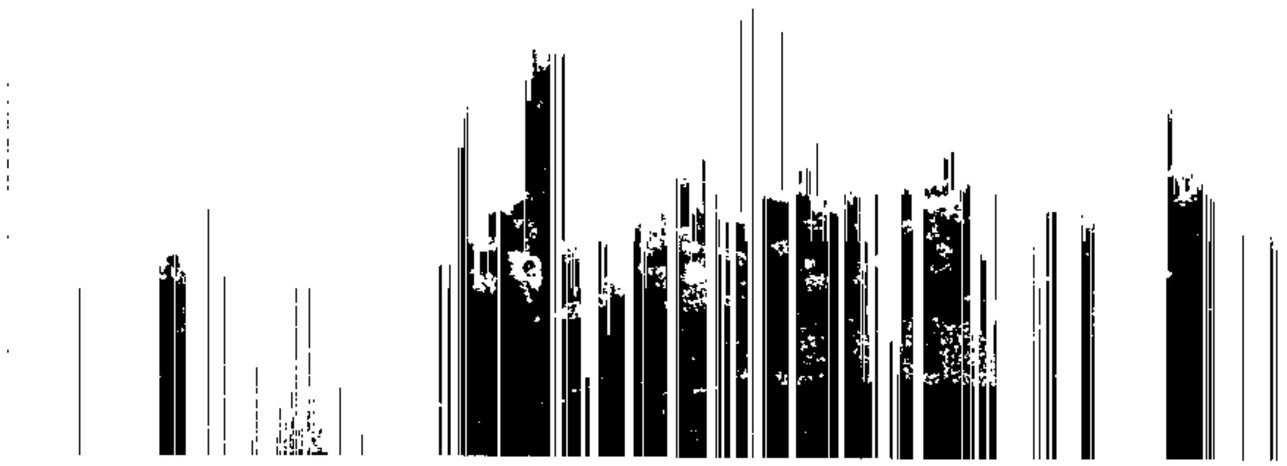
However, NP sources, were adamant today that De Klerk had taken his decision some time ago. Political developments within the party had prevented him from leaving sooner.

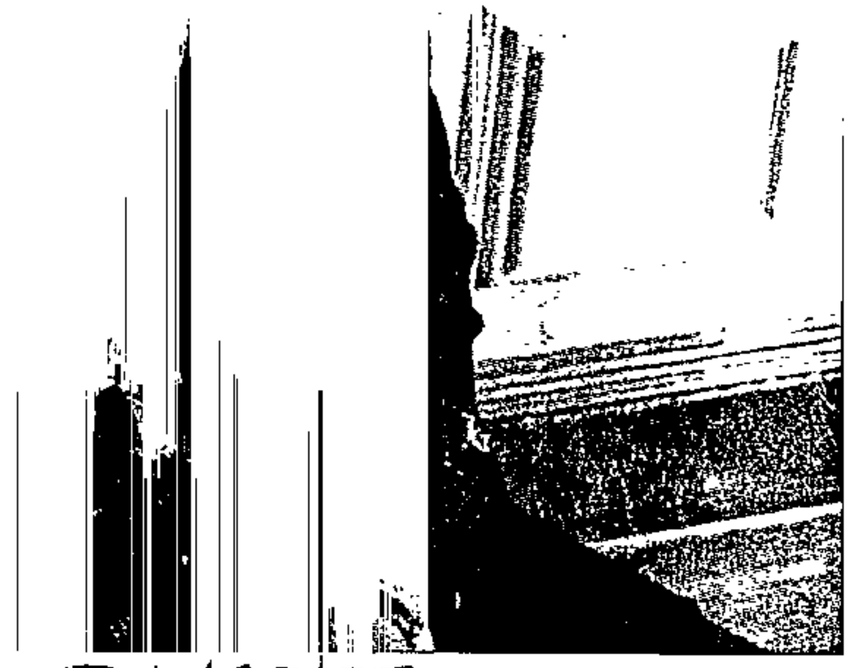
De Klerk's move effectively prevented any real future growth in party numbers, with the NP running a significant risk of becoming a Western Cape party.

Also, De Klerk, who would become the first NP leader not to leave the party under a cloud, was seen as the only remaining NP member to attract black members to the traditionally white party.

Although Western Cape Premier and senior party member Hernus Kriel is tipped for the post, National Council of Provinces member Piet Marais is considered to be a strong contender because he has broad support within the party.

"Unlike Kriel, Marais enjoys the support of both the verkramptes and verligtes within the party. But even more, black MPs have confidence in him and his leadership," said the source.





Making way for new blood ... former deputy president FW de Klerk is expected to resign.

26/08/97

Other possible successors could include Gauteng NP leader Sam de Beer, KwaZulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte and NP executive director Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

It appears the new leader will be chosen with the least possible delay, probably at an enlarged federal executive meeting attended by the nine provincial leaders and FW's wife Marike as leader of the NP's women's section.

The party hierarchy was taken by surprise at their leader's move as De Klerk was not under threat or pressure from within the party.

Commenting on speculation of De Klerk's resignation, President Mandela said: "I only hope South Africa won't forget De Klerk's role in the smooth transformation from a painful past to the dispensation the country today enjoys."

Former NP stalwarts Roelf Meyer, Pik Botha and Olaus van Zyl, did not want to comment this morning saying they would only speak once they knew the facts.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen today labelled De Klerk as the "nigger in the woodpile" in Afrikaner politics.

He said De Klerk's departure opened new possibilities for Afrikaner and national politics. He added: "The NP is in a position to start anew because De Klerk was coupled to the past."

Suggesting the NP should disband and start afresh, he said De Klerk had prevented exciting developments in Afrikaner politics.



Hernus Kriel ... in ebullient mood after yesterday's meeting with De Klerk

30LLA

It is believed De Klerk told the leaders he would not stand for the general election and that he had said NP leaders in the past had not known when to quit the political scene.

De Klerk had decided that while he still had the necessary political stature, it was in the NP's interest that someone else took over the reins now.

In this way an unpleasant struggle for succession would be avoided and it would give a new leader the opportunity to lead the party after the election and in the reorganisation of the NP.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon saw De Klerk's departure as a further grave blow to the NP: "Mr de Klerk will be much better judged by history than by his critics and opponents now.

"I understand why he is leaving now, because he wants to be remembered for February 2 (the date of De Klerk's epoch-making 1990 speech unbanning political organisations) and not for recent events in the party.

"The problem for the NP is that De Klerk was head and shoulders above everyone else. Although he was a symbol of the past, he was their biggest vote-getter and maybe his departure will accelerate the much talked about realignment in politics."

New Movement Process leader Bantu Holomisa reacted with surprise to the reports of De Klerk's resignation. But he said his decision may have been prompted by an attempt to preempt the exodus of NP members to other parties, including Roelf Meyer's.

"I think he may finally have accepted that he failed to capitalise on the opportunities to transform the National Party," Holomisa said.

Hennie Bekker (IFP) said the news of the planned resignation did not come as a shock as "for quite some time you could see that FW's heart was no longer in politics".

It was a pity that De Klerk had not fulfilled the expectations that were there when he started his reform process. Since the election, De Klerk's tendency to appease the right wing "damaged the credibility of the great reformer that he indeed was", Bekker said.

One of the heirs apparent to De Klerk, Hernus Kriel, was in an ebullient mood after yesterday's long meeting with De Klerk.

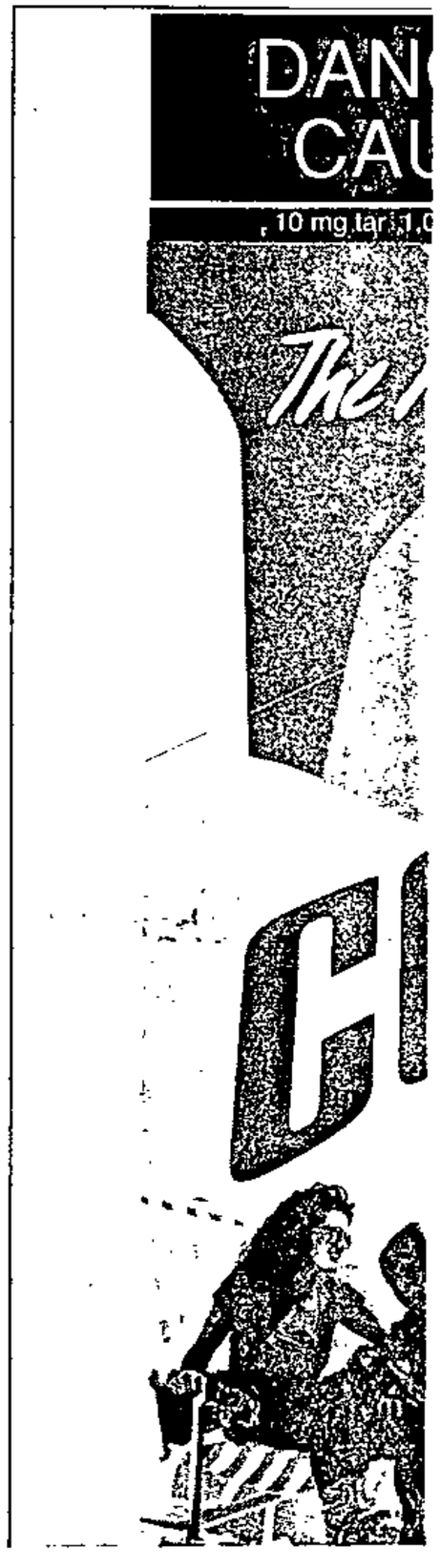
Political analysts reacted with surprise to the announcement, but pointed out that there has been pressure on De Klerk to step down since the NP walked out of the Government of National Unity.

Dirk Kotze, a senior lecturer in political science at Unisa said he was not aware of any rumours, so in a sense this was a big surprise.

"But there have been quite a lot of calls since the NP resigned from the GNU that FW was not the right person for the job."

Kotze said he believed the resignation of Roelf Meyer and the official launch of his new movement next month had acted as a catalyst in De Klerk's resignation.

"I think the NP is positioning itself for the 1999 elections and they believe they need a new person. FW has an image of somebody who is not able to cross racial boundaries."





Former president and leader of the National Party FW de Klerk discussing his resignation below a mural of the new South African flag at a National Party caucus meeting in Cape Town yesterday. De Klerk resigned yesterday and said his move was to make room for a new leader of South Africa's strongest opposition party. PIC: AP

Angry FW quits

Sowetan 29/8/97 (304A)

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

ANNOUNCING his resignation from the National Party and retirement from full-time politics yesterday, Mr FW de Klerk had a few choice words for his opponents.

De Klerk admitted that his relationship with President Nelson Mandela had deteriorated.

He denied that his resignation had anything to do with his former colleagues turning on him in the upcoming court action between the NP and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

"I have nothing to fear," he said surrounded by NP members, including his possible successor, Mr Hernus Kriel.

Also present at the packed NP caucus room was Professor Jakes Gerwel from Mandela's office.

The resignation sent shock waves through the already embattled party which has already lost several political heavyweights.

Earlier this week, the remaining high-profile NP member, Dr Dawie de Villiers, left the party to take up a post in tourism.

De Klerk insisted that his resignation was necessary to "rejuvenate the NP with younger and fresher leadership".

But he admitted that the party was affected by the perception that it carried baggage because of its "guilt-laden past".

"I have served as leader of the NP for eight-and-a-half years and I believe the party needs to rejuvenate itself with a fresh leadership," he said.

Timing of resignation

He also said that the timing of his resignation was necessary in order to give the NP a chance to elect a new leader to prepare for the election in 1999.

He firmly believed that there had to be a re-alignment within South African politics because it was "unhealthy" for the African National Congress to continue to enjoy so much power. He said the NP has had to function under heavy criticism.

"The NP is still linked to a guilt-laden past, regardless of how unjustified this perception is."

It was unjustified because the NP scrapped apartheid, De Klerk said.

He said his decision to resign was taken some time ago. Initially he had planned to quit in June – but could not because of his fallout with Mr Roelf Meyer.

He accused Meyer of having a strategy that would have led "to the destruction of the second largest party in South Africa.

"I had to resolve that first."

De Klerk said that he had tried but failed to speak to Mandela by yesterday afternoon.

He would set up a meeting with him as "ex-leader of the NP".

About his relationship with Mandela he said: "Our relationship has soured somewhat. Yes, we have had our clashes, but we are still on speaking terms."

Although there was no animosity between them, he described Mandela as "doing certain things in Government not so well".

De Klerk said that his resignation would come into effect as soon as the party elected a new leader.

The NP is expected to do so within the next two weeks.

See pages 2, 6 and 13.

Top Nats plot comeback to Cabinet after De Klerk goes

(B04A)
ARG 27/8/97

From page 1

Gauteng leader Sam de Beer, with MPs speculating intensely which way the contest would swing should he not be a candidate on September 9.

A factor in the leadership contest may include one of Mr De Klerk's stated reasons for his departure: his claim that by leaving he robs the NP's detractors of a symbol which links it to the apartheid and securocrat past.

If this sentiment holds sway during the leadership contest, it will act against any candidate from Mr De Klerk's generation of party leaders, including Mr Kriel.

Party sources predicted a close call in any election contested by Mr Kriel and Mr Van Schalkwyk.

At yesterday's media conference at which he announced his resignation, Mr De Klerk said the federal executive had mooted giving him a post such as honourary president of the party, and he would be happy to serve in an advisory capacity.

His resignation will take effect as soon as a new leader is elected by the electoral college, which is to meet in Cape Town.

He said he had considering resigning in June, but had postponed his departure to deal with the Roelf Meyer crisis: "He had a strategy that would lead to the destruction of the second biggest party ... I first had to resolve that situation and I did."

Mr De Klerk held that the party's decision, which he instigated, to quit the Cabinet last year was correct. A new leader would be free to reverse this decision.

The NP's departure from the Government cost it several senior members, including Pik Botha and Chris Fismer, and cost support among those who felt the party had betrayed the mandate given it to participate in the coalition.

See The Big Story, page 12

De Klerk resignation met with mixed reaction

(3049)

OUTGOING National Party (NP) leader FW de Klerk's decision to quit politics met with mixed reaction from political friends and foes yesterday, but financial markets completely ignored the announcement.

Most political parties praised the former president's contribution to the country's democracy, although right-wing parties were vocal in their contempt for him, with the Boerestaat Party claiming he had betrayed the Afrikaner.

President Nelson Mandela said De Klerk's contribution to leading the country from its painful past to its present political dispensation should be recognised. "Whatever mistakes he may have made, and it is possible that he has made very fundamental mistakes, as many of us have done, I hope SA will not forget the role that he has played," Mandela said.

History and posterity would judge De Klerk more kindly and generously than some of his detractors had done, Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said. He too paid tribute to De Klerk's role in SA politics, especially the release of Mandela and the unbanning of the liberation movement.

The Freedom Front's Gen Constand Viljoen welcomed De Klerk's decision to quit his position as a "very positive development for Afrikaner politics". This was echoed by the Conservative Party's Ferdi Harzenberg, who said Afrikaners could only benefit from the decision.

Pan Africanist Congress leader Stanley Mogoba said the NP leader had hung on to the reins of power longer than he should have. "There comes a time when every political leader has to bow out; De Klerk has gone a little beyond that point."

He praised De Klerk for his role in securing a peaceful transition to democracy; as did the Inkatha Freedom Party's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

De Klerk's once heir apparent, Roelf Meyer, said the NP leader's departure from politics would expedite a realignment of the political scene. —Sapa.

BD 27/8/97

MIDRAND LEFT IN THE COLD

Pretoria 'prefab' plan rehashed

CT 27/8/97 (304A)

SOURCES close to the ANC's NEC have leaked details of Jeff Radebe's "prefabricated Parliament" ... and it's the same as a 1994 plan to use existing buildings. **DIANE CASSERE** reports.

THE ANC's national executive committee has announced that it has appointed a sub-committee to deal with the "seat of Parliament" issue and that this must be resolved by the end of the year.

However, highly placed sources in the ANC say that a plan, strikingly similar to a 1994 proposal, has already been presented to the NEC by the working committee and will cost R38 million in refurbishment of empty buildings in Pretoria.

The working committee is composed of Minister of Public Works Mr Jeff Radebe, Minister of Labour Mr Tito Mboweni, and Deputy Speaker Ms Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile.

The report concentrates entirely on Pretoria and leaves the Midrand delegation, visiting the city today, out in the cold.

It says buildings to be used are:

● The Capitol Theatre, built in 1931 and the last remaining example of its kind in South Africa. It is now used for parking.

This would be the main parliamentary building.

● The Old Raadsaal, recently restored and in "good condition to be used for the Senate and committee rooms". The main Raadsaal is "adequate in size as a Senate Chamber".

● The former Transvaal administration building, which the report says will "probably be adequate" for all the office accommodation needed by Parliament.

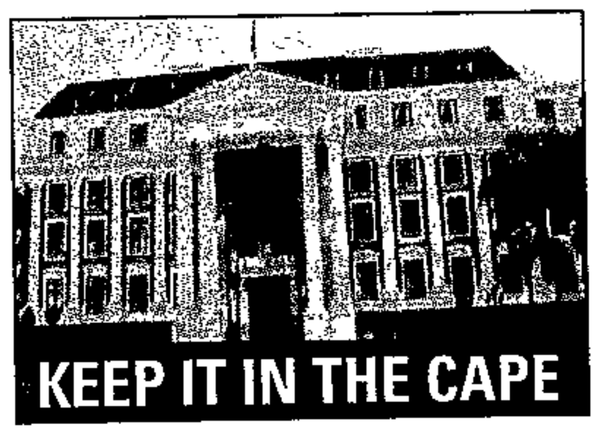
This building also has a cafeteria and parking facilities.

● The old Netherlands Bank building, which was "recently restored and is in very good condition".

The report says it could be used as an entrance to Parliament (Capitol Theatre) to house access control and security staff on the ground floor.

● Old law chambers, reported to be recently restored and in good condition, to be used for offices.

● The Café Riche, which was recently restored and in good condition, could be used as offices or a restaurant.



● The old Poynton Building, which could be kept as office accommodation or demolished and replaced by a parking garage for about 250 cars.

Critics point out that the report ignores other facilities, such as press rooms, a parliamentary library, catering facilities, a crèche, caucus rooms and committee rooms. Little projected parking space has been included.

Also, the figures in the report are more than three years old and do not take into account an annual escalation in costs of about 12-15%.

The report also says MPs would have to provide their own accommodation in Pretoria, but the cost of housing allowances is not in the estimate.

Parliamentary experts believe the "prefab plan" will be mooted until after the debate, when it will be discovered that it is unusable, unsuited to Parliament's needs, and will need millions in taxpayers' money to rectify.

[redacted]him Van Zile. [redacted] Dirk was also asked to explain recent [redacted] Amazingly, that did not stop him [redacted]

FW TELLS WHY HE HAD TO GO ...

Dogfight over new

WITH THE SUDDEN resignation of party leader F W de Klerk speculation is rife in the NP that if Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel becomes the national leader he might take the party back into the government of national unity. **CHRIS BATEMAN, KARIN SCHIMKE** and **DONWALD PRESSLY** report.

A FIERCE 13-day dogfight for the leadership of an embattled National Party — and possibly the premiership of the Western Cape — got under way yesterday, with the exit from politics of former State President F W de Klerk.

With characteristic suddenness, De Klerk, 61, shocked even his own party executive by announcing yesterday morning that he would step down on September 9 to make way for a new leader to take the party into the 1999 elections.

He told a packed press conference that his party's opponents viewed him as a "symbol of the past — I served as far back as in the Vorster cabinet.

"That symbol has now been removed," he added.

The first shots in the 13-day leadership battle — which culminates in the election of a new National Party leader by its electoral college on Tuesday, September 9 — were fired by the only black NP provincial leader, who said De Klerk's humanitarian example should be grasped firmly.

Mpumalanga NP leader Mr David Malatsi, who sat next to Mr de Klerk when he announced his resignation, said the parliamentary caucus' reaction to De Klerk's decision had been "very emotional".

But there was an understanding that, as in business, new talent was needed from time to time.

While emphasising that he was still considering his options, Malatsi, 38, predicted that a "person of colour" in the leadership would "push the party solidly into the future". He did not believe the NP would now swing to the right.

All the other NP leaders tipped for the national leadership are white: They are:

● Western Cape Premier Mr Hernus Kriel, 55. He is the only provincial leader in a province where the NP is in power.

● Gauteng leader Mr Sam de Beer, 53, a former Minister of Education and Training, who replaced Mr Roelf Meyer after his resignation from the NP in May is seen in party circles as too close to Meyer.

● KwaZulu-Natal provincial leader Mr Danie Schutte, 50, apparently has the support of the NP youth wing.

● Deputy Gauteng leader Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, 37, who is also executive director of the NP. His relative youth may be against him.



CONTENDER: Western Cape Premier Hernus Kriel

Party faithful are now openly forecasting that Kriel will have the strongest hand in the leadership race.

If Malatsi stands, he will be the first black leader to contest the party's leadership. The previously all-white party went nonracial in 1990.

De Klerk said that unlike former NP leaders "who left in anger or under a cloud or in an atmosphere of great tension, I'm leaving in the best of spirits".

He strongly denied that his resignation had anything to do with possible revelations by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which the NP is taking to court over its alleged bias.

He said, however, that he wanted to announce his resignation before the outcome of the NP/TRC court case so that "it could not be linked".

De Klerk said he would resign his parliamentary seat within days of stepping down as party leader — and that he had considered announcing yesterday's move as early as June this year.

However, the conflict with NP rebel Meyer — who left the party and started the New Movement Process — had forced him to delay matters.

Kriel said last night he had "yet to make up my mind" on whether to compete for the leadership.

Kriel rejected suggestions that he was a poor candidate because he, like De Klerk, was a "symbol of the past".

"What political baggage do I have? In FW's cabinet I was the one who introduced the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act. Have I ever been summonsed to appear before the TRC? ... come on!" Kriel said.

Speculation was rife in NP ranks that if Kriel won he would try to take the NP back into the government of national unity (GNU)to remain relevant in national politics.

But Kriel was silent on this, saying only that the NP had "a very strong position in the Western Cape and can deliver to the people".

He had made significant concessions to the ANC in setting up his government of provincial unity, he said.

NP sources pointed to a statement by De Klerk yesterday that he had differed in June last year with Kriel's predecessor as Western Cape NP leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, when De Villiers said pulling out of the GNU was a "mistake" by the party.

De Klerk added that "the party will now be free to change things which I did" — an indication, said the sources, that Kriel might be interested in

Kriel's [redacted] jostling bei[redacted] his premi[redacted] Peter Ma[redacted] ald Morkel.

Both are would ha[redacted] the first col[redacted] coloured a[redacted]

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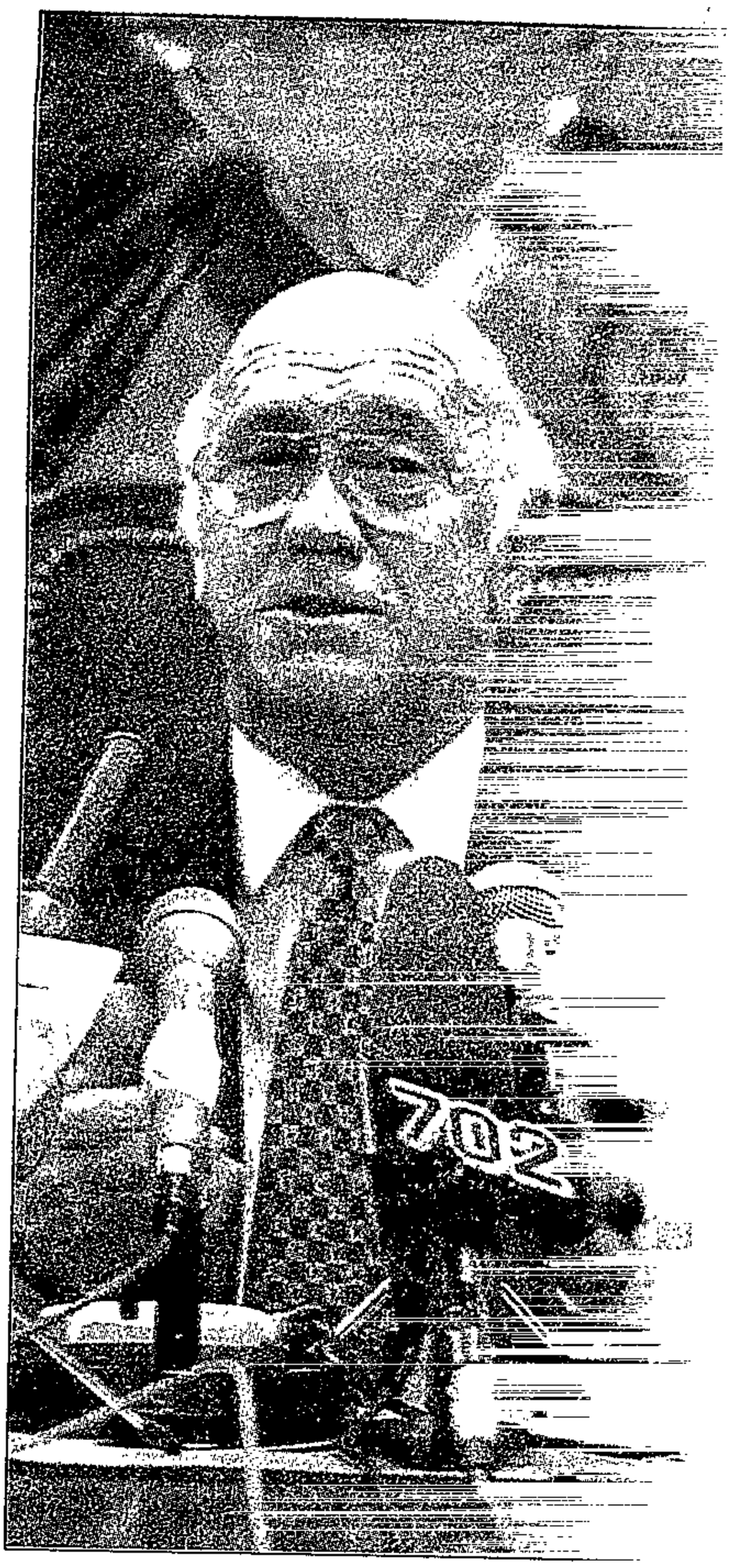


THE OLD AND THE NEW? FW de Klerk announces his resig[redacted] successor — listens, his hands folded in prayer-like fashion.

ere not only for
ut for all of us

Nat leadership

CT 27/8/97 (304A)



...n as National Party leader at a press conference yesterday, while David Malatsi — the Mpumalanga NP leader being touted as a possible

PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

...king a return to the GNU.
...decision opens the way for
...en the two top contenders for
...p, Local Government MEC Mr
...d Police Services MEC Mr Ger-

...ng-serving party stalwarts who
...he distinct advantage of being
...ed premiers in a predominantly
NP-ruled province.
...ape NP members yesterday said
"ripe" for a coloured premier in
to consolidate the party's power

...e Morkel or Marais would be
...pedient" in preparation for the

A story of resignation

- **John Scott tells us how he learnt about F W de Klerk's resignation on CNN.**
- **Contributing Editor Gerald Shaw argues that De Klerk will be remembered as one of the great peacemakers.**
- **Donwald Pressly writes that De Klerk's demise represents a victory for the National Party's right wing.**
- **SA should remember the role De Klerk played in bringing about a peaceful political transformation. — Mandela.**

● See Pages 2, 10 and 11

ONLINE BIBLIOGR

KRIEL NOT A CANDIDATE

Pik Botha to stand for NP leadership — on his terms

PIK BOTHA will stand for the NP leadership — if the party meets certain pre-conditions. Political Writer **KARIN SCHIMKE** reports.

WESTERN Cape Premier Mr Hernus Kriel will not be the next leader of the National Party — but former Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha may well get the job.

Speculation that Kriel, whose continued tenure as premier is also the subject of rumour, would be wearing the NP crown after the shock resignation of Mr F W de Klerk on Tuesday, was nipped in the bud when he announced to the Western Cape cabinet yesterday that he would not make himself available for election.

But Botha said he would join the race for the party leadership — although only under stringent pre-conditions, including that the NP rejoin the government, co-operate with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and change the party's name and political positioning.

Kriel issued a statement yesterday saying De Klerk's resignation gave the NP a chance to "renew and rejuvenate" itself.

"My political career dates from the same era as that of Mr De Klerk. It would therefore not be in the interest of the NP if I was elected as leader of the party."

This is in stark contrast to his statement in yesterday's Cape Times in which he rejected suggestions that he was a poor candidate for leadership because he, like De Klerk, was a "symbol of the past".

"What political baggage do I have?" he asked then. "In FW's cabinet I was the one who introduced the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act. Have I ever been summonsed to appear before the TRC? ... come on!"



PRE-CONDITIONS: Pik Botha

With Kriel raising the question of age and rejuvenation of the party, speculation abounds about his tenure as premier of the NP's strongest province.

A highly placed source said Kriel was priming the party and the province for a new coloured leader to take over, and had advised certain members of his cabinet to "brace themselves".

His spokesman, Mr Chris Koole, denied there had been any talk of the premier's leaving his post before the 1999 elections.

Two possible candidates for the Western Cape premiership are Police Services MEC Mr Gerald Morkel — who serves as acting premier when Kriel is out of the country — and Local Government MEC Mr Peter Marais.

Marais said yesterday about Kriel: "If ambition was the hallmark of his style, he could have taken up the vice-presidency. But since he is not standing for election as the party leader, it could mean that he has no further political ambitions. He may or may not want to stay on (as premier)."



OUT OF RACE: Hernus Kriel

His reference to the vice-presidency reflects widespread rumours that a new NP leader could insist on rejoining the government of national unity (GNU), so that party members could claim cabinet positions.

Such a step would cause severe disruption to the ANC and force them to sacrifice between five and six cabinet portfolios. It would be a major climbdown for the party which under De Klerk's leadership pulled out of the GNU in the middle of last year, citing the dire need for effective opposition to the ANC.

Morkel said if there was any possibility of Kriel's stepping down as premier it would not be "good business" to announce that early, as this would result in party members vying for position. Morkel said Kriel usually played his cards close to his chest.

Having officially withdrawn from the race, Kriel leaves four other obvious candidates to run it. The youngest is Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, who at 37 is the party's executive director. By yesterday evening he was the only confirmed candidate in the race, Sapa reports.

Van Schalkwyk's name comes up frequently during NP speculation about who will follow in De Klerk's footsteps. His relative youth is seen either as a boon, which would contribute to the changing image of the party, or as a drawback in contrast to the experience and age of other contenders.

They are Mr Sam de Beer, the party's Gauteng leader, and Mr Danie Schutte, KwaZulu-Natal leader. Mr David Malatsi, Mpumalanga leader and the NP's most senior black leader, is considered another possibility for the job.

Sapa also reports that political eyebrows were raised by a report that senior NP MPs had asked former NP stalwart Botha to make himself available for the leadership — and that he was interested.

In an interview, Botha laid down pre-conditions the NP would have to meet for him to consider making himself available.

These included a commitment to return to the GNU, to change itself fundamentally and to co-operate fully with the TRC.

However, he was not "going to involve myself in any battle if there is any feeling I may not be useful".

He believed a new leader would have to be dedicated to the above viewpoints, as well as to job-provision and fast economic growth.

The NP would also have to get a new name, Botha said.

Like-minded people in different parties would have to be brought together and any new party should not just be an anti-ANC one.

Observers said that it would be well-nigh impossible for any self-respecting party to accept someone back as leader under pre-conditions.

The NP's electoral college — in essence an extended federal council — is to meet in Cape Town on September 9 to choose the new leader.

BD 28/8/97

Saldanha 'will not harm Iscor plant'

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The massive Saldanha steel project under construction in the Western Cape would not entail the "running down" of Iscor's operations in Vanderbijlpark, African National Congress MP Ben Turok told Parliament's trade and industry committee.

Turok, who heads the trade and industry policy group in the committee, was asked by concerned businessmen in the Western Cape to investigate whether there was a link between the Saldanha steel project and activity in Vanderbijlpark. He was also asked to look at the environmental impact and the economic benefits of the project.

He told the committee in a written report that a visit to the plant had shown it was a "massive undertaking" twice the size of any other development under way in SA. He said it was very high technology and was designed specifically to produce hot rolled coil for the export market. Eventually the plant would employ more than 5 000 people.

Emerging businesses in the area were being used by the steel project as subcontractors, and some were already supplying painting, security and other services at the site.

Turok reported that the environmental concerns were "considerable" and depended on the effectiveness of the monitoring group established "and the maintenance of public vigilance". He said the steel project claimed that all the requirements of the Steyn commission — which investigated the environmental effects — were being met.

He noted that the arrival of job-seekers had led to the "establishment of highly undesirable squatter camps".

He advised that this was the responsibility of the local council and the Western Cape provincial government, which should develop a strategy to deal with the "in-migration".

Astounding R287m spent on commissions — Leon

BD 28/8/97 (304A)

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — An "astounding" estimated amount of R287m had been spent on seven commissions in the three years from 1995 to the current fiscal year, Democratic Party (DP) leader Tony Leon said in Parliament yesterday.

He called on government to draw up publicly acceptable guidelines for remuneration packages, subject to Parliament's scrutiny. The R287m covered the human rights, gender, youth and truth commissions, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, the Volkstaat Council and the Pan-SA Language Board.

Leon noted Deputy Finance Minister Gill Marcus had estimated that this financial year R200m or more would be spent on commissions. Leon, describing the salaries earned by comission chairmen as "obscene", expressed concern that so much was spent on commissions at a time when government was trying to cut public spending.

"Since so many commissions seem to have done so little, one cannot but wonder whether many were solely established with the purpose of dispensing patronage within the African National Congress (ANC).

"Statutory bodies must cut back on unnecessary expenditure. Publicly funded bodies need to accept that they must perform their tasks with fewer frills than the private sector can afford, especially in a developing country with limited resources."

Responding, Finance Minister Trevor Manuel noted that all these commissions had been established recently and were sailing in "unchartered waters". With experience they would redefine their mandates and redefine their own performance areas. In any event, evaluating a commission's worth was a political judgment.

While Manuel said the DP supported the establishment of the commissions in terms of the constitution, Leon said the party had never endorsed the salary packages.

Leon noted that while the chairman of the Human Rights Commission earned more than R400 000 a year (about R33 000 a month) — almost as much as a cabinet minister and linked to the pay of a Supreme Court judge-president — the organisation's management was characterised by chaos and paralysis.

Leon queried the justification of having a gender commission to deal with what were essentially human rights issues, and stated that the youth commission, with its R10m annual budget and R30 000-a-month chairman, had not come up with a single youth development project.

Bill to establish new science advisory body tabled

CAPE TOWN — Draft legislation to establish a "national council on innovation" to advise government on science and technology was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The National Council on Innovation Bill seeks to establish a successor to the defunct Scientific Advisory Council, which was dissolved in June 1994.

The new council will consist of a chairman and 16 to 20 members appointed by the science and technology minister.

The director-general of science and technology and an officer of the trade and industry department will also serve on the council.

A memorandum to the bill says the proposed national council on innovation will be responsible for giving informed advice to government on the development and implementation of science and technology policy, and on the stimulation of innovation. — Sapa.

Land tenure bill approved with tough changes

BD 28/8/97 (27)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom's controversial Extension of Security of Tenure Bill has been approved by the land affairs committee with tough amendments from the African National Congress (ANC) and will be debated in the National Assembly later today.

The committee debated into the night on Tuesday as it battled to complete its work so that the bill could be printed in time for submission to the house.

Committee chairman Phatekile Holomisa (ANC) said yesterday that the bill would be ready on time. He said that the work of the committee had been made more difficult as National Party members had been absent to hear FW de Klerk's announcement that he would be retiring.

Among the controversial amendments approved by the committee yesterday was a clause including rights such as grazing and use of the land for crop production in the definition of "suitable alternative accommodation". Both farmer and tenant will have an obligation to seek suitable accommodation in cases of "no-fault" eviction.

Holomisa said considerable effort was given during Tuesday afternoon to find a compromise with the SA Agricultural Union. This had proved to be impossible and the amendments were approved in the form submitted by the ANC.

Another controversial amendment lowers the tenancy period which will give workers almost absolute rights of continued residence. The original bill set the period at 20 years' residence and 60 years of age, while the approved bill sets a 10-year period.

The bill also gave the Land Claims Court automatic review of magistrate's court decisions on the new law. This amendment flowed from complaints by the National Land Committee that magistrates had in the past been biased in favour of farmers because many of them were either farmers or friends or relatives of a farmer.

Black Nats slam Kriel's deal on leadership battle

ARG 28/8/97 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Black National Party MPs are upset by a deal between Hernus Kriel and Marthinus van Schalkwyk, under which the powerful Western Cape premier has stayed out of the national leadership race in favour of Mr Van Schalkwyk.

The MPs are frustrated by indications that the leadership of the party is likely to remain in white hands for some time, and some have mooted a dual leadership model for the party which would see it elect a deputy national leader.

After discussions between the two men, Mr Van Schalkwyk officially announced his candidacy to succeed FW de Klerk, while Mr Kriel told his Western Cape executive that he would not stand.

In a statement, Mr Kriel said he dated from the same era as Mr De Klerk, who had given as a reason for resigning the fact that he was a symbol of a previous generation.

There is a strong impulse within the beleaguered party for leadership capable of rejuvenating it. But reasons for Mr Kriel's decision are believed to run deeper.

One NP source said that Mr Kriel had too much to lose by risking the extremely powerful position he now occupied in the party's stronghold province in a quest for the national leadership.

Had he won the national leadership, Mr

To page 2

Black Nats slate Kriel leadership pact

From page 1

(304A) ARG 28/8/97

Kriel would have faced the choice of either trying to run the party by remote control from the Western Cape legislature, or going to Parliament and precipitating a leadership battle in the province.

A clear commitment by new party leadership, in the form of Mr Van Schalkwyk, to a more confederal form of the party will allow its provincial leaders to apply their own strategy and tactics.

It is becoming clear the NP will have to become a loose association of provincial parties to have any hope of survival.

Greater devolution of power to provinces would be particularly attractive to Mr Kriel, who could stay at the helm of the Western Cape while the like-minded Mr Van Schalkwyk assumes the national role.

But coloured NP members in the Western Cape saw Mr Kriel's move as an attempt by him and Mr Van Schalkwyk to maintain control of the party in the hands of its more conservative white fringe.

Other black NP MPs were understood to be upset by the prospect of the top leadership positions continuing in white hands.

Meanwhile, news that the NP was considering a return to the Cabinet has caused disquiet in the African National Congress.

Should the NP succeed in reclaiming its six Cabinet seats, President Mandela would have to shed six ANC ministers.

■ Reports that Mr De Klerk was receiving two pensions were wrong, his spokesman said today. As former president, he received one pension of R251 882. – Sapa

Black caucus supports Van Schalkwyk

304A MTG 29/8 – 4/9/97

Gaye Davis

National Party heavyweights were on Thursday working furiously behind the scenes to build consensus around Marthinus van Schalkwyk as the sole candidate to take over the reins from FW de Klerk and avert blood-letting between the old and new guards.

Van Schalkwyk (37) entered Parliament in 1990 as the member for Randburg. His rise in party ranks has been dramatic; as the party's executive director he has functioned as De Klerk's chief lieutenant.

Van Schalkwyk has the support of the party's black caucus which, though small, wields an influence greater than its size in a party that predicates its future survival on its ability to attract black votes.

The most prominent of the black MPs in the party, Mpumalanga leader David Malatsi, was expected to come out in support of Van Schalkwyk after initially indicating a willingness to stand as a candidate in the leadership contest.

If Van Schalkwyk makes the cut when the NP's electoral college sits on September 9, he will be expected to repay the trust and support of his black colleagues. "He will have to put some of our people into decision-making positions," a source said.

It is understood the black caucus will push for Malatsi to be made deputy leader of the party once Van Schalkwyk's succession is assured. While the party's constitution makes no provision for such a post, the rules will have to be changed to allow for making De Klerk honorary president. The thinking is that the post of deputy leader could be created then.

Malatsi was not prepared to speculate on this possibility, but indicated his willingness to serve as Van Schalkwyk's deputy. A black-white tussle would not be in the party's interests, and he was not interested "in standing [as leader] just for the sake of standing".

KwaZulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte was being tipped as most likely to offer a right-wing challenge to Van Schalkwyk. But his own province is said to be divided in its loyalty to him and he enjoys little support outside it. The black caucus is in any event resolutely opposed to any candidate who served under the old NP government, as are the reformers in its ranks.

While Van Schalkwyk's public persona is less than dynamic and his profile still relatively slight, his abilities behind the scenes have won him wide support within the party. He will have time to grow into the position: one of De Klerk's reasons for resigning now was precisely this.

Van Schalkwyk can be assured of the backing of the party's youth wing and its Women's Action delegates, as well as key provinces such as the Western Cape. Premier Hernus Kriel's decision not to stand made sense in terms of the party's bid to divorce itself from its past and Kriel's secure position as leader of its power base. Western Cape MPs will back Van Schalkwyk.

Shady past of FW's heir



Eye to the future: Marthinus van Schalkwyk is favoured to succeed FW de Klerk

304A M+G 29/8/—4/9/97

Peta Thornycroft

The leading contender for the National Party crown, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, was a paid agent of military intelligence.

His salary, as president of the Afrikaans student organisation Jeugkrag, was paid from covert funds of the South African Defence Force during the mid-Eighties.

And Van Schalkwyk lied to his colleagues in Jeugkrag about the source of the funding for his salary and the organisation.

Van Schalkwyk confirmed on Thursday that he had received covert funding both for Jeugkrag and himself while a law and politics student at Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg.

He said he had several meetings during his meteoric rise in Afrikaans student politics with the Army Intelligence covert funder, Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk.

Earlier this week, FW de Klerk resigned as NP leader and said: "It's my hope that my retirement will be seen for what it is: the last remaining high-profile link with the old National Party and its so-called baggage ... a rejuvenation and a new leadership which does not have this historical bond with the NP."

Van Schalkwyk (37) told the *Mail & Guardian* he was not ashamed to have received covert funding during his tenure as president of Jeugkrag: "This is an old story. I am very proud of what we did. Those were not normal circumstances ... We pushed hard for the African National Congress to be unbanned."

Jeugkrag came into existence as a national student body after the demise of the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

At least one of Van Schalkwyk's colleagues from the Jeugkrag era is dismayed to find his suspicions that the student body was covertly funded had been well-founded.

Hermann Thiel, now a lecturer in politics at Stellenbosch University, who was a member of Jeugkrag's executive at the time, said: "I could never figure out where the money came from. I asked to see the books, Marthinus showed them to me and it seemed to be OK, there were donations from several big organisations ... like Nedbank ... I was critical of the way we spent money, left, right and centre, on conferences, on smart hotels, on air fares for students.

"We thought we were the good guys, not like NSF [National Students' Federation], who received government funding. Marthinus was never open about who paid his salary."

Thiel said he resigned in 1988, after Van Schalkwyk had a disagreement with De Klerk, then the NP's Transvaal leader: "After that meeting, Jeugkrag became a lot more conservative."

Following that meeting, according to Thiel, decision-making was taken away from the national conference, and restricted to Jeugkrag's executive. He said a Jeugkrag magazine condemning the government crackdown on the press disappeared from view. Black students who had been showing interest were alienated by the organisation's sudden move to the right.

Van Schalkwyk said Jeugkrag had made important contacts with the Inkatha Youth Brigade, and with Peter Mokaba, then head of the ANC-aligned South African Youth Congress. He said Jeugkrag had also gone to Lusaka to meet members of the then banned ANC in 1988.

"Initially, when we were approached [about funding], we thought it was a private foundation; then we were told it was government funding. There were strict controls, I do take responsibility, and it is true I didn't disclose it to all my colleagues," said Van Schalkwyk.

"But I am very proud of what we did, as the youth was being radicalised on both the left and the right, and we were a stabilising force."

Army Intelligence was responsible for funding a number of covert "hearts and minds" types of operations. It spent vast sums of money in many parts of the world and also worked as chief propagandist for the South African government in the Namibian election campaign in 1989.

Blow for Cape Town's capital dreams (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT
ARG 30/8/97

Cape Town's chances of keeping Parliament appeared to diminish yesterday with President Mandela asserting there should be only one capital.

Observers believe his statement – particularly when seen in conjunction with a report on the issue that is being prepared for the African National Congress's National Executive Committee – will weigh strongly in favour of consolidating the capital in Pretoria.

However, Mr Mandela was at pains not to prejudge the issue yesterday. He told Parliament it had to be accepted that the country should have one capital and that the only question which remained was which city it should be.

This would depend on reports "of the relevant committees that have been set up". He made the statement during his reply to a debate on his speech to the National Council of Provinces.

It was interpreted by many observers as meaning that the days of Parliament staying in Cape Town were numbered. They said the choice would inevitably be Pretoria because of the massive administrative infrastructure in place in that city.

However, lobbyists in Cape Town argue it would be more effective to shift the bureaucracy to Cape Town.

The President's comment comes as lobbying by Cape Town and Pretoria intensifies, with a decision by the African National Congress national executive on the issue only two months away.

Mr Mandela, who has been neutral on the issue, said he "would be happy" if Cape Town became the sole capital, noting with irony that he had spent 27 years here.

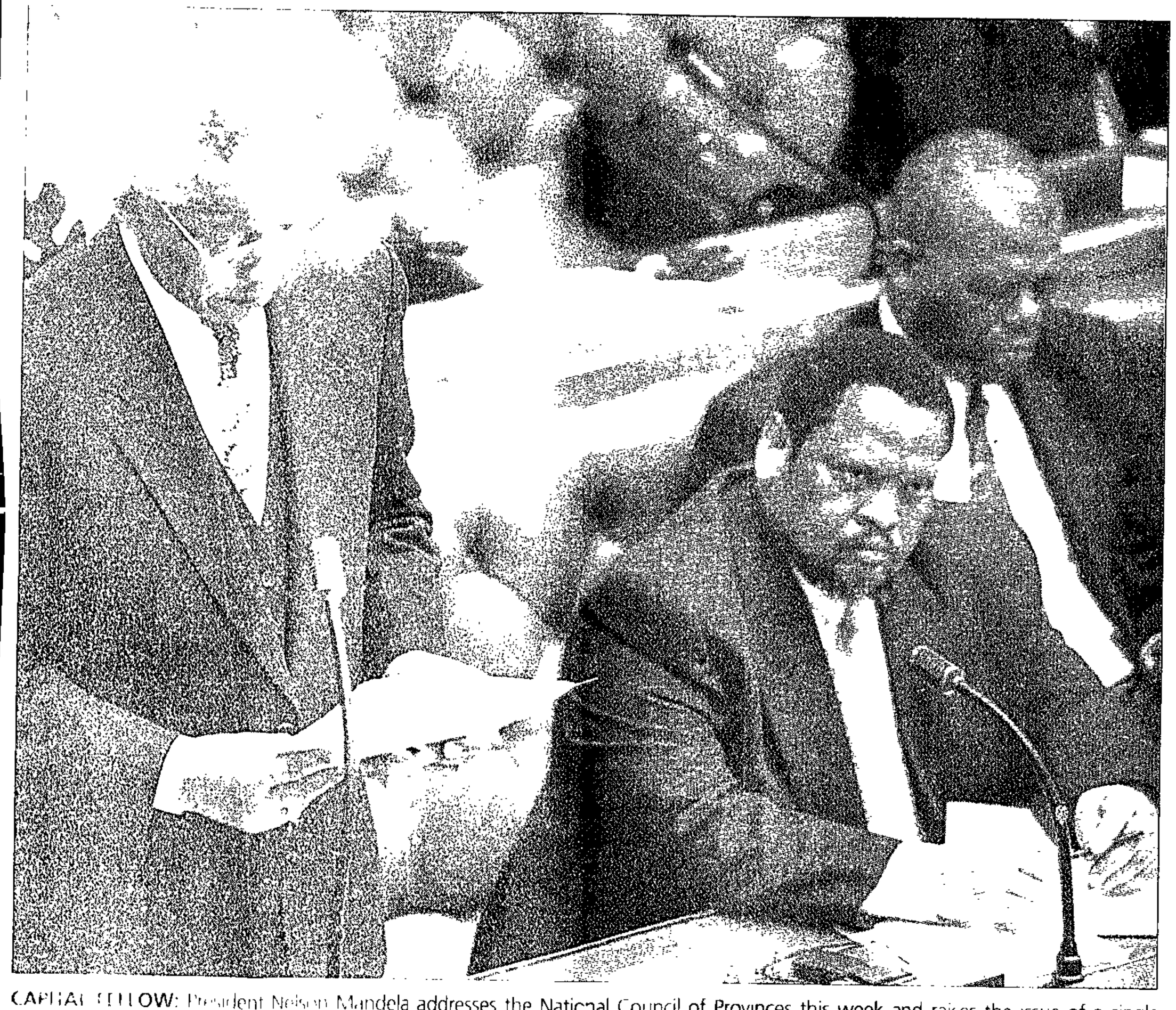
But he would also be happy if it were Gauteng, because that was his home, or Bloemfontein, because he "would be happy also if we move to establish our capital in a safe place".

Mr Mandela told premiers and delegates to the NCOP that the issue of the seat of Parliament would be handled "with great care".

"It is a very sensitive matter ... the only time I saw members of the ANC in the Western Cape agree very fully with members of the National Party was on the question of the seat of Parliament. And the Transvalers also speak with one voice."

He lashed out at the Pretoria City Council for "continuing their propaganda" even though he had denied in a letter to them ever giving his backing to moving Parliament to that city.

Mr Mandela said the existence of two capitals was very costly in terms of resources, efficiency and the difficulties it created for MPs: "We must accept the fact there must be one capital of the country."



CAPITAL FELLOW: President Nelson Mandela addresses the National Council of Provinces this week and raises the issue of a single [illegible] PHOTOGRAPH: LEON MULLER

One man, one vote and now one capital

Star 30/8/97 (304A)

By CLIVE SAWYER

President Nelson Mandela has sounded the death knell for South Africa's two-capital system by telling Parliament it must be accepted that the country should have a single capital.

His statement is widely seen as meaning that the days of Parliament in Cape Town are numbered.

Mandela, still carefully neutral on the capital issue, said the only question that remained was which city should be the sole capital of the country. This would depend on the reports "of the relevant committees that have been set up".

He made the statement during his reply to a debate on his speech to the National Council of Provinces.

It comes as lobbying by Cape Town and Pretoria intensifies, with a decision by the ANC's national executive on the issue only two months away.

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But he would also be happy if the capital were based in Gauteng, because that was his home; or Bloemfontein, because he "would be happy also if we move to establish our capital in a safe place".

Mandela told premiers and delegates to the National Council of Provinces that the issue of the seat of Parliament would be handled with great care.

"It is a very sensitive matter ... the only time I saw members of the ANC in the Western Cape agree very fully with members of the National Party was on the question of the seat of Parliament, and the Transvaalers also speak with one voice."

Parliament must have a single home, says Mandela, but remains mum on his favourite city for the job

He lashed out at the Pretoria council for "continuing their propaganda" in claiming he backed the city, even though he had denied in a letter to them ever giving his support to moving Parliament to that city.

Mandela said the existence of two capitals was very costly in terms of resources, government efficiency and the difficulties it created for MPs.

Earlier, in his opening remarks, the president urged that the debate be conducted in a responsible and mature manner. "We should eschew the temptation of political opportunism; avoid an approach that will divide rather than unite our people.

"Indeed, one of the most central questions the country faces is the broader issue of how provinces – all provinces – should be accorded an opportunity to host national institutions – political, judicial, cultural and otherwise – within the context of manageable levels of efficiency."

Mandela said the debate shouldn't be one between "provincial superpowers", nor based on the selfish interests of the party or locality.

Speaking during the debate, Mark Wiley, a National Party delegate from the Western Cape, asked what guarantee there was that cabinet ministers who showed disrespect to the House by not turning up would show any better respect if Parliament were closer to their Pretoria offices.

There should rather be a public inquiry into the management of the legislature.

"The efficiency of Parliament has nothing to do with its location," Wiley said.

Mampe Ramotsamai, an ANC member of the Western Cape legislature and its deputy speaker, called for comprehensive research and wide-ranging financial investigations into the cost of bringing the administration to Cape Town.

"It is time to draw the line. We have had enough.

"All we ever see is a lot of nonsense, that is meant to be fact, on why Parliament should be moved to Gauteng, but nobody ever bothers to look thoroughly at the other option," Ramotsamai said.

Kallie Hanekom, executive director of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament, said the group still maintained that the two-capital system was the best for national unity, and the question of efficiency could be resolved by straightforward technical means.

"But if there has to be one capital, it would be a far easier option to move the administration to Cape Town, because this would require no constitutional change and could be done gradually, rather than embarking on the huge disruption and massive job losses in the Cape that would be involved in a move to Pretoria," Hanekom said.

Pretoria is ANC's capital choice

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RAY HARTLEY: Political Editor

THE ANC's national executive committee is close to a decision on moving Parliament from Cape Town to Pretoria, with the matter set to be finalised at its next meeting in October.

Senior ANC sources said the executive had come within "a whisker" of deciding on Pretoria as the new seat of Parliament at its last meeting in July.

A committee investigating the issue tabled a confidential report strongly recommending that Pretoria become the sole capital city, citing cost savings as the main reason for the move.

The executive considered endorsing the report there and then, but decided to ask the committee to broaden its report to include the other implications of moving to Pretoria for presentation at the October meeting.

A top ANC official said: "The decision will be taken in October — there is no question about that."

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa, who confirmed the matter was set to be finalised in October, said yesterday the executive would look at the political, administrative, geographic and financial implications of the seat of Parliament.

The final say over the seat of government rests with Parliament itself. The ANC caucus is to decide on its approach to voting on the issue once the executive committee has ruled in October.

ANC MPs could be allowed to vote on moving Parliament according to their consciences and not to party instructions, according to one proposal being considered.

The ANC has been delaying a decision on the capital since it was first raised during constitutional negotiations five years ago, mainly because its Western Cape region has been vociferously opposed to moving Parliament.

President Nelson Mandela told the National Council of Provinces on Friday: "The only time I saw members of the ANC in the Western Cape agree fully with members of the NP was on the question of the seat of Parliament."

But in a bid to advance the debate on the seat of government, he also said Parliament and the government's bureaucracy needed to be in the same city.

His surprise statement, made during his mid-year review of the government before the council, which was attended by premiers, has backed up the view that the party is close to a decision on the controversial matter.

Mandela was diplomatic to a fault about which city he had in mind for Parliament and government.

He said he would be happy if Parliament were in Cape Town as "I spent 27 years here". After a pause, during which representatives from Gauteng held their breath, he added that he would also be happy if it were in Gauteng, because that was where he lived, or if it were in "a safe place" like Bloemfontein.